

Abu-Laban, Yasmeen

The Welfare State Under Siege?: Neoliberalism, Immigration, and Multiculturalism

The historic development of the welfare state has been implicated directly in the evolution of the meaning of citizen rights in liberal democracies. Consequently, understanding the shifting nature of social policy formation in light of neoliberalism (or possibly post-neoliberalism) has direct bearing on the issue of equality between citizens. This is because neoliberalism has been seen to exacerbate social inequalities, particularly those based on gender, race/ethnicity and class. While there has been a spate of (contradictory) writings in the past two decades addressing the extent to which the welfare state is under siege as a result of guiding rationales and discourses informed by neoliberalism, it is also important to note that neoliberalism has not been the only identified danger to the welfare state. The purpose of this paper is to overview and critically assess the implications of three distinct propositions that appear in both empirically based and normative scholarly writings about liberal democracies 1) immigration is a threat to the welfare state; 2) multiculturalism is a threat to the welfare state; and 3) neoliberalism is a threat to the welfare state. With specific reference to contemporary Canada and other liberal democracies, it is argued that the evidence suggests that the main threat to social rights/equality/security stems from continued iterations of neoliberalism. Nonetheless, much popular commentary blames immigrants and multiculturalism for insecurity.

Adams, Christopher

Manitoba's Political Party Systems: An Historical Overview

Since joining Confederation, an examination of Manitoba election results and the rise and fall of specific political parties, reveals that Manitoba has operated with a number of distinct political party systems. These are as follows: 1) a non-party formative system which preceded the rise of formal parties (1870 – 1878), a traditional two party system imported from Ontario (1879 – 1922), a one party dominant system (1922- 1958) resembling the case of Alberta, a transitional three party system (1958-1969), and the province's current two and a half party system with similarities to Canada prior to the 1990s and the British party system. The research is based on Elections Manitoba and its "Historical Summaries", era-specific newspaper accounts, and secondary sources. This paper provides a historically oriented and descriptive overview for each of these periods while demonstrating how the study of Manitoba can apply to the writings of those who have studied party systems and elections, including M. Ostrogorski, Maurice Duverger, V.O. Key, Otto Kirchheimer, C.B. Macpherson, and S.M. Lipset.

Aginam, Obijiofor

Transnational Oil Corporations and Social Well Being of Host Communities in Nigeria's Niger Delta

Nigeria, like other decolonized African states soon recognized that political self-determination must be complemented by economic self-determination. Post-colonial leaders promoted economic development, foreign direct investment, and called for a new international economic order. This quest was buttressed by the passing of United Nations Resolutions on Economic Rights and Duties of States, and Permanent Sovereignty Over Natural Resources. In the 1960s and 1970s Nigeria witnessed an upsurge in FDI with the arrival of transnational corporations like Gulf Oil (now Chevron), Mobil, and Texaco from USA; Elf Oil and Total Oil from France, and AGIP Oil from Italy. These TNCs joined Shell-BP, an Anglo-Dutch oil conglomerate, which secured exclusive monopoly to prospect for crude oil in colonial Nigeria in 1937. The bulk of the oil wells are located in the Niger Delta and coastal wetlands, which are among the world's most fragile ecosystems. Only 30% of the Delta is unaffected by flooding. Most habitable areas are densely populated, averaging 1,250 people per square kilometre, compared to Nigeria's average 300 people per square kilometre. It is home to ethno-cultural minorities that include the Ogonis, Ijaw, Ikwerres, Andonis, and Okirikas, who have been agitating for local control of oil and gas resources and revenue-sharing, as well as compensation for environmental devastation on their ancestral lands. This has led to violent conflicts pitting the Nigerian state and TNCs against indigenous oil-communities. This paper explores the legal, political and policy complexities in the struggle for sustainable development, and economic and environmental rights in Nigeria's oil-rich Niger Delta.

Aiken, Nevin

Truth, Restoration, and Reconciliation: Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and the Politics of Identity

Drawing upon theoretical literature from the fields of political science, sociology, and social psychology, this paper contends that acts of mass atrocity committed between ethnonational groups are best understood as the violent culminations of social identity conflict; processes through which societal divisions foster violent antagonisms in divided societies, pitting "self" against an enemy "other." When levels of social capital – networks of trust, communication, and reciprocity – decline among ethnonational groups, the likelihood of conflict is increased, as members of the other come to be identified as existing outside the normative boundaries, or moral order, of shared political community, thereby rendering them legitimate targets for violence. Accordingly, this paper posits that nations in transition from pasts marked by gross human rights violations and mass atrocity must seek post-conflict peacebuilding strategies which serve to fundamentally transform the ways in which antagonistic ethnonational groups conceptualize the other. Therefore, any peacebuilding initiative that works towards the eventual reconciliation of antagonistic groups must attempt, first and foremost, to repair the societal divides responsible for the disruption of moral order that instigate and perpetuate ethnonational violence. A restorative framework, based on the unique methodology of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, is analyzed as a possible model for use in future transitional societies. The South African model suggests that truth-telling, applied as a measure of restorative justice, might aid the resolution of intractable conflict by attending to the psycho-

social factors underlying ethnonational antagonisms that, if left unaddressed, may otherwise foster further violence in transitional regimes.

Aitken, Rob

Geopolitical Order, Social Security and Visuality: The National Film Board's Japanese Internment Project

Throughout the fall of 1943 and all of 1944, the National Film Board (NFB) negotiated and managed a complicated documentary film project entitled *Of Japanese Descent*. The project, which suffered strangely protracted bureaucratic negotiations, sought to portray the internment of Japanese citizens in a way that would serve 'as insurance when this is all over'. To accomplish this task of erasure, the NFB sought to make visible a particular narrative of the Internment as a peaceful, benign and reasonable reaction to geopolitical disorder. At a slightly different level the documentary project also centered a story of social security and 'governing through the social' by framing the Internment as an attempt to order and constitute the interned population within an integrated and cohesive social field. In pursuing this complex visual narrative, the NFB, was seeking to make visible a line which could connect national security, order and social security.

As a way of teasing out some of the broader implications of this documentary project, this paper argues that, in this particular case, geopolitical security was not separate from the particular kinds of 'order' envisioned as part of an emergent rationality of social security and social governance. This, in turn, underscores the importance of developing critical analyses capable of making security visible as an ensemble of practices connected not only to geopolitical life, but also to the domains of social security and cultural governance.

Albanese, Patrizia

Carework & Shiftwork – Can it work? \$7/day childcare in Pontiac County, Quebec

In the summer of 2004, I began conducting a series of qualitative interviews with mothers of children in \$7/day childcare and childcare providers living/working in an economically depressed region of Quebec, located on the Quebec-Ontario border. I conducted follow-up interviews in the summer of 2005 and a set of interviews with fathers of children using Quebec's program. This paper will present some of my findings, particularly as they relate to the challenges of juggling childcare, commuting, shift work and mill closures in a town affected by changes/crises in the lumber industry. I will identify some of the problems encountered and strategies that have been developed to make \$7/day childcare work in one small (and struggling) community.

Amuwo, Adekunle

Oil, Poverty and Arrested Development in the Congo-Brazzaville

This paper critically interrogates the political economy of oil, poverty and social well being in the Republic of the Congo (Congo-Brazzaville), the African continent's fifth largest oil-producer. Oil is of immense political, economic and geo-strategic value to the great powers, and this strategic significance has increased since 9/11. The competition for the 'devil's gold' has helped to maintain the power of successive corrupt and rent-seeking civil-military governments in the Congo-Brazzaville. In the process, little attention has been paid to good governance, accountability, best corporate practices, or poverty reduction and social well being, notwithstanding international public policy discourse to the contrary. Despite significant petroleum receipts there is 'arrested development'. Oil accounts for 94% of Congo-Brazzaville's exports, most of it going to Europe and Asia. A symbiotic relation exists between the petro-state and oil capital (dominated by France's Elf-Congo, a subsidiary of Total S.A., and Italy's Agip), which has deepened over the past several decades to the benefit of a ruling elite. The state protects the transnational alliance which controls oil through elaborate networks of neo-patrimonial and clientelist practices. This paper does two things: First, it analyses the structures and forces that have ensured that state institutions and oil resources satisfy the economic interests of a trans-territorialised hegemonic class. Second, it examines the strategic and political struggles of elements in local authorities, civil society and social movements that work to constrain both national and trans-national oil elites in order to seek a more open, transparent and equitable distribution of oil-wealth in Congo-Brazzaville.

Anderson, Cameron

Explaining Attributions of Responsibility for Economic Conditions in Canada

The literature on economic voting has moved well beyond the initial formulations of simple credit and blame for economic conditions. Recent work has demonstrated that the strength of economic voting is weakened by the presence of multi-level institutions. While an important step in the reward and punishment model is the actual attribution of responsibility for economic conditions to different state and non-state actors, little is known about how citizens make these decisions in multi-level states. The proposed paper builds on earlier work considering responsibility attributions to different state and non-state actors within the American federal government by assessing the importance of multi-level governance and international influences on the attribution process in Canada. Questions guiding the paper are both exploratory (to what state or non-state actors do citizens attribute responsibility for national economic conditions?) and explanatory (why do citizens attribute responsibility to these different actors or influences?). In the Canadian case, attribution decisions may be affected by range of salient factors including: ideology, partisanship, labour market position, knowledge and province of residence. Finally, implications and consequences of responsibility attributions for vote choice and opinion formation will be considered. Data for the proposed paper come from the 2004 Canadian Election Study, which asked respondents: 'which of the following has been most responsible for how Canada's economy has been doing: business, unions, the federal government, provincial governments or the United States?' Multinomial logistic regression will be used to model the attribution process and test competing hypotheses.

Anderson, Christopher

The Politics of Remote Possibilities in Canada: The Debate over Citizenship Revocation, 1998-2005

In the wake of the events of September 11, 2001, and against the backdrop of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, numerous questions have (re)emerged in Canada concerning the rights of citizens and non-citizens alike. For example, the federal government justifies various rights restrictions in its 2001 Anti-Terrorism Act in part on the grounds that the possibility of their producing injustice is extremely remote, while the Maher Arar case calls attention to the possibility that the rights of naturalized citizens differ in significant respects from those possessed by the Canadian-born. This paper examines the intersection of these two issues through a study of recent parliamentary efforts to enact new citizenship revocation procedures. Since 1998, the Liberals have sought to replace the 1977 Citizenship Act on three separate occasions, and in each instance citizenship revocation has surfaced as a major area of rights-based contention. By reviewing the manner in which these legislative efforts have been debated within the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, this paper details the extent to which they create rights-based disparities between naturalized and Canadian-born citizens, analyses the citizenship implications of the arguments made in their support, and assesses how the legislation and its justifications have changed since September 11 brought about a heightened emphasis on questions of security. In pursuing these lines of investigation, this work contributes to a broader literature that traces the ways in which the meaning of the rights and responsibilities that bind together citizens and the state are evolving in the contemporary period.

Anderson, Darci

Anxious Forgetting

My concern in this paper is with the media and academic representations of the language of “aboriginal women go missing” or the “forgotten” women. In using this construct we run the risk of losing the particularity of each individual woman. The nameless and faceless “aboriginal woman” who is missing is in actual fact not forgotten, because she was never known by colonial Canada. This language of the forgotten is also problematic because each indigenous woman who has disappeared has formed social bonds with others and is not “forgotten”.

This is where I think the anxieties and neoliberal technologies of the self come into play-anxiety over the use-value of the body: to be more and efficient, responsible - or in Engin Isin’s words-“calculable”. To be forgotten she would have to be recognized and recognized as a “citizen.” The terms of a neoliberal society dictates that she is not worth knowing.

I question whether it is anxiety that fuels, or animates the neoliberal subject's

participation? Each missing indigenous woman forms part of that social 'entity' known as 'the indian problem', 'the plight of the native', 'aboriginal woman missing from the downtown core'. What is the one thing that unsettles a neoliberal ethos? Those bodies that don't or can't commit. The lived 'eventness' of her life (historicizing and indigenizing (Findlay) and her own psychic uniqueness, ways of being, I argue, must be told through story-telling. Story-telling about a life seriously undermines both the tendency to overly generalize the missing aboriginal women and thus lose her uniqueness; and the tendency, on the other side of the dialectic. that is, without the analysis that becomes possible through historicizing and indigenizing, there is the risk of an analysis that is too individualistic. My question in this paper is therefore: How to read her disappearance as other than individualistic or as a stereotype?

Angolano, Joseph

Intersection or Collision Course? A Critical Look at Rational Choice Theory and Normative Political Theory

For several years, rational choice theory and normative political theory have seemed to be at loggerheads. Some normative political theorists have derided rational choice theorists for their minimalist views on human psychology and desires, for reducing human reasoning to a crude instrumental rationality, and for conceiving the human being as nothing more than a homo economicus. Others, most notably Green and Shapiro, have criticized rational choice theory for its lack of true explanatory power, post hoc theory development, and arbitrary domain restrictions.

This derision I believe is misplaced. Most of the criticisms levied against rational choice theory stem from the fact that some of its adherents tended to break some rules of social scientific inquiry in order to defend a specific political ideology. Once rational choice theorists removed themselves from this tendency, rational choice theory moved closer to a true method of social science. Rational choice models then became less focused on post hoc theory adjustment and moved towards producing scientific and thus more falsifiable models that allowed for other factors (psychological, emotional, etc.) outside of rational choice to serve as explanatory variables. This I believe allows rational choice theory to be a true descriptive and neutral enterprise that aims to find predictable models of behaviour in a seemingly chaotic world. This form of rational choice theory allows for a prescriptive space in which a mutually beneficial dialogue between normative and rational choice theory can develop, providing normative theorists with sound descriptive models to support their own prescriptive claims.

Archer, Keith and Wesley, Jared

And We Don't Do Dishes Either!: Disengagement from Civic and Personal Duty

In their initial assessment of the electoral disengagement of young voters, Gidengil et al (2005)* argued that two factors appeared particularly important – young electors appear to know little and care even less about Canadian elections. Furthermore, they argued that while a sense of civic duty may help ameliorate the negative participatory effects among some voters, that today’s youth have very low level of civic duty, thereby eliminating this potential mitigating factor.

Employing secondary analysis of data from the Canadian Election Study series, this paper will explore Gidengil et al.’s thesis, examining the link between a declining sense of civic duty among today’s youth and their low rates of voter turnout. In addition, the study will gauge the degree to which there has been a decline in what we call “personal duty” – the willingness of individuals to “do their share” as members of social groupings, like families and broader communities. Finally, the study will examine the potential

connection between the decline in civic and personal duty among Canada's youth – assessing whether their disengagement from electoral politics finds parallels in their distancing from social obligations, in general. Fewer young Canadians show up at the ballot box, and fewer stand at the kitchen sink doing dishes. This paper explores the relationship between these two developments.

*Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte, André Blais, Patrick Fournier and Joanna Everitt, 2004. Why Johnny Won't Vote. The Globe and Mail, August 4. (retrieved from <http://www.ces-ec.umontreal.ca/ces.html>)

Arneil, Barbara

Global Social Citizenship and Liberal Empire

There has been much discussion of late in academic scholarship about global citizenship on the one hand and empire on the other, but relatively little consideration as to how these two emerging phenomena in international political theory might intersect with, or speak to or against, each other. In this paper, I hope to demonstrate that the task of developing a theory of global citizenship (if it is to have any moral/political weight at all) depends upon a careful specification of the meaning of 'citizenship' (in a global context) and the ways in which it might counter the effects of empire in the current international context. I shall argue that to develop an adequate theory of global citizenship, one should begin with TH Marshall's theory of social citizenship conjoined with Melissa William's theory of citizenship as shared fate.

Arneil, Barbara

Intellectual Disability, Identity and Citizenship in Liberal Theory

One of the oversights in liberal multicultural theory has been the issue of disability, and more specifically intellectual disability even though liberal theory from its inception in the modern western tradition (John Locke) has explicitly used 'ideots' as a specific case in which citizenship should be denied and for which authority being exercised rests in a temporally unlimited power of the parents. The norm of 'reason' in liberal citizenship creates by definition the need to define the irrational 'other' and the intellectually disabled have been constituted in exactly this way. I would like to explore in this paper the historical role that intellectual disability has played in liberal theories of citizenship, the failure of many theories concerned with identity and difference to address this particular group of citizens and the contemporary manifestations of this lacuna of people with intellectual disabilities in liberal democracies.

Arnold, Samantha

Disciplining IR: 'Subjects Subject to Subjection'

This paper is explicitly concerned with broad questions of international relations theory, and advances the argument that international relations theory is an identity practice. I develop this argument with reference to the production of Muslim identities in colonial Bengal. Notwithstanding the potential of this empirical case to shed light on some of the most enduring problems facing South Asia - not the least of which is communal conflict between Hindus and Muslims - international relations theory has positioned this case as a marginal site. However, I argue that this case can tell us a great deal about the world which we have made. It offers a position from which to consider ways in which identities are discursively produced, but it does so from a different ('unauthorised') place, a particular ('trivial'), local ('unimportant') place, from which it is possible to explore how, in Cynthia Enloe's words, the 'artifices of international politics are constructed.' I argue that it is only by disciplinary IR's terms that the production of identities in a colonial context has no relevance; as a marginalised group in a colonised political space, the ways in which the Bengal Muslims understood themselves cannot be separated from the ability of the powerful to constitute 'Others,' as Rob Walker has put it, as 'subjects subject to subjection.'

Atkinson, Michael M. and Seiferling, Mike

Corruption on Two Levels: National Comparisons Using Hierarchical Models

Recent work on political corruption has focused at the system level, often on that assumption that the institutional setting of the state fosters or deters corrupt behavior. This work has also revealed that certain characteristics of civil society, including religious affiliation, can influence corruption levels. Protestantism for example has been consistently associated with low levels of corruption. Explaining such a finding has proven difficult. Does Protestantism deter corruption because of the characteristics of individual Protestants, or is there an anti-corruption 'ethos' generated by a Protestant dominated society? The impact of religion on corruption can only be appreciated by studying cross national and individual-level data simultaneously. Cross national research, on its own, assumes intra-state homogeneity, thereby ignoring contextual explanations for system-level variation. Individual-level data, on its own, assumes inter-state homogeneity, which ignores cross-national explanations for variations in corruption. Hierarchical linear modeling allows us to measure and explain individual differences in their perception of corruption prior to measuring and explaining cross-national differences. Drawing on data from the World Values Survey, the Corruption Perception Index, the World Christian Encyclopedia, and, the World Bank, we use a hierarchical linear modeling approach to form a single model of corruption. This model considers both contextual and cross-national effects. We find that religion has an impact at both levels and that Protestantism is only one of the religious dimensions of corruption.

Aubin, David

Asserted Rights. Rules' Activation in Rivalries between Water Users in Belgium and Switzerland

Human pressure on natural resources is increasing, a trend that climate change tends to make worse. Resource users enter in competition for the exploitation of scarce resources. However, rivalries do not occur in an institutional void. A whole set of institutional rules frames the behaviour of resource users, mainly public policies and property rights. How do these rules intervene in rivalries between users? How do they contribute to their resolution? We suppose that users activate rules to assert their rights against their rival and find out a solution to the rivalry. Users have a bundle of rights at disposition, but tend to select either property rights or

a public policy. Three hypotheses are put forward to understand this choice between rules: (1) The owner activates his property rights; (2) The non-owner activates a public policy that acknowledges him as final beneficiary; and (3) The owner activates a public policy if his property rights do not enable him to exclude his rival. The empirical test is made on twelve cases of activation identified in two river basins, one located in Belgium and the other in Switzerland. The deductive method is used based on a qualitative and comparative analysis (most different system design). The hypotheses are confirmed in most cases. Rules are determinant in the process of resolution of rivalries. The activation of public policies is relatively frequent and policies can take the precedence over property rights in particular conditions. However, this kind of activation is difficult as non-owners need important resources to be formally recognised as final beneficiaries.

Austin, Sam and Young, Lisa

Regulation of Election Finance in Canada's Cities: A Comparative Analysis

Money matters in elections, and even more so in urban elections in which candidates do not run under a party label. Research from other jurisdictions suggests that under such conditions, money can play a significant role in reinforcing incumbent advantage and allowing well-resourced interests to exert undue influence over elected officials. In this paper, we test these propositions using data collected from municipal elections in Calgary and Toronto. Election finance in Calgary is largely unregulated, while Toronto is a more highly regulated regime. The two regulatory regimes will be examined with a view to determining the effects of regulation in urban elections.

Auvachez, Elise

From the White Paper on European Governance to the Draft Constitution: Rethinking European Citizenship

In political discourses as well as scholarship literature on European construction, the last decade of the 20th century has been the *citizenship* decade. Nevertheless, despite the numerous questions raised and the fruitful reflections proposed, this theoretical proliferation suddenly stopped in 2001. Must we conclude from this silence that no major developments have affected European citizenship in the past few years?

The present paper shows that two important documents have recently emerged in the context of the EU political construction which impose to rethink European citizenship. The White Paper on European Governance edited by the Commission in 2001 and the draft Constitution adopted in Rome in October 2004 mark a certain shift in the institutional discourse about European Citizenship. The paper proposes a new theoretical model to grasp this shift and to think European citizenship as it is conceived nowadays in the European context : an analytic prism based on the distinction between "government citizenship" and "governance citizenship" seems a fruitful model to characterize the relationship with citizens now promoted by the European institutions.

Baban, Feyzi

European Identity in the Making? : Turkey in a Postnational Europe

From the beginning, European integration has been influenced by two opposing trends: a gradual and piecemeal development of European unity, on the one hand, and an attempt to forge a shared European identity, on the other. In recent years the greater emphasis is now placed on developing a postnational European political, economic and cultural landscape dependent upon a shared European identity. As a large Muslim country with a population larger than the recent ten new members combined, Turkey's accession to the European Union will have an impact on both the legal-procedural and cultural aspects of European integration. Due to its size and perceived cultural differences, Turkey's accession is believed to have a long-lasting impact on the efforts of creating a postnational European identity. In my paper I will argue that Turkey's membership not only brings additional challenges to the idea of a postnational Europe but that it also forces Europe to deal with the civilizational aspects of European unification. The paper we will explore this argument by examining the impact of Turkey's membership on the following two dimensions of European unification: postnational political community and civilizational perceptions. To explore these themes the paper will first examine the cultural and social policies of the European Union to assess the impact of Turkey's membership on postnational visions of Europe. The paper will, then, focus on the impact of Turkey's membership on the perceived civilizational dimension of Europe by concentration on the ways in which civilizational argument is used with respect to the Turkish membership.

Bachvarova, Mira and Moore, Margaret

Liberalism, Communitarianism and the Politics of Multicultural Recognition

This paper attempts to unite two sets of literature: first, the liberal-communitarian debate, and second, more recent work on the politics of identity.

The liberal-communitarian debate has often been thought to be sterile, ending in an impasse, with communitarians arguing that liberalism presupposes a certain metaphysical commitment (to an excessively individualistic conception of the person) and therefore non-neutral to certain (communitarian) ways of life; and with liberals denying that they do have the alleged metaphysical commitments (eg., Allen Buchanan's "Assessing the Lib-Communitarian debate" in *Ethics* and Will Kymlicka's rejoinder to the communitarians). At best, it is claimed that the only virtue of the debate is that it forced liberals to articulate more sophisticated defences of liberal principles.

In the first part of the paper, we re-examine two central arguments that communitarians made and we argue that very similar criticisms are also made by proponents of multiculturalism/identity politics. By examining these issues in both contexts, we aim to determine the limits of liberal forms of accommodation (and bias). This leads, then, to the second part of the paper, where we examine these criticisms and argue that these issues can only be determined contextually, by leaving the abstract level and considering precisely what types of claims can legitimately be included in a liberal theory of justice, and what types can't be. Throughout this section we argue

that, if we take seriously the possibility that interpreting equality as equal treatment might, in the context of deep differences in material and social position, and in culture and identity, have unfair results, then what multiculturalism demands is that liberals attend to, rather than abstract from, difference. We argue that claims that take a rule-and-exemption form are easy to accommodate within liberal theory (indeed, liberalism has a long history of precisely this form of accommodation with conscientious objection). Changes in the rules and policies of society (e.g. gay and lesbian demands for a change in the marriage laws to include them) are not consistent with standard liberal toleration (because the claim isn't to tolerate gays, but to affirm the validity of their way of life), but that nevertheless this is consistent with liberal equality. Finally, we argue that minority nationalist and linguistic minority claims pose more problems (because of the limited public space, territorial nature of the state, etc.) but liberalism can go some way towards accommodation.

Banai, Huss

Between Societies: Communities and Constituencies in International Politics

Although 'society' is a, if not the, central concept to much constructivist and English school theorizing, it remains an ambiguous concept, both as to what constitutes it and what the shape, form, and structural outlines of its constitutive elements may look like. In re-imagining the 'society-community link' within constructivist and English school thinking, this paper offers a model of 'national society' composed of three key elements: competing, as opposed to common, interests (i.e. constituencies), a common existential identity (i.e. community), and a set of institutions through which the interaction between constituencies and community takes place. As such, it advances two main arguments. First, that theories of international politics must treat the emergence of a 'society of states' as the continuous extension of the aforementioned model of national society if they are to offer the most basic agential units of both societies (i.e. individuals) a clear sense of the importance of their actions in creating, sustaining, and diminishing the normative frameworks within which both national and international societies are also conceived. Second, that although both the nature of interaction and the functions of units differ fundamentally in national and international societies, the key structural elements of 'society' in both models, analytically speaking, remain the same. National and international societies are indeed mutually constitutive of one another, inextricably linked by what occurs between them.

Barboni, Thierry

La cartellisation des partis politiques, une solution pour rétablir un équilibre partisan rompu ? Le cas du PS français de 1977 à 1997.

Le modèle des partis cartels de Katz et Mair propose d'apprécier l'évolution des partis politiques non plus à partir des relations entre société civile et partis mais, principalement, entre partis et Etat. L'affaiblissement de l'enracinement social des partis bouleverse-t-il irrémédiablement leur organisation et leur fonctionnement ? Au terme de parti cartel, ne convient-il pas d'employer plutôt celui de cartellisation, manière de montrer que le triptyque Etat-partis-société civile continue de produire ses effets. En s'appuyant sur le cas du Parti socialiste français étudié entre 1977 et 1997, on se propose de montrer que la cartellisation est, certes, un phénomène indubitable, mais également largement déterminé par la forme et les pratiques propres à chaque parti. Il s'agit donc d'interroger les causes du tropisme étatique décelé par Katz et Mair, pour saisir en quoi leur nouvelle qualité de broker est encore compatible avec le rôle d'intercesseur entre Etat et société dévolu aux partis politiques. Le terme cartellisation suppose une approche dynamique mais non irréversible du changement partisan. Sur cette base, la cartellisation sera alors envisagée comme un choix opéré par les dirigeants d'un parti pour rétablir un équilibre partisan qui sera analysé comme la conciliation interne entre un équilibre organisationnel et un équilibre stratégique. En montrant comment la cartellisation constitue une possibilité de rétablir un équilibre partisan rompu, on espère alors analyser plus finement les causes et les mécanismes de l'investissement de l'Etat par les partis politiques.

Bassett, Carolyn

The spectre of debt in South Africa

The paper explores the real and symbolic meanings of debt in South Africa. It argues that the spectre of debt, specifically the threat of a debt crisis, played a dramatic but largely unrecognized role in shaping the discourse of economic restructuring. I show that fears of a debt crisis were critical in garnering sufficient consensus for the government's neo-liberal macro-economic restructuring program. In practice, though, the new economic framework had an ambiguous relationship with South Africa's indebtedness, with monetary policy contributing to debt-build-up through exceptionally high interest rates while tight fiscal policy prevented the debt from spinning out of control. The two aspects of macro-economic policy were conflated as embodiments of prudence, even though their effects were contradictory.

The spectre of debt carried over into social movement politics, framing the discursive space within which alternatives could be put forward. I analyze two such initiatives. The Jubilee 2000 coalition mobilized activists for apartheid debt cancellation, but reinforced the government's contention that debt reduction was a top policy priority and low levels of social expenditure were caused by the debts left behind by the previous government. The People's Budget Campaign did challenge the elision of neo-liberal policies, debt avoidance and growth by focusing on contesting fiscal policy and thinking through practical strategies to reduce the debt, but its proposals have been only marginally influential on the government and the public to date.

The paper further develops research conducted for my doctoral dissertation on trade unions and economic restructuring policy in South Africa, and is based in part on my ongoing contact with activists in the region.

Bastien, Frédérick

Political News, Infotainment and Viewers' Behavior

Why do people watch infotainment? In this paper, we demonstrate that rational choice theory helps explain why people watch so many entertainment TV shows rather than informative ones. Nevertheless, we argue that there is enough room for civic culture to fuel

interest about politically informative TV programs. Zaller (1999, 2003) and Baum (2002, 2003) claim that people, acting rationally, watch television to be entertained. Following this, they argue that the media should present political information in a more entertaining way to capture the attention of viewers. However, Zaller and Baum offer little empirical evidence about viewers' actual behavior. This paper attempts to provide a better understanding of the infotainment concept and the viewers' exposure to TV programs. First, to define infotainment, we draw a logical distinction between information and entertainment, rather than claim that the former is the opposite of the latter, as many scholars do. Second, we locate more than 100 programs broadcast on French channels in Québec along these two dimensions. To achieve this, we conducted a survey of experts familiar with TV programming in Québec, using methods similar those developed by scholars who have spatially located political parties (e.g. Castles and Mair 1984). Third, this paper explores for the first time viewers' actual behavior with individual data collected by the Bureau of Broadcasting Measurement (BBM). Using this data as a stronger empirical base, we re-test Zaller and Baum's thesis and conclude that there is a market for TV programs that present substantive and non-entertaining political information.

Bayrakal, Suna

The Shaping of Environmental Policy: The Influence of Technological Innovation on Policy-Making

Existing conceptual models of the technology innovation-regulation relationship tend to be prescriptively-oriented and/or focus only at the firm-level despite the fact that industry and policy sector-specific factors have been found to play a significant role. This study proposes to use the policy communities approach to policy analysis and the systems of innovation (SI) approach to innovation analysis to begin to empirically analyze the influence of technology on regulation at the sectoral level. A network approach to technological innovation analysis, the SI model emerged to address recent changes in the nature and understanding of innovation processes. The influence of a technology innovation system network on the policy process through a policy network is expected to depend upon the characteristics of the actors common to both types of networks, the flows between the networks, and the nature of the links between the networks. Although the three aspects can impinge on each other, this paper will focus on exploring the first of these, actor characteristics, through a case study of policy processes in Canada associated with the automotive anti-knock fuel additive methylcyclopentadienyl manganese tricarbonyl (MMT). MMT has been accused of interfering with functioning of the new generations of automotive air pollution control systems and debate about its toxicity is ongoing. This study hopes to contribute to the policy literature by better accounting for the reciprocal relationships in which policy is involved. This work is positioned within the author's broader research interests in the relationship between technological change and regulatory policy-making, especially environmental regulation.

Beier, J. Marshall

Containing Chaos: Allegory, Catharsis, Composition

On New Year's Day 1891 commercial photographer George Trager captured images of 300 Lakota refugees massacred by the US Army along Wounded Knee Creek. The photographs expressed an epic confrontation between 'civilization' and 'savagery' shot through with constructions of a valorized moral Self as against a dangerous, fearsome, and depraved Other. Without readily betraying Trager's deliberate acts of composition, they (re)confirmed the assignment of particular kinds of people to their apposite places, containing the chaos of the massacre (embodied in the figures of corpses frozen into grotesque poses) within the rigid confines of the mass grave and juxtaposing it to the orderliness of the soldiers posing alongside.

Trager's photographs described the outcome of civilization's confrontation with savagery in allegorical and cathartic terms, enacting a heroic narrative to which Euroamerican society could lay claim and with which it could triumphantly identify. More than a century later, widely circulated photos of US soldiers engaged in the arrangement of bodies in Baghdad's Abu Ghraib Prison had the opposite effect, giving rise to crisis in their disruption of prevailing moral encodings. Whereas Trager's photographs worked to sustain stable definitions of moral 'civilization' and 'savage' depravity, the images from Abu Ghraib have had a profoundly destabilizing effect that has necessitated their reduction to 'the acts of a few individuals.' This paper will consider these differing effects with reference to the popular functions of allegory and catharsis and, in particular, through an exploration of the details of photographic composition in each case.

Belkhodja, Chedly

It's Cool To Be A Populist!: The Evolution Of Right Wing Populism In Canadian Politics

Cet article propose une analyse de l'évolution du populisme au Canada depuis les années quatre-vingt. Dans l'histoire canadienne, le populisme parcourt la culture politique nationale et régionale. Au début du XXe siècle, à l'image du populisme américain, ce populisme s'est inscrit fortement et durablement dans l'histoire de la périphérie aliénée, principalement dans une réaction régionaliste de l'ouest canadien au pouvoir des élites politiques traditionnelles et à la centralisation du pouvoir. Dans un premier temps, nous allons préciser le contexte de naissance de deux formations populistes de droite sur la scène politique fédérale des années quatre-vingt et quatre-vingt-dix, soit le Reform Party of Canada et l'Alliance canadienne (1987-2003) et préciser quelques éléments concernant la transition vers l'union de la droite. Au Canada l'apparition du Reform Party en 1987 a provoqué un processus de réaligement durable vers la droite du système de partis sur la scène fédérale. Dans un deuxième temps, nous voulons analyser la façon dont ces partis politiques ont réussi à « introduire » de nouvelles idées au sein de la culture politique nationale. Dans notre analyse, nous retiendrons deux illustrations de l'expansion du phénomène populiste, soit la remise en question de la politique du multiculturalisme canadien et l'adoption de procédés de démocratie directe afin de combler l'écart entre les élites et la population.

Bell, Colleen

Conditioning Liberty: Governance in Canada's post 9/11 security environment

Within the frame of the "war on terror," the relationship between civil liberties and security is being transformed. Critical accounts of this evolving relationship have, however, been characteristically limited to presenting an inverse relationship between liberty and security, such that civil liberties are eroded in the name of national and international security. This paper seeks to deepen critical engagement by arguing that, as a consequence of the growing prominence of security mechanisms in the post 9/11 era, the meaning of liberty is also undergoing redefinition. By examining representations of liberty and freedom in recent Canadian security policies, such as the National Security Policy and the International Policy Statement, emerging security measures are rationalized as necessary for the continuation of liberal democracy itself. This posits security as not merely entwined with the protection of territorialized nation-states, but also as the condition by which liberty (and citizenship) can be protected. Consequently, new security arrangements are not only implicated in protecting Canadians, but also in setting forth new mechanisms for governance.

Bergeron, Kristina Maud

Global activism and changing identities : Examples from the Grand Council of the Crees, the Saami Council, and Médecins Sans Frontières-Canada

Global activism influences collective identities. When an organization chooses to bring its grievances to the global scene, this choice has an impact in return on how it sees and defines itself. What are the changes in its identity that can be attributed to the global action it has undertaken? Moreover, are there repercussions in the identity of the group the organization is representing? How are the organization's leaders seeing these changes? In this paper, analysis of past and current international activities of three non-governmental organizations provides an answer to these questions.

Research on global activism has become an important part of globalization studies. Spectacular demonstrations take place at the door of global organizations' meetings and summits, but less spectacular activities are also conducted by some NGOs on a more frequent basis and with more traceable impacts. NGOs' global activities and their participation in a growing global civil society constitute some of the forces directing globalization.

Through document and discourse analysis, two indigenous peoples' political organization and the Canadian chapter of a humanitarian NGO are studied. The structure of these organizations is very different and it affects their actions as well as the retroaction on their identity. By presenting some examples coming from the global activism of the three organizations and their impacts on the organizations' identity, this paper contributes to the discussion on the linkages between globalization and identity.

Berzins, Chris

Romancing the Empire: Grand Strategy for the Rest of Us

The International Relations literature has always been rife with advice for great powers, particularly the U.S., on military strategy. Only recently have strategic studies begun to more systematically consider grand strategy for lesser powers, including via non-military means. One example is the concept of soft-balancing advanced by Stephen Walt, Robert Pape, T.V. Paul and others, which involves the tactical use of international institutions, economic statecraft, temporary diplomatic arrangements – even domestic lobbies – to challenge U.S. authority. Walt divides these into strategies of accommodation and opposition. This paper takes a broad historic look at the grand strategies of lesser powers and argues that the most successful have been neither of accommodation nor of opposition but rather of a dynamic balancing of the two. Taking into account the particularities of U.S. global power today, the paper goes on to outline several ways in which such a dynamic strategy can be pursued.

Best, Jacqueline

The Paradoxes of Political Economic Legitimacy: IMF Reforms in Critical Perspective

In the aftermath of the financial crises of the 1990s, the International Monetary Fund has been undergoing an important policy shift. While some of this shift is captured by formal efforts to create a "new international financial architecture," much of it has been more fragmented and incremental. This paper will examine a series of new policy initiatives at the Fund, including a new emphasis on poverty, revisions to conditionality guidelines, the introduction of standards and codes and a new emphasis on domestic institutional reform. Drawing on recent and archival documents and on interviews with key IMF staff, the paper will argue that, together, these policies constitute a shift in the governing rationality and tactics at the Fund. Senior Fund staff's concern with ownership, institutional reform and poverty reveal a more explicit and self-conscious concern with the political legitimacy of the organization's practices. This policy shift is a double-edged sword, however. By recognizing the importance of obtaining local political support in order to achieve economic success, the Fund has the potential to regain much needed legitimacy and hence institutional stability. Yet, to date, Fund staff have sought to pursue these political ends using narrowly economic tools that are not themselves open to negotiation. This paper concludes by considering the practical implications of the Fund's current strategies, suggesting that there are significant questions about whether international political legitimacy can be achieved through economic means – and thus whether the Fund's recent reforms are sustainable in the long run.

Bhandar, Davina

Governing Through Anxiety or the Politics of Our Times?

Renata Salecl has made the observation that it has often been said that we "live in an age of anxiety". This age of anxiety manifests through a variety of day to day experiences. The ubiquitous nature of violence against women that seems to saturate our daily lives is one element of this day to day anxiety that we experience and inhabit. While this violence is represented as seemingly unintelligible to our lived society, it is also a scene or set of stories that remains strangely familiar. This anxiety which is experienced as a form of repetition compulsion, something that determines our day to day lives has become one technology through which we are governed. This repetition compulsion can be read through the case of the murder of Reena Virk. The media representation of her raced body, the

social crisis that ensued regarding “girl violence” and ultimately the figure of the accused Kelly Ellard speak in various ways to this manifestation of the politics of anxiety. The act of dispossession that animates the murder of Reena Virk is symptomatic of other acts of loss, disappearance and active moments of forgetting that we are witness to in the scenes of the “disappearing women”.

Bhattacharya, Chanchal

Virtual Campaigns, Concrete Elections: Why the Internet and Related Technologies are Reshaping Election Campaigns in Advanced Democracies

The 2004 United States election cycle saw the continuing emergence of the internet and related technologies as highly influential instruments for political communication and organizing. Technologies that may seem 'alienating' and 'elite-oriented' facilitated vast grassroots voter mobilization drives that produced the highest voter turn-out in nearly two generations. This reversed the downward trend that dominated the forty year era of broadcast TV centred politics.

This paper explains the growing impact of the internet on elections in post-industrial societies by situating its operational characteristics and implications within existing theories of "social capital" formation, social networks, and political communication. The paper will argue that the socio-political relations the internet constructs resemble those that arose during in the nineteenth century, when the mass expression of "party machines" consisted of partisan newspapers and loosely connected political clubs. In effect, the internet is enabling the reemergence of structures of political relationships that were eclipsed during twentieth century by the dominance of mass circulation newspapers and broadcast technologies.

This paper will also explain how these technologies were integrated into strategies implemented by the Republicans, Democrats, and other groups participating in the 2004 election campaign. It will situate these new technologies in the broader framework of existing campaign methods, tactics, and strategies. Finally, the paper explores the probable implications of the recent American experience upon future election campaigns in other advanced democracies, particularly Canada.

Bilodeau, Antoine

Residential Segregation and the Political Adaptation of Immigrants: Evidence from Canada and Australia

Research has done tremendous progress in assessing the role of socio-economic and institutional factors in immigrants' political adaptation. Another factor concerns immigrants' integration to or segregation from the mainstream population. It is well-known that immigrants tend to gather together (voluntarily or not) into residential areas (Ley 1999). What are the consequences of such trends onto immigrants' political adaptation?

There are reasons to expect that immigrants' residential segregation could either facilitate or impede their political adaptation. On the one hand, classical theories of assimilation claim that immigrants need contact with the mainstream population to successfully adapt (Gordon 1964). But on the other and, the theory of segmented assimilation stipulates that for some immigrants the best chance to adapt resides in their capacity to live apart within their own communities (Portes and Zhou 1993). These two approaches lead to divergent hypotheses. While the former leads us to expect immigrants residing apart from the mainstream population to present a more deficient adaptation, the latter leads us to expect that, for some groups of immigrants, segregation from the mainstream population would facilitate adaptation.

The proposed task is to evaluate whether immigrants residing in areas with high concentration of ethnic minorities develop political attitudes distinct from those of immigrants residing in areas with low concentration of ethnic minorities.

Analyses will rely on the most recent Canadian (1997-2004) and Australian (1996-2001) election studies.

Bird, Malcolm

Revolutionary Change: The Liquor Control Board of Ontario 1985-2005

There are few government agencies that have undergone as extensive institutional changes as the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO). Created in 1927, the LCBO was originally charged with controlling the sale of alcohol to the public. The retail experience for its customers was deliberately poor: its stores were dingy, selection was small and overall consumer value was low. This is a far cry from the LCBO of today. Its stores are warm and inviting, its staff knowledgeable and helpful, its product selection and prices competitive; it strives to provide Ontario consumers with high value for their consumer dollar. Why did such drastic changes occur? My paper will briefly outline how the LCBO's institutional structure has changed since the mid-1980s. It will then set out to explain why such dramatic organizational changes occurred and why this valuable public asset was not sold off to the private sector. There appears to be a number of vital factors. First and foremost, politicians of all stripes appreciated the value of its consistent (and growing) revenue stream. Second, producers and other alcohol retailers, for the most part, like the current structure of Ontario's liquor market. Third, the LCBO is used to promote Ontario made alcohol products. Fourth, a firm belief within policy and political circles that a public system provides superior control over alcohol distribution than a private market model. Finally, the LCBO has been able to garner wide-spread public support for its continued public ownership. These changes, of course, have occurred in a social context that is increasingly tolerant of alcohol consumption in general.

The radical transformation of this public sector entity illustrates that state-owned agencies can solve collective action problems effectively and also shows that public sector institutions themselves, to some degree, can influence their fate by effectively adapting to a ever changing political context.

Biro, Andrew

Social Insecurity and Environmental Politics

Recent worries about peak oil production are only the latest in a series of narratives that construe environmental problems to be primarily problems of resource scarcity. Such meta-narratives of scarcity can be dated back at least to the beginnings of the modern

environmental movement, and even inflect discussions about environmental issues whose relationship to scarcity is not manifestly apparent, such as the global politics of climate change, with its regulation of newly limited (scarce) permissions to emit greenhouse gases. Given this framing of the problem, solutions to scarcity may range from a faith-based reliance on the powers of human ingenuity and technological innovation (“we can discover more”), to managerial strategies of ecological modernization (“we can get more from less”), to authoritarian repression of consumptive desires (“we will make do with less”). Such approaches, however, are all problematic for at least two reasons: first, they tend to reify natural processes as well as socio-natural interactions, locating the source of environmental problems in objective nature itself – either external nature, or internal (human) nature, conceived as inherently and relentlessly appetitive – rather than the dynamically evolving constellations of socio-environmental interactions. And second, they confuse means with ends. Both of these problems can be avoided, I argue, by reframing environmental problems as problems of insecurity rather than scarcity, emphasizing the unequal distribution of environmental security and risk, within particular social formations.

Biswas Mellamphy, Nandita and Mellamphy, Dan

Synarchy and Syndicates: An Alternative History of the Corporation

The history of political thought is marked by numerous variations on the theme of ideal political structures or systems of collective governance — structures or systems which in their fullest form and formulation describe and delineate what by definition are called utopias. The utopian theme in the history of political thought reached its thematic and theoretical culmination-point in the post-industrial period, at which point its dystopian ‘underside’ or ‘other-side’ came radically into focus. The nineteenth century vision of synarchy espoused by Joseph Alexandre Saint-Yves d’Alveydre is perhaps one of the crowning pre-World-War utopian visions; it proposed that government be a joint sharing of power between three main social forces: political, economic and spiritual/religious. This paper sets out to introduce and describe one of the last systematic (and least known) modern utopian visions: the Alveydrian ideal of synarchy, its form and function as a ideal social and political order, as well as its fate in the midst of the two World Wars. Through this introduction of synarchy, I hope to speculate on the possible role and use of utopic visions for the history of such political ideas as social order, political authority and governance. This work emerges out of my doctoral work on the structure and function of Friedrich Nietzsche’s political vision in that Nietzsche, much like Saint-Yves, claimed that the ideal political order required the fusion of philosophy and religion.

Bittner, Amanda J.

Decision-making with little information: can political interest fill the gap?

Studies of voting behaviour and public opinion are virtually unanimous in their agreement over the lack of knowledge and information possessed by the average citizen (Campbell et al. 1960; Converse 1964; Sniderman et al. 1991; Delli Carpini & Keeter 1996). How then, are citizens able to make decisions if they lack knowledge and information? Converse suggests that interest in politics might play a role in minimizing the problem of lack of knowledge, finding that those with higher levels of interest tend to have more constraint in their ideas than the disinterested. Conversely, Zaller (1990) finds that those who demonstrate high levels of interest in a particular issue are not necessarily more knowledgeable as a result.

This paper seeks to better understand the role of interest, and building upon a research model employed by Bartels (1996), it will examine the extent to which respondents with higher levels of interest in politics behave similarly to those with higher information levels. If interest can minimize the problem of lack of information as Converse suggests, then we should see similar patterns of behaviour between the two groups.

Using data from the Canadian Election Study, this paper will look at voting behaviour in a number of dimensions, including vote choice and attitudes towards specific issues, such as maintaining social programs vs. deficit, inflation vs. employment, abortion, and immigration, among others.

Blais, Emilie

European Integration and Ethnic Minority Mobilization: The case of Latvia, Hungary and Romania

The paper examines the relationship between the perspective of enlargement and the mobilization of ethnic minorities. It argues that the prospect of EU integration was a positive pivotal point in the mobilization of ethnic minorities. It looks at the strategies developed by ethnic minorities groups to further advance their interests at the domestic level through the use of other institutional tools than their own governmental channels. Different levels and type of mobilization were observed in the candidate countries according to their degree of convergence with EU policies and their degree of population homogeneity. We look at two types of mobilization: political mobilization, which is composed of variables such as the representation of ethnic minorities at the national and local governments, voters turnout, political parties; and non-political mobilization, which is composed of variables like media availability, non-governmental organizations involvement, mass demonstration and access to education. The paper examines three countries and each involves a particular sub-hypothesis that can be summarized in a 2x2 table. One particular ethnic minority group will be looked at in each of our case study. The Russian minority will be used in Latvia, the Hungarian minority in Romania, and the Roma in Hungary. The purpose of this study is to serve as a predictive tool for future enlargement rounds in regard to ethnic minorities mobilization. The assessments made by the European Commission in the years prior to the enlargement will be used to measure the progress made by each of the countries in regard to the political criteria. The work of authors such as Mancur Olson, Sidney Tarrow, David Snow, Michael Keating and Andrew Moravcsik is used for analysis of ethnic minority groups strategies shaping.

Blood, Narcisse and Chambers, Cynthia

"Love Thy Neighbour": Repatriating Precarious Blackfoot Sites

Certain sites in Blackfoot territory are repositories for Blackfoot language, history, memory, and ceremony. Land is the source of both Blackfoot identity (Little Bear, 2004) and Blackfoot knowledge (Conaty & Janes, 1995). In the summer of 2005, The University of Lethbridge offered a two-course equivalent summer institute entitled Connecting with Kitaowahsinnoo (The One Who Provides). During this course, students visited significant sites in Blackfoot territory, and learned (at least some of) the history and significance of these places. We abandoned the model of the museum tour and embraced the Blackfoot notions of visiting (áoksisawaat) the sites, with the incumbent practices of feeding, narration and offering (Heavy Head, 2005). In so doing, learners (including professors and elders) recognized in an embodied, as well as, an intellectual way that many of these places were contested sites of historical trauma (famine, massacre, epidemic), as well as sites of spiritual and communal renewal. Everyone began to recognize their consciousness of Blackfoot territory was colonized, a vision limited to and by reserve borders, artifacts of Treaty 7.

“Ownership” of the far vaster territory that was Blackfoot—including unimpeded access; rights to the intellectual, material and spiritual content of each site; as well as, responsibility for their renewal and repatriation—is still highly contested while development, urbanization, neglect and vandalism all threaten their continued existence.

Repatriating Blackfoot responsibility to and for these sites is an ethical and practical response to the call of in these precarious places in these precarious times (Chambers, 2005).

Boardman, Anthony and Vining, Aidan

The Calculation of Social Discount Rates in Public-Private Partnerships, Implications for Project Approval.

In order to compare the costs of public-private partnerships to traditional public projects, managers must estimate the value involved in setting a fixed price in today's dollars, against the risk of leaving the public open to rising prices later. When the likely gap over the life of the project between today's fixed price and tomorrow's riskier price is expressed in percentage terms it is called the social discount rate. This paper looks at the process involved in setting social discount rates and whether or not it has been done well in a selection of public-private partnerships.

Boca, Irina

The Age of Empire: a Question of Time

Alternative versions of empire configure the map of contemporary political thought by mystifying and demystifying the political transfigurations of the world, the immediate relations of power reflected in the multitude of pliable and resistant forces, in the displacement and reproduction of these forces through the production of knowledge by power. Conflicting alternatives split, pastiche over, mutate into configurations of their own, transcribing the ambivalence of knowledge into a multiplicity of ambivalent power-knowledge relations. The duplicitous character of each alternative suspends its temporal unfolding and turns it into an encircling moment, that is, into a repetitive composition traversed by the centripetal and centrifugal arrows of truth and of power. If modernity had reversed the classical ontological schema of „time as measure” by making time the envelope of the real, thus closing the classical project of transcendental being, post-modernity reopens the project by making eternity (time as envelope) the moving image of time (time as measure), which comes forth in the materialistic perspectives, while also making time (as measure) the moving image of eternity, and returning to it, as it were, its classical, transcendental, modulations. The question of Empire addresses the circularity and encircling moments of alternative versions unfolding and suspending themselves within the fold of Reason. It also addresses the unfolding of Reason and its suspension amidst the multiplicity of reflected realities.

Bocking, Stephen

Scientific Expertise and Environmental Politics: Cross-Border Contrasts

Considerable attention has been focused during the last decade on the roles of scientists and scientific knowledge in environmental politics. The framing of environmental problems, the political implications of expert authority, the status of scientific knowledge as an often uncertain and hence contested element in political controversies, and the relation between science and democratic practice have been among the issues examined. In research by North American scholars a common, if unstated, assumption has been that insights gained in one country can be applied to situations in the other. In this paper I examine this assumption, identifying the extent to which differences in Canadian and American institutional, environmental, and political contexts have shaped the roles of science. This examination also provides an opportunity to consider more general issues relating to political theory, including the significance of specific environmental and political contexts to our understanding of the environmental policy process.

Boda, Michael

“Independence is not a Panacea: An Evaluation of Election Administration in the United Kingdom”

Among electoral scholars and practitioners, a consensus has emerged in recent years around the assertion that better administrative results in elections are achieved when a country's matrix of election administration institutions has greater organizational and fiscal independence from the government (Pastor, 1999; Lopez-Pintor, 2000). At the same time, a review of the literature leads quickly to the conclusion that this argument has been derived by analyzing principally developing democracies, and that few researchers have seriously considered the influence of approaches to election administration in countries that have a longer tradition of organising and conducting elections. The proposed paper will offer an initial test of this conventional wisdom by evaluating the institutional arrangement for election administration in one established democracy, the United Kingdom. After creating a scale by which the traditional models of election administration can be compared based on their independence, a framework for evaluating the quality of the implementation of the parts of an election will be proposed. The text will then query the extent to which a recent ‘injection’ of independence in the UK—due to an ‘independent’ electoral commission being established in 2001—can actually be deemed a contributor to a better-functioning system of election administration. The author's research interests include issues related to

democracy and elections in the context of public international law. The proposed paper will demonstrate how international legal mechanisms provide a norm against which the effectiveness of independence in election administration on the quality of electoral processes can be judged.

Bodur, Marella

The Impact of the EU on Gender Policy in Turkey: multilevel political opportunity structures and strategies of women's groups

This paper aims to contribute to the development of a theoretical framework with which to analyze the impact of supranational organizations on domestic politics. The main argument is that greater attention needs to be paid to the complex interaction between the national, supranational and global levels. To illustrate the arguments made in the paper, I examine the impact of the EU on gender policy in Turkey. The Turkish case contains many insights as it captures well the complex interaction between the EU-level, state-level and societal factors in bringing about change in gender policy. The paper shows how collaborative efforts among various institutions and networks – the EU, the global gender equality framework provided by CEDAW, women's networks in Turkey, the European Women's Lobby – resulted in the adoption of a new civil code and a gender-sensitive penal code. The paper argues that the effectiveness of the EU in promoting change in gender policy in Turkey stemmed not only from its direct involvement but also from the success of a vibrant women's movement, which exploited the supranational political opportunity structure provided by Turkey's EU membership candidacy in 1999 to push for more women-friendly legislation. The paper, then, concludes by arguing that explaining the change in gender policies that promote women's empowerment in a particular context requires more attention to the way that women's groups use the opportunities provided at the national, supranational and global levels and the way they draw both on the existing gender discourses within states as well as the supranational and/or global gender equality regime(s) to mobilize support for their demands to eradicate gender inequalities. The theoretical framework of this paper draws on social movement theory, feminist theory and the recent literature on European integration.

Boucher, Joanne

Epistemological Issues in Chomsky's Propaganda Model of the Media

This paper will critically examine Noam Chomsky's propaganda model of the media which he claims "is one of the most successful theories in the social sciences, offering the best established conclusions, supported by thousands of pages of documentation." The astonishing renown of the propaganda model may in large part be explained by its surface plausibility. Certainly, it is indisputable that the mass media is comprised of large, profit-driven conglomerates which have connections to state power insofar as the state provides the national and international frameworks in which the media operates. Moreover, corporations do seek to influence state policy to advance their interests. Also, given the ubiquity of the mass media it seems absurd to question the notion that public opinion and political ideas are, in some way, shaped by the products they sell to the public. Thus, there appears to be a compelling logic to the model.

Moreover, Chomsky's self-presentation as a "scientist" analysing raw data in a disinterested manner bolsters the notion of the propaganda model as a prime example of accurate social science. Indeed, Chomsky is regularly praised for his command of a seemingly endless array of "facts."

It is on these epistemological aspects of the model that the paper will focus. That is to say, it will concentrate on the Chomsky's understanding of the nature and status of "facts,"-- as self-evident, objective, and incontrovertible -- and the role of the scientist in the process of political enquiry and analysis.

Boucher, Joanne

Thomas Hobbes and the Problem of Fetal Personhood

In her seminal article, "Foetal Images: The Power of Visual Culture in the Politics of Reproduction," Rosalind Petchesky argues that medical fetal imaging technologies centrally function to imbue the human fetus with a personality distinct from that of the mother. This works to make the mother disappear from view thereby weakening her claims to bodily integrity, and potentially threatening the right to abortion. Petchesky suggests that modern liberal individualism provides the philosophic underpinnings to allow such constructions of fetal personhood. She cites Hobbes as a paradigmatic abstract individualist whose work facilitates this theoretical move. However, I will argue that if we read Hobbes as a thorough-going epistemological skeptic, the opposite conclusion may be drawn. That is to say, Hobbes' epistemological skepticism makes it more likely that the mother's bodily integrity would be defended, and technological and cultural constructions of fetal personhood would be resisted. Hobbes' individualism, then, founded in epistemological skepticism, reinforces the mother's right to bodily integrity (and her consequent right to abortion) and undermines the notion of fetal personhood.

Boychuk, Gerald W.

Territorial Politics and Current Health Care Reforms in Canada

The paper argues that contemporary understandings of public health insurance in Canada are deeply marked by misperceptions regarding both the political dynamics underpinning the development of universal public health insurance in Canada as well as misunderstandings regarding the political dynamics forestalling similar developments in the United States. The paper argues that contemporary differences between the United States and Canada result from the unique historical development of public health care provision in the specific social and political context of each country. The paper emphasizes the role of the politics of race in ensuring that universal public health care was not adopted in the United States in the early postwar period when such programs were emerging in Canada. As a result, the politics of health care in the US subsequently came to be dominated by private, voluntary alternatives limiting development toward universal public health care. In turn, the contrasting development of universal public health care in

Canada was not simply the result of a distinctive political culture or the fusion of executive and legislative powers inherent in the Westminster parliamentary system but, rather, has been predominantly shaped by territorial politics specific to the Canadian context especially a concern with the territorial integration of Québec in the context of strong disintegrative forces.

Boychuk, Gerard and VanNijnatten, Debora

Cross-Border Economic Integration and State-Province Policy Convergence

This paper is a continuation of a long-term project examining the relationship between economic integration and policy convergence between Canada and the United States. The central premise is that provinces control a number of policy levers which are generally postulated to be most deeply effected by constraints relating to economic integration and that, if economic integration has significant convergent effects on public policy, it is at this level that empirical examination should be undertaken. Making a substantial additional contribution to our earlier work, the paper focuses on variation among provinces in the degree of cross-border economic integration as well as the degree to which cross-border economic integration is concentrated on particular states. The paper then examines the degree to which cross-border economic integration between state-province pairs corresponds to patterns of policy similarity over time using a number of policy indicators from three major policy fields: environmental protection (pollution abatement and control expenditures), income redistribution (incomes shares of the top quintile before and after taxes/transfers) and social protection (income shares of the bottom quintile before and after taxes/transfers), and corporate taxation (small and large business taxation rates.)

Bradford, Neil

Placing Social Policy? Reflections on the New Deal for Cities and Communities

Recently there has been growing awareness of the importance of cities as strategic spaces in the age of globalization. In Canada, the great majority of the population live and work in the country's 27 census metropolitan areas, and these urban centres are the places where today's major public policy issues are playing out. Not only are cities the economic engine of the national economy, they also are complex social and cultural spaces increasingly marked by growing income polarization and spatial concentrations of vulnerable citizens. As such, it comes as no surprise to find the Canadian federal government now joining other national governments across the OECD in seeking policy strategies targeted at cities and tailored to their particular needs and capacities.

The purpose of this paper is to take stock of the "local turn" in national policy in Canada. The paper considers the body of policy research that informs the new direction, specifically arguments and evidence that "place matters" to outcomes across a host of fields. The paper then maps the three principal ways by which the federal urban policy lens is being operationalized: consultation with municipal officials in selected federal policy fields; conditional revenue transfers to all municipalities based on framework agreements; and collaboration in multi-sectoral projects in specific urban areas. Finally, the paper reports results from three case studies of the third category -- multi-sectoral collaborations directly engaging the federal government in community development -- and considers lessons for multi-level governance.

Brassard, Alexandre

Arts et mouvements identitaires: les artistes québécois sont-ils encore nationalistes?

Depuis la Révolution tranquille, les artistes québécois ont joué un important rôle de construction identitaire et de diffusion des idées politiques. Le militantisme des années soixante-dix a-t-il cédé au désengagement politique? Le camp souverainiste peut-il encore compter sur le support de la colonie artistique? Une vaste enquête postale a été menée à l'hiver 2005 auprès de 470 artistes appartenant aux principales disciplines de création et d'interprétation. Elle a bénéficiée de la collaboration de l'Union des Artistes (UDA), de l'Union des Écrivaines et Écrivains du Québec (UNEQ), de la Guilde des Musiciens (GDM) et d'autres associations professionnelles de la province. Cette étude a permis de tester de nouveaux indicateurs et de mesurer l'orientation nationale de la communauté artistique du Québec. Les résultats révèlent des comportements, croyances et valeurs fortement progressistes et nationalistes chez les sujets interrogés. Ils laissent présager un engagement actif de la communauté artistique dans l'éventualité d'un troisième référendum.

Brickner, Rachel

Union Democracy and the Struggle for Women's Labor Rights: Reflections from Mexico

Bensusán and Cook (2003) argue that institutional reform is necessary condition of the strengthening and consolidation of Mexican democracy. In particular, they argue that the Federal Labor Law (LFT) must be reformed to allow for the democratization of unions, which would allow unions to participate in a more vibrant discourse about workers' role and rights in the liberal economic context. Building on Bensusán and Cook, I argue that the democratization of unions is also necessary for the promotion of women's labor rights in Mexico. Under the current corporatist state-labor relationship, union leaders are protected from the demands of the rank-and-file. For example, the "exclusion clause" of the current LFT requires workers to join the union if a work place is unionized. This stipulation guarantees union leaders new membership and allows them to ignore demands from rank-and-file workers, which has worked to the disadvantage of union women. Because union women rarely hold leadership positions in unions, their demands for greater attention to issues such as sexual harassment, pay equity, pregnancy testing, and parental leave are often dismissed as unimportant.

In this paper, I examine the organizational statutes of four different unions in Mexico and show how those unions that have adopted more democratic internal governing structures have been more likely to include in their union statutes clauses that address these issues of concern to women. On the other hand, unions that maintain a traditional, corporatist structure do not include clauses addressing women's labor rights.

Brittain, James J.

Revolutionary Longevity within Colombia: Continuity toward (Classical) Class Objectives

Unlike several regions within Latin America, which appear to be experiencing resurgence in direct action politics through new social movements, the country of Colombia illustrates a unique continuity in its opposition to imperialism. Through a vigilant and non-dogmatic application of Marxism, the FARC-EP, through defensive necessity and pre-revolutionary measures, has implemented a historic class-struggle in direct relation to capitalism's attack on rational agriculture. While many contemporary social movements illustrate localized interests related to specific indigenous, peasants/campesino, or urban identities, the Colombian revolutionary experience rallies a posture of classical class objectives as opposed to subcategories of capitalist exploitation. Parallel to the long empirical process of capitalist expansion so too has the insurgency maintained a distinctive longevity of class-struggle within the Latin American and global context of revolutionary activity. With such a sustained subjective and objective platform being realized, the FARC-EP poses as an interesting subject within the political landscape of Latin America and to the theoretical distinctions of current social change theory within the academy.

Brock, Kathy

Surviving as Canadians: Tracking New and Continuing Tensions in the Federation

Whispers have begun. Will Gomery trigger the downfall of the Liberals and a Quebec referendum on sovereignty? Will the federal Liberals maintain an effective national unity front as the ramifications of the inquiry manifest themselves within that organization? Will the federal election further fragment our sense of nation? Are we returning to turbulent debates on national unity or worse secession negotiations? In short, can Canada survive?

As speculations abound, comparisons surface between current conditions and forces underlying the constitutional negotiations preceding the 1995 Quebec referendum. Recent opinion polls indicating that Quebec is still perilously divided trigger fears that Canada's fate is again at stake. These parallels mislead—paradoxically they lull us into complacency by underestimating continuing contributing factors to the sovereignty cause and into a state of anxiety by neglecting new forces in the rest of Canada. This paper will analyse how conditions have changed from 1995 to today.

The debate is more complex and fraught with tensions. The first two sections of the paper highlight conditions in the previous constitutional rounds and the 1995 Quebec referendum, and identify continuing unresolved issues in new manifestations (Quebec attitudes towards Ottawa, citizen engagement in federal processes, shifting Aboriginal relations and activism in the federation). The third section identifies emerging tensions, assessing their importance for national unity (creation of Nunavut and its aspirations, new western affluence, changing demographics of BC, interprovincial alliances in the Council of the Federation, global pressures). The paper concludes with ruminations on the viability of the nation.

Janine Brodie

Social Care and the "New Social-isms"

This presentation focuses on contemporary social policy reform thinking in Canada, which, it will be argued, attempts to reframe and embed reconfigurations of "the social" that are consistent with the parameters of neoliberal governance. While elsewhere social care is often framed as an extension of social citizenship rights, in Canada, policy discourses on social exclusion/inclusion, social capital, and social economy – what I term as the "new social-isms" -- are increasingly deployed within a neoliberal policy frame to further embed the individualization, familialization, and marketization of social policy. This contribution draws on a series of policy papers that have been produced by the federal government's Policy Research Initiative to demonstrate the appropriation and reformulation of the idea of the social and the implications for the development of social care policy in the Canadian case.

Brown, Sherri

Global Public-Private Partnerships for Pharmaceuticals: Ethical and Procedural Features, Prospects and Challenges

Global public-private partnerships (P3s) in health have been created, purportedly as a response to both market and government failure to provide health care goods and services, particularly in developing countries. They have been created to address issues of product development (vaccines or drug treatments), improve access to healthcare products, assist with global coordination mechanisms, strengthen health care services, provide public advocacy and education, and for regulatory and quality assurance purposes. This paper examines three types of global P3s (African Comprehensive HIV/AIDS partnership, International AIDS Vaccine Initiative, Accelerated Access Initiative). It analyzes and compares the ethical and procedural features and issues of the P3s. It concludes by considering the prospects and challenges of global P3s as a mechanism of global health governance in advancing health as a global public good.

Brown, Sherri and O'Reilly, Tracey

How HIV/AIDS is Threatening Social Stability and the Status of Women in the Great Lakes Region of Africa

The Great Lakes region of Africa is one of the most densely populated and poverty-stricken regions in the world. As such, this area has been heavily impacted by the alarming growth rate of HIV/AIDS infections, especially in women. The authors of this paper argue that HIV/AIDS infections rates have resulted in two critical social shifts in the region – social instability due to the number of orphans produced from the pandemic, and regression of the status of women as a consequence of this social instability. For example, the paper asserts that the gains in increasing women's educational attainment have been negatively effected by the high rates of HIV and AIDS infections. This can be explained by considering the rise of infections in women, the likelihood of women having to care for a sick family member or an orphaned child, and the fact that women are more often poor. Using indicators that examine women's access to

economic empowerment, education, leadership, and policy-making, the paper compares the nation-states in the Great Lakes region to determine what combination of social factors create and contribute to unrest and instability. Ultimately, the author argues that the dramatic growth of HIV/AIDS infections is the underlying source of threats to stability, and the status of women in the region.

Brown-John, Lloyd

Canada's National Parks Policy: From Bureaucrats To Collaborative Management

Canada's 41 national parks are located in all provinces and territories. Historically, national parks policy was very centerist in design. However, in the past 15 years some remarkable changes have occurred in policy design and delivery and this has especially affected new national parks established in the three northern territories. Parks Canada Agency (PCA) has moved very rapidly from its first experience in collaborative management for Gwaii Hanas National Park (Queen Charlotte Islands) to full-fledged collaborative management for the operation of all national parks in the territories. Furthermore, the model is being applied to national park management in other national parks located within the provinces. For example Torngat Mountains National Park in Labrador (Canada's newest national park) has been created with the collaborative participation of local first nations communities. Extensive resource, cultural and heritage management agreements have been signed by PCA and local first nations communities. For territorial governments the agreements usually offer modest levels of local employment ranging from park services to visitor services managed by local communities. Arguably, the PCA's approach offers distinct economic benefits to surrounding communities which benefits might not otherwise pertain. Employing network theory as a basis for understanding collaborative management, the proposed Paper will assess the dramatic differences which the PCA offers both local communities and territorial economies through national park management. The issue of economic benefits and collaborative management could become critical to the PCA's future as efforts are made to create or enlarge national parks within provincial boundaries. Opposition to the expansion of national parks within some western provinces, in particular, may be muted once the collaborative management approach to resources is operationalised.

Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel

Municipalities and the Canadian multilevel governance of housing and shelter

Housing and shelter for the poorest Canadians is currently one of the most important issues facing local governments. It was first addressed in 2001 by a tripartite multilevel agreement signed in Quebec City, which organized federal-provincial-local funding for social housing. However, this issue has not been dealt with by any Conservative or Liberal federal governments since the early 1990s, in spite of efforts by several federal, provincial and municipal officials. In May 1990, current Prime Minister Paul Martin, and Joe Fontana, both of whom at the time were prominent members of the federal liberal caucus, chaired a Liberal party task force on housing. Their report argued that "adequate shelter [was] a fundamental human right." At the time, Paul Martin M.P. and Joe Fontana M.P. were making a case against the Conservative government of Brian Mulroney. However, in the early part of his mandate as Liberal Finance Minister (1993-2002), Paul Martin abolished the national housing programs.

In Canada, people move into cities from rural areas and smaller towns, from other provinces, and from other countries. Calgary and Edmonton have been magnets for Canadians from other provinces, whereas Toronto and Vancouver have been particularly attractive to immigrants from foreign countries. Clearly, the local authorities are faced with a significant challenge in dealing with new immigrants, especially those who have little knowledge of English or French. Nonetheless, it is a different sort of migrancy -- one that has almost nothing to do with immigration from abroad -- that keeps the municipalities and other authorities into a difficult position: This is the problem of homelessness, a problem connected in some degree with migration from the rural areas of Canada, but much more obviously related to issues of unemployment and underemployment, rising housing costs, falling welfare rates, the de-institutionalization of the mentally ill, and ongoing problems of alcoholism and drug abuse. The new ethnic and cultural diversity of Canadian cities has been a source of strength in a globalizing economy, and inter-cultural tensions have been remarkably limited in scope and intensity. On the other hand, the appearance of large numbers of beggars on the streets and of visibly homeless people in parks and other public areas has shocked many Canadians into recognition that a substantial minority of the population are not faring at all well and not finding the services and facilities they need to lead better lives. Conservative estimates assert that there are about 40,000 homeless people living on the streets of Canadian cities.

Brusoe, Peter

The Paradox of Social Capital and Social Programs

Modern work schedules and society has been blamed for declining social capital in modern democracies. This paper posits, however, that there is a paradoxical relationship involved with social capital: as governments spend more money on social service programs, the amount of social capital declines.

This paper explores the provision of social services and the relative strength of social capital in five modern industrialized democracies: Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. In my analysis I use a cross section of groups of large voluntary associations. This cross-section includes community service groups, professional groups, a civil rights group, and an environmental group. I then examine the provision of social services and the amount of social capital found within these five groups from 1987-2003 to capture variation in the amount of state social spending.

Preliminary results have a strong inverse relationship between social services and political capital. This poses a tremendous problem for civil society. Presumably, governments are responsive to the needs of their citizens, but by being responsive to the needs of the citizens the nations may actually be decreasing their overall level of democracy.

Bujaczek, Tannis

Increased attention, declining impact: an examination of the Standing Committee on the Status of Women

During the 34th Parliament, in the wake of a the Montreal Massacre, and in spite of the Conservative government's increasingly hostile relationship to the women's movement, the Standing Committee on Health and Welfare, Social Affairs, Seniors and the Status of Women struck a short lasting Sub-Committee on the Status of Women. This short lived Sub-Committee produced two reports, including a controversial piece on violence against women, and provided an interesting glimpse into the potential of cross-party cooperation.

In the 38th Parliament, a Liberal minority government created the Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Thus far, it has produced four short reports, and been in large part marginalized from addressing substantive issues of importance to the government. This paper seeks to examine the current Standing Committee on the Status of Women, to understand why it was created at this time, its role and impact in the 38th Parliament, as well as in the feminist movement, and its potential to impact women's lives and the policy direction of Parliament in the future. The interplay between Opposition and government parties in a minority situation, the orientation of political parties and committee members to feminist goals, the role of women's machinery and gender analysis in government, and the issues classified as "Status of Women" will be included in the analysis.

Burlone, Nathalie

P3s and Ethics: Challenges for Policy Making

The interest of governments in public-private partnerships (P3s) has increased in the last decade. In Canada, this fervor is no exception, decision makers seeing there an ideal tool of governance, in the logic of the New Public Management. Among the problems generally associated with this form of service delivery (costs, risk sharing calculations, contracts duration, etc.), little attention has been paid to the ethical character of this policy instrument. The presentation will stress the conflicts of values at the heart of this political choice, the representation of the public interest it conveys, as well as the challenges that it involves for policy making in the long run.

Burt, Sandra and Campbell, Sharon

A Cross-Case Comparison of Environmental Tobacco Smoke Bylaws in Ten Ontario Communities

This comparative case study examines how different frames or representations of environmental tobacco smoke (ETS) issues affect policymakers' views on, and decisions about, the regulation of smoking in public places. The policy literature has shown that the way in which a problem or issue is framed is an important predictor of policy outcome. Anecdotal and experiential evidence suggests that when the ETS problem is constructed within a health frame policymakers are more likely to enact a strong ETS bylaw. Empirical evidence to support this conclusion is lacking and our research was designed to address this gap in knowledge. Ten Ontario municipalities were selectively sampled to enable comparison between those which had: 1) considered and rejected an ETS bylaw; 2) passed a relatively weak ETS bylaw; and 3) passed a relatively strong ETS bylaw. Document reviews and in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with opponents, proponents, decision-makers and administrative staff. Study findings suggest that issue framing alone did not explain policy outcomes. Although the health frame was predominant among proponents, only four municipalities adopted strong ETS bylaws, two adopted weak bylaws and four rejected bylaws. Issue framing interacted with issue initiation and with the shape of the policy network to explain bylaw outcome. We present an explanatory model of ETS bylaw development that integrates these three major factors with the sub-themes of the local political culture, access to resources, and the impact of bylaw diffusion. Illustrating with the ten municipalities. The model compares the different policy processes and choices made around bylaw adoption and strength, given the same environmental influences.

Canefe, Nergis

Old Worlds, New Worlds in the Rights Discourse: Did Religion Change IR?

This paper discusses the topic of how religion and religious identity influenced the IR discourse in terms of determining who is worthy of human rights protection and who should be subjected to rules of war such as fair trial and equal treatment, issues which have become much more flexibly defined since the Iraqi invasion of US and UK. The analysis traces these issues back to the 'identity in IR' debate and assesses whether religion spelled out in its current format simply adds to this debate or substantially changes the framework laid out by it.

Carbert, Louise

Tracking the rural deficit in women's election

Throughout Canada, far fewer women than men hold public office, from the local to national level.

While many people are aware of the overall under-representation of women in elected office, fewer recognize just how much this gender disparity is a rural phenomenon. This paper presents results from an analysis of the 2004 and 2006 national elections in terms of the population-density characteristics of all 308 electoral districts. This same rural / urban analysis is repeated for recent provincial election results at the aggregate regional level. The results of these analyses show that across Canada and across several elections, women's under-representation is consistently concentrated in rural areas. These results support the recognition of the rural deficit as a separate, independent electoral pattern that transcends regional and partisan characteristics. This rural deficit is cause for concern for two reasons. First, women's election to Canadian legislatures has stalled far below parity, and will have difficulty achieving further significant gains without substantial increases in rural districts. The second reason involves the long-term sustainability of rural Canada.

Carroll, Barabara Wake and Leone, Roberto

Decision Processes and Institutional Change: Parliamentary Reform in Canada

Two of the more interesting questions in public policy are how institutions change or can be changed, and why so often does institutional change not only fail to achieve its goal, but actually makes the problem worse. For example, reforms to improve accountability usually result in a decline of it. This paper considers six forms of decision-making processes often used in public policy making and applies them to one case of institutional reform. The working hypothesis of the paper is that institutional reform initiatives rarely consider the degree of coupling which exists between a series of related but often independent initiatives. The organisational decision-making models that will be considered include strategic planning (Anthony 1965), incrementalism (Lindblom 1959), "mixed-scanning" (Etzioni 1967), management by "groping along" (Behn 1988), "garbage can" model (Cohen, March, and Olsen 1972), and "program drift" (Carroll 1995). These are evaluated in terms of the assumptions they make, the degree of knowledge and consensus they require, the degree of coupling involved and the degree of what Bouchard and Carroll (2004) have called compression, which is a measure of the time between the decision and its impact..

Carson, Jonathan

The Need for Whistleblowing Legislation in Canada: A Critical Defence

In keeping with the conference theme of "Ethical Governance," this paper will focus on whistleblowing legislation for public servants, arguing that such legislation is both useful and necessary. Though other Anglo-American democracies have whistleblowing legislation, the issue did not become prominent in Canada until recent scandals (e.g. the sponsorship scandal, Radawanski affair, and international cases of corporate malfeasance). These events have increased public pressure on governments to act, which they have (e.g. Bill C-11, and provincially, Nova Scotian regulations).

Despite the foregoing, Canadian academic opinion has been at best lukewarm about such legislation. Those positive about the addition of whistleblowing legislation (e.g. Greene and Shugarman) see it as a minor part of "honest politics." Negative views, however, prevail; from worries that whistleblowing legislation merely provides a podium to "vile wretches" (e.g. Laframboise), to arguments that whistleblowing legislation will be both broadly ineffectual as well as upsetting to the constitutional conventions that guide the public service (e.g. Thomas' recent article).

This paper will (1) argue that whistleblowing legislation will have a positive impact on the work life of public servants; (2) that the introduction of whistleblowing legislation is unlikely to upset the conventions of the "iron triangle" that guides the public service; (3) explore existing constitutional and legislated protections for public servant whistleblowers; (4) debunk arguments that whistleblowing legislation would be utilized as a political tool and/or podium for "gadflies"; and (5) offer a critique of existing and proposed whistleblowing legislation, both within Canada and abroad.

Castorina, Emilia

Democracy vs. Capitalism. A new politics from "below" in Argentina?

By the end of 2001, the model of capitalist (financial) accumulation imposed in Argentina since the late 1970s and reinforced by the economic and institutional reforms carried out during the 1990s showed its social and political limits as the intensification of market discipline impoverished millions and caused significant social dislocations. The aim of this paper is to analyze the extent to which this crisis has put into question the overall normative and political conditions of neo-liberal capitalism in Argentina.

The first part will take issue with a deep contradiction between big capital and democracy. As the privatization of the social reproduction of capital intensifies exclusion from public goods, formal liberal democracy has increasingly lost its meaning for the vast majority of the population. The second part will attempt to explore the extent to which a new politics from "below" has emerged out of the 2001 crisis when liberal democracy (an ideology of domination) met popular democracy (an ideology of resistance and struggle). Was the slogan "Que se vayan todos" a massive repudiation of just corrupt politicians or, rather, of a particular form of articulation between a predatory form of capitalism and institutional democracy? How was this process institutionalized in continuing forms of organization organization against formal politics. In that case, would such new forms of social empowerment represent a serious threat for the mechanisms by which Argentinean capitalism can be sustained rightfully?

Chagar, Rajeni

Protection or Obstruction? Women and Precarious Work in India

The central question of this paper considers how has India's economic liberalization policy directed under the New Economic Policy (NEP) impacted the objectives of its labour policies designed to protect women in precarious work. Particular attention is paid to the negative influence the NEP has had towards women's empowerment schemes from the 1990s onwards, as a decade of reforms have left women with greater wage inequalities, questionable work participation rates, and increased poverty levels. Although India's GDP has increased exponentially from \$267US billion in 1991 to \$691US billion in 2004, (World Bank, 2004) economic growth does not lead automatically to increased gender equity as women continue to have significantly higher levels of unemployment, illiteracy, and poverty levels than men.

Are women 'protected' by the very authorities that perpetuate the powerlessness marking many women workers experiences in India? It will be suggested that women are not 'protected' by the state, but rather, create a protection for themselves by approaching the various forms of state differently, taking into account their own experience, needs, and situation. To understand the relationship women in precarious work have with the Indian state, it is necessary to understand it as a hierarchically arranged array of power relations. Thus, this paper further suggests it is not solely the NEP that has limited women's protection in the workplace, but rather, India's status as a 'soft state' continues to have a significant impact on the implementation of labour policies for women.

Changfoot, Nadine

Local Social and Cultural Citizenship: Resisting neoliberalism

This paper argues that cultural and subaltern practices at the local level embody community building and political resistance that buffer and counter the isolating and disempowering effects of neoliberalism. The neoliberal direction of cultural policy has resulted in greater corporate participation in decision making of juried exhibitions of visual art and performance art, and an increasing emphasis on commercial viability. This creates an arts and culture environment that puts pressure on practicing artists to become more commercially oriented and less independent in their creative endeavor. Individual and collective expression becomes curtailed through increasing constraints from the state, thus I argue, adding to the democratic deficit in the public sphere. At the same time, my research of artists and cultural workers in Peterborough, Ontario, a city well known for its artistic community, reveals locations of subtle subversion and politics not always visible within the landscape of the public sphere. This paper will show how artists resist the neoliberal context by forming collectives and offering their work that produce alternative creative and political spaces. These spaces provide support for social-political causes and venues for political, economic, and social critique. This is done by using existing arts organizations, a variety of small performance venues, as well as planning for new organizations for cultural production that involves rethinking economics at the local level. During my presentation, I will show examples of “subaltern” local visual and audio art created for the purpose of this resistance.

Changfoot, Nadine

Deconstructing and Resisting the Discourse of the New Creative Class: Reclaiming Creative Citizenship

Since the reception of Richard Florida’s book entitled *The Rise of the Creative Class*, municipal governments and local cultural sectors involving urban planning, community services, culture, and heritage have adopted the discourse of the creative class for purposes of economic and cultural development. This discourse obliquely rests upon a critique of Marxism with the purpose of conceptualizing creativity distinct from Marx’s thought. Florida asserts that a person owns his/her creativity and assumes control over the fruit of his/her labor. This kind of control, according to Florida enables greater autonomy for individuals. This paper argues that the concept of creativity developed and deployed by Florida invigorates a neoliberal sensibility of autonomy and a distinct vibrant economy underwritten by a creative class. In a context of recent cuts to cultural spending in an overall decreasing spending envelope, this discourse of creativity reinforces and ignores class divisions within society and the kind of non-commercial creative endeavor that occurs at the local level. Thus, references to a rising creative class creates the illusion that creative people, especially artists, are more autonomous and economically well off than their actual socioeconomic situation suggests. This paper provides an alternative and oppositional discourse of creativity to the current one significantly influenced by Florida by drawing upon Marx and Marcuse. A blend of Marx’s conception of species being and Marcuse’s new sensibility retains a strong sense of autonomy against the backdrop of current economic relations of production and possibility of social transformation.

Chapman, Debra

The Transition from Neo-Corporatism to a Modified Version of The Same: Mexico - 1982-1988.

The purpose of my paper is to compare pluralist and corporatist theories of state-society relations in Mexico from 1982 to 2005, in what some refer to as a transitional period of democratization. In particular I am interested in how organizations like the CTM and the CCE have responded to the electoral processes, the privatization of state corporations, the Zapatista uprising in 1994, neoliberal policies and the defeat of the PRI in 2000. I will argue that the relationship has progressed from one of neo-corporatism (see Schmitter and Lehmbruch) to a neoliberal state with corporatist structures. By this I mean that the neoliberal state continues to maintain corporatist relationships with the business sector and with the traditional union structures. Although these relationships have been modified with the closure of many locally owned corporations, corporatism continues to exist as a means to control political opposition. My method of inquiry is to examine the literature on the changing relationship of the state and the opposition in Mexico over the period. What makes this paper theoretically significant is the continuing salience of corporatist structures in a neoliberal environment.

Chapman, Debra

The Other Campaign

It is only in the last 30 years that Mexico’s electoral process has made room for opposition forces and it is only since the early 1990s that an attempt has been made to create an autonomous institution to monitor the electoral process. The Federal Electoral Institution (IFE) has introduced reforms in an attempt to keep clientelism at a minimum and to monitor campaign practices and spending. Why then is the EZLN calling on all left-wing forces to participate in “the other campaign”, a campaign which rejects the electoral process just months before the next presidential election? My paper examines “the other campaign” and the response to the campaign by other social actors such as NGOs, non-registered political parties, unions and civilians. My paper will argue that the other campaign is a strategy to unite the left in an attempt to modify power relations between the civil society and the state. It is an attempt to break with all corporatist relations and to construct an extra-official opposition force capable of modifying state society relations in Mexico. My method of enquiry is to examine the presentations of the organizations at the founding conference of “the other campaign” and the state’s response to the campaign. What makes this paper theoretically significant is the rejection of official party politics in what some consider a democratizing country.

Charbonneau, Bruno

Neocolonialism by Peacemaking: Liberal Governance and Western Military Intervention in Sub-Saharan Africa

Many Sub-Saharan African nations are on life support for, among other things, violence and conflict are predominant in regions like West Africa and the Great Lakes. Peace operations in these troubled regions are perilous but necessary. Securing and maintaining peace must be an African responsibility, but peace operations must also take a long-term approach and must be supported by Western states. The United States, Great Britain, and France have embarked in long-term projects to enhance African military capabilities to operate peace missions on the African continent. However, it is argued that the project cannot succeed and could in fact make matters worse. Its focus is on the formation of a military elite. The question of African capabilities per se (in terms of equipment, command, and operability) is not addressed. Therefore, and combined with Western reluctance to intervene, Western powers retain de facto control over peace operations. More importantly, when the United States, Great Britain, or France intervenes unilaterally or jointly, their objectives often lie in imposing and/or restoring political and private Western systems. Consequently, policy options are limited to either the containment of Africa or to its radical transformation into the Western image. The former sustains the status quo while the latter makes things worse because the promotion of Western systems is largely responsible for the resurgence of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. The examination of the American ACOTA, British BPST, and French RECAMP programs confirms that the promulgation of liberal principles dominates over insuring the conditions for durable peace.

Childs, Sarah

Feminizing the British Parliament

The election of 128 women MPs at the 2005 British general election was a welcome increase on the previous Parliament which had seen the first fall in a generation in the numbers of women MPs returned - from the high of 120 in 1997 to 118 in 2001. The improvements in 2005 were however, and just like in 2001 and 1997, party specific and dependent upon the use of equality guarantees: not only are women MPs disproportionately from the Labour Party, more than half of all Labour women MPs currently sitting in Parliament were selected on All Women Shortlists (AWS) in 1997 or 2005. This paper reconsiders the political recruitment of women to Westminster, focusing in particular on the success of Labour's use of AWS, and the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties' rejection of equality guarantees for the 2005 general election. It then examines the role the issue of women's representation in the Parliamentary Conservative Party played during the Conservative leadership contest (June-December 2005) and explores the possibility of the Party adopting some form of equality guarantee measures in the future. The paper draws on interview data with leading officials in the three main parties undertaken prior to the general election, discussions with the Conservative party leadership contenders' teams during and after the leadership campaign, as well as survey data from the British Representation Study 2005, party documents and media coverage.

Chung, Chien-peng (C.P.)

China and the Institutionalization of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

China's active involvement in constructing and institutionalizing the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), constituted by China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, demonstrates a desire to advance Chinese influence in shaping the rules of regional cooperation in Central Asia, and dispel concerns about its growing economic and military power.

The degree of institutionalization of a regional multilateral organization like the SCO is determined by an upward index of objectives outlined and achieved; established norms, procedures or written set of rules; presence or size of physical structures and permanent staff, number of committees created, regularity and level of meetings, and organizational longevity. As such, we are interested in finding answers to three broad questions:

I) How institutionalized has the SCO become? II) What accounts for the degree of institutionalization of the SCO in the five years since it was formed, looking at aspects of the multilateralism process already underway before its formation, shared norms and interests among its member states, and the role of China in pushing for its institutionalization? III) What are the main challenges to the institutional consolidation of the SCO?

Aside from assessing the level of institutionalization of the SCO, this paper also aims to refute the popular notion that China has a certain preference for institutionalizing economic, but not security, multilateral forums. This is clearly not the case with the SCO, whose priority has been to jointly confront security threats and transnational crime faced by its member states.

Chung, Chien-peng (C.P.)

All Quiet on the Western Front? Ethnic minority policies, concerns and rights in present-day China

Issues pertaining to non-Han Chinese ethnic minorities in present-day People's Republic of China (PRC) involve interplay of the Chinese government's minority policies, foreign concerns, and minorities' grievances and perception of their own lack of rights. For this paper, I will examine the PRC government's policy of handling ethnic minority issues - particularly but not exclusively the issue of ethnic separatism - through various "carrot and stick" strategies. I will also analyze how foreign attention on China's ethnic minorities' welfare is manifested, and how the PRC government is trying to deal with this attention. Finally, I will look into ethnic minorities' grievances to see if it is really "end game" for ethnic separatism or even genuine autonomy, as some observers have claimed, and how the authorities are preparing for possible troubles.

China's ethnic-dominated western regions seems to have been relatively quiet in recent years, but this paper will argue that maintaining this calm would require the Chinese authorities to create economic opportunities for minorities, retain political control without prying too much into individuals' lives, offer inducements for foreign countries and companies to partake in a rising China and not challenge its borders, and be concerned and flexible enough to deal with minorities' grievances before they challenge the system.

This paper may have important implications for the ethical governance of ethnic minorities in the context of comparative politics in non-Western authoritarian states.

Cinq-Mars, Katherine

The Political Economy of Hydro-(In)Justice

Water scarcity is a growing problem in many parts of the world. Currently, some 20 countries are considered water scarce and another 10 to 15 are projected to acquire that status by 2025. However, not all people living in water scarce environments are similarly affected. Hydro-(in)justice refers to the social (mal)distribution of the benefits from water and the impact of water scarcity and pollution. The concept of hydro-justice is based on the idea that everybody should have an equal chance to access clean water and enjoy its services and for nobody or no group of people to be disproportionately exposed through no fault of their own to the risks posed by declining water quantity and quality. This paper looks at the political economic processes that exacerbate water scarcity and hydro-injustice, with a particular focus on Egypt and the Nile basin. While Egypt faces growing water scarcity, the government continues to pursue a highly water-intensive development and trade strategy based on land reclamation and the expansion of irrigated agriculture. Egypt's increasing withdrawals from the Nile River have important implications for Egyptians in the Nile Delta who have seen the water level and quality drop. It is also a source of great tensions between Egypt and upstream riparian countries, which are challenging the current allocation of Nile water as set by a treaty negotiated in 1959 between Egypt and Britain. I argue that unless there is a greater recognition of the political economic forces driving Egypt's agricultural policies and a shift away from emphasising technological solutions to water scarcity, the vision for a more equitable use of the Nile River will remain just that, a vision.

Clarke, Jeremy

The Canadian Charter of Rights and a Margin of Appreciation for Federalism: Lessons from Europe

By empowering judges to establish national standards, the Charter of Rights limits the capacity of provincial governments to build distinctive communities. But, Samuel LaSelle reminds us, if the Charter is to be the "nation-saving" device it purports to be, we require a theory of rights that not only acknowledges this will to live together, but recognizes our desire to live apart. Despite this imperative, scant judicial attention has been paid to developing a consistent theory of rights in a federal context. Such is not the case in the European Union, where judges have gone to great lengths to articulate a theory of the European Convention on Human Rights that is cognizant of member states' desire to maintain distinctive national communities. This "margin of appreciation" doctrine recognizes that in certain contexts, and "by reason of their direct and continuous contact with the vital forces of their countries," state authorities may be better situated than the international judge to determine the content of, and need for limitations on rights.

This paper asks if the margin of appreciation offers Canadian jurists guidance in reconciling the Charter with federalism. Through a comparative analysis of recent Canadian and European constitutional law, it argues that, given important similarities between Confederation and the EU, and between the Canadian and European Charters, this "margin" is at least a useful starting point for a Canadian jurisprudential theory of rights and federalism. In so doing, the paper makes an important contribution to a critical, but under-studied side of Canadian constitutionalism.

Clarkson, Stephen Gibson, Rachel

Contesting Explanations for Liberal Hegemony in Federal Politics

Apart from voting analysis explanations of the Liberal's electoral success, various historical explanations have been put forth. This paper will assess the explanatory power of the "Laurier formula" compared to the "winning party syndrome" to analyze the prospects for continuing Liberal dominance. We will trace these approaches over the three party systems.

The Laurier formula :

- ideology: appeal with a national vision and social reform
- political base: secure support in Québec
- government policy: accommodate the business community

The formula hypothesis appears suspect because:

1. It is uncertain whether the "formula" is cause or consequence of the LPC's success.
2. It focuses somewhat selectively on policy, Québec, and business.
3. It does not address the counterfactual possibility that, had the Conservatives held onto power, they would have followed the same prescription.

Winning party syndrome

More analytically powerful, we believe, is the obverse of George Perlin's "minority party syndrome" – a self-reinforcing virtuous circle of factors which a winning party's hold on power engenders : experienced leadership, better candidates, openness to policy intellectuals, active rank-and-file, powerful backroom elite, and, most important, an institutional discipline expressed as loyalty to the leader.

The two explanations' utility will be evaluated in terms of their capacity (1) to analyze the Martin team's loss of the LPC's majority position and (2) to speculate about the LPC's prospects for continued dominance in Canadian politics.

Clinton, Joshua and Owen, Andrew

How Viewer Characteristics Moderate the Effectiveness of Political Advertising: Results from a Large-N Experiment

Existing efforts to assess the effect of political advertising on citizens' vote choices have been hampered by the trade-off between accurate measures of exposure to political ads and large representative population samples. We resolve this dilemma by analyzing data

gathered during an experiment with over 10,200 eligible voters in order to evaluate the effectiveness of political ads during the 2000 American presidential campaign. We demonstrate that the impact of political ads depends importantly on politically-relevant viewer characteristics such as partisanship and political engagement. The empirical results drawn from our unique research design raise serious questions for the bulk of the existing literature on political ads which has failed to pay careful attention to viewer attributes.

Cohn, Daniel

British Columbia's Capital Assets Framework: Guidelines or a Public-Private Partnerships Railroad Job?

The Liberal Party government of British Columbia has had more success in terms of the number of public-private partnerships they have managed to initiate than any other provincial government in Canada. Observers (whether they believe that this outcome is positive or negative) agree that part of this success is attributable to "The Capital Assets Framework." Introduced in the spring of 2002, this is a province-wide set of guidelines that all ministries, agencies and other public organizations seeking a provincial capital contribution must follow. Adherents of the New Public Management (such as the Liberal Party government) frequently state that public managers ought to be empowered to produce results, and judged by these results, not tied to rigid procedures. With this in mind, the paper examines the Capital Assets Framework guidelines, assessing whether it is more appropriate to see them as tools that have freed the creativity of public sector managers, or as a public-private partnerships railroad job. Evidence for this analysis is derived from documents, news reports and interviews that the author conducted with public and private sector executives in the summer and fall of 2005.

Coleman, Mathew

Law and (Sovereign) Order in US Geopolitics

As a result of critical geopolitics research, geographers came to consider the spatiality of state power – how the state exercises power territorially – beyond the narrow case of sovereign-juridical power. The upshot was a critical reappraisal of the entrenched claim that state power is about coercion exercised monopolistically and coherently by practitioners of statecraft over undifferentiated blocks of subjects fixed in absolute spaces called states. What was offered instead was an entangled multiplicity of subjectivity-constituting arts of government, above and below the sanctioned reach of the sovereign.

Although much needed, this intervention has frequently lead geographers to claim that sovereign power has been replaced by an indeterminate landscape of power. The problematic assumption here is that sovereign power belongs to an outmoded topology of centered power relations, which have been superseded by a decentered geography of networks. I will argue that geographers need to reconsider the ongoing relevance of sovereign power which, using the scholarship of Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben, I will discuss as the ability to act violently on bodies by holding the law at bay. But at the same time I will argue that this cannot in any way be reduced to the problem of sovereign state territoriality. Via a discussion of the policing of crime and sexuality after 9/11, I will show how contemporary US geopolitical practice is about bringing the sovereign's extra-legal powers of violence to bear on exceptional bodies in exceptional spaces, which together constitute an uneven geography of urban geopolitics below the state.

Collier, Cheryl

Above Retrenchment? Anti-Violence Policy in Ontario and British Columbia in Neo-Liberal Times.

Canadian feminist political scientists have argued that neo-liberal welfare state retrenchment has had a disproportionately detrimental impact on Canadian women, particularly since the mid-1980s (Brodie 1996; Bashevkin 1998). More recent research by Sylvia Bashevkin (2002) suggests that retrenchment not only continued but grew worse under supposedly more centrist regimes in Canada, the US and the UK. One important area of women's public policy, often not included in retrenchment studies, is violence against women. Drawing in part on my larger dissertation research, this paper will ask the question of how women's anti-violence policy has fared during these volatile years. Most anti-violence policy is relatively inexpensive in comparison to other welfare state policies, but does this mean that it has escaped government cuts aimed at reducing spending and balancing budgets? By measuring aggregate government anti-violence expenditures and qualitative program evaluation in Ontario and British Columbia between 1985 and 2005, the paper will argue that even though aggregate spending levels remained relatively unchanged over time, program cuts were still evident and governments were not very responsive to anti-violence movements during these years. I chose to focus on the provincial level because the majority of anti-violence service delivery and government programs related to this delivery occur at this level. However, there are not many Canadian provincial-level anti-violence studies and this is one area where this paper can offer an important contribution to the field. The paper will also help to more fully understand the impact of welfare state retrenchment on women's public policy in Canada.

Conteh, Charles

Reconciling Public Sector Efficiency with Equitable Governance: The Case of Botswana at the Crossroads

The central concern of the paper is to analyze the implications for socioeconomic equity and human development that surround the recent quest for public sector reform through privatization in Botswana, a widely-celebrated successful state-led middle-income African country. With the prevalent global discourse of 'best-practice' and minimalist public sector institutions serving as background context, this paper argues that Botswana's attempt at privatization has stalled since its inception mainly because there has been no comprehensive policy and institutional framework to balance the imperatives of socioeconomic equity against the demands for public sector efficiency. The paper will seek to depart from the tendency towards universalist remedies (panacea) for public sector reforms in the new public management (NPM) "paradigm" by evaluating the meaning and implications of public sector reforms within the unique case of Botswana's democratic, multiethnic and highly unequal society.

The analysis will consist of qualitative evidence that examines through in-depth case study the changing nature of the state's activities in facilitating economic growth and human development in Botswana over the past two decades. Research data collection involves face-to-face interviewing of public officials as well as qualitative content analysis of relevant policy documents.

The ultimate aim of the paper will be to promote a deeper understanding of the policy and institutional constraints surrounding Botswana's illusive quest for public sector reform through privatization, and to suggest some context-relevant prerequisites and alternatives to pursuing public sector efficiency without compromising the welfare of the country's vulnerable lower-income and rural residents- the majority of its citizens.

Cooke, Murray

The NDP: From Mass Party to Electoral-Professional Party

In studying the impasse of social democratic politics, an emphasis on economic or structural changes runs the risk of placing too much stress on objective conditions and overlooking the weaknesses of social democratic agency. It becomes necessary to investigate social democratic political institutions and the extent to which the shape of these organizations have hindered the party's ability to respond to challenging structural conditions.

This paper will examine the internal organization of the New Democratic Party in light of the general debates about the decline of political parties and the transformation of social democratic parties. The NDP, like the CCF before it, was an attempt to build what Duverger termed a 'mass party.' In the 1960s, Kirchheimer argued that social democratic working-class parties were becoming 'catch-all-parties' that increasingly reached beyond their working-class base to a wider electoral constituency to advance their immediate electoral goals. Kirchheimer stressed that the process of becoming a catch-all party was not simply an ideological transformation; it also had a fundamental organizational component. This organizational transformation is perhaps better captured by Panebianco's notion of the 'electoral-professional party.'

Issues to be examined include the nature of party leadership and democracy, the capacity for membership education and mobilization, the party's federal structure, the role of party finance regulations and the implications of changes in the nature of electoral campaigning and communication.

Cooper, Andrew

The "Bonoization" of Diplomacy

The Bono phenomenon needs to be taken seriously by students of International Relations generally, and diplomacy more specifically. Much of his profile on the global stage is based on a sense of novelty, a break with established patterns of doing things. An intense normative component is presented by way of contrast to the familiar and limited practices of leaders and state-officials. Yet, in many ways, Bono has turned the conventional repertoire of diplomacy to his advantage. This hybrid style is captured not only in his earlier association with the Jubilee coalition campaign but in his high-profile connection with Gleneagles G8 summit.

This paper tries to situate Bono as an individual change agent in the wider context of challenges and adaptation in contemporary diplomacy. On the one hand, it locates him as part of a wider trend towards complex multilateralism. On the other hand, it teases out the source of exceptionalism in Bono's brand of activism through a focus on his ability to straddle the line between being an outsider and insider.

Cooper, Ian

The Subsidiarity Effect: The Decline in European Union Legislation After Maastricht

After the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty (1992), there was a little-noticed but nonetheless dramatic change in the governance of the European Union (EU). This paper demonstrates empirically that, since Maastricht, the overall annual legislative output of the EU has decreased significantly. Furthermore, over the same period there has been an equally marked rise in the EU's employment of less intrusive legislative instruments, such as the use of directives instead of regulations. What caused these changes? On the face of it, it appears that the legislative institutions of the EU altered their conduct to comply with the requirements of two key principles codified in the Maastricht Treaty, which require the EU to legislate less often (the principle of subsidiarity) and in a less intrusive manner (the principle of proportionality). Thus the simplest explanation for this change in EU governance comes from constructivist theory: taken together, subsidiarity and proportionality comprise a norm of self-limiting governance that has been internalized into the EU's legislative culture, causing a change in its governance. This finding refutes the commonly held view that subsidiarity is ineffective and that the legislative activity of the EU is ever-expanding. Other theories of EU governance that are more rationalist in orientation – such as liberal intergovernmentalism, historical institutionalism, or rational-choice institutionalism – cannot adequately explain this change.

Cornish, Paul

Ethical Governance in the Light of Agamben's HOMO SACER

Giorgio Agamben's geneology of the concept of sovereign power in his work HOMO SACER raises doubts about whether there can be ethical governance in a nation-state. In this presentation I will challenge Agamben's geneological approach by suggesting that there are strands of political theory in the Western tradition that may provide the basis for a process of governance that respects the individual liberty of the members of a political community and does not require a "ban". The argument will make use of Michael Oakeshott's treatment of the "rule of law" and recent works on the concept of liberty to reveal the incomplete nature of Agamben's critique.

Corriveau, Louis

Le jeu du pouvoir et l'analyse des rapports de la loi et de la morale

Le jeu du pouvoir répété indéfiniment est un modèle des rapports entre gouvernants et gouvernés dont l'un des équilibres est un contrat de gouvernement par lequel se réalise l'échange de la protection de l'État contre la soumission du citoyen. Appliqué au pouvoir législatif, il fournit un modèle de la constitution de la norme fondamentale au sens de Kelsen. Alors que, selon Kelsen, la validité du droit positif ne dépend pas de son rapport avec la morale, son analyse implique cependant que la loi et la morale sont des éléments interdépendants de l'ordre social.

Mots clefs : théorie des jeux (non - coopératifs), pouvoir, gouvernement, contrat, norme fondamentale, loi, justice, morale.

Cosentino, Gina

The Political Spaces of Constitutional Reform and the Participation of Indigenous Women in Aotearoa/New Zealand and at the UN Level

Drawing from Dobrowolsky's (2000) work on feminist constitutional organizing in English-Canada as well as Krosenbrink-Gelissen's (1991) study on Indigenous women's constitutional organizing in Canada, this paper evaluates the interventions of Maori women's organizations in constitutional politics in New Zealand from 1982-2004. This paper is part of my PhD dissertation which is a comparative study of Indigenous women's organizing in Canada and New Zealand during moments of constitutional reform. A comparative study which focuses on constitutional politics and the involvement and efficacy of Indigenous women's organizations fills a gap in the literatures on representation and participation as well as constitutional and Indigenous politics literatures. Questions related to ethical governance vis-à-vis Indigenous people is at the core of this paper.

While this paper will focus primarily on the New Zealand case, it also refers to the Canadian case. The Māori Women Welfare League (MWWL) in New Zealand will be the focus of the empirical case study; however, assessing the various routes to representation that Maori women pursue is also important to understand the political participation of Indigenous women during times of constitutional reform. Using three indicators of organizational effectiveness, this paper evaluates and draws conclusions about the efficacy and success of the MWWL in participating in constitutional affairs. It also assesses theoretical, practical and policy implications for the participation and representation of Indigenous women in Canada and New Zealand. Semi-structure interview and other primary data collected from field-work in New Zealand in 2003 (with follow up phone interviews in 2005), along with secondary literature analysis will shape this inquiry.

Côté, Guy-Serge

La coopération environnementale internationale: les conditions gagnantes

Dans la préface de la nouvelle édition de son livre *After Hegemony. Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (1984, 2005), Robert Keohane réitère son optimisme quant l'existence de la coopération entre les États après la disparition de l'hégémonie américaine. Même s'il avoue que le contexte international n'a pas encore permis de vérifier sa théorie, il affirme que son argumentation et ses prémices de base sont toujours valides.

L'objectif de cette présentation s'appuie essentiellement sur la vision Keohane concernant la coopération entre États ainsi que sur sa conceptualisation du régime international, définit comme la solution mise en place par les États afin de coopérer tout en poursuivant leurs intérêts nationaux.

La problématique examinée par cette présentation est la suivante : Les conclusions de Keohane sur la coopération internationale et les régimes internationaux nous permettent-elles d'expliquer certains échecs et succès de la coopération environnementale internationale? L'hypothèse que tentera de vérifier cette présentation est que la coopération environnementale internationale connaît certains ratés parce que la protection environnementale n'est pas reconnue par tous les États comme étant une composante de l'intérêt national. Afin de démontrer cette hypothèse, la présentation examinera trois exemples : l'absence d'organisation environnementale internationale, le protocole de Kyoto, et le protocole de Montréal sur la couche d'ozone.

Cette présentation, en plus de poursuivre la réflexion sur les régimes internationaux, tentera d'approfondir certaines pistes de réflexion quant à l'avenir de la coopération environnementale internationale.

Coulthard, Glen

Recognition or Assimilation in the Struggle of Indigenous Peoples for Self Determination

Over the last thirty years the self-determination efforts of Indigenous peoples in Canada have increasingly been cast in the language of "recognition" – recognition of cultural distinctiveness, of rights to self-government, of state treaty obligations, and so on. In addition, the last fifteen years has witnessed a proliferation of theoretical work aimed at fleshing out the underlying logic and political significance of these identity-related struggles. As a result, "recognition" has come to occupy a central place in our efforts to comprehend the nature of contestations over identity and difference in colonial contexts more generally. My proposed paper will employ Frantz Fanon's incisive critique of Hegel's master-slave dialectic to challenge the now hegemonic assumption that the structure of domination that now frames Indigenous-state relations can be undermined via a liberal politics of recognition. Instead I will argue that, far from ushering in an era of peaceful coexistence grounded on the ideal of mutuality, the contemporary politics of recognition has served to further assimilate Indigenous peoples into the colonial state structure that their initial demands for recognition rendered unjust and illegitimate.

Crête, Jean and Pelletier, Réjean

Political Trust in Canada :What Matters: Politics or Economics?

Political trust toward public institution has declined in Canada (Nevitte, 2002; 1996) as in many other countries (Norris, 1999; Pharr et Putnam, 2000; Hibbing et Theiss-Morse, 2001; Dalton, 2004). Building on these findings, this paper reassesses two categories of variables associated with this decline: the economic and the political factors. The first category includes the sociotropic retrospective and prospective evaluation of the economy as well as the evaluation of the financial well-being of one's own household. The second category of variables includes an index of political cynicism as well as the information about the fact that the citizen has «won or lost» the previous federal election. It is first expected that the level of trust will vary with the object (government, Parliament, etc.) toward which it is directed. Then, it is argued that the political factors should weigh more heavily than the economic factors on trust toward institutions. Using statistical tools (regression analysis), the hypotheses are tested on a data set (n= 2 000) extracted from a new survey (2005) of political attitudes of Canadian adults.

Croci, Osvaldo

Taking the Field: The EC and Sport Governance

This paper looks at the process of creating a Common Foreign and Security Policy in the European Union. It examines the specific mode of governance in this area of policy-making. This paper is part of a larger project run by Ingeborg Toemmel and Amy Verdun who are analyzing policy-making in the European Union across all major policy fields. This paper seeks to spell out the idiosyncrasies as well as similarities of CFSP compared to other areas of EU policy-making.

Curic, Ana

Camaraderie in the Ontario Legislature

It is widely believed in the Ontario legislature that there has been a decline in the level of camaraderie among Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs) and several MPPs and officers of the legislature lament this decline. In the past, it is claimed, MPPs from different political parties would debate in the House, but would often be seen outside of the legislature having dinner, or even visiting each other at personal residences with family. However, more recently, MPPs from different political parties are less likely to maintain collegial relationships. Even those MPPs that do have a good relationship inside the legislature tend not to extend this friendship outside of the Ontario legislature. This paper will determine whether there has been a decline in the level of camaraderie amongst MPPs in the Ontario legislature. Furthermore, this paper will seek to discover the reason(s) for this decline in camaraderie. In order to discover whether there has been a decline in the level of camaraderie amongst MPPs from different political parties, several interviews will be conducted with MPPs and officers of the legislature (including those currently, as well as those who were previously, in the Ontario legislature). The participants will be asked their opinion of the level of camaraderie in the legislature and whether they think it has declined in recent years. They will also be questioned on possible reasons for the decline of camaraderie if it is their opinion that the decline has occurred. While it would be ideal in this longitudinal study to be able to interview members of the legislature from several years past, this is not possible. A time frame is necessary in order to be able to compare camaraderie "before" and "after" a certain time period.

Dalton, Jennifer

Aboriginal Self-Determination in Canada: Protections Afforded by the Judiciary and Government

While subsection 35(1) of the Constitution Act, 1982 states that existing Aboriginal and treaty rights are protected in Canada, it defines neither what these rights include nor the boundaries of these rights. The Supreme Court of Canada has ruled on several judicial cases concerning the scope of s. 35(1). While much political science and legal scholarship asserts that this has allowed the Supreme Court to give definition and meaning to Aboriginal and treaty rights, this article will contend that Supreme Court rulings have ultimately served to restrict the rights of Aboriginal peoples. It will be argued that the objective of expansive rights embodied in s. 35(1) has progressed slowly during the past two decades. Due to Supreme Court interpretations, the Aboriginal objective of self-determination has not yet been recognised or protected adequately in Canadian constitutional law. Conversely, the Canadian government has progressed further in its recognition of expansive Aboriginal rights, including the right of self-determination, through governmental adherence to international legal mechanisms, negotiation of contemporary land claims agreements and self-government negotiations, as well as verbal and written statements in support of expanded Aboriginal rights.

The article will undertake legal analyses of the ways in which the Supreme Court has defined Aboriginal rights under s. 35(1), specifically with an eye to Aboriginal self-determination. The ramifications of these judicial analyses will be contrasted with recent and current Canadian government attempts at reconciliation with Aboriginal peoples, in as much as these reflect an awareness and acceptance of a right of self-determination.

Dartnell, Michael

Representations, Images and the Global Landscape: Locating Culture in International Security

In a performance entitled "My New York" (2002), Chinese artist Zhang Huan parades before a crowd at the Whitney Museum in a suit made of beef. The performance highlights the double marginality of Chinese artists in the art world: they are marginal in their own country and marginalized by international art standards set in wealthy countries. My paper argues that the excess, shock and marginality in this performance embody the paradoxical aesthetics of international relations theory. Beauty, horror, and excess are undoubtedly fundamental frames for understandings a contemporary world in which global inequalities, pandemics such as AIDS, and environmental threats generally are urgent issues. In the event, the information that publics and decision makers receive about such issues is mediated through conventions of representation that are set in wealthy nations. Our resulting awareness of "real" world

problems of the world is fundamentally representational in character, and aestheticized by participation in structured conventions of communications. The many photographs that appear on the Web, for example, are part of a contested terrain of representation in which distinctions between real events and rituals of intercultural exchange diminish as various global regions engage in increasingly regular contact. As such, aesthetics is a key analytic category in international relations theory, but grotesque in its separation from fulfillment of needs, resolution of conflict, or addressing the tragedies of our time.

Dashwood, Hevina

Corporate Social Responsibility: The Emergence of Global Norms and their Impact on Canadian Mining Companies

This paper traces the emergence of global norms of acceptable corporate behaviour, and evaluates their impact on the policies of two Canadian mining companies: Placer Dome and Noranda. Canadian mining multinationals are major players in the global mining and metals industry, and recent mergers (or proposed mergers) affecting Noranda and Placer Dome reinforces their importance.

A case study analysis of Placer Dome and Noranda reveals that global norms of corporate social responsibility have shaped the internal dialogues and learning processes within both companies. At the same time, however, both Placer and Noranda have themselves sought to shape the global debates on corporate responsibility, as evidenced by their roles in the Global Mining Initiative (GMI) and the Mining Association of Canada (MAC). As such, the relationship between these companies and the evolution of global norms has been a dynamic one.

In order to analyze the impact of global norms, a typology of norms, based on their nature and who adheres to them, will be employed in order to evaluate the extent of their impact. The impact of global norms can then be compared to other influences acting on the companies, such as political and economic risks specific to the mining sector, government regulation or incentives and lessons learned specific to each mining company. This research is informed by the theoretical insights of constructivism, and the literature on private authority.

de Clercy, Cristine

Female Legislative Leadership and the CCF-NDP in Saskatchewan

This paper focuses on Saskatchewan to study the effects of different parties on feminist political goals. Many analysts celebrate this province as a leader in facilitating feminist goals. Because several studies link the interests of feminists with social democrats, it is often assumed that Saskatchewan's support of feminist goals coincides with its social democratic government. But there has been little empirical study of this relationship.

This study examines the pattern of women's formal political participation over the last 100 years to address three questions. The central question asks: is there clear, empirical evidence that the presence of the CCF-NDP has helped women to win public office? A second question asks whether feminists' policy goals clearly been served by the presence of the CCF-NDP in government? The final question asks, based on past practice, will Saskatchewan women overcome remaining equality barriers more quickly than their counterparts in provinces without social democratic governments?

Answers to these questions are secured using both quantitative and qualitative data. A new data set suggests that the numerical representation of women in the Saskatchewan legislature is not correlated with the type of party in power. Also, a survey of some key policy areas suggests that feminist goals clearly have been served by the presence of a social democratic government. Finally, both quantitative and qualitative data suggest that Saskatchewan women currently are not much better off than their counterparts, and that they cannot expect much future reduction in barriers to equality, *ceteris paribus*.

The findings clarify the specific relationship between Saskatchewan women and the CCF-NDP, and more broadly, suggest that North American-style social democracy is quite different than European-style social democracy (at least as concerns the feminist movement).

de Costa, Ravi

State identity and aboriginal title

The paper is an inquiry into the phenomenon of state identity. It describes two instances where jurisprudence forced governments to make policy choices that had significant implications for the identity of the state. The two judgements – Calder and Mabo – concern the common law title of indigenous peoples in, respectively, Canada and Australia, and were similar in at least one respect. Both found the state retained the power to unilaterally extinguish aboriginal title but must exercise that power explicitly. This put the exercise of state power in a particular context, given the wider ascendancy of aboriginal interests in both nations. The state in each case took a radically different course of action, Australia legislating a framework in which native title would be contained; Canada adopting a policy of comprehensive negotiations. The paper seeks to understand the role played by state perceptions of its own identity in this process. The paper develops an analytical narrative for each case: a review of the jurisprudence and secondary literature; a discussion of the responses of the major political actors; an assessment of the process and timing of government decision-making; and finally a critique of the policy adopted. A constructivist approach is drawn from IR and applied to the domestic policy-arena, to examine the interaction of contingent (jurisprudence) and cultural (aboriginal politicisation/multiculturalism) effects on state identity. The paper is part of a larger cluster of projects examining the residual problems of colonisation in liberal-democratic countries.

Deonandan, Kalawatie

Corruption and Development in Latin America

This paper deals with the issue of corruption in Latin America's politics and society, specifically in Nicaragua and Guatemala. As such it falls within the theme of the conference, that of Ethical Governance. The deepening of globalization in Latin America—with

its emphasis on free trade and privatization-- has also facilitated the deepening of another phenomenon in the region, that of corruption. Across the Americas, in Nicaragua, Guatemala, Mexico, Ecuador, Brazil and Mexico, leaders are either in prison, in exile, or facing some other type of charges or suspicion relating to corruption. This analysis attempts to explain the corruption endemic by linking it to the expansion of globalization and even democratization . It will argue that the nature of the region's democratization with its emphasis on competition, liberalization and privatization have set in motion processes which have given rise to mismanagement, exploitation and outright corruption by those in positions of political power. The spread of corruption not only has a deleterious impact on Latin America's economic development, but it also undermines the growth and development of civil society.

Dhamoon, Rita

Liberalism and the Politics of Racialization

This paper explores the ways in which liberal multiculturalism, specifically the theories of Will Kymlicka and Charles Taylor, address and, at the same time, obscure the politics of racialization. Broadly speaking, liberal multiculturalists employ culture as a code for speaking of ethnic groups (e.g. immigrants), historical nations (e.g. Quebec and Indigenous nationalism) and linguistic minorities (e.g. Francophones). Within this, rather than the language of racialization or race the concept of culture is employed to signify Othered groups. I explore the ways in which the disconnection between 'culture' and 'racialization' is produced in liberal multiculturalism; the ways in which this separation de-racializes politics; and the implications of this on the study of identity/difference politics. This analysis serves to both engage and disrupt liberal multicultural understandings of citizenship, nationhood, immigrants, and identity.

Di Nello, Angela

A Geographic and Temporal Study of Social Movements in Canada

Geographic information systems (GIS) is a relatively new methodology to the field of political science research. It offers a new way to analyze and visualize results by adding geographic and temporal context to research (DeLorenzo, 2001). GIS has been used at the community level by local governments and community groups (i.e. public participation GIS) in numerous applications, as well as by provincial and federal governments to study various policy issues. However, only a small portion of political scientists have used it in research, especially in the area of political behaviour. GIS could advance the ecological perspective of political behaviour that postulates political behaviour and attitudes are linked to territory, whether at the national, provincial or local level (Eagles in Everitt and O'Neill, 2002, chap. 12). Social movements provide the ideal template to develop this perspective and marry it with the use of GIS because social movements offer another understanding of political participation outside the realm of voting as well as being able to illustrate the current political mood of the time and place. The proposed paper will utilize GIS to study the geographic and temporal patterns of social movements on a provincial and national scale. Using the newspaper database Factiva, a content analysis of newspapers will assess the target (international, federal, provincial or local governments, or private sector), issue, and size (number of people) of social movements in 1975 and 2005. These dimensions will be mapped using ArcView 3.2 at the city/town level, focussing on geographic and temporal patterns on a provincial and national scale.

Dick, Caroline

Kymlicka's Cultural Theory of Group-Differentiated Rights: Ramifications for the Rights Claims of Gays and Lesbians

This paper challenges "identity-driven" theories of group rights that emphasize the relationship between culture and identity to ground differentiated rights schemes. Specifically, it discusses the work of Will Kymlicka and his efforts to extend a culturally based theory of group rights to gays and lesbians. The principal focus of this paper is Kymlicka's contention that gays and lesbians deserve differentiated rights because, as culture-bearing collectives, they provide a shared context of choice, culture and identity that help to guide the life choices of their members. By situating Kymlicka's work in the literature on legal standards of immutability and in the essentialist/constructionist debates on identity formation, the ramifications of using ethnic group analogies to ground the rights claims of gays and lesbians, as well as the choice/circumstance distinction that is central to Kymlicka's rights framework, are explored. This paper argues that Kymlicka's rights framework obscures the differences that exist among gays and lesbians, falters in its ability to address the claims of social groups that are not bound by a shared group culture and leads to depictions of gays and lesbians that are unnecessarily essentialist.

Diepeveen, Karen

Achieving Their Goals? The Role of the Standing Committee on the Status of Women within Liberal Feminism

While the debate regarding women and politics is usually divided between radical and liberal feminists, a distinction exists within the liberal feminist position. While all liberal feminists argue that women should be involved in the policy process, some argue that women must enter the political fray as representatives, and thus change politics and legislation in a way that reflects their ideology. Others state that while political representation is necessary, outside movements must remain an active part of politics to guarantee that women's interests will be heard.

The creation of the Standing Committee on the Status of Women presents an interesting addition to this debate. This new Parliamentary committee has become a place where both women MPs and movement representatives meet, and seems to have reconciled the debate within liberal feminism. The question then becomes whether the committee can achieve what representative and movement liberal feminists desire of it; that is, can the Committee both change the governing system from the inside and influence policy from the outside? An examination of the committee's members and work so far reveals that it may have difficulties in accomplishing these goals. For example, there is a danger that the Committee could be seen as the sole voice for women's interests, reducing the influence of women's movements. Further, all women's interests could continually be relegated to the Committee,

separating women's interests from policy development. As a result of these and other dangers, the Committee could have negative consequences for the liberal feminist movement as a whole.

Dimitrov, Radoslav

International Nonregimes: Collective Inaction in World Politics

What explains the absence of institutions for international cooperation in some issue areas? Today international policy regimes contribute to global and regional governance in arms control, trade, environmental management, and human rights. At the same time, there are global problems where states decide not to create arrangements for multilateral governance. For example, there are no treaties on small arms trade, tactical nuclear weapons, international tax evasion, deforestation or coral reefs management. The absence of intergovernmental policy agreements in various policy arenas is a phenomenon with considerable policy as well as theoretical implications. Yet, academic scholarship on governance largely ignores instances where states abstain from collective action. Investigating such 'negative' cases can help us evaluate theoretical propositions regarding cooperation and build more complete explanations of why some problems trigger international policy responses while others do not. The paper introduces and develops the concept of nonregimes: public policy arenas characterized by the absence of formal agreements for policy coordination. It then discusses theoretical and methodological reasons why nonregime studies are valuable, as well as challenging problems of case selection, methodology and theoretical explanations. The paper uses illustrative cases from the areas of arms control, environmental management and international political economy.

Dinsmore, Greg

Multiple Perspectives on a Shared World: Political Conflict in the Thought of Hannah Arendt

It is difficult to understate the importance of conflict to the political thought of Hannah Arendt. Her fondness for the Ancient Greek model of agonistic politics is well-known. However, the source of political conflict is not so clearly spelled out in Arendt's thought. It seems right to say, with Lisa Disch, that for Arendt, differences are 'irreducible but not incommensurable' but it is not entirely clear what that means. Difference of opinion is the result of a plurality of perspectives on a common world. However, this relationship has not been sufficiently explored by Arendt commentators. This paper will investigate the nature of political conflict in her thought by comparing it with conceptions of conflict in contemporary liberal theory (exemplified by John Rawls) on the one hand and in the realist tradition (exemplified by Carl Schmitt) on the other. It will argue that Arendt's concept of the common world allows for a more productive conception of political conflict that escapes the tension between domination and toleration that characterises the liberal and realist tradition.

Dinsmore, Greg

When Less Really is Less: The Problem with Minimalist Conceptions of Human Rights

A common response to the failure of human rights to adequately protect against genocide and ethnic cleansing is the adoption of a minimalist approach. Minimalist approaches (as advocated by thinkers such as Michael Ignatieff) start with the idea that if we can identify the most fundamental rights, the rights upon which all others depend, then we should advocate interventions only in cases where this smaller group of rights is violated on a large scale. This would be more likely to gain wide support because contributing states would then be less likely to worry that there would be increasing demands put on their militaries and potential offenders would be less likely to worry that their sovereignty will be violated on a regular basis. This paper will argue that the minimalist position is fundamentally flawed. It is an understandable, yet ultimately self-defeating move on the part of human rights advocates that shifts the battle to affirm human rights to the precise spot on which it is bound to fail. It will argue that human rights converge with emergency politics when the former are conceived according to a minimalist conception. This is because intervention is only recommended in extreme situations, when principled action is most likely to be overrun by pragmatic concerns. The result is that we affirm our most basic principles, those that are least conducive to compromise, in precisely those situations when they are most likely to be disregarded.

Dodds, Graham

Congress Contests the Presidential Pen: Legislative Resistance to the Use of Presidential Prerogative Powers for Environmental Policy.

My paper seeks to bring a broad historical perspective to bear on recent controversies about the US president's use of unilateral powers to control environmental policy. Specifically, I examine four instances throughout the political history of the United States in which Congress made concerted efforts to resist an activist president's use of unilateral powers to advance the cause of environmental protection: Grover Cleveland's struggles with Congress in 1897 over his actions under the 1873 Timber Culture Act to create national forest reserves, Theodore Roosevelt's dramatic 1907 conflict with the US Senate over his use of executive orders to reserve forest lands in the West, Jimmy Carter's use of proclamations in 1978 to circumvent a recalcitrant Congress and turn 55 million acres of public land in Alaska into 15 national monuments, and Bill Clinton's use of unilateral directives in 1996 to create national monuments and to further other environmental causes.

In each of these instances, the president sought to use controversial unilateral powers to advance environmental policies and Congress strongly resisted. These four cases thus offer an excellent test of the interbranch struggle over environmental policy and the overall constitutional balance of power, as they range across a hundred years and contain a significant amount of variability in terms of political context and institutional development.

This paper should be of interest to scholars of the American Presidency, Congress, interbranch relations, environmental policy, American political development, and American politics generally.

Dostie-Goulet, Eugénie

Is Same-Sex Marriage still an Issue?

This research is primarily interested in issue effect on vote choice. Same-sex marriage is used as a key element for the 2004 Canadian Election and for the upcoming 2006 Canadian Election. For 2004, we address three empirical questions: how many voted differently because of this issue? What has been the impact of this issue on parties? What is the importance of this issue relative to other issues? Multinomial analyses allow us to conclude that even if same-sex marriage has influenced vote choice, the result of the election would have been unchanged without this issue. For the upcoming 2006 Canadian election, this research considers whether same-sex marriage is still an electoral issue two years after having being legalized in Canada. Did the legalization have an impact on public opinion about same-sex marriage and on vote choice? In order to demonstrate the effect of same-sex marriage on Canadian vote choice, we use the Canadian electoral study data for 2004 and 2006.

Drache, Daniel

Asymmetrical Benefits of a Decade of North American Integration

North American governance is a play in search of an author. Despite its much-hyped trade-growth figures, NAFTA's economic effects in Canada have been modest at best, somewhat negative at worst and, in Mexico, largely negative.

While the continent has experienced some negative integration through constraints imposed on the peripheral governments' regulatory capacities, there has been no positive integration of the type demonstrated in the European Union. There has been little deepening or broadening in the three bilateral relationships.

More significantly, the three countries maintain considerable diversity in their foreign and social policy models as well as in their publics' values -- a diversity reinforced by the continental hegemon's anti-terrorism obsession which has reconstituted its northern and southern borders not just in security terms but psychically.

Drake, Anna

Dissent in Deliberative Democracy: Addressing the Challenge for Public Reason

Important work has been done in deliberative democratic theory to address charges that deliberative democracy is under-inclusive. One critique that is only recently gaining attention is the problem dissent poses for the legitimacy of a conception of deliberative democracy that falsely assumes all people with legitimate concerns will have an effective voice within the deliberative process. The emerging response to this problem is that deliberative theorists ought to treat political protest as a form of deliberation. The incorporation of dissent into deliberative democratic literature is an important move, and one that poses a challenge to public reason. Public reason is of fundamental importance to deliberative democracy because it is this exchange of public reasons that allows us to evaluate the legitimacy of deliberative claims. My aim in this paper is to develop a standard of reasonableness that we can use to evaluate the legitimacy of a deliberative approach to dissent. This standard must differ from the one we typically apply to deliberations in order to avoid co-opting dissenters (which would bring us back to the original problem of deliberative democracy's failure to account for dissent). As I develop a dissent-oriented standard of reasonableness I will show how and why it must differ from the deliberative standard of reasonableness, but maintain that both fall within the same, overarching, conception of public reason. It is important to set out these different standards of reasonableness before we can go on to answer other pressing questions this intersection of dissent and deliberation raises.

Dudas, Adriana

L'intégration de la Roumanie dans l'Union européenne. Les représentations citoyennes

Dans l'actualité internationale, le débat entourant la constitution de l'Union européenne devient prioritaire dans un moment où la viabilité du projet est remise en question. Deux perspectives nous semblent majeures. Premièrement, comment perçoivent les pays de l'Union le processus de constitution de celle-ci? Deuxièmement, comment se représentent les pays européens non-intégrés leur intégration dans l'Europe?

Notre intérêt porte sur la deuxième perspective de débat. Nous essayerons de déceler les aspects majeurs que les citoyens de la Roumanie (candidate à l'intégration) se représentent en rapport avec l'intégration de leur pays. Malgré la politique d'ouverture que l'UE affiche face à l'élargissement, une méfiance à l'égard de l'intégration s'installe parmi les Roumains.

La question centrale de notre recherche se concentre sur le pourquoi de cette méfiance que nous expliquerons à travers les représentations des individus face au sujet. Selon nous, trois sont les éléments qui expliquent cette méfiance. Les informations concernant le processus d'intégration ne sont pas suffisamment expliquées dans les médias. De plus, vu l'instabilité politique, les Roumains accordent très peu de crédibilité à la classe politique actuelle. Finalement, les expériences d'autres pays inquiètent les Roumains concernant un possible baisse économique en Roumanie après l'intégration.

L'étude combinera plusieurs types d'analyse afin de répondre à la problématique de recherche. Premièrement, l'analyse des enquêtes réalisées les dernières années en Roumanie nous permettra d'avoir une vue d'ensemble sur les perceptions des Roumains face à l'intégration. Deuxièmement, l'analyse des entrevues sur la réception de la caricature politique en Roumanie approfondira notre analyse sur le sujet.

Dufour, Frederick-Guillaume

Social Property Relations and the Social and Geopolitical Dynamics of Nationalism

This paper will bring together two interrelated debates: the debate on the modernity of nationalism and the debate on the social origins of modern territoriality. I will argue that "bringing nationalism back in" the analysis of social property relations can offer important

insights to both debates. I will review attempts by the historical materialist tradition to theorize nationalism and the concept of “nation” and stress two weaknesses of this literature: the recourse to structuralist and sometime functionalist explanatory strategies at the epistemological level, and the lack of a systematic explanatory strategy of the relations between social and global dimensions of nationalism during the modern era. In a second section, I will present the critique offered by the theory of social property relations of the historical materialist orthodoxy. Then, I will move on to debates internal to the social property relations approach: Justin Rosenberg’s analysis of modern sovereignty and Benno Teschke and Hannes Lacher’s critiques of his position. Through the reconstruction of this debate, I will stress the importance of “bringing nationalism back in” the materialist understanding of social and geopolitical relations of the modern era. I will argue that the theory of social property relations provides an important ground for such a theoretical reconstruction. Such a theoretical reconstruction will contribute to our understanding of the absolutist and capitalist dynamics of modern sovereignty and will contribute to an appreciation of what should be “historical” about historical materialism.

Dufour, Pascale

The New Division of Task in the Political Representation Field : The Case of Option Citoyenne in Québec

The development of collective actors that criticised the “old partisan system” and the electoral game put into question not only the political representation system as it is in occidental democracies, but also classical political science analysis which associate one political actor to one political function (parties are playing the electoral game while social movement organisations take care of the protest side of politics). Starting from the empirical analyse of Option Citoyenne in Québec, we will see that this division of political representational task is no more accurate (first part of the paper); and that we need a re-conceptualisation of the field of political representation (second part of the paper) in order to fully understand transformations underway. Option Citoyenne is, for the moment, a political movement that wants to become a provincial political party and which main leaders are coming from social groups, especially, women’s group. The details analyses of Option Citoyenne, with interviews, direct observation of national meeting of the movement since its foundation and documentary research, will lead to the development of four axes of political representation that disconnect the place of representation from the actors playing in these places. The main objective of this proposal is to offer a systematic grid of analyse of dynamic relations that occurred in the field of political representation.

Durazo-Herrmann, Julián

Studying Subnational Politics: An Analytic Model based on the Mexican Case

In my presentation, I introduce a model for the study of subnational politics. My purpose is to better understand the actors, structural foundations and constraints subnational political systems face in the context of belonging to a broader polity. Regime change provides an ideal setting for this approach, since the uncertainty associated with it tests the relevance and the limits subnational political processes have for the actors involved.

My point of departure is the observation that in Mexico, the old hegemonic party largely retained its former power in certain subnational states, even while it was displaced at the federal level. I argue that structural features specific to each subnational state — such as historically based identities, symbols and social networks— are responsible for regional variation during regime change by shaping numerous subnational actors’ political perspectives and priorities.

I thus develop an analytical model that explains these differences by focusing directly on subnational politics and institutions while accounting for the inescapable influence of broader federal actors and processes in comparative fashion. In constructing this model, I draw extensively from the theory of federalism, regime change analysis and the study of political parties.

While my presentation concentrates in three subnational states in central Mexico (Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas) that belong to the same socio-economic region, but experienced radically different political outcomes during regime change. Nevertheless, my theoretical discussion is designed to address other federal countries undergoing some form of political change. It can thus form the analytic basis for future research.

Dutkiewicz, Piotr

What is the "Political" in the Political Economy of Russian Capitalism?

Government policy-making is often understood as transformation of competing values and interests (both collective and individual) into specific decisions and policies of public authorities. Thus politics is always partial, giving preference to some selected values and interests over others. At the moment Russia’s politics is owned by a narrow elite that represents a specific set of socio-economic and cultural values (liberalism v. patriotism) that makes deeper adjustment and restructuring of the Russian economy even more difficult and protracted than would be warranted by the institutional weakness of the Russian state.

Earles, Kimberly

The Reregulation of Swedish Family Policy: Childcare and Parental Leave in a Social Democratic Welfare Regime

In the current climate of neoliberal globalization, Sweden offers an interesting case study as it has been the model of a social democratic welfare state in the postwar era. And while neoliberalism has come to influence certain aspects of the Swedish welfare state, the area of family policy remains a haven of social democracy. While the 1990s were, for the most part, a decade marked by contraction, Sweden’s childcare system actually expanded during this time, and is now more comprehensive than ever. In addition, the parental leave system is currently the topic of much debate in Sweden after a government-appointed commission recently proposed controversial changes to the system. Due to the fact that women take the majority of parental leave in Sweden and the effects this has had on their opportunities in the labour market, there has been a proposal to extend the parental leave system and make it more individualized. I argue that the state’s involvement in family policy in Sweden is an indicator of how the Swedish welfare state is being reregulated – that the state is at the fore of the changes that are taking place and is still very much involved in its role as

regulator, decision-maker, and service provider. The case of Sweden's family policy illustrates how different countries are able to respond to the pressures of neoliberal globalization in different ways, thus disputing the argument that state has lost sovereignty and decision-making power under globalization.

Edge, Sara and McAllister, Mary-Louise

Sustaining Canadian Communities: Place, Space and Governance

Local governments in Canada are increasingly facing challenges related to environmental sustainability. Yet they are constrained from addressing these challenges by institutional boundaries, a reliance on property taxes, and growing populations placing increased pressures on resources. One spreading approach to achieving sustainability is through the concept of 'place-based governance', which engages citizens in decision-making processes that encourage a sense of place, and community development. This approach is promoted within biosphere reserves.

Biosphere reserves emerged under UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere program and were created to protect biodiversity. Much like sustainability, the mandate of these reserves has deepened and extended, evolving beyond a primary preoccupation with conservation, towards promoting sustainable communities, and enhancing research/educational capacity. The goals of achieving sustainability and maintaining biodiversity, require preservation of biophysical integrity of ecosystems, in conjunction with systems of governance that promote social equity and community development. Canada's 13 reserves face serious challenges as communities within them struggle for economic, socio-political and biophysical sustainability.

This paper considers the challenges facing municipalities in their quest for sustainability, and the opportunities presented by place-based governance and biosphere reserves, by drawing on case studies throughout Canada. This fits within our wider interests on governance processes and mechanisms for achieving sustainability.

Eisenberg, Avigail

Religious Arbitration and the Demise of Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism's shortcomings are well-illustrated by the recent dispute in Ontario over whether the state should legally recognize religious tribunals that apply Muslim-based sharia law to arbitrate civil conflicts involving family law. Advocates and opponents of religious arbitration invoked the principles and ideals of multiculturalism to advance their case. In both the Boyd report and the extensive media coverage that the debate received, the extent to which Canada should accommodate Muslim-based religious tribunals, given its commitments to both diversity and sexual equality, was the dominant theme.

Multiculturalism provided a particularly poor set of terms upon which to debate the issues at the heart of this conflict primarily because, in this case as in many others, it treated as implicit one of the central motivating features of the conflict namely that some Muslims viewed their identity as threatened. Accommodation was a means to addressing this threat. A better approach to cultural accommodation would begin by acknowledging this element and then systematically assess the identity claims of groups in order to establish whether group identity is indeed in jeopardy. While defending this alternative, this paper also examines the challenges to the public assessment of identity. The key challenge in this case, is the risk involved of heightening social conflict. This challenge is easily exaggerated and more likely to occur when the core issues related to the identity claims at stake are ignored or treated as implicitly resolved. Moreover, I argue, the risks are worth taking and outweigh the risks of not doing so.

Ejobowah, John Boye

Federal Transfer Payments: The Uneasy Case of Intergovernmental Transfers in Nigeria

In the normative fiscal federalism literature, there is a rich and nuanced treatment of intergovernmental payments. Dominant in the literature is the argument that federal transfer payments reduce inequality, enhance economic growth, and make for national unity. This paper examines these claims by doing an empirical study of intergovernmental transfers in Nigeria, a multiethnic country that is dependent on a single natural resource base. Using data from the practical case study, the paper questions the universal applicability of the normative arguments by showing that, where a country depends on a rich natural resource, federal transfers turn out to be counterproductive. Such transfers constitute a haven for rent seeking, and generate national economic decay and intense ethnoregional conflicts. Consequently the paper argues that the normative case for federal transfers is of limited value, and that such a multiethnic and single resource dependent country as Nigeria should consider alternative fiscal arrangement.

Elson, Peter

Is the Voluntary and Community Sector in the Frame? Policy Implementation Frameworks and Voluntary Sector-Government Policy Agreements

Numerous state governments have entered into policy agreements [as distinct from regulatory or legislative measures] with a collective of voluntary sector representatives. This has resulted in the signing of a Compact in the UK, the Voluntary Sector Accord in Canada, and others in Eastern Europe.

There has been particular interest in the success these bilateral voluntary sector-government policy agreements, particularly within and between Canada and the UK. To date, much of this analysis has been process oriented, profiling trends and highlighting issues of key stakeholders. This paper continues the authors' prior analysis of these policy agreements in the context of a broader Policy Implementation Framework (PIF) initially developed by Paul Sabatier and Daniel Mazmanian in the early 1980s. The application of the PIF by this author to voluntary sector-government policy agreements revealed that there are at least two variables which have not been accounted for in the existing framework. These two variables, the horizontal nature of policy implementation and its bilateral nature have implications for a number of features of the PIF. This paper examines the viability of incorporating these outstanding variables in to the existing PIF and forming a Voluntary Sector Policy Implementation Framework.

This research furthers the theoretical exploration of policy implementation models, the systematic examination of Voluntary Sector-Government policy agreements, and the initial implications of this analysis for the development of a policy education agenda.

Ercan, Fuat Tezcek, Ozlem

A Double Sided Analysis in The Knowledge Society: Classes and Elite Theories

The new geographical-temporal configuration of the social relations brought about the need for new types of knowledge and information. This necessity led to the formation of new groups organized within a cross-national network of hierarchies and relationships. The first question to be addressed concerns the inner dynamics of these groups, i.e., what features of the individuals involved in these groups supply the needs of those who require their expertise and the like. The second question concerns whether the relationship between those who require and those who supply the new types of knowledge and information is one between equals, i.e. whether every group or individual who need the expertise of these individuals can establish relationships or not.

Turkey has undergone significant changes since the 1980s. These changes, which were eventually described as structural adjustment policies or neo-liberal economic and political programmes, have resulted not only the accelerate articulation of Turkish economy and society into globalizing process of capital and labor exchange but also the formation of new groups based upon production, consumption and circulation of knowledge.

Our analysis first addressed the knowledge and information groups that played important roles in the shaping of the Second Generation Structural Reforms in Turkey. Our main problematic concerned the way knowledge and information involved in (i) the – World Bank/IMF/OECD-guided – reforms, and (ii) the reactions of the various groups in the society to the newly constituted social relations were produced. Secondly, We refer to our interviews with the members of the new group, besides those published in the newspapers and journals.

Erk, Jan

The Constitution of the European Union in Comparative Context

The European Union (EU) may be sui generis in many ways but this does not mean that we cannot benefit from a comparative look into federal unions where unity and diversity coexist. This paper examines the ratification process of the EU constitution in the context of comparative federalism. The debate here in the Netherlands – as a reflection of the prevailing European view – tends to interpret the public disillusionment with the constitution as a uniquely EU phenomenon. However, evidence from Austria, Belgium, Canada Germany, and Switzerland shows that similar debates took place during the constitutional reform processes of these federations – with different outcomes. The paper is part of an ongoing comparative research project on constitutional reform in these federations. The project aims to contrast the inherent tensions that exist between elitist intergovernmental negotiations and plebiscitarian popular referenda. More specifically, the paper explores when and under what conditions intergovernmental deals find populist support. Evidence gathered so far indicates a difference between the linguistically homogenous federations, Austria and Germany, and the heterogenous ones, Belgium, Canada and Switzerland. Findings show that language divisions play an important part in the workings of multinational federations. The paper highlights the role of language spaces as forums of democratic deliberation during constitutional debates. It is here where useful comparative lessons could be extracted to better understand and explain the constitutional issues facing the EU.

Esselment, Anna

The General Neglect of Partisanship in Studies of Federal-Provincial Relations: An Examination

The role of partisanship as a variable in explaining the conduct and outcomes of federal-provincial relations has been a curiously neglected aspect of federalism studies in Canada. With the exception of some academics in the early years of debates on federalism, scholars have tended to dismiss the importance of party organizations in favour of other explanations to account for accord or discord between the federal and provincial governments. Interestingly, a handful of political scientists are returning to the notions of partisanship to help explain the dynamics of intergovernmental relations in Canada. This is particularly the case when expected outcomes of intergovernmental interactions fail to materialize and the lenses through which federalism analysis usually occurs cannot account for the aberrations. For example, Ontario is the only province not to sign a Labour Market Development Agreement, despite the fact that this would be in the province's interest. This anomaly has tentatively been attributed to the rancorous years between the

Harris Tories and the Chrétien Liberals. The role of partisanship should be taken more seriously as a plausible explanation for this long-standing intergovernmental dispute.

This paper will explore why the dominant theoretical frameworks used to study federal-provincial interactions have failed to include partisanship as an explanatory variable worthy of consideration. This question is particularly important since, to date, there has been no systematic study of the role of partisanship that would justify its relegation to the margins of federalism scholarship.

Ethier, Diane

Why do Candidate States Unevenly Comply with EUEnlargements Conditionality ?

Neo-realist, neo-liberal and constructivist theories of international relations permit to illuminate the reasons why candidate states do all comply to some extent with EU enlargements pre-accession reforms (Borzal, 2000; Whitehead, 2001; Kubicek, 2003; Ethier, 2003). But they did not explain why this compliance varies from one candidate to another. Therefore, it remains difficult to understand why Bulgaria and Romania have complied later than other candidates to the Eastern Enlargement (EE) with pre-accession reforms, and why Croatia has succeeded in achieving reforms requested by the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP), contrary to Macedonia, Albania and other Western Balkan countries. Since EE and SAP are very centralized processes, it is impossible to answer to these questions without comparing partisan elites attitude and behavior towards EU conditionality, in all candidate countries, during the period 1998-2005. Drawing both from recent researches on Eastern and South-Eastern European party systems (De Waele, 2002, 2003; Berglund, Ekman and Aarebrot, 2003) and the neo-institutionalist theory, which has analysed the IMF conditionality success and failure (Nelson, 1990; Haggard and Kaufman, 1992; Williamson, 1994; Ethier, 1997) my paper argues that the uneven compliance with EE and SAP conditionality depends mainly on three variables : (1) the determination of all government members to adopt and to implement pre-accession reforms; (2) the capacity of governing parties to cooperate together despite their ideological dissensions, specific interests and personal rivalries; (3) the absence of a strong and well organized opposition against reforms within parliament and the civil society.

Fabian, Judit

Mulier Economicus: Gender and the WTO

This paper considers the questions to be asked in order to build a constructive dialogue concerning gender and trade at the level of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The paper is written in part in response to a comprehensive work published in 2005 by Status of Women Canada (SWC) concerning the increase of gender inputs into Canadian and international trade policy positions at the WTO. The paper is also written in the context of a growing discussion concerning the importance of understanding the gendered effects of international trade policy. While much of the existing discussion focuses upon the insufficient nature of the progress made thus far, it is important to recognize that progress has been made. For example, after the 2003 public WTO symposium on gender and trade, public and policy-level discussion of the subject increased substantially both in Canada and globally. In Canada, SWC and CIDA have advanced the importance of gender considerations in trade policy discussions domestically and at the WTO, and have a mandate from the Canadian Government to pursue the incorporation of considerations of gender in WTO discussions. Finally, Canada is at the forefront of promoting discussions of gender and trade globally. Nevertheless, the paper notes that most of this progress has been accomplished under the rubric of gender mainstreaming, and asks whether the predominance of gender mainstreaming might also mask questions or initiatives that are made necessary by the diversity of women's experience with respect to global trade. By focusing on the diversity of women, the paper problematizes dominant articulations of gender and trade and points to directions for further research.

Farney, Jim

The Personal as Moral: The Progressive Conservative Party Responds to Social Change, 1967-1989

The recent debate over same-sex marriage in Canada has raised questions about the status of social conservatism in Canada. However, social conservatism is not a recent phenomena. Because it is not a new arrival on the political scene, understanding the history of social conservatism plays an important role in understanding its current place in the coalition that makes up Canadian conservatism. As the response of Canadian conservatives to the politicized personal has been path dependent, understanding the initial conservative response to the politicization of gender, sexual orientation, and the family in the 1960s and 1970s is critical to understanding the current situation. This paper examines the initial response of Canadian conservatism, as embodied in PC party policy, to the politicization of the personal. It argues that pressure placed on a brokerage party to move to the median voter was a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the party's vague response.

An additional necessary condition, the paper argues, is ideational. Conservatives categorized issues like divorce, abortion, and gay rights as moral rather than social or political. This difference of terminology is an important one for, by defining these emergent issues as moral, it became illegitimate for conservatives to organize around them in a partisan manner. It also insured continuity in conservative ideology, which had never sought to make these sort of issues political. This paper will take the Progressive Conservative response to Trudeau's Omnibus bill and the Mulroney Government's reaction to the Morgentaler case as examples of this ideological situation.

Farrelly, Colin

Deliberative Democracy and Preimplantation Genetic Diagnosis

In *Why Deliberative Democracy?* Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson characterise deliberative democracy as a "second-order" theory. First-order theories seek to resolve moral disagreement by demonstrating that alternative theories and principles should be rejected. A second-order theory is a theory about other theories in the sense that it provides ways of dealing with the claims of

conflicting first-order theories (Gutmann and Thompson, 2004: 13). Deliberative democracy, argue Gutmann and Thompson, does not champion the priority of one particular substantive (e.g. liberty, equality, etc.) or procedural value (e.g. democracy). Rather it acknowledges a plurality of such values and searches for a reasonable balance between conflicting fundamental values.

In this paper I apply the second-order theory developed by Gutmann and Thompson to the issue of regulating the non-medical uses of pre-implantation genetic diagnosis (PGD), such as gender selection. Rather than privileging first-order theories that emphasize the priority of respecting reproductive freedom or concerns of equality, I argue that justice requires that we seek to find a reasonable balance between the conflicting values at stake in the non-medical uses of PGD. Furthermore, we should seek to do so in a way that takes seriously what Gutmann and Thompson call "provisionality". "A theory is morally provisional if its principles invite revision in response to new moral insights or empirical discoveries" (Gutmann and Thompson, 2004: 57).

Fathy El Dessouky, Naglaa

Analyse des politiques énergétiques Canadiennes à des fins de protection de l'environnement : Quels processus de formulation?

Le développement énergétique durable représente le domaine des politiques publiques le plus important à avoir surgi récemment dans l'agenda politique du Canada. L'approche des réseaux de politique publique est considérée aujourd'hui comme un courant principal au sein du domaine d'analyse des politiques. Toutefois, les préoccupations des chercheurs pour cette approche, dans le domaine des politiques énergétiques, semblent récentes, et les études réalisées sont encore trop peu nombreuses. Notre recherche, par le truchement de l'approche des réseaux, s'attarde à décrire et à expliquer le processus de la formulation des politiques en question. Notre but est de mettre en évidence les facteurs affectant le choix des instruments de ces politiques. L'étude soutient que l'approche des réseaux se distingue notamment par son potentiel à expliquer l'interrelation relative entre idées, intérêts et institutions, ce qui a son tour est susceptible de permettre une meilleure compréhension des processus de l'élaboration des politiques énergétiques et environnementales canadiennes. De plus, le fait de recourir à ce cadre d'analyse permet d'approcher autrement le sujet étudié en essayant de comprendre et d'expliquer non seulement les interactions entre les différents acteurs cibles, mais aussi le dynamisme et l'évolution de ces relations dans leur durée, comme étant des déterminants primordiaux en matière de sélection des instruments des politiques.

Fathy El Dessouky, Naglaa

Administrative Reform Policy in the United Kingdom and Egypt: A Comparative Study

Recently, comparative studies have appeared to be a useful tool for public policy analysis. Nevertheless, many challenges remain, such as the problem of determining the main units of comparison.

The goal of this research is to compare administrative reform in Egypt and the United Kingdom. By means of a thorough literature survey, we selected units of comparison which we believe to be helpful in this work: the depth of the hierarchy from which reform emanates; the main implementation strategy for reform: offensive or defensive; the operational functioning of reform; the political and strategic context of the reform; the social and institutional context; and the larger economic context.

The results confirm how profound recent administrative reform has been in Egypt, despite political, social, economic, administrative and organizational problems. In addition, the comparative study shows the importance of the British experience as a good example to be followed by the Egyptian government.

Fawole, William

The Politics of Oil, Plunder and Poverty in Nigeria

Oil has generated great national wealth for the Nigeria state. Petro-dollars assured Nigeria's global prominence as Africa's largest – and the world's eleventh largest – oil-producer. The Nigerian economy is heavily-dependent on oil exports and foreign personnel and technology for oil extraction. Oil accounts for some 80% of all government revenues. Despite its enormous oil-wealth, some 70% of the population live in poverty. Since 9/11 the United States has characterized African oil as of 'national security interest'. It is estimated that by 2015 some 25 percent of US oil will come from Africa, primarily from Nigeria and Angola, followed by Gabon, Equatorial Guinea and Congo-Brazzaville. Instead of creating national social well being, the petro-dollar windfalls have sealed Nigeria's fate as a 'conquered state', subjugated by civilian and military elites, and administered to satisfy the prebendal obsessions of its domestic conquerors, as well as the interests of the world's largest multinational oil companies including Exxon Mobil, ChevronTexaco, Shell, Elf, Agip and ConocoPhillips. Post-colonial elites, both civilian and military, have plundered the national wealth for personal aggrandizement. Corruption and impunity became hallmarks of politics and governance dominated by these elites and their trans-national oil alliances. This paper will do three interrelated things: first, it will interrogate the political economy of oil in Nigeria; second it will examine the unholy alliance between national civilian-military elites and trans-national actors in pillaging Nigeria's oil-wealth; and, third, it will examine the implications of these dynamics for social well being in Nigeria's oil-communities.

Feairs, Jon

Technology and the Legislature: The Impact of Information Technology Advancement on the Role of the MPP over the Past Decade

This paper will explore the impact that developments in information technology over the past decade have had on the role of the MPP and how they execute their duties at Queen's Park. Focusing on email/internet connectivity and the Blackberry phenomenon, this survey will ask: does technological progress in the offices of the Legislature necessarily translate into improvement of the way business is conducted in the Legislature? "Access to email and internet is an institutional standard, and the ubiquity of the Blackberry is astounding, given that it was barely on the radar two years ago. But to what degree and to what end are these implements used? Does a cluttered Inbox of hastily typed constituent complaints and an incessantly buzzing Blackberry allow a Member to perform more fully than in the days of written letters and telephone calls between offices? Or is quantity of information tantamount to quality?"

Technological advancement is often used as a meter stick to measure societal progress in Western jurisdictions. Since Queen's Park is

a body charged with enormous responsibility concerning our society, an investigation into the impact of its technological evolution on its Members is fitting. Drawing on recent cultural theories of technology, as well as interviews with long-serving Members, a notion of this impact will be constructed.

Fernando, Shanti

Ethics and Good Urban Governance in Toronto

Ethical behaviour or the lack of it in political life is not a new subject for discussion but rather a constant theme. Urban policy, however, has not always focused upon this. In Toronto there have been two recent scandals that have brought the discussion of ethics in municipal public service to the forefront. This paper examines the MFP scandal and the subsequent Bellamy inquiry and the more recent hiring and promotion scandal surrounding the licensing and standards department in order to illustrate the challenge faced by urban policy makers to create a municipal public service that is professional and accountable. This is a challenge that must be met if local councils want to increase their power and capacity to control and shape urban development and community. Local governments have increased pressure on them as service providers and policy makers because of the downloading of responsibilities from provincial governments. Many urban policy observers believe that local governments need to embrace their political role more fully in order to deal with this greater responsibility and to facilitate real forward thinking urban governance rather than mere reactive policymaking. That political role, however, comes with difficult questions about what good government and democracy are and how citizens are best served. Recent events in Toronto have brought this to the forefront and the Bellamy inquiry has highlighted the need for good urban governance in Toronto. This begins with a decision process that has not been subverted by unethical practices.

Ferry, Leonard

Taylor's Vanishing Good

Taylor's conception of the good is not easy to tease out. Indeed, I want to explore an impression I have that Taylor has still not really laid his cards on the table. What I mean by this is that, though one has a clear sense that he believes that the ideals of self-responsible freedom and reason are goods (goods that we've inherited from modern notions of disengaged reason, even if they can be better sustained by the situated selves of the civic republican tradition), I never seem to be able to pinpoint exactly what Taylor has to say about the good. The good in Taylor always seems to be vanishing. One sign of this, I allege, is the elaborate vocabulary that Taylor has adopted to talk about and around the good: strong evaluation, qualitative distinctions, horizons, moral sources, background, etc. But there are other and stronger signs as well. Take the following attempt at a definition: "In the way I want to use the term, we have a sense of good when we hold a certain way of living, or a component of a way of living – a kind of action, a mode of sensibility, a quality of feeling – as an object of strong evaluation" (1995a: 134). In what direction are the terms meant to fit together? One way of construing the good is as a rule whereby we measure such things as actions and feelings as components of a way of life. Is this what Taylor means here? Or does he mean to imply that things fit in the opposite direction – that we know that we have a good when we know the way of life in question to be an object of strong evaluation? Does that make strong evaluation deeper than good? Without clear answers to such questions it is also difficult to get straight just what Taylor means to oppose to proceduralism when he speaks favorably of a substantialist ethic.

Field, Ann-M.

Counter-Hegemonic Citizenship: LGBT Communities and the Politics of Hate Crimes in Canada

Relying on a case study in which I examine violence targeted at lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgendered (LGBT) individuals and strategies used to counter this violence, I make the argument that public policies and laws that aim to protect groups cannot guarantee access to substantive citizenship. They can, however, be used as a resource by oppressed groups to force a shift in the boundaries of the citizenship regime. Considering that violence targeting LGBT people (hate crimes, discrimination, etc.) is an indicator that LGBT people are denied access to substantive citizenship, this paper examines how the citizenship of LGBT people can be extended in ways that allow LGBT people to enjoy substantive citizenship.

Citizenship is a useful lens to assess power relations, understand situations of oppression and develop strategies to challenge this oppression. Relying on the concept of citizenship regime and informed by work on radical democracy, I introduce the Gramscian notion of hegemony. In doing so, I propose a new way of thinking about citizenship. My model, counter-hegemonic citizenship, brings us to consider citizenship as a process, rather than a status or a set of rights, and to focus on meaningful struggles that can lead to the redrawing of the boundaries of the citizenship regime for all oppressed groups.

This study inscribes itself in a body of literature concerned with struggles for equality and the role of laws and public policies for achieving this end. More specifically, this paper reports the findings of my recently defended doctoral thesis.

Figuroa, Dolores

The Quest of Gender Equality: The Participation of Miskitu Indigenous Women in Local Politics

In looking at the Nicaraguan Miskitu women's involvement in the regional election, this paper sheds lights on the barriers and challenges that currently indigenous women face in doing politics. This paper describes the process in which an ethno-political party such as YATAMA (Sons of the Mother Earth) establishes a quota of female representation in local rides as a way to press for the advancement of women's presence. However, as long as the campaign is coming to the end, it is possible to assess that this measurement is not enough to overcome traditions, costumes, and prejudices.

Flanigan, Jessica

Facing the Problems of Pluralism: A Response to Carl Schmitt

Much attention has been given to Schmitt's political theory in recent years, but many scholars have provided analyses of a "strangely apologetic character," which does not completely address Schmitt's critique of liberalism. (Wolin 1990) Many analyses have touched on the implicit critiques of liberalism within investigations of Schmitt's relationship to other theorists, (Meier, 1995; Meier 1996; McCormick 1994) to technology, (McCormick, 1997) or within larger thematic examinations of liberalism (Dysenhaus, 1997; Cristi 1998) yet few have exclusively investigated Schmitt's critique of liberalism within Schmitt's own concept of the political (Scheurman, 1995)

This analysis assesses Schmitt's critique of liberalism and pluralism within Schmitt's own political theory. The resulting investigation demonstrates that Schmitt's critique of liberalism is internally inconsistent within a comprehensive framework of individual identity. Further, the critique of liberal democracy and pluralism rests on assumptions about human nature, rationality, and truth, which prove to be idealistic. It is important to establish Schmitt's own political framework and terminology before describing Schmitt's critique of liberalism. This essay will challenge the internal consistency of Schmitt's critique as well as the plausibility of his political schema through an investigation into Schmitt's assumptions, which will then be examined within the context of the state and modern examples. This essay challenges Schmitt's assumptions about identity and truth and ultimately the critique of liberalism advanced in Schmitt's analysis.

Fortier, Isabelle

Complaining as a form of political participation? The Ombudsman and other complaining channels in Québec's government.

Citizen complaints about decisions made by public servants may be considered as a form of direct political participation. The office of ombudsman is the main institution dedicated to handle complaints impartially and make recommendations to correct administrative wrongdoings. Confronted with resources shortages, the Québec's Ombudsman has encouraged and even assisted the development of complaints' offices in many administrative department and public agencies. The advent of Internet has made it easier for solicitation and expression of satisfaction and complaint. Results may be that most complaints are directly formulated to the administrators rather than going through the ombudsman. The turn toward client-services' values in public administration have contributed to a management of satisfaction that must be considered while analysing complaints-handling processes. Therefore, if a diminution of complaints formulated to the ombudsman may be interpreted as a success, we must consider the appropriation and transformation of the process by the departments and agencies themselves. Another level of analysis must also consider the wider democratic deficit affecting institutions. Media for example have proven their capacity to draw attention and generate (re)action to problems citizen experience in their interactions with the State. How did the complaint-handling processes evolved in the Québec government. What kind of citizen involvement is implied and how are the legitimacy and the impartiality of this function preserved. This paper proposes to study Québec's different complaints-channelling processes in government. An analysis of the evolution of these processes and institutions will help understand how, why complaining can be seen as a participatory process.

Fossum, John

Europe's American Dream?

The last few years have seen deep transatlantic rifts. These rifts notwithstanding the US has exerted and continues to exert a deep attraction to Europeans - including EU scholars and practitioners. They continue to refer to the US, even to the extent that the US has figured as the most relevant model for the EU to emulate.

In order to fully understand this propensity to draw on the U.S. we need to understand the underlying normative assumptions and foundations that inform this choice. European optimists invoke the U.S. as the relevant or appropriate model or standard to assess the EU against out of deep normative convictions. European skeptics grudgingly endorse the need to keep the focus on the US not out of positive convictions but out of a nagging feeling that no other entity has been able to entrench core normative principles such as freedom, democracy and rule of law in as convincing an institutional form as has the US. Lack of credible alternatives rather than convictions thus serves as an additional motivator.

The purpose of this article is threefold. First, I seek to make the normative assumptions that underpin the U.S. as exemplar for the EU explicit. To placate the skeptics, this assessment must consider not only abstract principles but also some reference to how they are situated within American political-institutional reality. Second, I critically assess the relevance of the American case to the EU. The third and final purpose is to discuss the relevance of Canada as a possible alternative model for the EU.

Frederiksen, Erica

Healing Fractured Communities: Restorative Justice as a Strategy for Inclusion

Restorative justice has emerged as an important locus of academic and political debate over the past fifteen years, occupying a central place in discussions of crime and punishment, transitional justice, historical injustice and peacebuilding. Put forward as a more humane approach to crime than traditional retributive models of state justice, restorative justice aims to re-establish a lost equilibrium within a community affected by crime through strategies that emphasize dialogue and truth-telling over confrontation, healing over punishment. Truth commissions, sentencing circles and a variety of conferencing models have been implemented around the world, in very different political and social contexts, with these objectives in mind. Focusing on the rise of the restorative justice movement in criminology and criminal justice, this paper will consider the implications of restorative principles both for the development of appropriate responses to crime and for the pursuit of social justice more broadly conceived. The restorative approach reflects an understanding of criminal conduct as often symptomatic of deeper structures of marginalization within the political community. Tackling the problem of crime means grasping the complexity of sociological and psychological factors that lead to criminality and

developing strategies to counter these structural obstacles. Restorative justice sees the goals of participation, recognition and inclusion as central to this process. This paper will consider the viability and appropriateness of restorative justice as a strategy for addressing and combating structural inequalities within diverse liberal societies, with particular emphasis on the situation of Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

Froese, Marc

Fair Trade vs. Free Trade? Antidumping and Trade Dispute Settlement in the North American Context

National antidumping regimes and subsidy-based trade barriers remain the single largest impediment to equitable trade liberalization. This paper examines Canada's softwood lumber dispute with the United States in the context of current trade remedy law and ongoing dispute settlement action.

Two questions are of central importance to this study. First, what does the proliferation of antidumping regimes mean for Canada's regulatory model? Strong antidumping legislation and aggressive action by domestic regulators has created a new order of trade conflict at a time when intra-sectoral competition has increased the importance of state support in a number of sectors. Second, how do the ensuing complications come to bear in this dispute? Canadian softwood exports became a dumping issue with the enactment of the Byrd Amendment, which broadened the recourse to trade remedy measures by American producers. To make matters worse, antidumping actions are difficult to counter through multilateral mechanisms because these trade remedies double as industrial policy, effectively blurring the distinction between national competition strategies and non-tariff protectionism.

In many ways the Canada/US dispute is symptomatic of larger governance issues at the WTO. Second-best outcomes to long-running disputes, such as voluntary export restraints and other bilateral mechanisms for managing rather than liberalizing trade, are due in a large part to the WTO's power-blind institutional architecture. This institutional myopia is one of the main challenges to WTO legitimacy and remains under-analyzed in the current literature.

Frost, Catherine

Liberalising Nationalism: Lessons from Contemporary Ireland

The encounter between nationalism and diversity in contemporary states has, in most cases, been spread out over a long period, with many intervening forces involved, making it difficult to explore the dynamics of the relationship involved. However, there is one place where the encounter of nationalism and diversity has taken on a unique form. In Ireland we see a combination of historically low immigration with a nationalist project that has relatively recently achieved political form. In the latter half of the twentieth century Ireland has gone through a period of profound economic transformation, throwing much of its social and cultural life into flux. The so-called "Celtic Tiger" of the 1980s and 1990s not only introduced a high-tech, globally-oriented economy in Ireland; it also meant the arrival of significant numbers of immigrants, refugees, and temporary workers for the first time in the modern history of the country.

Traditionally a country of out-migration, there has been little to prepare the country for this still emerging trend and it is as yet unclear how the Irish population and government will respond to the encounter between these new forces of diversity and its existing national identity. Ireland, therefore, presents an opportunity to study the dynamics of the encounter between nationalism and national identity on the one hand, and deep diversity or difference on the other, and to illuminate how this process unfolds in terms of a liberalised nationalism.

Gaenzle, Stefan

Whither Enlargement? The European Neighbourhood Policy

In May 2004 the European Union (EU) enlarged to encompass ten new member states. At the same time, the EU acquired a new neighbourhood, notably in Eastern Europe: Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova now share a common border with the EU. Since 2002, the EU has commenced to develop the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in order to cope with the challenges resulting from this new political landscape. With the exception of Belarus and Russia, its Eastern neighbours are fervent to become EU member states in the near future. The European Union, in turn, is keen on maintaining its Eastern borders safe and secure from external risks such as illegal migration, environmental degradation and economic crisis. As a consequence the EU promotes democratic and economic reforms ('good governance') in neighbouring states. Thus ENP is a policy instrument to foster closer mutual relations below the line of EU membership. ENP is best captured as a form of EU-spurred externalisation of governance to non-members with a view of providing them with 'a stake', but ultimately 'no say' in European integration. Based on the EU governance approach, this paper will argue that ENP is likely to create an integrationist dynamic that may push Ukraine, Moldova and other countries further down the road towards EU membership.

Christina Gabriel

Securing Canada's Future: Skilled Migration, Gender and Care

This paper takes as its starting point feminist accounts of welfare state restructuring and new trends in transnational labour migration and care. The case, of nurses as skilled migrant workers, is situated against the legacy of neoliberal policy rationales of deregulation, privatization and marketization in the Canadian health sector. In the early 1990s health care restructuring, in response to cuts in Federal transfer payments and new logics of managerialism, resulted not only in job losses but changing work conditions and a loss of control by health care professionals. Not surprisingly, many Canadian nurses left the profession, others moved south of the border to take jobs in the United States. Today, the Federal Government, without acknowledging its own role, has identified a crisis of care within the health sector and promises to "build sustainable health care" and "reduce wait times". In an effort to address this crisis it has pledged to \$75 million dollars to attract skilled workers in the health professions. This paper will examine the gendered

underpinnings and implications of the International Trained Workers Initiative (ITWI) launched in April 2005. The ITWI is designed to accelerate the entry of immigrants and foreign trained Canadians. Nurses along with physicians and other health professions are targeted within the program. The initiative, as the paper will highlight, raises broader questions about the relationship between care, migration and neoliberal globalization.

Gagné, Gilbert and Morin, Jean-Frédéric

Explaining the "Lateralism Paradox" of the Investment Regime: Power, Interests, and the Two-Level Game

Most efforts to negotiate a multilateral agreement on the liberalization and protection of investment have failed despite the fact that there are more than 2,100 bilateral investment treaties in existence. We have coined this astonishing phenomenon the "lateralism paradox." Within this paper proposal, we have identified three broad theoretical frameworks that provide some explanation. First, bilateralism can be thought of as an alternative that increases the developed countries' relative power by preventing developing countries from forging coalitions, as they tend to do at the multilateral level. But this perspective fails to explain why some least developed countries are demandeurs for BITs. Second, bilateralism can be understood as a defection from the group of developing countries. Under the perspective of game theory, developing countries exploit their competition with each other to attract investments and to reach foreign markets. However, this framework does not provide us with a better explanation of why developing countries do not have a greater interest in signing a multilateral agreement after thousands of BITs have been signed. Third, bilateralism can be seen as a process better adapted for learning and ongoing adaptation. From this perspective, both developed and developing countries benefit from bilateralism as it limits political risk. Although each framework is incomplete, they can complement each other in our understanding of the "lateralism paradox."

Garon, Francis

À la recherche des citoyens "ordinaires": la participation institutionnalisée au gouvernement fédéral canadien

Une plus grande participation des groupes et des citoyens à l'élaboration des politiques est devenue, dit-on, une donnée incontournable du processus politique des démocraties occidentales. En l'absence de cette participation, le processus politique n'est plus légitime (Blondiaux et Sintomer 2002; Phillips 2002). Cette nouvelle exigence s'appliquerait de façon encore plus pressante aux citoyens « ordinaires », que l'on aurait dépossédés depuis longtemps de leur pouvoir politique. L'affirmation selon laquelle « les citoyens doivent participer aux décisions qui les concernent » est aujourd'hui largement répandue et semble même faire l'unanimité. Une fois ce postulat posé, il apparaît toutefois pertinent de se demander à quel type de décisions ces citoyens ordinaires participent-ils et par l'entremise de quel(s) processus.

Dans le cadre de cette communication, nous proposons d'apporter des éléments de réponse à deux questions : Comment se présente cette nécessité de faire participer les citoyens dans les discours politico-administratifs au gouvernement fédéral canadien? Et comment, concrètement, se traduisent ces discours dans les choix institutionnels et organisationnels qui sont faits? Une telle approche vise en outre à faire ressortir qu'il existe une grande diversité de processus et de mécanismes derrière des discours généraux sur la "participation du public". Pour explorer ces questions, nous nous pencherons plus spécifiquement sur deux secteurs, soit l'environnement et la santé, deux secteurs dans lesquels le gouvernement canadien s'engage depuis quelques années à donner davantage d'opportunités de participation aux groupes et aux citoyens.

Gatica-Arreola, Leonardo

Clientelism, Inequality and Political Competition; an Economic Theory

Contrary to some theoretical positions, the evidence shows that (1) political competition may be an incentive for the use of clientelism as a political strategy and (2) poverty and inequality are not necessarily positively related with this practice. This paper explores how public resources are allocated either as patronage or public goods as a result of political competition and proposes a formal theory which is consistent with the evidence. A spatial model is formalized to examine the determinants and mechanisms of clientelism and these theoretical inconsistencies. The model results are consistent with empirical evidence and challenge the idea of a unidirectional negative effect of wealth, government efficiency and political competitiveness over the use of patronage.

Gattinger, Monica and Saint-Pierre, Diane

Toward Interprovincial Comparative Analysis in Cultural Policy and Administration: The Case of Québec and Ontario

There is a notable absence of interprovincial comparative cultural policy research in Canada. Despite the marked diversity of cultural policy approaches across the country, no systematic comparative analysis of provincial and territorial cultural policies and their administration has been undertaken to date. This paper develops a theoretical framework for interprovincial comparative cultural policy analysis. It develops the concept of 'cultural policy models' to distinguish between different forms and approaches to cultural policy and administration across the provinces and territories. Three main models are developed – French, Anglo-saxon and Scandinavian – each with their own conceptions and approaches to such fundamental concepts as 'culture,' 'cultural policy,' and 'cultural democracy,' as well as distinctive organizational arrangements for the administration of cultural policy. The paper applies the model to the case of Ontario and Québec, comparing the two provinces' historical and current approach to cultural policy utilizing the models developed. Following this analysis, the paper identifies future research questions and directions raised by the foregoing analysis, particularly, factors that may account for the diversity of cultural policy models adopted by provincial/territorial governments, and the extent to which common external and internal pressures faced by provinces/territories may lead to convergence in cultural policy models. This paper forms part of a broader research project co-directed by Professors Gattinger and Saint-Pierre, comparing the origins and evolution of cultural policy and administration in the provinces and territories in Canada.

Ghosh, Eric

Resolving the countermajoritarian difficulty: a proposal for a Citizens' Court to interpret a Bill of Rights

Through its Charter of Rights and Freedoms 1982, Canada has sought to recognise the concerns about, on the one hand, unchecked legislative and executive power and, on the other hand, elite rule by judges empowered with a bill of rights. The former concern is addressed through entrenching a bill of rights, thereby encouraging more activist judicial interpretation. The latter is addressed through the notwithstanding clause, which enables legislatures to pass legislation notwithstanding certain rights specified in the Charter.

It will be argued that the attractiveness of this compromise can be helpfully informed by consideration of a radical and original proposal. Drawing on experience with deliberative polls, where randomly selected citizens are given briefing papers and brought together to consider an issue with the assistance of experts, I propose a Citizens' Court entrusted with the power to invalidate legislation on the ground of inconsistency with rights contained in a bill of rights. The Court's power would be subject to override by a special majority of parliament. This proposal, it will be argued, satisfactorily addresses concerns about unconstrained legislative and executive power while at the same time avoiding criticism provoked by elite rule by judges.

The paper will also consider, through some discussion of Jeremy Waldron's Law and Disagreement, the appropriate approach to take in determining legitimate institutional arrangements.

Gildiner, Alina

Irresistible Force or Immoveable Object? For-Profit Privatization and Health Policy Decisionmaking in Five Canadian Provinces

This paper will report on a comparative study of public-private change in health-care policy in five Canadian provinces. The animating question was: Why did some provinces create policy frameworks that allowed for-profit delivery of hospital services to develop, while others either did not or even created policy designed to constrain such developments? The Alberta, Ontario, and Saskatchewan examples represented "go" decisions, facilitating change in the first two and constraining it in the third; and the Quebec and Newfoundland/Labrador examples represent non or "no go" decisions. The conceptual framework for the study – which itself was part of a larger study (PI: Harvey Lazar, Queen's University) exploring six areas of health-policy reform in the five provinces – was provided by theories about the relative roles of institutions, ideas, and interests in decision making. Preliminary results thus far suggest that an intersection of interests (whether profitability for societal interests is feasible, but also public choice strategies) with ideas (party preferences) was crucial. To some extent, the role of institutions is held constant because each of the provinces is subject to the same macro-institutional factors, particularly the constraining effects of the Canada Health Act. But provincial-level policy legacies, a form of institutions, appear also to have been a significant factor in those provinces where a succession of decisions occurred. Methodologically, the study employed a semi-structured, open-ended questionnaire standardized for all six case studies in all five provinces. Key provincial decision makers from government and the delivery sector were interviewed.

Gillies, James

Ideology, Ideologues and the U.S. Presidency

Research conducted on American presidential advisory systems is often concerned with the exercise of power by the executive leadership, describing how the 'president's help' harness power, take positions, and influence decision making. A president's advisory system can become captured by 'ideological entrepreneurs,' a term referring to advisers who concentrate on political maneuver at the expense of canvassing the entire spectrum of alternatives and submitting those to the test of collegial consultation. The inner circle of ideological voices constricts access to challenges to their own views and blocks out collegial dissent, thereby marginalizing formal decision making processes. The ideological entrepreneurship literature is an extension of work conducted on ideology and ideologues. However, this research has been a somewhat uncomfortable fit with the presidency literature, in that much of it has focused on the origins of ideology and how these 'people of ideas' are brought into presidential advisory systems. Empirical research has yet to be conducted that makes the necessary connections between ideologues and ideological position taking by administrations. This paper seeks to answer two central questions. First, are certain types of presidents more prone to the influence of ideologues? Second, what research needs to be conducted in order to connect ideologues to ideological entrepreneurship? This paper demonstrates that the work on ideology is a relatively untapped resource for presidential scholars and highlights the need to bring conceptions of ideology into a well developed literature on the presidency.

Gingras, Anne-Marie

Les représentations sociales de la démocratie dans l'espace public: comparaisons entre personnages politiques et acteurs sociaux.

Cette communication fera le point sur les faits saillants d'une recherche en cours depuis 2003 sur les représentations sociales (RS) de la démocratie dans l'espace public. Un des volets consiste à saisir ces RS auprès de 110 personnes ayant accès à l'espace public au Québec et en Ontario : journalistes, patrons de presse, personnages politiques, représentants économiques, représentants socio-communautaires, etc. (les entrevues semi-directives ont été effectuées en 2004). Cette communication évaluera les RS des personnages politiques en comparaison de celles des autres groupes, nommés plus haut, qui ont accès aux médias. Les RS constituent des grilles de lecture et de décodage de la réalité qui influencent l'action, liant idées et pratiques politiques, bref ce sont des images sociales structurantes. Les étudier permet de comprendre concrètement notre organisation collective. Les RS identifiées concernent non seulement les sens premiers de la démocratie tels que définis dans une grille préliminaire (État de droit, participation politique traditionnelle, participation politique non traditionnelle, culture civique, valeurs) mais aussi les liens entre ces sens et les prises de positions des interviewés concernant des enjeux majeurs de la démocratie : la place des élections dans la démocratie, les rapports politique/économie, la compatibilité entre négociations commerciales et démocratie, l'impact de la mondialisation sur la démocratie,

le rôle des citoyens et celui des médias dans la démocratie. Dans un contexte de mouvance politique (mondialisation et relatif désintérêt de la population envers le système politique), les RS de la démocratie sont une sorte de bilan de santé de la vie collective.

Godbout, Jean-Francois

The Impact of Incumbency on Political Participation.

The following paper develops a series of empirical tests to measure the impact of incumbency on turnout, and more broadly on legislative behavior in both the House and the Senate in the United States. In order to test for this relationship, we develop a theory of turnout and incumbency to explain in a dynamic theoretical framework how incumbency affects turnout, and how political extremism can affect participation in return. We begin by focusing on the dynamic relationship that uncompetitive districts may have on turnout through the use of individual survey data (NES, 1972-2002). We also investigate the relationship between incumbency and political participation at the congressional district level -- controlling for district ideology, campaign spending, and challenger quality, among other things. This analysis is conducted through a series of tests using a novel dataset spanning the years 1972-2002. The results demonstrate that incumbency puts a downward pressure on turnout. This effect increases with the legislators' tenure length, and raises some important questions about incumbents' electoral performance and roll call votes.

Godbout, Jean-Francois

An Essay on Political Participation: Measuring Voters and Non-Voters Policy Preferences.

The following paper is a study of political representation. The analysis focuses on the differences of opinion expressed by voters and nonvoters in a series of public opinion surveys. Using different methodologies, we review more than 30 years of surveys from the National Election Studies (1972-2002). We also adopt a novel approach in measuring state level opinion by using propensity score weighting estimators combined with exit polls and census data. This method allows the calculation of the difference between voters and nonvoters' partisanship, ideology, and presidential voting in the 1994-2000 elections while controlling for potential selection bias effects. The results demonstrate that (1) there is a small, constant, and systematic difference in attitudes between voters and nonvoters on a range of policy issues, especially if we look at individual preferences over government programs and if we compare respondents who have higher probabilities of voting with respondents who have lower probabilities of voting. The results also show that (2) there are systematic and consistent statewide differences of preferences between voters and nonvoters which vary across elections; and (3) that in a majority of the states, full turnout would benefit the Democratic party, with some noteworthy exceptions. The results challenge the conventional view held by a majority of electoral scholars which stipulate that voters and nonvoters' opinions differ only marginally.

Goldstein, Joshua

Same-Sex Marriage and the Task of Political Philosophy

The divisive shape of the public debate over the state recognition of same-sex civil marriage and the clear political-legal goals present within it has obscured both the nature of the challenge that same-sex marriage presents to political philosophy and the role that political philosophy should play in engaging that challenge. Given this foundational public divisiveness, we might think that the task of political philosophy is that provided by the Rawlsian project of ensuring the existence of a just coordinating framework and the provision of those public reasons towards which the direct actors themselves are unable to arrive. But this very foundationally opposition requires not just a doctrine of right, but an engagement with the good as Rawls himself implies. That is, the question of same-sex marriage requires that political philosophy return to its classical calling—which means, in this to investigate in what way marriage is a good.

Doing so frees political philosophy to engage the public debate and its intuitions. The result, I believe, is two important guiding questions, one from each side of the public debate: (1) how is marriage an irreducibly unique (and therefore uniquely bounded) good?; and (2) in what way can it nonetheless be a good open to participation by all? A successful answer will ethically re-found marriage: create ethical foundations permitting the mutual accommodation of both sides unaccomplishable through either the partisan employment of political philosophy or the liberal project of providing public reasons.

Goodman, Nicole J.

Political Recruitment in Ontario: An Examination of the Thirty-Eighth Parliament

A legislative career is like no other. There is no explicit job description, no aptitude testing, and no standardized qualifications that must be met before a prospective candidate assumes office. In this respect, legislative service is a relatively irregular career. The process of political recruitment however, exhibits relatively less variance. Previous scholarly contributions assert that most candidates come to office through a few selective means. To investigate the selection of public officials in Ontario's Thirty-eighth Parliament this paper draws on the recruitment model developed by Lester Seligman (1974). Seligman's model posits that candidates come to elected office through one of four methods: (1) conscription; (2) self-recruitment; (3) cooptation; and (4) agency. By analyzing data from a unique qualitative survey of Ontario Members of Provincial Parliament, this study argues that the majority of Members in the Thirty-eighth Parliament were recruited by means of conscription; a process by which an active member of the community is encouraged to run for office for the sake of the "party".

Gore, Christopher

The politics of process, projects, and narratives: The case of the Bujagali dam and energy sector reform in Uganda

In Albert O. Hirschman's classic book "Development Projects Observed" he revealed much about the way costs and benefits of development projects are framed in order to get them built. One of the projects Hirschman observed was the Owen Falls Dam in

Uganda. Hirschman's work helped inspire future scholars to consider the influence of development 'narratives' or 'blueprints' in promoting projects or approaches. In this paper, I consider the notion and influence of 'narratives' in the context of another project in Uganda – the Bujagali dam – which the national government has been trying to initiate since 1994. There is an urgent need for more electricity in Uganda: Demand exceeds available supply and the country has one of the lowest levels of access in the world with only 4% of the national population connected. Using evidence from seven months of fieldwork and in-depth interviews with local through to international interests, this paper suggests that the effort to construct the dam and indeed many of the delays encountered can be linked to the presence of a dominant energy narrative which is solely focused on electricity for industrialization. In this paper I argue that the manner in which the national government and World Bank have promoted this vision of development over complementary and alternative approaches to energy provision has significant political implications relating to state-society interactions, policy-making, future service provision, and poverty alleviation. I discuss these implications and suggest that the 'politics of the development process and policymaking' deserves important attention.

Grace, Joan

A Tale of Two NDPs: Women's Activism in Manitoba and Saskatchewan

My current research project is a comparative analysis of women's political activism in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Using women's economic independence as a gateway to reveal what issues women are organizing around (child care, poverty, etc.) I have already studied and argued that women's political activism is vibrant and still present even after an era of retrenchment, supporting the claims of P. Rankin and J. Vickers (in Brodie, *Women and Political Participation*, 1998). This paper's argument will be an extension of this wider research project via a comparative analysis with Saskatchewan, a province like Manitoba is headed by a social democratic party. Ultimately, this research is framed by research questions like: After an era of program downsizing and welfare state retrenchment, how are women organizing and to what end? Does the presence of an NDP government make a difference to women? This research will build on existing literature which is largely concentrated on the electoral arena (deClery in *Perspectives on Sask*, forthcoming; Young in *Political Parties, Representation and Electoral Democracy*, 2002). This paper, and the wider project, steps away from that arena focussing on activism beyond the state. A qualitative methodological approach is best suited to locate women's activism and their motivations for mobilizing. It is also the best way to undertake a close examination of government policy papers and media reports to situate women's activism in the broader political context.

Graefe, Peter

Neoliberal Federalism and Social Democratic Approaches to Social Assistance in the 1990s

The trajectory of the social assistance policies adopted by provincial social democratic governments in Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia is instructive. In all cases, the parties came to power promising to expand the social rights of social assistance recipients and to increase benefits. In all cases, this original promise was briefly and marginally introduced as policy before subsequently being replaced by an emphasis on welfare-to-work employability measures. The cause of this trajectory can be explained in part by the adoption of ideologies of competitiveness by key leaders in these governments, and by Finance departments trumping social policy communities (e.g. Sheldrick 1998; McBride 1995). This paper seeks to uncover the impact of "neoliberal federalism", and particularly of the joint effects of cuts to transfers and of incentives to adopt employability programming, on this shift. In other words, it asks what effect federal policies and incentives had on shifting the balance of power within these social democratic governments in the favour of Finance, and thus away from expanding the rights of social assistance recipients, towards the emphasis on welfare-to-work.

Grattan, Laura

The Power of Imagination: Practices of Power and the Conditions of Democratic Judgment

Writers as diverse as Plato and Hobbes situate the imagination as a central, and deeply ambivalent, element of political theory and practice. Imagination liberates us from conditions of ignorance and brutal conflict, yet it can also seduce us away from the realities of our political contexts. With political theory's ambivalence about imagination as my background, I explore practices of power that capture our imaginations with profound effects on our capacities for democratic judgment. Jacques Rancière and John Gaventa theorize ways in which universalizing narratives, myths, and rituals create conditions of impossibility of judgment in contemporary societies. For Rancière, universalizing practices of power allow a given order to manufacture the forgetfulness of its own contingency and thus render a part of society invisible and inaudible to the whole. Gaventa shows how similar practices narrow conceptions of the necessities, possibilities, and strategies of challenge by those rendered powerless, and contribute to a culture of silence in which inaction seems the most appropriate course. By this double move, deep difference and contest are erased from our imaginations of social life, and judgment becomes mere techne and acquiescence to an image of universal order. I explore Rancière and Gaventa's alternatives to these hermetic practices of power in tandem with Arendtian practices of collective power that open our imaginations to the plurality and creative freedom underlying democratic life. I close by suggesting forays into a larger project that engages the populist, civil rights, and anti-globalization movements to theorize promising practices of power, imagination, and judgment.

Gravelle, Timothy

Finance and Ethics in the History of Political Economy

International financial structures and practices are widely recognised as having a profound impact on individuals' life opportunities. They are thus important objects of normative political inquiry. Still, the contemporary literature in international political theory has little to say about financial globalisation. At same time, normative reflections in the literature on the political economy of global finance remain underdeveloped. In short, the two literatures are broadly marked by a case of mutual neglect.

This paper begins the project of rectifying this mutual neglect by recovering insights from the history of political economy. I recover a tradition of thought that I refer to as "normative monetary thought." I trace the development of normative monetary thought through Aristotle, Aquinas, Hume, Smith, Bentham and Keynes, demonstrating how each considered the ethics of then-extant financial structures and practices.

Groff, Ruth

Reification and the Limits of the Aristotelian Critique of Liberalism

In this paper I will argue that the neo-Aristotelian response to Kantian formalism (and utilitarian calculation) in liberal thought does not go deep enough. In *After Virtue*, the work that set the stage for the current revival of Aristotelianism, Alasdair MacIntyre makes an argument to the effect that liberal thought, and the modern liberal state in which it is instantiated, is in an important sense not rational. MacIntyre is of course not the first to have made this claim; it is a core contention of Western Marxists such as Lukacs, Horkheimer, Adorno and Marcuse. I propose to engage in a close discussion of *After Virtue*, in order to show how the diagnosis there can be developed further by the introduction of the category of reification. Once the predominance of formal and/or instrumental reason is understood to be not – or not simply – a function of the rise of the mechanical sciences, but rather – or, also – a function of a generalized erasure of use-value, MacIntyre's own worries about capitalism – and his view that Aristotelians ought to learn from Marx – can be seen to be even more well-founded than he believes them to be.

Gunasekara, Chrys

Dilemmas of Local Governance in a Federal Polity: A Case Study of an Australian region

This paper explores several dilemmas encountered by local leaders in an Australian provincial city as they engage with 'governance' amidst a federal polity consisting of multilevel governmental arrangements. These dilemmas relate to: asymmetries of information, capabilities, resources and power; political agendas by higher tier governments; the diverse calls of interests and, not least, the tensions and indeterminacies of a liberal, market-oriented variety of capitalism. The milieu within which this discussion is conducted centres on the response of regional leaders and governance structures to an economic shock created by the wind-back and final closure of a major employer in the city, which carried economic and social consequences. This endogenous shock loosened, perhaps uncoupled, government and governance settings that had been in place for many years and forced local leaders and community representatives to re-cast their approach and thinking on governance in order to alter the developmental trajectory of the provisional city. It was the intersection of the need to take greater responsibility for charting their own economic development course, on the one hand, and the opportunities and constraints arising from the institutional environment that gave rise to the dilemmas discussed in this paper.

The case study that is the basis of this paper involved twenty five in-depth interviews, document review and statistical data gathering, with a specific focus on the period 1997 to 2004. This period covers the imminent closure of the major employer, the closure itself and the early struggles of the local leaders as they began to articulate a local response that was seen to be credible, appropriate and inclusive. This was easier said than done, amidst local and supra-local government and governance arrangements that were not well adapted to meshing the imperatives and agendas of a multi-level federal polity.

Güven, Ali Burak

Institutional Conversion and the Governance of Turkish Agriculture

Surprisingly few studies in the literature on market reforms have moved beyond the common questions of institutional legacies to put forward substantive accounts of how real-world institutions of economic governance are remade during market transitions. This paper investigates the usefulness of some recent contributions to the study of institutional evolution in advanced political economies to compensate for this absence of clear-cut typologies of complex institutional change in market reformers. It is specifically interested in the idea of institutional conversion, described as a mechanism whereby old institutions are redeployed to new ends. The paper evaluates the utility of this classification for re-examining the evolution of Turkey's agricultural support schemes over the last quarter century. Interestingly, despite tumultuous changes in other sectors of economic governance, the institutional arrangements that governed Turkish agriculture through the regulation of peasant incomes remained formally intact up until the collapse of the Turkish economy in 2001. The endurance of a vast network of state and parastatal arrangements in agriculture, however, did not add up to their functional continuity. These very same mechanisms were liberally utilized as tools of income repression as well as populist redistribution in line with swinging policy priorities up until the country's fiscal meltdown. The paper argues that while the concept of institutional conversion can provide a good starting point to understand this unusual evolution, there is room for refining. First, processes of re-conversion might be as common as those of conversion. Second, a comparative institutional focus (in the Turkish case the country's fisco-financial transformation) will yield stronger analytical leverage.

Haglund, David and Fossum, John

Norway's secession from Sweden 1905 - Is it relevant to Canada - Quebec?

This year's centennial anniversary of Norway's separation from Sweden has re-awakened interest among both Norwegian and Swedish historians in the conditions under which Norway's separation from Sweden took place. The findings from this research provide a good occasion for revisiting the question of the relevance of the Norwegian-Swedish case to that of a possible separation of Quebec from Canada.

Norway and Sweden are stable democracies; are very similar in political structure and political culture; and are today closely integrated. Such a situation inevitably colours our conception of the past and more specifically of Norway's secession from Sweden.

Canadian analysts have naturally been very concerned with the prospect of peaceful secession and have portrayed the Norwegian separation from Sweden as a case of peaceful secession. This observation then forms part of a more comprehensive argument to the effect that there are historical and contemporary examples of how peaceful breakup of a state can take place and can serve as examples for a possible break-up of Canada.

We examine how comparable the Norwegian-Swedish case is to that of Canada-Quebec. To ensure comparability, we need to establish that the pre-breakup context was sufficiently similar to warrant comparison. There is no comparable process (Canada is still intact). Therefore, on process, the question is whether the Norwegian-Swedish case unfolded in such a manner as to be worthy of emulation. Of particular interest is the recent historians' discussion of the prospects for military conflict between Sweden and Norway.

Haklai, Oded

Averse Relationship: Diaspora and Ethnic Conflict

In recent years, major mainstream Diaspora Jewish organizations have been increasingly providing financial support to Palestinian NGOs in Israel. Many of the recipients are strong critics of the Jewish character of the state. This phenomenon is particularly puzzling because it occurs during a period of heightened Palestinian-Israeli tensions.

Conventional theories of Diasporas and the international dimension of ethnic conflict typically focus on assistance provided by Diaspora communities to co-nationals. They are silent on the reasons why a Diaspora would assist the "other".

Relying on several qualitative methodological techniques, including interviews with donors and recipients, the paper evaluates three possible explanations. The first explanation is normative. It suggests that the donors in question believe the Jewish state should balance its ethnonational leanings with more liberal ones and take action to integrate the Palestinian minority. The second explanation is rational, interest-based. The argument here is that by providing financial support to Palestinian NGOs, the Jewish donors consciously create a relationship of patronage whereby the recipients become dependent on the donors and conform to the latter's agenda, thereby, moderating their opposition to the state. The third explanation, relying on the constructivist tradition in International Relations, pertains to the image the donor community has of itself and its self-identity. Traditionally, the Diaspora Jewish community, particularly in the United States, has had liberal leanings. Yet it faces growing criticism from the left-of-centre for its perceived blanket support of Israel. Financial support for Palestinian NGOs is its response to being caught between what are perceived as tension-laden loyalties, and a subsequent identity crisis.

Hamilton, Paul

Accommodating Assertive Islam in Liberal Democracies: Do Settler Societies Differ From European Societies?

Since world war two global immigration has changed. In the past immigrants looked much like the citizens of the receiving states.

Until the mid-20th century, North America and Australasia sought after and received millions of European immigrants. In some states, laws prevented non-European immigration. By the latter part of the 20th century, these laws had been abolished and immigrants from all over the world began to flock to these countries.

One of the consequences of large immigrant waves from Africa and Asia, in particular, has been the rise of large Muslim populations in Europe and North America. These communities are the target of much suspicion and surveillance today because of a general fear of terror and of alien customs. In recent years, controversy over hijab in France, the Van Gogh murder in the Netherlands, and Sharia law in Quebec and Ontario and over assimilation everywhere, prompts a reexamination of the tensions which can characterize relations between states and segments of their population who assert a public profile for their beliefs. Liberal societies are therefore torn between respect for difference as seen in multiculturalist policies, and a stated commitment to liberal principles, notably equality and secularity.

The paper tests the theory (Fetz and Soper 2003) that state responses to demands for religious recognition by Muslims are guided by prior patterns of Church-state relations. The hypothesis is that settler societies in North America and Australasia will approach these matters differently from European democracies.

Hankivsky, Olena

Kymlicka, Care and Citizenship

Care has received much attention in scholarly circles recently as it has been transformed from a feminine, gendered ethic to an ethic that is politically relevant and increasingly recognized as central to notions of citizenship, justice, and indeed, the 'good life.' An ethic of care privileges networks of human interdependencies that challenge the public/private divide and the concomitant role that care plays within such relations. It emphasizes that across our lifespan - at all stages and in many situations, we need care to "sustain the best possible lives" (Tronto, 1995). Nevertheless, many liberal theorists dismiss the theoretical significance of care ethics by maintaining that their most salient concerns can be accommodated within existing liberal frameworks of citizenship.

This paper seeks to elucidate how the values and priorities of care ethics are distinct from those of a liberal ethic of justice by critically analyzing Kymlicka's theoretical treatment of an ethic of care. Specifically, I will trace the way in which Kymlicka's stance has evolved and changed over time to be more sympathetic to care ethics and which now acknowledge certain failings of liberalism. And yet, I will argue that Kymlicka's interpretation fails to grasp fully the theoretical differences between care and justice, which if taken seriously, challenge the entire justice model of citizenship.

Hanvelt, Marc

Polite Oratory: Hume's Philosophy of Rhetoric

David Hume's discussions of rhetoric have been largely overlooked in the scholarly literature. However, his works contain a distinctive philosophy of rhetoric that emerges from his political concerns with faction and fanaticism. This paper will outline Hume's philosophy of rhetoric and explore its deep connections with his historical, political, and philosophical writings.

Hume's treatment of rhetoric is animated by two related questions: First, what should be done with those in the public sphere who are, if not deaf to reason, at least easily distracted from it? And second, how should societies counter those who would take advantage of this fact of human nature? Hume was a hesitant champion of rhetoric because he was never able to fully distinguish the feeling of sound philosophical belief from that of superstitious belief. He was also acutely aware of the dangers posed by rhetorically gifted fanatics. However, Hume did distinguish between the low cant of the fanatics and an accurate, just, and gentlemanly rhetoric that could persuade people, without manipulating them, to pursue common goods. This high form of rhetoric combines Hume's philosophy of just reasoning with aspects of ancient rhetoric and eighteenth-century standards of politeness. Understanding how it emerges from his different works is important for understanding the full scope of Hume's political philosophy.

Harder, Lois

The State and the Friendships of the Nation, or What Might It Mean To Care For Others?

This paper explores recent discussion and policy developments involving the expansion of relationship recognition beyond 'conjugal relationships.' The federal government's recognition of common-law opposite and same sex couples through the *Modernization of Benefits and Obligations Act* (2000), and the Law Commission of Canada's recommendation to push relationship recognition beyond the designation 'marriage-like' (see *Beyond Conjuality*) expose a set of contradictions regarding both neoliberal governance and its social investment, or third way successor. On the one hand, the legitimation of common-law relationships and, potentially, non-conjugal relationships indicates a recognition and respect for individuals' decisions about the meanings they ascribe to their personal attachments. This legitimation may be seen as neoliberalism coming good on its commitment to autonomy. By contemplating an extension of recognition 'beyond conjuality' a third way iteration of relationship recognition might represent a more progressive expression of this autonomy. On the other hand, widening the net of legitimation may also intensify privatized obligations of care, in which case the push 'beyond conjuality' could be read as a kind of hyper-neoliberal policy response. The situation becomes even more complicated when one considers recent policy developments in Alberta and Hawaii (now there's a comparison!) where the extension of recognition to non-conjugal relationships has been inspired, at least partially, by a desire to diminish the significance of the state's recognition of same-sex relationships. In the realm of relationship recognition then, we see continuity, change and profound contradiction.

Harell, Allison

A Reconsideration of Tolerance: Racist Organizations and Civil Liberties Judgments

Political tolerance is defined in the literature as the willingness to extend basic civil liberties to disliked groups. Yet, the literature fails to distinguish between the types of disliked groups that individuals are asked to tolerate. In this paper, I develop the theoretical distinction between two types of groups: assertive groups which are making claims to political rights in the public sphere versus oppressive groups which aim to deny certain rights to other groups. The most common example of oppressive groups are racist organizations. I then use a new youth socialization data set, the McGill Youth Study 2005-2006, to demonstrate that young people in Quebec and Ontario distinguish between these two types of groups when making civil liberties judgments. I then explore a potentially important factor in explaining this distinction, namely the diversity of young people's social networks. The dataset contains over 2000 young people between the ages of 16 and 20 in 7 cities in Quebec and Ontario. The basic hypothesis is that exposure to diversity will make tolerance more likely in general because it fosters the development of perspective-taking ability. However, when it comes to racist organizations, exposure to diversity can have the opposite effect by creating empathy with the targets of racist organizations. The paper relies heavily on both the political tolerance literature and social re-categorization theory in social psychology.

Haskel, Barbara

The Bologna Process and European Cooperation in Restructuring Higher Education

What does the experience of the Bologna Process have to tell us about the characteristics of contemporary European integration; about the relationship between the internal characteristics of the states and both agreements and implementation of them; and about the interaction between states and international actors?

Haslam, Paul

Governing Foreign Direct Investment in the Americas: Emerging Regimes and their Implications for International Relations Theory

In the absence of a multilateral framework to govern foreign direct investment at the global or hemispheric level, a patchwork of overlapping bilateral investment treaties, bilateral trade agreements, and sub-regional trading pacts sets the rules for the relationship between states and investors. Recent literature has addressed the problem for global governance created by overlapping or intersecting regimes with contradictory principles, norms or rules. Oran Young has developed 4 categories of regime interaction (embedded, nested, clustered, overlapping) (Young 1996) and regime overlap has also been examined by Raustila and Victor (2004) and Rosendal (2001). Most of these efforts examine the intersection between two issue areas, particularly environmental and trade regimes. However, the literature has neglected a distinct 5th kind of overlap – emerging regimes. In the current context where international agreements often build on earlier incomplete efforts at regime building, new rules and the power relations they represent coexist with rules reflecting different principles and power dynamics in the same issue-area. These overlaps can result in unpredictable and dysfunctional global governance effects. This paper examines the case of emerging regimes through a case study of the “emerging” foreign investment regime in the Americas.

Hayes, Jillian

Environmental Policy Making within the Great Lakes Basin

The Great Lakes Basin accounts for approximately 20% of the world's fresh water resources, making it the largest body of fresh water in the world. For this reason, environmental protection is vitally important. The government of Canada has a difficult task in creating environmental policy regarding the Great Lakes primarily due to jurisdictional conflicts. The five Great Lakes are bordered by eight U.S. states and two Canadian provinces which makes the policy making process very complicated. This paper discusses whether previous attempts at regulations and management, including the International Joint Commission, the Great Lakes Charter, and the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement, are still effective in achieving their original goals of environmental protection and sustainability. This paper will attempt to make policy recommendations to the Canadian federal and provincial governments regarding the environmental protection and sustainability of the Great Lakes. These policy recommendations will be based not only on the current track record of the Canadian government with regards to policy making in this area, but also upon comments and suggestions made by Canadians and Americans who participated in public meetings held by the International Joint Commission in 14 Great Lakes cities (between October 17, 2005 and November 10, 2005) regarding the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement. Public comment from people not only concerned with the environmental health of the Great Lakes Basin but also with an interest in the recreational use of the Great Lakes can provide insight into environmental policy making that bureaucratic thinking alone cannot.

Hayward, Caitlin

How is justice considered in transition? What we can learn from past practices and current dynamics?

One of the areas of contention within the transitional justice debates is the perceived impact of justice on the actual initiation and movement of transitions. In particular, there has been little work (and less agreement) on whether departing leaders actually consider this issue when either initiating or evaluating their cooperation in an ongoing transition. While some have argued that the fear of prosecution does not play a considerable role in elite decisions in transition (Orentlicher 1991), others have argued quite the opposite: that fear of prosecution may not only guide the process and negotiations of transition itself, but may even inhibit elites' desire and/or ability to compromise or relinquish power in the first place (Nino 1991). This question carries strong implications for discussions of transitional justice: one argument suggests considerations of justice may be a risk to a peaceful and effective transition, while the other holds that justice is a necessary element of a genuine and effective long-term transition. As the international community appears to be moving increasingly towards universal requirements of prosecution for mass violations of human rights, this debate takes on new significance.

This paper will look at several past transitions and attempt to answer whether concerns of facing justice played a significant role in the decision-making processes of state elites during peace/transition negotiations. It will then briefly outline the international movement towards mandatory prosecution, and discuss some of the implications of these findings.

Hébert, Emmanuelle

Nouvelles télévisuelles et élections canadiennes en 2000 : Quelques apprentissages sur la construction du genre et la représentation de la catégorie « femmes politiques »

À l'exception de des travaux de Gidengil et Everitt, la couverture médiatique télévisuelle des politiciennes est peu abordée dans les études canadiennes. Pourtant, au niveau international une approche multidisciplinaire portée par quelques chercheuses en science politique, mais surtout en communication ou Cultural studies a permis de développer un corps théorique significatif (van Zoonen, Ross, Kahn, Svreberny, Hall, Friedman, Norris, Glasgow Media Group).

Nous proposons de remédier à cette situation en embrassant cette approche multidisciplinaire. Nous présenterons une analyse politique du sens et contenu donnés au genre et à la représentation de la catégorie « femmes et politique » tel que construite par le discours médiatique télévisuel du réseau CBC lors de la campagne électorale canadienne de 2000. De ce fait, notre étude va au-delà des analyses quantitatives basées sur le texte et préoccupées par l' (in)visibilité des politiciennes ou sur la qualité de leur représentation. Nous voulons ouvrir la discussion et nous concentrer sur les particularismes des nouvelles télévisuelles, soit la création ou production de sens (production meaning) par la dynamique du texte, du son et des images en y décodant les messages qui y sont véhiculés.

Notre étude de cas, nous permet de répondre à un tel questionnement puisque l'un des chefs des cinq partis politiques importants était une femme : Alexa McDonough. L'étude empirique est basée sur les données cumulées par l'Étude électorale canadienne à partir

d'une analyse de contenu à laquelle nous avons participé à la construction de la grille de codage. Cette dernière a ceci de particulier qu'elle est bâtie autour de variables propres à la télévision et ne se référant pas uniquement au texte ou au langage. Au-delà des résultats, notre présentation est innovatrice et originale puisqu'elle permet de dégager des pistes de recherches intéressantes pour le futur et qu'elle cherche à établir de nouveaux liens entre des approches à prime abord antagonistes.

Heinmiller, Tim

Water Quota System in Australia

Although resource quotas are an increasingly prevalent resource governance institution, they have received remarkably little attention from political scientists. Most of the existing studies on resource quotas have been undertaken by economists who have focused on one type of resource quota system – the individual transferable quota (ITQ) system – and the efficiency and equity implications associated with it. This paper takes a broader approach to the analysis of resource quota systems, addressing two key issues. First, it considers the institutional characteristics that are common among resource quota systems in general, highlighting an emerging resource governance model. Second, it uncovers the various dimensions of distributive politics that are fundamental in shaping the design and operation of these systems, helping us to understand why most resource quota systems diverge from the ideal models proposed by economists. In the latter task, a case study approach is used, focusing on the formation and implementation of the Murray-Darling Basin Cap on Diversions, a relatively new resource quota system in southeastern Australia.

Henjak, Andrija

Could Age Become a Cleavage: Ageing Societies, Pension Reforms and Politics in Western Europe

Population ageing is one of the trends likely to have the biggest influence on the developments of industrialised western societies in the coming decades. It is increasing the share of inactive population relative to those in the labor force, placing pension systems of western societies under great strain. It also increases pressures on expenditures for health and elderly care.

Given current fiscal conditions, it is very unlikely that contemporary welfare states will be able to fully satisfy all the demands placed upon them. Therefore, we can expect to see the emergence of a redistributive conflict between different groups of welfare state clientele. In the light of demographic trends and current spending patterns, age is likely to be one of its most important determinants. In the context of the predominant role of nuclear family in most western societies the conditions for the emergence of age based redistributive conflict seem to be favourable. Current reforms of pension and social security systems mean that experiences related to any particular form of social system and its redistributive effects are likely to differ between generations. In such circumstances we can expect to see a decline in intergenerational solidarity, especially indicated through differences in support for intergenerational redistribution policies such as pension and health care programs between age groups.

Relying on Eurobarometer survey data focused on pension systems and social inequality, the paper investigates attitudinal preconditions for the emergence of redistributive conflicts based on age and life-cycle divisions, focusing on differences in preferences over social policies such as pensions, health care, child care and education. The paper will also investigate whether the age-based divisions are independent or interact with class, income or sectoral divisions.

Henstra, Dan

Evaluating and Explaining Local Emergency Management Policies in Ontario

Canadian communities are vulnerable to a wide range of hazards—floods, tornadoes, train derailments, chemical spills, and so on—which occasionally trigger emergencies that require a government response. Recent emergencies in Canada and abroad have raised concerns about the adequacy of local government policies for emergency management—that is, those policies developed to ensure an effective response to emergencies, to reduce their impact, and to facilitate a swift recovery. Scholars have long recognized that the policies adopted at the local level can significantly affect a community's capacity to deal with emergencies. The problem, however, is that many local governments tend to neglect emergency management. In a recent Canada-wide assessment, for example, fewer than half of the communities surveyed were sufficiently prepared for even a minor emergency. What factors impel a local government to formulate and implement policies for emergency management? What explains variation in the quality of emergency management policies among different jurisdictions? This paper presents initial findings of my dissertation research, which addresses these questions through a comparative analysis of the development of emergency management policies in six Ontario municipalities. The paper first draws on existing literature to hypothesize about factors that influence policy outputs in this area. Second, it describes the method used to assess the relative quality of local emergency management policies, and provides a measure for each of the communities. Finally, it discusses more detailed findings for two of the cases.

Hering, Martin and Thomas Klassen

Welfare Regimes and Retirement Ages: Reform Options and Policy Choices in Canada, Germany and Korea, 1995-2005

This paper analyzes the politics of raising the age of retirement in the period from 1995 to 2005 in three diverse industrialized countries: Canada, Germany and South Korea. Over the next five decades, the populations of advanced industrialized countries are expected to age significantly. As a result, governments are confronted with important policy challenges: how to provide income security, and how to cover large increases in pension spending. Retirement age increases are one of the key policy responses to these challenges, since raising the average pension age by only 2 or 3 years would enable governments to finance most of the costs of population aging. We will analyze cross-national differences in governmental policies designed to raise the age of retirement, such as changes of the generosity of benefits or changes of the pathways to retirement. In order to explain these differences among Canada, Germany and Korea, we focus (1) on the roles of the state, market and the family in pension provision and (2) on the maturity of pension systems. The three countries differ along these dimensions: Canada has a mature Anglo-Saxon welfare regime in which the

market plays a key role; Germany a mature Continental-European regime in which the state dominates retirement provision and regulation; and Korea a developing East-Asian regime in which the family is an important pillar of old-age security. We argue that these differences in welfare regimes conditioned significantly the reform options that governments considered and the policy choices that they made.

Hering, Martin and Mitchell, Skye

Drifting Away? Path Dependence and Policy Drift in the Canadian Health Care System

Most analyses of welfare state reform show that radical retrenchment of social programs is rare in the advanced industrialized countries. But more recent studies argue that despite of widespread path dependence, welfare state institutions frequently undergo significant policy drift: even though their formal structures remain largely stable, they increasingly fail to achieve their institutionalized goals, thus creating growing disparities between policies and outcomes. In this paper, we analyze the extent of policy drift in the Canadian health care system, which is an ideal test case for recent theories of institutional change: Canada's political institutions and policy legacies create strong obstacles for path-dependent updating of the health care system, but provide many opportunities for strategies that lead to policy drift. By analyzing the development of the Canadian health care system during the past 20 years, we show, first, that existing accounts underestimate the importance of a form of drift that we refer to as regulatory drift: even though the system's formal structure—the Canada Health Act—has not changed, the implementation of the principles embodied in it has decreased significantly. Second, we show that unlike in the United States policy drift in the Canadian health care system has not produced a large gap between policy goals and policy outcomes. To explain this puzzle of significant regulatory drift without massive losses of risk protection, we argue that policy-makers' ideas and parties' electoral preferences were critical factors in keeping policy outcomes relatively stable.

Hilgers, Tina

"Who Is Using Whom? Clientelism From The Client's Point of View"

Politicians, caudillos, and political operators in the Party of the Democratic Revolution exploit the poor in Mexico City to further their personal interests. At least, this is how clientelist relations are usually understood: the powerless disadvantaged trade political support for necessary resources with influential individuals. These are logical conclusions, yet the poor who supposedly suffer under clientelist interactions tend to regard them much more pragmatically.

In Mexico City, the poor want for nutrients, employment, decent housing, education, health care, and urban services such as sewage, electricity, running water, and transportation. As much as these resources should be equally available to all residents, reality in the poverty-ridden capital is that government coffers cannot provide resources for the entire populace. Access for the poor thus comes discretionally, turning their interest in politics into short-term, practical calculations. They happily give their vote to the highest bidder, using the politicians, operators, and social leaders with whom they have contact to obtain housing, services, and jobs. That is, the poor are not duped into exploitative relations by scheming politicians, but are acting strategically to further their own interests. The longer term effects of the deals that take place can take various forms: some clients become convinced of their organization's or the party's project and continue to support it even after they have received the tangible benefit they bargained for; some become disgusted by the group or the party and turn away from it; and some re-initiate the bargaining process.

Hill, Carey

An Argument for Multi-Level Accountability: Comparing Implementation of Drinking Water Protection Policies in Canada and the United States

Recent discourse on federalism has identified the need to avoid overlap and duplication. This discourse has often been coupled with discussions about devolution to the local level for economic and democratic reasons. By contrast, this paper argues that overlap and duplication can enhance accountability. In the areas of public health and environmental policy, multi-level governance is desirable. The principal-agent and blame avoidance frameworks are used to understand the roles of the federal, provincial/state, and municipal levels of government. The paper draws on research that examines eight cities in two federal countries using a paired case study methodology. Implementation of drinking water policies is considered at three levels of government across the eight cases. With respect to policy performance, implementation in the US cases tends to outperform the Canadian cases.

A multi-barrier approach to drinking water protection is advocated by public health experts. A multi-level governance approach enhances this framework. The strength of multi-level governance is that different levels of government can act at different times. If one level of government shirks its role as principal, another level can assume that role.

Ho, Lok-sang and Zhang, Baohui

Improving Democratic Governance

Although liberal democracy has established its ideological supremacy, there are rooms to improve the design of democratic institutions. First is the issue of interest representation. All democracies use a system of political parties. The system however tends to turn individual representatives in legislature into merely an agent of his or her party, instead of being a voice for the constituents. This is particularly a problem in parliamentary democracies where party disciplines tend to be the strongest. The second issue is the electoral process. Today, representatives run on behalf of political parties since only a party can provide the financial basis of a successful campaign. Thus, instead of voters selecting among candidates with truly diverse and independent views, they have their choices limited to those who are chosen, funded and controlled by the parties. The third issue is the general role of money in the democratic process that favors special interests and big business. Thus, public policies of democracies are often seen not as neutral as it should be and this problem undermines the perceived legitimacy of democratic governments.

In this paper we examine these issues and attempt to devise specific and workable mechanisms to make democracies more representative, competitive, neutral, and legitimate. We will deal with reforms of representation system, public financing of political candidates for elections, and limiting the role of money in democratic process.

Hojjati, Afshin and Dizboni, Ali G.

A Systemic Analysis of the rise and fall of the Iranian Reform Movement (1997-to the present)

Reformists' victories in presidential (1997 and 2001), municipal (1999) and parliamentary elections (2000) grabbed world's attention, energized the populace and created a huge momentum for change. These victories are mostly attributed to the astonishing popular participation and support for reformist discourse and promises emphasizing civil society, democracy, human rights and women's presence. However, less than two years after its initiation, the reform movement encountered important obstacles, mostly arising out of the conservative factions of the establishment. Finally in late 2003 and in January 2004, the conservative-led Council of Guardians disqualified nearly 3,600 candidates to the legislative elections, virtually halting the reformist movement.

Based upon the most recent scholarly literature, this paper attempts to combine empirical data with theoretical insights through an application of Systemic Model to the Iranian reform process.

By focusing on Iran's internal socioeconomic and political dynamics, our system analysis methodologically use variables such as political system, social environment, inputs, outputs, feedback, and output reaction. This paper attempts to describe and explain the emergence and the subsequent deadlock of the reform process. By also incorporating the internal divisions and the factionalism that is characteristic of post-revolutionary Iranian politics, such analysis would hopefully allow for a more complete and thorough investigation of the structural factors that led to the reform movement and the political factors that prevented its maturation and further progression.

Key words: Iran, civil society, democratization, the reform process, systemic analysis, state-society relations

Honda, Eric

Going for the Gold?: A Second Look at Ethical Governance and "the historical-structural" model in The Taiwan Miracle Twenty-Years Later

Twenty years ago, in a 1986 book entitled *State and Society in the Taiwan Miracle*, Thomas Gold sought to apply the "historical-structural" model of Cardoso and Faletto. However, this approach was seriously flawed for a number of reasons that included the failure to distinguish between

"dependent-development" versus "mature-dependency," hasty, generalized, comparisons about Latin America and East Asia, and the absence of class-struggle and socialist revolution despite the presence of Leninist party structures and centralized planning. Viewed in this way, Taiwan's dynamic growth and prosperity seems rather anomalous. Taiwan's ascendancy into an existent semi-peripheral zone remains inexplicable from the historical-structural standpoint just as the KMT influence over that process (which Gold calls violent, corrupt, and incompetent) hardly qualifies for ethical governance when iron-triangles and exclusive social contracts dictated the degree of liberalization, capitalist reforms, and democratic transition. As such, world-systems theory (which Gold has ironically rejected) offers the better, more accurate, account with its emphasis on these very conditions that not only explain the events and circumstances at the time, but also their aftermath in the decades since. Both figuratively and literally, this is key to ascertaining the extent of The Taiwan Miracle twenty-years later.

Howard, Cosmo

Get it Together: Frontline Implications of Contemporary Service Integration

The introduction of Service Canada reflects an international trend towards greater integration and personalization in public services. These initiatives are said to promote the capacity of service users to exercise choice and to receive seamless and tailored services. While there is a high degree of political enthusiasm for service transformation, there is also a growing body of critical commentary on contemporary service reform within the field public administration. However, there has been limited interest in the interactions between service users and street level administrators, as well as the extent to which service packages meet street-level expectations about client input and administrative responsiveness. In this paper, I draw upon an ethnographic study of street level interactions in Australia's Centrelink agency, a one-stop-shop that provided inspiration for the Service Canada initiative. I argue that service transformation can increase the degree of ambivalence and confusion experienced by administrators and clients. In the Centrelink case, staff faced contradictory pressures from above, including simultaneous demands for flexibility and compliance. Administrators and clients observed a disconnection between the promise of individualization and the reality of resource shortages and policy inflexibilities. The contemporary push to separate service provision from policy departments will exacerbate these problems.

Howell, Alison

Ordering Soldiers: Therapeutic Interventions in the Canadian Forces and the Making of World Order

In recent years, the mental health of members of the Canadian Forces (CF) has become the subject of increasing concern. Spurred on by the public narrative of Romeo Dallaire's experiences with Post-Traumatic Stress, by the publication of a CF Mental Health Survey, and the active role that the CF's Ombudsman took in addressing the mental health of Canadian soldiers, therapeutic interventions have increasingly been positioned as a remedy for the ill mental health of CF members who are diagnosed with 'Operational Stress Injuries.'

This paper critically investigates these developments by arguing that therapeutic interventions in the CF are aimed not only at ensuring the health and welfare of its members, but also at rendering the CF an orderly body by quite literally seeking to prevent and cure 'disorders.' The paper locates this practice within the construction of Canada as an orderly nation: one that is uniquely qualified to

restore liberal order in purportedly disorderly/disordered parts of the world. Thus, ordering practices in the CF are deeply connected with constructions of racialized others as disorderly and psychologically disordered. The paper concludes with reflections on the ways in which order and disorder are mutually constituted, rendering the very notion of world order questionable.

Huelsemeyer, Axel and Kanji, Mebs

Support for Further EU Integration? Bringing Citizens Back In

Advocates of European Union (EU) integration in the political elites of the member states have traditionally taken the approval of their citizenry for granted. Although the recent rejection of the EU constitution in France and the Netherlands is widely interpreted as a concern with the rapid geographical widening of the EU and less with its institutional deepening, for the first time doubt was cast on the tacit support of EU citizens in core member states.

Karl Deutsch and his colleagues argued that public acceptance of further integrative steps depends significantly upon the degree of value similarity among the citizens of the respective EU member states. In this paper, we draw on data from the World Values Surveys (1981-2000) to systematically examine how the values of citizens in different EU states compare and the extent to which they are compatible. Are some EU members, like France and the Netherlands, less value compatible with the new member states from Central and Eastern Europe than with other "older" EU members? Is there any empirical evidence to demonstrate that the degree of value compatibility has direct implications for the public acceptance of further integration? Do the results vary depending on the type of integration – widening/deepening and economic/political – being proposed? And to what extent does the strength of one's national identity affect this process?

The findings of this research may have implications for further EU integration especially in individual member states where support is made contingent upon referenda.

Hristov, Jasmin

The Relevance of Land and Class Struggle: Understanding Latin American Indigenous Rural Movements in the 21st Century

This paper analyzes the relationship between social class and ethnicity / race as it manifests itself in the formation, struggles, and goals of contemporary Latin American indigenous rural movements as well as in their relationship with the state and role in national social, economic and political transformation. The main focus of the presentation is on the Indigenous Regional Council of Cauca (CRIC) in Colombia, but relevant examples from other Latin American countries complement the analysis. By revealing the centrality of economic processes and inequalities to the experiences of struggles and collective identity of the indigenous of Cauca, it is argued that class on one hand and ethnicity / race and culture on the other, are inextricably linked. This analysis provides a foundation for a critique of the post-modern approach to the study of Latin American indigenous movements, especially with regards to this framework's negation of the realities of class and class struggle, which prevents an adequate examination of the multi-dimensional apparatus of oppression.

Hyson, Stewart

"Ombudsman Research Project"

Although the office of ombudsman has become a standard component of the administrative state in Canada since its much touted arrival in the late 1960s, we know little about its actual performance.

We are faced with an intriguing situation as to the ombudsman's institutional role as an intermediary between citizens and their administrative state. This role raises two pertinent notions to guide our research: institutionalization and democratic deficit. Institutionalization theory will be drawn upon to explain how the ombudsman has been able to adapt to its societal and political environment, establish its authority relationship with other policy actors, and assume other, related administrative tasks. Attention will also be directed to the groves of behaviour that have emerged as reflected in the complaint handling process, including the sources, the targets, and results of the complaints.

The notion of democratic deficit has been receiving considerable attention in recent years, especially in regard to the input side of government. But what has been the case with the output side, as reflected in citizens' interaction with their administrative state? Has there been a similar decline in the number of complaints to the ombudsman? How can we explain the situation? Is the democratic deficit an adequate explanation?

Ikari, Yasuo

Case Study: Environmental Management System Program in Japan for Small-and-Medium Size Enterprises – Implication for Canada: How We Can Reduce Carbon-Dioxide Emission?

The Kyoto Protocol in 1997 requires Japan and Canada 6.0% reductions of carbon dioxide emissions. The business sector is responsible for more than 80% of the carbon dioxide emission in Japan. One of important tools to reduce emissions is environmental management system (EMS).

ISO14001 is a globally accepted program of environmental management system, with which organizations can systematically develop their environmental action plans. The number of ISO14001 certificates had reached 90,569 by the end of 2004. Among those certified organizations, Japanese organizations account 19,584 and Canadian organizations accounts 1,492. However, there is a problem in ISO 14001, which may be too systematic and expensive for small-and-medium sized enterprises (SMEs). One of Canadian critiques stated that "smaller organizations may wish to use the ISO14000 approach but view the cost and time requirements of full registration as prohibitive".

SMEs need to change their behaviour. They contribute 66% of production in Canada and 50% in Japan. In Europe and Japan, there are a number of programs which SMEs could use as an alternative to ISO14001. The EcoAction 21 program is one of these programs

in Japan. Fortunately, the EcoAction 21 program publishes the environmental reports of participating organizations (some 500 organizations as of October 2005). This paper will examine how much implementation of EMS to SMEs contributes to the Japanese efforts to comply the Kyoto requirement and offers implication to Canadian efforts.

Imbeau, Louis

Are Wildavsky's Budgetary Roles Still Relevant? A content analysis of policy speeches in Quebec, 1970-2003

This paper provides an empirical test of Wildavsky's guardian-advocate model of budgetary process. Assuming that discourse is behaviour, I make the hypothesis that the speeches of ministers of Finance are systematically different from speeches of ministers of Education or Health on certain specific aspects. A content analysis is performed on 130 policy speeches delivered in the Quebec National Assembly from 1970 to 2004 to test this hypothesis. I find that speeches of ministers of Education or Health are close to each other and significantly different from those of ministers of Finance. These differences are sensitive to parties and to New Public Management policies.

Ingram, James

Between Ethics and Power: Habermasian Cosmopolitics and Kantian Critique

This paper considers Jürgen Habermas's writings on international affairs as a means of interrogating the leading paradigm in normative international relations theory, namely that inspired by Immanuel Kant. In recent years Habermas has turned his attention to international politics, emerging through interventions on globalization, the Kosovo crisis, the European constitution, and the Iraq war as one of the most prominent voices of the European left.

I focus less on the substance of Habermas's judgments – though they are of course questionable – than the deeper structure of his argumentation. Habermas's approach to these issues is typically Kantian, and it is hardly surprising that we find in these writings problems that arose in Kant's own reflections on the issues of his day. These include the chasm this paradigm establishes between the ideal and the real, its abstraction from power relations, its awkward manner of combining justification and criticism, and its difficulty conceiving of change. I explore the nature of these problems, and how they express themselves in both authors' work.

At the same time, however, their shared ideal of democracy and the rule of law in the service of equal human dignity and autonomy is worth hanging onto. I therefore suggest in conclusion how this ideal might be better advanced by other theoretical means.

Iqbal, Khurram

Critical Analysis of Civil Society Participation in the Local Government System in Pakistan: Implications for Sustainable Livelihoods

Local Government system introduced in 2001 is one of the most important reforms introduced in Pakistan in recent years. It has brought about a radical transformation in the political and administrative landscape of the country. By taking power and decision-making to the grassroots and promoting community (especially women's) participation in government, devolution can improve service delivery and accountability. It is claimed that this system will promote better local representation and leads in the long-term to poverty alleviation. All of which makes decentralization--despite the past failures--a laudable goal.

The decentralization of power replaced the century old colonial system of bureaucratic governance in Pakistan. In the previous system of governance at the local level, the province governs the districts directly through the bureaucracy at the division and district levels. And the local government for towns and cities exist separately from those of the rural areas. The provincial bureaucratic set-ups were the designated 'controlling authorities' of the local governments, and tend to undermine and over-ride them, which breeds a colonial relationship of 'ruler' and 'subject'. The separate local government structures engender rural-urban antagonism, while the administration's role as 'controlling authorities' accentuates the rural-urban divide. The Local Government design is based on five fundamentals: devolution of political power, decentralization of administrative authority, deconcentration of management functions, diffusion of the power-authority nexus, and distribution of resources to the district level. It is designed to ensure that the genuine interests of the people are served and their rights safeguarded. These institutions (local governments) also provide a forum for community decision-making. The decentralization of power from central to local level is part of a global trend to reduce the role of central government in order to increase the efficiency of services, as well as to promote pluralism, public participation, democracy and empowerment of the poor. Policies, institutions and processes form the context within which individuals and households construct and adapt livelihood strategies. On the other hand these institutionally shaped livelihood strategies may have an impact on the sustainable development. The present paper analyzes the impact of devolution plan upon livelihood strategies of people living marginal rural areas of Pakistan. Sustainable Livelihood Framework developed by UK based Department of International Affairs (DfID) has been used to identify livelihood assets, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes of the rural people. The role of the civil society, community based organizations and political parties in context with the devolution plan have been critically analyzed. The conflicts of various actors viz. local government, provincial & federal government, NGOs and religious groups has also been discussed. Policy guidelines have been suggested for improving effectiveness of local government system and ensuring livelihoods of marginalized people.

Irlbacher-Fox, Stephanie

Historical Injustice, Present Suffering

In this paper I examine the erroneous bases upon which ongoing injustices experienced by indigenous peoples in Canada have been termed 'historical' by both academics and policy makers alike. This approach contributes to fictional characterizations of both indigenous peoples and their experienced injustices. I argue that this fundamental non-understanding of reality perpetuated by both academics and policy makers alike results in Aboriginal policy which consistently misses its mark (that being the improvement of the

lot of indigenous peoples in Canada), as evidenced by the shameful conditions and social indicators for indigenous populations, as well as ongoing 'policy renewal' efforts. This paper highlights the very real implications of erroneous assumptions in the work of academics dealing with issues of injustices toward indigenous peoples.

Irlbacher-Fox, Stephanie

Mechanisms and Conditions That Make Self Government Meaningless, and Meaningful

As argued by political philosopher Raymond Geuss (2001), rights without effective implementation mechanisms are made meaningless for the purposes of achieving specific and intended goals. Using the case of Indigenous peoples rights in Canada, I illustrate how this argument illuminates difficulties with land claims and self government articulated by Indigenous peoples. Despite being the cornerstones of Aboriginal policy in Canada, both land claim and self government implementation policies of governments have increasingly been proven to purposely avoid fulfilling the spirit and intent of the agreements they purport to implement. I argue further that even in situations where effective implementation mechanisms might be mutually agreed by Indigenous peoples and the state, fundamental aspects of Canadian Aboriginal policy, and political and economic conditions within which Indigenous peoples and governments must function, effectively gut the potential of even the best implementation plans. Using a specific case study drawn from the experience of land claims and self government in the Northwest Territories, the author outlines several fundamental changes required in Canadian Aboriginal policy that would establish both mechanisms and conditions in which Aboriginal rights agreements might effectively meet the goals they describe in their preambles.

Irvine, J. A. Sandy

A 'firm' line in the sand? Re-defining state borders in the face of migratory pressures.

A central argument about globalization is that state borders – especially those in the developed world - are increasingly fluid, permeable and transcendable. However, recent changes in several OECD states' immigration and asylum policies suggest a counter to arguments about the decline of the importance of borders. Unlike similar trends in the flow of finance, products, and information, growing pressures on state borders as a result of the arrival of increasing numbers of irregular migrants has resulted in efforts to enlarge rather than lessen the physical reality of borders to the movement of most people. However, what appears as the re-enforcement of the existence of a firm, physical reality of a state border has in fact resulted in a renegotiation and altering of that 'reality'. It is the argument of this paper that border control legislators and practitioners have re-defined the physical and conceptual location of the border. Policies establishing overseas interdiction, visa requirements, safe third countries arrangements, advanced warning systems and non-territorial asylum determinations relocate states' borders away from the physical edges of the state with significant implications. On a policy level, this paper will contribute to increased understanding of the re-constitution of borders and the effect of this process on migrants, states and related international norms. At a theoretical level this paper seeks to highlight the importance of ideational change for the physical "realities" of international politics and to suggest potential sources of that change. The paper focuses on Canada and other OECD states' developing construction of their borders and stems from a research program on international motivations for change in Canadian refugee policy over the course of the 1990s.

Ivan, Emese

"Politics of Culture in the Enlarged EU – An Important Issue that Escaped the Headlines"

Despite four decades of institutional attempts to build Europe at the level of popular consciousness, the people of Europe have simply not embraced the European idea in the way it was predicted by the founding fathers of the integration. The "European consumer do not feel European" in a political or legal sense, moreover, the absence of this solidarity could well undermine Europe's efforts to remain globally competitive. The Maastricht Treaty substantially enlarged the EU's sphere of governance, furnishing it with new powers to intervene in domains of life hitherto outside of its direct influence. The "Cultural Article" of the Treaty (No. 128) provides the legal basis for the EU's intervention in such issues as media, information, heritage, sport, and arts.

By becoming full member of the EU on May 1, 2004 Hungarians anticipated a better standard of living, more job opportunities, and more transparent governance. In 2005, after the first year of membership the situation is much less optimistic. We see growing unemployment, fiscal problems, debt, and social tension. What about the cultural politics of the EU? It seems to escape the headlines but the European Union symbols abounded in daily life of the country.

This presentation will focus on the questions of power in the cultural politics of the EU from the perspective of a new member state, Hungary, in particular. It will show how the "Europeanization" invented the level of public opinion through the medium of "culture", especially such issues as symbols, information policy, media, and sport.

Jackson, Andrew

Globalization and Union Power

This presentation will examine sectoral and occupational trends in union density, patterns of recent union organizing and trends in collective bargaining to show that, while increased international competition has negatively affected Canadian union strength, it has been far from fatal. Union density and strength have declined in internationally exposed sectors, notably manufacturing. However, density has been stable in many parts of the larger private services sector, where domestic rather than international competition prevails. Moreover, positive union impacts on productivity mean that there is no fundamental contradiction between unionism and greater integration into international markets. All that said, union renewal will critically depend upon building transnational union alliances to confront transnational corporations and the neo liberal global policy regime.

James, Matt

Federal Amnesia: Memory Politics in British Columbia

Debates around historical injustices and reparative responsibilities play a prominent role in contemporary Canadian disputes about identity, justice, and citizenship. A fascinating implicit assumption in these debates seems to be that the past is an exclusively federal area of responsibility. Although the Canadian constitution is of course silent on the matter, demands for historical redress are almost invariably directed towards the central rather than provincial level of government. This situation is paradoxical, and nowhere is this more so than in British Columbia. Although the demands and fears of BC racists were a driving force behind such notable Canadian injustices as the Komagata Maru incident, Chinese “head tax,” and Japanese-Canadian internment, the debates about redressing these injustices tend to ignore the role of the BC provincial government and society. The hypothesis of this paper is that Ottawa’s constitutional responsibilities in such areas as national security, citizenship, justice, and multiculturalism direct the attention of social movements and citizens towards the federal government where matters of redress are concerned, leaving BC with an impoverished culture of memory that allows dominant groups to ignore the province’s racist past. The paper will investigate this hypothesis by comparing BC provincial debates about historical redress with their relevant counterpart discussions at the federal level. It will also consider a recent notable departure from BC’s record of historical amnesia, the provincial government’s current focus on “reconciliation” with Aboriginal peoples, in order to consider whether there are specific contemporary factors prompting BC provincial elites to change their traditional amnesiac posture.

Janara, Laura

Optics, Time, Space and Realism in Machiavelli’s Thought

In his writings, Machiavelli repeatedly invokes the idea of sight and seeing. My working thesis is that Machiavelli conveys the nature of politics in part by articulating two distinct forms of optics. First, ordinary men’s imaginations are prone variously to flux and sedimentation, and so must be carefully directed, in both republics and principalities, by great leaders and institutions that convey visions of reality that serve the life of the polity. This directive work of artful trompe l’oeil relates to Renaissance art’s neoclassical linear perspectivism, the yield of which was artistic “realism” – an apparently true window on the real world from the standpoint of a singular eye. It is this form of optics typically associated with Machiavelli. However, I will argue, Machiavelli also theorizes a second form of optics – one used by virtuoso political actors themselves to gain a reliable vision of the actually multiplicitous political terrain that lays before them. Their goal is to see as much of the real reality as humanly possible and then to act prudently. I will show how this second way of seeing is rooted not in the Renaissance’s neoclassical perspectivism, which conceals some things while others fade into the distance, but rather in a multiplicitous perspectivism symbolized in Machiavelli’s works by the many-eyed mythological figure Argus and exercised by the all-seeing fox. My claim is that this second form of optics reflects not emergent modern but rather late medieval ways of thinking and knowing, and reflects Machiavelli’s sense of politics as multiplicitous by nature – a view more amenable than neoclassical perspectivism to democracy. Over all, the essay will complicate common views of Machiavelli’s realism as it clarifies his sense that politics involves far more than empirical reality and realpolitik.

Jenson, Jane

Rolling back: Quebec’s childcare system in late neo-liberalism

In the mid-1990s Quebec acted against the tide. While most provinces and territories were still mired in debates about who was responsible for children and childcare, Quebec moved dramatically ahead. In 1997 it instituted an innovative universal and affordable system that married goals of providing quality child care, of increasing employment rates, and of ensuring community control. This system served as the unofficial “model” when other Canadian governments finally began to move toward improving the Canadian childcare system in 2004 and 2005. These latter policy directions adopted by Ottawa and many provinces have in turn served as an indicator of the arrival of post-neoliberal politics.

In 2003, however, the Quebec Liberal Party led by Jean Charest took office. It promised and then began instituting a late-blooming version of neo-liberalism, drawing on analyses and promises that were most popular in the early 1990s. Since then, the government of Quebec has tried to reform the childcare system in ways that would roll back its affordability, its emphasis on quality, and its community control.

This paper will examine those efforts. It will also document the mobilisation against them, opposition which has sometimes forced the government to retract or modify its proposals. The actors are a variety of groups concerned to defend a programme long identified as key to women’s equality as well as children’s well-being.

Johns, Michael

The perception of culture in explaining ethnic conflict in Europe.

Scholars have long attempted to explain why some ethnic conflicts result in violence while others never reach such a point. While many have looked for a structural or institutional explanation to this question the role of a group's culture has long been ignored. This paper will exam the role of culture in predicting ethnic conflict. Using four case studies: Russians in Latvia and Estonia, the Basques in Spain and the Corsicans of France the role of culture in the state/minority group relationship will be explored. The paper examines two issues: First, there is evidence that some cultures are more accepting of violence than others and this culture develops and changes over time due to historical and social factors and secondly, it is how both the group and the state perceive the other's culture which is most important. The conflict between the state and its minority groups is framed by how they perceive how likely a group is to resort to violence. This study will rely on primary interviews with members of both the majority and the minority groups and secondary sources to supplement the interviews. The analysis of culture will come from the interviewees themselves and the secondary sources. As it is how they perceive culture which frames the relationship, their opinion of the acceptance of violence in the culture is most

important. This paper will illustrate how informal institutions such as culture are as important in the understanding of ethnic conflict as formal structures.

Johnson, Genevieve Fuji

The Discourse of Democracy: The Democratic Evolution of Canadian Nuclear Waste Management Policy

In numerous areas of public policy, western industrialized governments have sought to realize principles of deliberative democracy. Nowhere are these democratic turns more surprising than in areas historically dominated by scientific experts and industry interests, such as Canadian nuclear waste management. What explains the democratic turn in this policy area? What is the significance of this turn? And, what are its lessons? My analysis suggests that this turn was brought on by an increasingly powerful discursive coalition that benefited from institutional changes in the implementation of nuclear waste management policy. My analysis, however, goes on to identify limitations in the significance of this turn. These limitations are revealed in an evaluation of the most important dialogues that constituted the Nuclear Waste Management Organization (NWMO)'s consultation process against the deliberative democratic criteria of inclusion, equality, reciprocity, agreement, and integration. This analysis suggests that the significance of deliberative democratic decision making is contingent on the will of all involved actors as well as on the adequacy of time and money allocated to the process. In the concluding section of the paper, I ponder the implications of the NWMO's consultation process in the larger context of what may be changing citizen-government relations in Canada. If citizens are seeking more direct and deliberative participation in important policy decisions, then the lessons drawn from the NWMO's consultation process might be particularly useful in efforts to rejuvenate Canadian democracy.

Johnson, James

On the Priority of Democracy: A Pragmatist Approach to Political-Economic Institutions and the Burden of Justification

An institutional arrangement consists of a complex combination of components drawn from an array of possible forms, including markets, common law, bureaucracy, etc. Any institutional form will generate more or less attractive outcomes under a range of initial conditions. Given this plurality, none of these institutional forms has presumptive warrant as a first order instrument for coordinating ongoing social interactions in all domains. This gives rise to an obvious second order difficulty: how can a population determine institutional arrangements in any particular domain? It is likely there will be legitimate disagreement among members of the population on this matter. The "priority" of democracy derives from its usefulness in approaching this crucial second order task. Democracy's unique level of reflexivity lends democratic arrangements presumptive priority of a particular sort. In any effort to negotiate unavoidable social disagreement democracy enjoys a second order priority because it operates in ways that potentially meet a heavy burden of justification.

We rely on recent rational choice models of social institutions to argue that while there exists a plurality of ways to coordinate social and political interactions, we should accord priority to democracy. Rational choice theorists regularly and improperly privilege a different component of our institutional arrangements, namely markets. Once one clarifies the premises and argumentative strategies common to rational choice institutionalism, that privilege becomes unsustainable. In fact, we argue that the analytical models institutionalists deploy and the explanatory strategies to which they are committed actually sustain our case for the priority of democracy.

Jones, Evan

Social democracy and the new public management

This paper will explore the extent to which public service reforms referred to as new public management (NPM) affect public policy development and implementation under social democracy. NPM refers to a wide range of reforms undertaken at the federal and provincial levels of government in Canada aimed at making government more business-like. Typical NPM rhetoric refers to government "steering not rowing," being "results-oriented," and employing "performance measurement." In this paper I will examine whether NPM creates "path-dependency" for public policy, and in what ways NPM promotes, shapes, or constrains public policies under social democracy. The case of provincial social democratic regimes will be particularly instructive here. For example, NPM has been embraced by both a neoliberal regime in Alberta as well as a social democratic regime in Saskatchewan. While NPM reforms made under the leadership of Progressive Conservative Premier Ralph Klein in Alberta can be seen as part of his overall radical neoliberal restructuring of government, the embrace of NPM in Saskatchewan has been made to appear as consistent with social democratic values as defined by the Saskatchewan New Democratic Party. Through a comparison such as this, I will evaluate to what degree there is an inherent tension between social democracy and NPM, and to what degree NPM can assist in the implementation of public policies that reflect social democratic goals and values.

Joya, Angela

The contradictions of Democratization and liberalization in Egypt

The processes of democratization and liberalization have produced different manifestations of human insecurity in the Middle East, as one region of the third world. The idea that neoliberal reforms would produce security and prosperity was put to the test in the late 1970s and in the early 1980s in a number of MENA (Middle East and North African) countries. As part and parcel of such an agenda, the IMF and the World Bank put in place disciplinary institutions that would lock in certain sets of neo-liberal rules by which Middle Eastern states, economies and societies would abide. However, by the mid 1980s, signs of insecurity became visible. Price controls and economic restructuring produced increased human insecurity (high unemployment, dislocation and dispossession). This essay examines how the current processes of democratization and liberalization, which are heralded and supported by the US and other

advanced industrialized countries as a new beginning, in fact have resulted in the erosion of the existing social safety nets, exposing the vulnerable populations of these societies to the uncertainties of financial markets. I will argue that the policies of democratization and liberalization, while ignoring the contradictions that are created in these societies by the very processes of liberalization, would further intensify existing social conflicts. Human insecurity will not be resolved through democratization and liberalization; rather insecurities such as increased urban dislocation, high levels of unemployment, and the emergence of extreme forms of religious fundamentalism and terrorism, constitute the outcomes of such processes of global economic integration.

Jubb, Nadine

Gender, Funding and Social Order: Contradictions among the State, the Women's Movement, and Donors regarding the Nicaraguan Women's Police Stations

This paper examines how donors' funding of the Women's Police Stations (WPS) in Nicaragua influences the dynamics between the state and the women's movement. It focuses on the national partners – the Nicaraguan Women's Institute, the National Police, and the Women's Network against Violence – and bilateral donors during three very different funding periods, from 1995 to 2005.

The WPS are studied as points of articulation where the national partners clash over services – rooted in conflicting approaches to gender and the social order – and compete to be hegemonic. Donors mediate the relationship and roles of national counterparts by shaping projects according to their funding priorities. Foreign funding contributes to strengthening state bodies, while both relying on and limiting the participation of the women's movement. The complexities of “engendering democracy” are further exposed through the ambiguous consequences for users.

Drawing on studies of the WPS in Brazil and regional feminist debates, this paper considers the contributions of the Nicaraguan WPS to discussions regarding the NGOization of the women's movement, the policy capacity of state women's bureaux, and gender and citizen/human security studies. It adds the dimension of foreign funding and the complex relationship among two state bodies and a women's organization.

This paper is based on dissertation and subsequent research, and project evaluations by the author. She coordinates a regional comparative research project on the WPS.

Jusko, Karen

The Political Participation of the Poor and Redistributive Policy

Are low income citizens well-represented in the electorates of mature democracies? How does the representation of low income citizens in the electorate vary cross-nationally? What factors contribute to the representation of low income citizens in the electorate? Do the poor ‘do better’ when they comprise a larger proportion of the electorate?

The proposed research will address these questions in a broadly comparative analysis, using data collected under the auspices of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, and the Luxembourg Income Study.

Katchanovski, Ivan

The Orange Evolution? The Political Realignment and Regional Divisions in Ukraine

This paper analyzes a political realignment and changes in regional political divisions in Ukraine in 2002-2006. A major realignment that culminated in “the Orange Revolution” occurred in the Ukrainian politics since 2002. The question is whether this realignment and the regional changes are revolutionary or evolutionary. My hypothesis is that the ascendancy of the Orange camp represents evolutionary changes in the party system and regional political culture in Ukraine. This study is based on a realignment theory that refers to elections that produce significant and relatively long-term changes in dominant parties, leaders, issues and preferences of voters.

This paper employs comparative analysis of regional support for pro-Yushchenko parties in the 2002 and 2006 parliamentary elections and support for Viktor Yushchenko in the 2004 presidential elections. This study uses surveys conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology and the Razumkov Center in 2002-2006 to compare changes in political orientation in regions of Ukraine. This paper shows that charismatic personalities of Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko and administrative resources used by Viktor Yanukovich are main driving forces of the political realignment and changes in the regional divisions in Ukraine since 2002. Surveys show that regional shifts in support for Viktor Yushchenko during the 2004 elections and for pro-Yushchenko parties in the 2002 elections are much more significant than regional changes in support for such issues as Ukraine's membership in NATO, the EU, the CIS and the Common Economic Space and official status of Russian language.

Katchanovski, Ivan

Openness of Cabinet-Level Websites in Developing Countries

This paper examines the effects of political, cultural, economic, and technical factors on openness of cabinet-level websites in developing countries. Previous theoretical and empirical studies differ on the effects of democracy and culture on the cross-national variation in electronic-government. This study applies distinction between cyberdemocracy and “Potemkin e-villages,” or window-dressing, to electronic governments in developing countries. The question is whether the level of democracy and cultural legacies affect openness of electronic governments.

This paper uses regression analysis of a comparative database of national level public agency websites that is produced by the Cyberspace Policy Research Group (CyPRG).

The openness index, the dependent variable, is based on transparency and interactivity scores and availability of cabinet-level websites in more than 100 developing countries. The independent variables include Freedom House and Polity indexes of democracy, colonial legacy, religious tradition, government performance index, the GDP per capita and number of Internet users per 1,000 people.

Regression analysis shows that the level of democracy, colonial legacy, religious tradition and the level of economic development affect openness of cabinet-level websites in the developing countries.

Kellogg, Catherine

Deconstruction and the Politics of Anxiety

This paper begins from the question of how Jacques Derrida's thought might be interesting to left-leaning feminist anti-racists interested in understanding new modes of governing. This is the kind of straightforward question that political theorists have regularly asked of political theory: how is this theory of the world, or of history or subjectivity useful? How does it help us think about human arrangements of power? How might we make use of it in order to achieve justice, and so on. So it bears noting that even those who are convinced of deconstruction's significance have expressed exasperation about its immediate 'applicability'. Indeed, I want to approach my own questions about the political purchase of deconstruction by way of thematizing this anxiety itself. I undertake this by first visiting the theory *of* anxiety (psychoanalysis), in order to understand the anxiety that is proper to theory, which is to say, the anxiety *of* theory. The subject and indeed the task of politics can be understood quite differently in the wake of a deconstructive approach to psychoanalysis.

Kellogg, Paul

The Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas: Its implications for the future of 'globalization'

The year 2005 was to have seen the implementation of The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), but has instead witnessed the deepening impasse of the entire FTAA process, along with most of the other institutional forms of what has been called "globalization". In part, this impasse has involved a retreat to earlier institutions such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). But we have seen with the spate of trade disputes between Canada and the US, the fraying at the edges of even this more limited regional trade bloc. However, a new element has been introduced with the near-simultaneous announcement of plans for a South American Union (SAU – based on the Mercosur and Andean community groups of nations, plus Chile), and the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas or ALBA, proposed by Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez. This paper will examine the ALBA proposal in light of the impasse of the institutions of globalization, and address the questions of a) its viability as an alternative to the FTAA and b) its compatibility with the more developed plans for the SAU. The paper builds on research presented last year at the Congress of the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences ("Canada, the 'North American Tiger' and the World Economy"), and to be presented at the Studies in Political Economy Conference, "Cultures of Resistance and Alternatives to Neo-Liberalism".

Kennedy, Geoff

English Republicanism and the Meaning of Empire, 1649-1653

This paper explores the relationship between republicanism and imperialism within the context of early modern England. It will show how certain English republicans came to alter the relationship between empire and liberty within the discourse of classical republicanism, thereby reconciling two previously incompatible concepts. During the Renaissance, republicans argued that liberty necessitated a drive towards 'greatness' in the form of territorial expansion. This posed problems for republican liberty because territorial expansion had a tendency to develop into empire. The constitutional reformation that resulted in empire undermined the very liberty that served as the foundation of the republic. While scholars claim that Italian republicans left this dilemma unresolved, English republicans are said to have reconciled republicanism with imperialism. The conclusion drawn is that English republican theorists were able to develop more 'modern' forms of republicanism conducive to the an aggressive commercial policy of overseas expansion. Using an historical materialist approach to the study of state formation and commercial expansion, this paper will argue that the different social basis of the English state, its relation to the established merchant community, and the specific social and political struggles that ensued during the Revolution that enabled English republicans to find new ways of dealing with the dilemma that concerned republicans during the Renaissance period because the nature of the dilemma itself had changed.

King, Elisabeth

Weakening or Weaving Social Fabric?: The role of education in Rwanda

While interstate conflicts often mobilize national unity, intrastate conflicts, now much more common, weaken social fabric, dividing populations and undermining interpersonal trust and cooperation. Groups are the key players in intrastate conflicts and fragmented inter-group relationships must be systematically examined as a root of conflict. Consequently, peacebuilding involves not only economic or infrastructural reconstruction, but the essential (re)building of positive social capital and the strengthening of social cohesion.

Following my return from fieldwork in Rwanda, this paper will argue that the formal education system can contribute to both the building of divisive ethnic identities fostering social fragmentation and to the promotion of social cohesion, contributing to peacebuilding. Based primarily on the results of interviews with Rwandans that have attended school during different eras, it will endeavour to explain some of the ways in which the Rwandan education system has weakened social fabric, or has woven it together. Such findings have important implications for Rwanda and for other countries endeavouring to build enduring peace and prevent violent conflict. Findings also have implications for Canadian foreign policy and will be pondered in relation to Canada's human security agenda.

Kiss, Simon

New Politics in Old Parties: The New Politics Initiative and Canada's NDP

The question of how social movements and political parties relate to each other is a particularly vexing one for the left. The roots of the debate can be traced back to the earliest roots of socialist political activity. The New Politics Initiative was an organized attempt to bridge the contemporary divide between social movements and Canada's social democratic party. It attracted widespread media attention and significant support among members of Canada's left and delegates to the 2001 convention. At the convention, the resolution to support the NPI received almost 40% of the convention floor. Despite this, the NPI has received little, if any, academic attention.

The purpose of this paper is to answer three questions. First, what factors contributed to the rise and fall of the New Politics Initiative? Second, what was its political nature? Third, what consequences did the New Politics have for the NDP and Canadian social democracy? In order to answer these three questions, I will draw upon primary source material from the NPI as well as interviews with actors involved in the campaign. I will place the NPI in the political and intellectual tradition of "New Politics" which has been used to characterize the rise of Green and left-libertarian parties in Europe. As such, I will draw upon theoretical explanations for the rise of said parties and examine which conditions may or may not have contributed to the rise of the New Politics Initiative.

Knijn, Trudie

New Dilemmas In Inclusive Citizenship; Rethinking Care, Gender And Citizenship.

This contribution is a reflection on the article I published with Monique Kremer in 1997 'Gender and the caring dimension of welfare states: toward inclusive citizenship.' There we analysed that in the social-liberal concept of citizenship care was excluded as an entrance and condition for citizenship. We developed a theoretical framework for a gender-neutral recognition of the right to give and receive care. Our main objective then was to get beyond the dependency – independency dilemma.

Since 1997 a lot has happened; theoretically as well in political discourse and in social policy, in particular in the way welfare states changed their way of governing. In this contribution three changes in the way welfare states care will be elaborated:

- 1) A shift from social liberal towards either neo-liberal or communitarian approaches of citizenship (the human capital or social investment approach)
- 2) An institutional shift in welfare states from governing to governance (including the purchaser-provider split in services as well as privatisation of services and new control mechanisms such as monitoring and benchmarking)
- 3) A shift towards contractualisation and commodification of care by way of cash benefits and marketized care services.

Knopff, Rainer and Baker, Dennis

Strategic Judicial Decision Making and Prisoners' Voting Rights: From Sauvé I to Sauvé II

While analysis of the strategic dimension of appellate court decision making has become a stock in trade for political scientists interested in the judiciary, the Supreme Court's unanimous opinion in *Sauvé I* (1993) seems a poor candidate for this or any other kind of analysis. In an unusually terse opinion (about half as long as this abstract), *Sauvé I* offers only the virtually unelaborated conclusion that a blanket disqualification of all prisoner voting was unreasonable under section 1 of the Charter, leaving open the question whether a more finely tuned disqualification might pass constitutional muster. Nine years later in *Sauvé II* (2002), however, several of the same judges disagreed so vehemently about whether any kind of prisoner disqualification could be justified that their earlier unanimity must have been strategically constructed. Working back from the more fulsome evidence of *Sauvé II*, it is possible to infer the strategic calculations underlying the carefully crafted brevity of *Sauvé I*. This analysis confirms James Gibson's view that judicial decision-making is a "function of what [judges] prefer to do, tempered by what they think they ought to do, but constrained by what they perceive is feasible to do." Among other things, we show that neither side on the substantive question could achieve a clear majority in 1993 because at least some judges must have been motivated not only by results-oriented policy considerations but also by scruples concerning proper judicial procedure – by what they thought "they ought to do." As a consequence, the most "feasible" outcome was a strategic waiting game, in which both sides of the substantive policy debate gambled that the inevitable turnover of their colleagues would turn the tide in their favour.

Koop, Royce and Jansen, Harold

Canadian Political Blogs: Online Soapboxes or Forums for Democratic Dialogue?

Online web logs, or blogs, are gaining increasing attention from the media. This attention typically focuses upon the actions of bloggers in particular episodes, such as the role of blogs in disseminating information from the Gomery inquiry. A recent study reports that roughly 8 million Americans have created blogs and 24% of Internet users read blogs (Rainie, 2005). Despite this, the few academic papers that have been written on political blogs tend to focus on such notable episodes (Bloom, 2003) or more narrow aspects of the blogging phenomenon. But foundational scholarly knowledge of blogs remains thin, particularly in the Canadian context.

This paper investigates the Canadian political blog community, first by defining blogs and then systematically analyzing the content of Canadian political blogs. Building on our previous work on Internet discussion boards (Jansen and Koop, forthcoming), our study focusses on the potential and reality of blogs to fulfill the ideals of democratic deliberation.

Besides laying some important foundations for future research into the blog phenomenon, this study's findings will have implications for understanding the communicative potential of blogs (Gumbrecht, 2004), accounts of blogging as political participation (McKenna and Pole, 2004) or blogs as interactive communities (Goodwin-Jones, 2003), and the potential for blogs to exercise influence over policy outcomes (Drezner and Farrell, 2004).

Koopman, Colin

Three Intellectual Histories of Modernity: Arendt, Blumenberg, and Dewey

Much of twentieth-century political philosophy can be seen as a polarized debate between two extreme positions. On the one hand we have a bold "rationalism" characteristic of liberal political theories dominant in North American and German philosophical circles. At the other extreme an "irrationalism" qualifies many theories common in French philosophical circles. One source of this polarization is the common intellectual history employed by both sets of political theorists. As is the case in political philosophy, much twentieth-century intellectual history of modernity vacillates between pro-Enlightenment optimism and anti-Enlightenment pessimism. To flesh out these contrasts, I juxtapose an unlikely pair of intellectual historians also influential on political philosophical thought: Hannah Arendt and Hans Blumenberg. I locate in Blumenberg an over-confidence in modernity's employment of reason. In Arendt I find a too-pessimistic suspicion of reason coupled with a romantic conception of natality. The error common to both is a Weberian simplification: they understand modernity in univocal terms as an age of relentless rationalization. Herein Blumenberg sees an important promise while Arendt discerns a terrible risk. My assessment confirms Bruno Latour's insight: "Except for the plus or minus sign, moderns and antimoderns share all the same convictions." We should be dissatisfied with both approaches. I thus conclude urging a reconsideration of John Dewey's pragmatism, which steers an intellectual historical course between Blumenbergian optimism and Arendtian pessimism. Rooted in this more plausible intellectual historical frame, pragmatist political philosophy is able to avoid the extremes characteristic of too much contemporary theory.

Kotsovilis, Spyridon

Exploring Liberal and Nationalist Justifications for Political Violence: The 1970 October Crisis

This paper aims to investigate when, if ever, and how is violence justified' not only by the state, but especially by non-state agents. It is a question pertinent to both Liberalism and Nationalism, as they strive to define individual and collective rights vis a vis concepts of social justice and political obligation. This study explores three questions--'What is political violence?', 'when is it justified?' and 'how are disagreements over its justification to be resolved?'--in four theoretical and one empirical part: Part I one examines the concept and definitions of political violence and terrorism. Part II discusses the general categories of attitudes towards violence, derives, enumerates and examines a list of justifications for violence and offers a critique and classification of such rationalizations. Part III discusses the issues of justice and fairness in society, as guarantors of rights and obligations, and as safeguards of civility, or even the civil nature of dissent. Given potential empirical disagreement over conceptions of Justice, Part IV explores what happens in such a case, especially how and who is to decide when violence is an appropriate course of action in the event of such a fundamental difference of opinion--a discussion leading to the realm of legitimacy. Finally, it concludes with a fifth section--a concise empirical case study of the October Crisis that highlights and illustrates most of the concepts and arguments discussed, based on interviews with main players of the 1970 Crisis (like Claude Ryan and Jacques Parizeau) conducted by the author.

Kotsovilis, Spyridon

Riding the Democratic Wave(s): Parameters of transition and consolidation in Serbia, Georgia and the Ukraine

Despite preliminary taxonomy efforts by scholars, no satisfactory answers have emerged to classify the latest political events in Serbia, Georgia, Ukraine or Kyrgyzstan. Can these processes be grouped together? What type of events do they constitute, and what-if anything--could they reveal about the validity, transitivity, generalizability and applicability of current democratic theory/ies of transition and consolidation towards the field's aspirations for a general, unified theory of democracy?

By examining the latest democracy-related events in Eastern Europe, this paper seeks to revisit and inform the recent heated debate (Karl and Schmitter vs. Terry, Bunce; McFaul, Hanson et al.) regarding whether democratic transition 'can travel eastwards.' For example, while 4th wave transitions have been deemed incompatible or unique with 3rd wave literature, the regime change events in Serbia, Georgia and the Ukraine point towards a more complex picture. The paper explores the set of these three new cases of regime and engages them-across selected dimensions-in a systematic two-fold comparison:

- I. 'Temporal' within the '4th wave' (current set with cases from earlier Eastern European transitions, and
- II. Geographic (with selected cases from the 3rd wave of democratization in South Western Europe)

The goal of the study is to establish whether and in what ways is causality of this latest set of case conceptually and theoretically different from (i) earlier '4th wave' and (ii) 3rd wave cases, towards a clarification of explanatory factors, measures and key concepts used involving the nature and pace of transition and consolidation processes.

Lacharite, Jason

Minor Irritation or Major Inconvenience? Reassessing the Impact of Electronic Commerce on Tax Collection in Canada

Thus far, much of the research examining the implications of electronic commerce (e-commerce) on tax collection in the developed world has been cast in a rather negative light. Indeed, there appears to be a general agreement that 'business-to-consumer' and 'business-to-business' e-commerce pose a number of challenges for tax authorities in the OECD. While there have been some attempts to quantify the net effects of e-commerce on tax collection, it is difficult to estimate, with any certainty, how much tax revenue will be lost as a result of Internet commerce. In addition, much of the literature, to date, has focused on sales tax dependent jurisdictions in the United States and the European Union. The effects of e-commerce on tax collection will ultimately vary from country to country. This article argues that, in Canada's case, the challenges posed by e-commerce have been largely overstated. There are essentially three reasons for this. First, Canada is an income tax dependent country. The evidence indicates that sales tax dependent systems are far more vulnerable to tax revenue losses than income tax dependant systems. Second, e-commerce has only had a marginal impact on sales tax collection in Canada. Furthermore, Statistics Canada's data shows that Canadian households and

businesses continue to buy most of their online products and services from Canadian web-sites. Finally, the overall tax burden in Canada is relatively low by OECD standards. Therefore, there is room to increase taxes in various areas to compensate for any potential losses in tax revenue resulting from e-commerce.

Ladner, Kiera

Take 35: Reconciling Indigenous and Canadian Constitutional Orders

According to the Supreme Court of Canada, the purpose of section 35 is essentially, to reconcile Aboriginal and Treaty Rights with Canadian sovereignty. Framing reconciliation as a constitutional requirement, I seek to determine whether it is possible to reconcile the two constitutional orders and to ascertain possible parameters of reconciliation. To facilitate this discussion, I will examine the existing legal decisions and scholarship pertaining to Aboriginal-state reconciliation in Canada as well as existing scholarship on Indigenous constitutionalism and contested sovereignties. The paper will be primarily theoretical, yet grounded in both in case law and case studies of Indigenous constitutional orders. It will demonstrate that if we are to follow the court's order and reconcile, then a new understanding of the Canadian Constitution may be required; one which recognizes and affirms the existence of a parallel Indigenous constitutional order.

Laforest, Rachel

One step forward, Two steps back: The erosion Quebec's citizenship regime

On the 14th April 2003, the Quebec Liberal Party (QLP) came to power and set out to re-engineer and modernize the Quebec state. Under the guise of decentralization and democratization, it launched a series of reforms that had for effect to redesign institutional arrangements across a variety of scales. These new arrangements and the patterns of collaboration they encouraged profoundly alter the power balance between the actors as the relations between them and the terms of access are being reconfigured. As the political discourse began to question the role of intermediary organizations in the representation of interests, community groups saw their institutionalized access to the state closed off. By moving to reduce the influence of the community sector, which has been an integral component of the Quebec policy environment, and undermining the legitimacy of community organizations, the emerging discourse signals that the parameters of access to the state and the representation of interests are shifting and suggests that the citizenship regime in Quebec may be eroded by the complex developments occurring across a variety of scales. This paper examines the ways in which the recent reforms and political discourse of the Liberal government in Quebec are limiting the power of the community movement. It argues that the transformations underway represent an important rupture with the Quebec model of interest representation and signal that the citizenship regime is shifting in profound ways.

Larner, Wendy

Gendering 'After Neoliberalism': Politics and Policies in Aotearoa New Zealand

This paper develops a gendered analysis of the political formation called elsewhere 'After Neoliberalism' (Larner 2005; Larner, Le Heron and Lewis 2006; Larner, Lewis and Le Heron 2006a). The name of this political formation is taken from a speech made by Prime Minister Helen Clark in late 2002, in which she stated that neoliberalism in New Zealand was over (Clark 2002). However, it is quite clear that the approach of the fifth Labour government does not mark a return to the nation-state centered understandings of the post-war period in which economy and society were imagined as singular and coterminous. Contemporary policies continue to draw on highly economic language and are tied to increasing participation in the globalizing economy for both men and women. At the same time, they involve the active building of new relationships with non-traditional actors. Environment, sustainability and culture have entered into the domain of economic policy, and community, partnership and ethnic diversity now feature centrally in social policy.

Rather than representing the imposition of a coherent political programme 'After Neoliberalism' is best seen involving post facto rationalizations in which connections are made across multiple political projects that have only recently and retrospectively been identified as component parts of a new governmental strategy. This argument is developed through discussion of four political projects; globalization, knowledge economy/knowledge society, creative industries and social development. Seen together, the genealogies of these political projects show us that the projects coming together 'After Neoliberalism' have emerged from the continual imaging and re-imagining of the diverse actors involved, their taken-for-granted assumptions about the contexts in which they act, their privileging of particular understandings of gender relations, the forms of expertise they mobilize, and the practices they engage in. The paper concludes that the simultaneous working out of these diverse political projects serves to position women in diverse, and sometimes, contradictory ways.

Latta, Alex

Reading Environmental Justice as Citizenship: an Arendtian Perspective

Many treatments of environmental justice focus primarily on the racial and/or socio-economic dimensions of harm distribution, or on the corresponding political and judicial challenges that stand in the way of achieving better distributional equity or procedural rights for communities that currently bear the brunt of ecological problems generated by industrial society. An increasing body of scholarship, however, has begun to highlight the role of a broader range of cultural factors in environmental justice mobilizations, suggesting that locally situated identity building is a key feature of the way that activists perform their demands for justice. The paper draws on the political theories of Hannah Arendt, particularly as interpreted by Catriona Mortimer-Sandilands, Susan Bickford, and Kimberly Curtis, in order to explore the role of identity in environmental justice struggles, and to argue that such struggles can be understood as spaces of "insurgent" citizenship. Within such spaces, poor and racially marginalized communities have sought not only justice in the limited sense of rights or fair consideration in decision making, but also in the more expansive sense of recognition and

public voice. From an Arendtian perspective, where public action in the context of radical plurality is vital to the agonistic unfolding of a common world, these expansive aspects of environmental justice become comprehensible as alternate world-building endeavours. Such subaltern world building disarticulates dominant regimes of citizenship, and points toward new possibilities for reshaping the terms by which political and ecological community are defined.

Lawson, Robert

"Beyond Deliberation: The Problem of Citizen Alienation and the Limits of Citizen Engagement in Deliberative Democratic Theory"
Seminal contributions to deliberative democratic theory distinguish spaces for deliberation within the institutions of government in the political system from spaces for public deliberation among citizens in the 'decentred' public sphere of civil society (Habermas 1996, 1998; Chambers 1996; Gutmann and Thompson 1996, 2004; Dryzek 2000; Warren 2002). Although an important distinction, the preference for the latter as the appropriate space for the revitalization of citizen engagement presents a problem for deliberative democratic theory. Namely, it preserves the disconnection of most citizens and their opportunities for engagement in democratic politics from processes of collective decision-making and governance concentrated within the procedural and institutional framework of the political system.

Although deliberative democrats are not entirely insensitive to this disconnect, I argue that their typical response – i.e. the claim by Habermas (1996) and others that conventional institutions (e.g., political parties, legislatures, and courts) and procedures for citizen engagement (e.g., elections) provide sufficient points of linkage between opinion and will-formation (via public deliberation) in civil society and the exercise of decision-making authority in the political system – is inadequate. The problem is that citizens (in terms of their opportunities for engagement) are alienated precisely from decision-making processes that originate in the political system; not to mention the array of empirical evidence which suggests many citizens are both distrustful of government and representatives, and feel as though they lack input in or influence over either. I argue that this problem of 'citizen alienation' in contemporary liberal democracies demands that democratic theorists move 'beyond' deliberation and develop citizen engagement strategies that are located within the political system and more directly attached to processes of governmental decision-making.

Lee, Martha and Nantais, Cynthia

Images of Women in Iraq II: Gender and the Military

This paper builds on our earlier research, which examined and compared media images of the United States' female POWs in Iraq I and Iraq II, using Judith Hicks Stiehm's analysis of gender and war. Stiehm argues that during times of war, both society and the military understand men to be protectors, and women to be protected. In this paper, we examine the ways – despite the changes in women's combat roles and military needs – the image of "protected" continues to be utilized by the American military to sustain particular conceptions of masculinity. We argue that this reliance on a gendered image is ultimately problematic for the military. Although it needs women to engage in an ever-wider range of quasi-combat actions, it sustains the belief among the American public and lawmakers that women are incapable of engaging in combat.

Lenard, Patti Tamara

Does Trust Facilitate Deliberation or Does Deliberation Generate Trust? The Role of Trust in Deliberative Democracy

A recently published essay on the relationship between trust and deliberation claims a double relation between trust and deliberative democracy: trust facilitates deliberation and, further, deliberation will generate trust ('Democratic Theory and Trust', Mark Warren, 1999). In this paper, I unpack and assess these claims.

In the first section of the paper, I argue that trust is central to democracy in general. In the second, I present Warren's account of the double relationship between trust and deliberative democracy. He argues that trust serves to mitigate the difficulties often experienced by deliberators in deliberative forums: deliberators sometimes worry that others are insincere in presenting their views, for example, and deliberators may often believe that others are unwilling to compromise. Warren himself presents his case as though it were obvious that trust mitigates these difficulties; in this section, then, I flesh out the reasoning behind these more or less plausible claims. Warren claims, further, that deliberation itself fosters trust relations among deliberators, but this claim remains unexamined in his essay. In the third section of the paper, I examine this claim in considerable detail. I engage (at least) two arguments for thinking that deliberation can facilitate the emergence of trust relations: 1) deliberation may provide distrustful deliberations with the information they need to soothe their distrustful attitudes; and 2) deliberation can serve to identify a set of common interests. In the fourth section of the paper, I consider objections to these reasons for thinking that trust can emerge from deliberation, namely, in the presence of distrust, deliberators expect disagreement. In other words, in a climate of distrust, deliberators do not possess the mindset that is central to deliberative democracy: the willingness to compromise with others who can be expected to do the same. Instead, we have good reason to think that distrust will generate polarization rather than compromise. Deliberation, I conclude, can only lead to trust under certain, very specific conditions; in the concluding section of the paper, I outline these stringent conditions under which the emergence of trust relations may be facilitated (although never guaranteed).

Leo, Christopher

Deep Federalism: The Federal Government and Canadian Communities

The growing importance of cities and local communities in national governance has been a recurring theme in a number of literatures, and a reliable source of frustration for Canadian policy-makers. The theme appears in the literature under a number of different designations, for example "rescaling", "multi-level governance" and the creation of "new state spaces". It is evident at the level of policy-making in the European Union's policy of subsidiarity, the UK's Local Area Agreements and, in Canada, in the community planning process that is part of the National Homelessness Initiative.

Much of the literature deals with this issue on an elevated theoretical plane, while Jane Jenson and Rianne Mahon focus on the role of rescaling in responding to particular policy challenges. Between these poles of generality and specificity is the question of how community-centred governance fits the federal system. Given the capacities, as well as the constraints and rigidities, of Canadian federalism, how can the federal government adapt national policies to the very different requirements of disparate communities? What does it have to do to be, and be perceived as, responsive to these communities? Drawing on both historical data and a current series of case studies, this paper shows that the federal government has been wrestling with this problem for much longer than is generally appreciated, and continues to do so today. It reviews those experiences and considers what lessons we can learn from them

Levine, Renan and Stephenson, Laura

Limits of Leadership

Media coverage of policies sometimes includes quotes from opinion leaders sharing their views on what the policy should be. Prominent among these opinion leaders on a range of social and economic issues are both politicians and clergy. What happens when political and religious leaders convey conflicting messages? Whose message is more likely to persuade citizens? We conducted an experiment using university students in both the U.S. and Canada. Respondents were shown a quote before answering questions on stem cell research and welfare policy, enabling us to control the message they received and vary the source (religious or political) and frame (ethical or material). By comparing responses between respondents, we evaluate whether the impact of the leader is dependent on matching the moral leader to a moral argument, a political leader to a political argument, or whether the leaders are most influential employing ethical frames regardless of their expertise (see Shah, Domke and Wackman 2001). Druckman (2001) is the only study that we know of that varied both the framing of the message and the source of the message on an issue. Our project builds on Druckman's findings by comparing the effect of guidance from religious leaders to the influence of politicians who might be seen as more credible when employing material arguments. Like Druckman, our research design does not vary the positions taken by the leaders, only the arguments they employ in support of that stance.

Levine, Renan

Revising Rationality: From Prescriptive to Descriptive Depictions of Political Decision-Making

If people make choices generally consistent with the norms of rational choice without closely adhering to how rational choices are made, must we change our assumptions? Recent research into how people actually make decisions have challenged assumptions of rationality in political science and economics by showing that the context and task required to arrive at the decision matters and that people often construct preferences while completing their choice task. This paper reviews why this is problematic for rational choice and attempts to investigate whether scholars should assume that these violations are endemic or result in vastly different choice behaviour than behaviour that meets rational choice assumptions.

Lipsig-Mumme, Carla

Labour Responses to Globalization in Australia and Canada

Taking the workshop's theme that the argument that structural pressures of technology and the global marketplace, capital mobility, and the provisions of trade agreements are insufficient to explain the demise of the postwar settlement between capital and labour, this presentation examines actual processes of labour adaptation and adjustment in Australia and Canada. Particular emphasis is placed on the proposition that states are not prisoners of global forces and in this context state initiatives have had a major influence on labour outcomes. Recent developments in industrial relations legislation in Australia highlight the point. Against this backdrop the presentation explores the options available to labour in seeking to modify or transform its current condition under globalization.

Lipson, Michael

Dilemmas of Global Governance: Organized Hypocrisy and International Organizations

Critics of international organizations on the political left and right frequently accuse international institutions of hypocrisy. Yet the IR literature lacks an explicit theory of the sources of systematic inconsistencies on the part of international institutions. This paper argues that hypocrisy on the part of international organizations is an inevitable consequence of contradictory pressures in their organizational environments. Drawing on neo-institutionalist organizational sociology and work on "organized hypocrisy" applied to other settings, the paper presents a typology and framework for analyzing the bases and consequences -- both positive and negative -- of different forms of hypocrisy in global governance and formal international organizations. The argument is illustrated with reference to organizational hypocrisy on the part of the United Nations and the nuclear nonproliferation regime.

Lister, Andrew

The Deliberative Ethics of the Slippery Slope

This paper examines the legitimacy of slippery slope arguments from the perspective of deliberative political ethics. Recent democratic theory has focused on the norms that ought to guide debate and decision-making in a deliberative democracy. Violations of these norms can constitute a more serious ethical breach than misuse of public office for private gain, as the example of political advertising involving veiled appeals to racism attests. Slippery-slope arguments are not so obviously objectionable, but they are still problematic. It's wrong, one might claim, to block a policy change one supports, now, in order to prevent a future policy change one opposes. Such an attitude shows distrust of one's fellow citizens and an unwillingness to let one's mind be changed, and it threatens to create political gridlock by connecting otherwise distinct issues. Slippery slope arguments thus conflict with the norm that citizens should seek "an economy of moral disagreement" (Gutmann and Thompson), avoiding unnecessary conflict in characterizing the grounds or the implications of their moral positions. In this paper I defend this deliberative criticism of slippery slope arguments, but

also argue that it has an important counterpart, which is the norm of avoiding the strategically useful over-generalization or extension of precedent. The paper focuses on the legal and political debate around same-sex marriage, but addresses the broader theoretical issue of the limits on consequentialist thinking built into the office of 'citizen' and the institution of citizenship.

Lister, Ruth

Women and Public Policy, Postneoliberalism?: A UK Perspective

Like Canada, the UK has been characterised as a 'postneoliberal' (or post-Thatcherite) 'social investment state'. The paper will begin by setting the scene with an overview of New Labour's politics and the nature of the emergent social investment state. It will then look more specifically at the implications for women of New Labour's approach to politics and policy-making. It will argue that, although New Labour has developed a number of policies of benefit to women, it has done so in the absence of a systemic gendered analysis and in the context of 'a politics for women without feminism' (McRobbie). It has also shown a reluctance to challenge the traditional gendered division of labour in the private sphere, despite exhortations to men to become more involved in child care. In New Labour's social investment state it is a case of 'children (not women) first'.

Littvay, Levente and Donica, Andrew

Corruption: a cause or an effect?

The authors' previous research has identified significant correlates of corruption such as democratic and economic performance, ethnic tensions, aid and foreign direct investment. All of these studies assumed a causal direction, but none of them tested causality empirically. The purpose of this paper is to fill this hole by verifying that the theorized causal direction is empirically valid. Causal models used utilize repeated measures data and structural equations modeling to infer causal direction. Our analysis includes 186 countries from 1984 to 2002.

Lo, Sonny

Ethical Governance and Anti-Corruption: A Comparative Study of Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao

Ethical governance and anti-corruption are intertwined in the recent development of the four regions in Greater China, namely Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. This paper uses the four cases to demonstrate how the governments of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) and the Macao Special Administrative Region (MSAR) attempt to achieve ethical governance by controlling bureaucratic corruption. While judicial dependency and the overlapping jurisdictions amongst anti-corruption agencies characterize the PRC approach, Taiwan is marked by a relatively weak anti-corruption body and the questionable integrity of some judges. The approach of the HKSAR is the most unique among the four cases, having a powerful and an independent anti-corruption body while deepening other dimensions of public-sector reforms. The MSAR has a relatively weak anti-corruption commission constrained by environmental factors, including the tremendous influence of casino business in politics and the colonial legacy. The HKSAR case represents the model of anti-corruption and ethical governance in Greater China. This paper will rely on both government documents and the academic literature to explore the dynamic relationships between ethical governance and anti-corruption in Greater China.

Lobont, Cristian

Conception de la temporalité et nature des politiques publiques chez Jean-François Lyotard, Anthony Giddens et Ulrich Beck

Il est un lieu commun de mentionner la crise de la modernité. Les réalités quotidiennes, tout comme le foisonnement théorique des sciences sociales, sont suffisantes pour nous en convaincre. Si l'idée moderne d'arrachement à la tradition et à l'arbitraire, en s'attachant à un idéal de progrès des connaissances, des techniques et des rapports sociaux, ne fait plus recette, le constat partagé d'une transformation radicale contemporaine ne donne pas lieu à un consensus scientifique. Devant la prolifération des épithètes et des analyses sociales, j'affirme que la notion de temporalité – dont je m'attacherai à l'expliquer – constitue l'axe le plus pertinent pour la compréhension d'un modèle théorique social. Je me propose de montrer que la théorie de la postmodernité de Jean-François Lyotard, celle de la modernité avancée d'Anthony Giddens, et, finalement, la société du risque d'Ulrich Beck, ne font pas preuve, uniquement, d'une différence analytique, mais, fondamentalement, il s'agit d'une divergence conceptuelle. Les théoriciens n'utilisent pas les mêmes référents et conceptualisent la temporalité de manière radicalement différente. Pour ce, je montrerai que Lyotard se base sur une temporalité ontologique pour arriver à son constat, Giddens s'appuie sur une temporalité paramétrique pour livrer son diagnostic, tandis que la théorie « beckiennne » repose sur une temporalité assurancielle. Au bout du compte, l'analyse de la temporalité me permet de montrer qu'à partir d'images différentes du présent découlent des conceptions distinctes du passé et impliquent des réflexions uniques sur le futur. Les diagnostics sociaux pris comme exemples témoigneront de trois de directions pour les politiques publiques

Lochead, Karen

"From Common Law Recognition to Judicial Confirmation: An Analysis of Native Title's Proof Criteria in Canada and Australia"

Prior to the recognition of native title at common law in Canada (1973) and Australia (1992) the claimed rights and interests of Indigenous Peoples in respect of their traditional territories were considered to be unsubstantiated in law and thus difficult if not impossible to assert and/or defend. As a result, the recognition of native title at common law is generally portrayed as an important, if not monumental, accommodation of indigenous rights to land. But is this portrayal accurate? Has the recognition of native title at common law actually facilitated Indigenous Peoples' practical ability to reconcile their historic and ongoing dispossession through judicial channels? This paper seeks to answer this critical question by analyzing native title's proof criteria as these have been established by the Supreme Court of Canada and High Court of Australia and by drawing attention to some of the significant obstacles that Indigenous Peoples must confront when taking their native title claims to court.

Locke, Jackie

Time Limits on Debate in the Ontario Legislature

Over the last several years, the Standing Orders have been adjusted to include specific time limits for debates. While many argue that these measures have allowed for a more organized and efficient schedule in the House, others contend that these rules have limited the powers of the opposition parties from questioning and preventing government bills from passing in the House. In effect, the possibility of a filibuster or extended debate on a bill is virtually eliminated as the Speaker is forced to move debate forward after a specified amount of time. Throughout the course of the last several governments in Ontario, there have been several examples of filibusters that have delayed the passage of government business for extended periods of time (Curling in 1995, Harris in 1991, NDP in 1997). While these various filibusters did not succeed in actually preventing Government bills to move forward, they provided opposition members an opportunity to protest particular legislation and have their voices heard far beyond the walls of the Legislature. Opponents of time limits argue that the democratic process is being impeded by limiting the amount of debate on important issues and allowing the government to push through legislation with little discussion in the House. This essay will examine the changes in the Standing Orders as they relate to time limits in order to evaluate the effects of such changes on the democratic process.

- Alvin Curling & refusing to leave House (1995)

- Mike Harris & rivers/lakes bill

- NDP introducing 11,500 amendments to MegaCity legislation (1997)

Loewen, Peter

Did Bill C-24 increase turnout? Evidence from the 2000 and 2004 elections

By tying subsidies to vote totals rather than spending levels, Bill C-24 substantially changed the way Canadian national parties are financed. This raises the possibility of increased voter turnout, as parties face greater incentives to maximize vote totals, and voters faced greater incentives to turnout. We consider this possibility. We show that turnout was not differently affected by closeness in 2004 than in 2000; that parties' efforts were not greater in 2004 in more marginal ridings; that there were no differences in the likelihood of abstaining or deserting a preferred third-place party in 2004 and 2000; and that at the individual-level the decision to turnout was not affected by strategic considerations in the expected direction. Accordingly, we find little support for the possibility that C-24 did or will increase turnout.

Lopreite, Debora

Gender and welfare regime change in Argentina: International conventions and feminist networks in a new social agenda

This paper focuses on welfare regime change and the constitution of a new social paradigm in Argentina, paying attention to the international flow of policy ideas and the diffusion of new forms of social provision. Using a gender perspective, I analyze the emergence of the risks associated with the decline of the male breadwinner/female caregiver family form in Argentina and the resulting "crisis of care". My hypothesis is that the Argentinean welfare state is evolving towards a model more readily identified as the liberal residual type of welfare regime in which the market is an important provider of welfare. Yet the current situation consists of a dual system of welfare provision: the old income-maintenance model, still focused primarily on the male breadwinner - and a new liberal residual component, based on mean-tested programs. Domestic factors like demographic, economic and political cannot be "isolated". The international agenda and the inclusion of a gender perspective into social reform programs are important factors of welfare regime change. Organizations like United Nations (UN) and international conventions such as Convention on all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979) (CEDAW) are involved in providing directives for social policy formulation. I highlight the constitution of networks of feminist experts among different political spaces and the flow of ideas among them. Thus the institutionalization of a gender-oriented social agenda in Argentina is in part related to the rise of state-feminism and women's action through political parties and civil society groups, linked to international organizations that promote gender equality across different public policy areas.

Maas, Willem

Why States Legalize Illegal Immigrants

Amnesty is one of a number of possible responses to illegal migration. But it is unclear why some states regularly choose amnesty over other options. This paper argues that labour market rationales explain amnesties in southern Europe. Given large-scale undocumented immigration, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece choose to register workers in an attempt to incorporate them into the formal economy rather than ignoring them by letting them remain in the underground economy. The choice for or against amnesties also results from differences in states' institutional ability to handle large-scale migration. Southern European states became immigration destinations only recently, while northern European states have a longer history of immigration. This has resulted in divergences in state capacity. Because northern European states tend to be better able than southern European states to monitor illegal migration, they have not been compelled to choose amnesty. Instead, they have been free to choose targeted amnesties aimed at specific groups of irregular migrants. As security concerns have come to trump humanitarian ones, however, all European states have increased scrutiny of illegal migration. They have also tended to make legal immigration more difficult. But continuing demand for workers—and the illegal immigration that responds to this demand—continues unabated in southern Europe, explaining why comprehensive amnesties are now more common in Spain, Italy, Greece, and Portugal than in other EU member states.

MacDermid, Robert

Television Ad Strategies in the 2004 Canadian Election

Television advertising is the most important way that parties have of communicating with voters during election campaigns. But the effectiveness of ads depends on how parties allocate funds, the appropriateness and effectiveness of their TV ads and where they place their ad buys in geographic, demographic, linguistic and cultural space in order to support a particular election strategy.

This paper provides a novel analysis of the station logs of 75 broadcast and cable television stations in major regional markets across Canada for the months of May and June of 2004, the period leading up to and during the Federal election campaign. It matches the analysis of when and where ads were shown to an analysis of the ads used by the parties to determine the extent to which parties and candidates aimed specific messages at particular regions or groups of voters.

The paper asks whether parties construct regionally specific messages and whether they allocate their ad buying resources strategically, concentrating them on regions where they have the greatest chance of winning. It also shows the extent to which parties buy ads on channels or networks that are viewed by specific groups. The multi-channel universe has created the opportunity for parties to target specific populations of voters. The paper shows that the parties have been slow in taking advantage of these opportunities in relation to young voters.

MacDermid, Robert

Money and winning in the 2003 municipal elections in Toronto and surrounding municipalities

This paper presents a unique analysis of campaigns and campaign finance at the municipal level in Toronto and ten surrounding municipalities in the Greater Toronto region. Both municipal elections and municipal election finance have drawn little scholarly interest despite the increasing significance of municipal governments in Ontario and across Canada. The literature on municipal politics contains almost nothing on the funding coalitions that back candidates in the non-party context of local elections. The paper demonstrates the importance of the development industry in funding municipal candidates. It also shows the importance of money in local elections and the importance of different forms of campaign spending.

MacDonald, Douglas

Interest and legitimacy in environmental politics

The proposed paper rests on the assumption that legitimacy is an important source of political power in the arena of environmental politics. The further assumption is that a political actor can obtain legitimacy in the eyes of relevant audiences in any of three ways: (1) by changing behaviour to better fit norms used by an audience to judge legitimacy; (2) by changing the image of the actor's behaviour in the eyes of that audience; and, (3) by working to change the norms by which the audience is judging legitimacy. The subject of the paper is the way in which the three major sets of actors in Canadian environmental politics - environmentalists, governments and business - have used those strategies to obtain "environmental legitimacy" and thereby power to influence or implement environmental policy. The focus will be upon the way in which this search for legitimacy has contributed to and been influenced by the transformation of the framing of the problem from "limits to growth" and "bioequity" in the 1960s to "sustainable development" in the present day.

The paper will be based upon the theoretical approach and research data I am using for a book on business and environmental politics in Canada.

MacDonald, Douglas and Mercier, Jean

Why do governments select voluntarism as an environmental policy instrument?

The paper will centre on presentation of initial results from a three-year research project, 2004-2007, on use to date of environmental voluntary instruments by the governments of Québec and Canada and their potential for future use in climate change policy. The project addresses three research questions: why were voluntary instruments selected?; how do those involved evaluate their effectiveness to date? and, how might they be used in future Canadian climate change policy? The proposed round table focuses upon current theoretical understanding of the first question.

The paper will address three subjects: (1) theoretical approach being used in the research project, drawn from public policy analysis in particular instrument selection theory, public administration, and organization theory; (2) findings to date on Québec and Canadian government motivations for selection of voluntary instruments used to date in the field of environmental policy; and, (3) implications of those findings for theoretical understanding of government selection of environmental voluntary instruments.

MacDonald, Fiona

Relational Group Autonomy: Ensuring Agency and Accountability in the Group Rights Paradigm

While the protection and facilitation of individual autonomy has always been a central component of contemporary liberalism, group autonomy-based approaches to multiculturalism have recently gained legitimacy both within academic and policy circles. In response to this trend, I will examine the centrality of group autonomy in the multiculturalism debate, particularly in the "Canadian school" approach of Will Kymlicka (1995) and Charles Taylor (1995). By critiquing the conceptualizations of autonomy central in their works, I will demonstrate that their responses to the dilemmas of liberal-democratic multiculturalism are, at best, partial responses with significant limitations and implications. While both Kymlicka and Taylor work to expand the notion of individual autonomy beyond its minimalist conception, their conceptions of group autonomy remain problematically narrow. In fact, despite good intentions, the particular manifestations of cultural group autonomy in their works may actually hinder certain democratic capabilities and thereby work against the kind of transformative change "accommodated" groups are seeking from the state. Drawing on the work of ethics of care theorists (Nedelsky 1989, MacKenzie and Stolijar 2000, Freidman 2003) I will put forward a relational conception of

group autonomy in an attempt to address the shortcomings of the Canadian school approach while maintaining autonomy as a necessary guiding principle. Such an account of group autonomy is a vital step towards reconciling multiculturalism with the necessary components of liberal-democratic citizenship.

MacDonald, Martha

Women and EI: The First Decade

The introduction of Employment Insurance (EI) in 1996 was one of the cornerstones of neo-liberal reform in Canada. This was recognized at the time and widely analysed in the years immediately following. It created a two-tier system of deserving and undeserving unemployed through an intricate maze of targeting measures; it generated massive surpluses; and it aimed to reduce “dependency” and increase reliance on the market for income. The gender biases in the EI reform were also identified before the Act was passed and have been debated in the courts and in research ever since.

Almost as soon as the Act was implemented minor changes were made and the program has been tinkered with continually over the decade. This paper examines the evolution of EI and asks whether the changes since 1997 reflect a fine-tuning of the neo-liberal vision or the emergence of a post neo-liberal or social investment discourse. Beginning with a review of impact of the initial reform on women, the ensuing changes are discussed. Why was each introduced? How has the discourse changed? Did women help shape the new parameters? Have the changes moderated the negative impacts on women? Of particular concern are the implications for different groups of women workers (part-time, seasonal, young and older workers, family workers...). The analysis will include Regular EI (changes include an end to the intensity rule, provisions to ignore small weeks, pilot projects to increase duration of benefits and modify the calculation of average earnings, and active labour market measures) as well as Special Benefits (changes include the extension of Parental benefits, modification of eligibility requirements, and the introduction of Compassionate Care benefits). The contrasting discourses on Regular and Special Benefits are particularly interesting. While women’s child-rearing and other caregiving responsibilities have received some support under the latter programs – consistent with a social investment approach – women continue to suffer marginalization and exclusion in Regular benefits. The implications of this analysis for the ongoing debate over whether women would be better served by taking Maternity/Parental benefits out of EI will be discussed.

MacLellan, Duncan

Exploring Place-based Policy and Civic Engagement

Explore the concept of a place-based approach, with particular reference to Toronto, and how current urban issues have weakened the foundation, support, and ability of many urban communities. The development and evolution of place-based public policy has been facilitated by an in-depth review of this topic, including the scholarly contributions of Andrews, 2001; Bradford 2004, 2005; Gertler, 2004; and Katz, 2004. The literature review provides the basis for an urban policy lens that can be applied to the work of the Toronto Civic Panel, which is a partner with Inclusive Cities Canada: A Cross-Canada Civic Initiative that is charged with promoting the creation of inclusive communities.

This study has the following aims: I) investigate the historical and contemporary evolution of a place-based approach; II) collect data by document analysis and conducting interviews of key personnel associated with the Toronto Civic Panel; III) organize data by utilizing a place-based framework from which to explore the work of the Toronto Civic Panel; and IV) report on the opportunities for developing social infrastructure for building inclusive cities and to promote community voices within selected Toronto communities. Choosing a place-based approach allows the researcher to search for patterns from which to understand civic relations over the course of this study. Large Cities are becoming increasingly important players in Canada’s political, social, and economic life. This study aims to further our understanding of theoretical approaches to the urban environment by utilizing a place-based approach lens.

MacLeod, Michael

The Power and Politics of Socially Responsible Investment: Business and Climate Change

Financial actors and instruments have become important drivers in increasing the social responsibility of transnational corporations. One interesting phenomena is the rapid growth in socially responsible investment (SRI), which is financial investment that takes account of ethical and environmental criteria in order to consider a social as well as financial return. In much of the industrialized world, SRI is growing considerably faster than normal professionally-managed investment. In the past, SRI was mainly used as a “negative” screen, excluding companies with links to specific industries (such as tobacco) or countries (such as South Africa in the 1980s). Recently, this strategy has been joined by “positive” screening (identifying “best practices” to establish social benchmarks) and direct engagement between investors and management to alter company behaviour. Currently, the promotion of corporate environmentalism and addressing climate change are among the top priorities of SRI. In this paper, I explore the power and politics of socially responsible investment from the perspective of international relations theorizing: who are the actors involved in promoting & resisting SRI? What is their motivation, their agenda? My argument is that SRI is an example of the rise and power of finance in world politics, and is a product of a contested negotiation amongst multiple constituencies, reflecting complex and evolving social, political and market pressures.

Macklin, Audrey

Law and the Encultured Subject

Theoretical discussions of multiculturalism often begin with the question, “how can a liberal democracy accord equal respect to the autonomy of all individuals in a way that acknowledges and respects the formative significance of people’s membership in sub-state communities?” Two currents run through the literature. One emphasizes the procedural aspect of citizenship, and promotes social and

political participation of members of identity groups. The second current focuses on substantive content of multiculturalism – and uses particular case studies as a means of illustrating the operation of a particular normative framework, as well as the limits of multicultural accommodation.

Procedural accounts are not about conferring citizenship on non-citizens as such; rather, they are about acting upon the recognition that ‘they’ are already ‘us’ – that is to say, citizens entitled to equal recognition, and thereby entitled to join in making the rules that govern ‘us’. However, when one moves to substantive accounts that explore specific cultural practices the question rapidly becomes some version ‘should *we* tolerate what *they* do?’, where we are the liberal majority and they are the encultured minority. The way in which the question is formulated necessarily reifies a rigid and homogenized us/them binary, with its attendant distribution of decision-making authority. This is the very sort of paradigm that a truly multicultural vision of citizenship would presumably repudiate. Thus, I believe it important to experiment with alternative ways of framing these issues. This paper attempts to do so by embarking on a ‘micro-analysis’ of three encounters between criminal law and culture that present different moments in the relationship between law and the encultured subject. Through unpacking my three case studies, I hope to offer another lens through which to understand the evolving interaction between law and the encultured subject under conditions of social flux.

Magnusson, Warren and Kataoka, Serena

Immigration, Settlement and the Municipalities

The federal and provincial governments have widely publicized policies on “immigrant settlement”. If these policies are to be effective, the municipalities and other local authorities have to be involved in implementing them. What steps have the senior governments taken to involve local officials in developing strategies for implementation? Have local officials been consulted when policies were being developed? Do municipalities and other local authorities have their own policies with respect to immigration? If so, what are these policies about? Settlement, or something else? Do the three levels of government actually agree on what the issues are with respect to immigration, or are they operating in different policy spaces? What about the relevant social groups? Do they define the question of immigration in the same way? We know little about these things, especially in relation to mid-size and smaller municipalities in Canada. Ours is an exploratory study of policy and policy debates with respect to immigration in the Victoria area. Our hypothesis is that there is a gap between local ideas and federal/provincial conceptions of the policy question at issue. We will be presenting our findings from an initial round of interviews that are being conducted as part of a larger national study.

Mahdavi, Mojtaba

Rethinking Agency and Structure in the Study of Democratic Transition: The Iranian Lessons

Like its rise, the fall of Iran’s Reformist Republic (1997-2005) took many inside and outside Iran by surprise. Why did Iran’s Third Republic give a birth to an authoritarian polity? What structural and agential factors contributed most to this reverse wave? In this paper I shall argue that both structure and agency contributed to the recent wave of de-democratization. Keeping an equal distance from structural determinism and extreme voluntarism, the paper will follow a dialectal, integrative approach in which structures both limit and enable human agency, and actors can choose how to use and improve structural resources.

This paper provides an operational definition of structure and agency by subdividing each into three levels of analysis. The structural factors are measured by the nature of the Iranian state (political level), Iran’s uneven development (socio-economic level), and the global structure of power (international level). The agential factors, both in the reform and the counter-reform forces, are examined in terms of the leadership capability (individual level), the organizational arrangements (institutional level), and the intellectual discourse (cultural-ideological level).

The findings suggest that Iran’s future prospects for democratization equally depend on the structural “causes” and the socio-political “causers”. Given the complexity of the nature of the state, an integrative strategy, which combines elements of “constitutionalism” and “republicanism”, can better serve democratization. Furthermore, for the politics to be democratized, it has to be freed from the bandage of mercantile capitalism subsidized by the rentier state. Moreover, because the choice and the strategy of actors can increase or decrease the possibility of democratization, a seasonal leadership, an inclusive intellectual discourse, and a series of grass-root social and political organizations are conducive to Iran’s transition to democracy.

Mahon, Rianne

From Third Way to Neo-Liberalism: implications for child care

In Canada as in Britain, new public child care initiatives formed part of a post-neo-liberal policy turn. The Martin government’s commitment to spend \$5 billion on regulated child care represented a culmination of a series of new initiatives, focused on children, which drew inspiration from the social investment paradigm associated with “third way” liberalism. This stands in marked contrast to the neo-liberal orientation of Harper’s new Conservative government, which intends to replace the Martin government’s “QUAD” agreements with a \$1,200 taxable child care allowance (for all children under 6) and tax incentives to businesses and “communities” to create new spaces. Although the bilateral agreements fell short of what was needed to decisively alter what the OECD called Canada’s “patchwork of provision,” they did promise the infusion of substantial new funds and stimulate the development of provincial plans across the country. This paper looks at that what is likely to be lost in two provinces, Ontario and Manitoba.

Maley, Terry

Democracy and the political in Max Weber's Thought

The political has been an object of recent discussion among theorists of democracy, while Weber scholars have recently taken up his politics again. I would like to bring the two discussions together in this paper. Wolin has defined the political as ‘moments of commonality shared by a political community in the pursuit of common goals’. Recent debates have involved issues such as what the

ends of political should be and who should have the agency to define it. Is it the demos, as Wolin has argued, or elites, as the realist model suggests?

Weber was the first to formulate what would later become the plural-elite model made famous by Schumpeter and Dahl. Looking back on Weber's model can inform current debates because of the way he framed the problem of the political in modernity. For Weber, the backdrop for his model of democracy included the idea that modern western culture was defined by value plurality, the conflict between "warring gods". Charismatic heroes would create moments of commonality which bind communities together in a new political. Weber separates the political from the demos, leaving its definition to leaders who control the state. In Weber we find twin arguments about the necessity of elite leadership and the limitations of democracy. Referring to current debates, I draw attention to the limitations of Weber's realist model and argue for a more inclusive democracy and citizenship.

Malloy, Jonathan

What Evangelicals Want and How They Lobby For It

This paper will examine evangelical Christians and their lobbying efforts in Canadian politics, focusing particularly on their opposition to same-sex marriage legislation in 2005. It will examine this lobbying on two dimensions. The first is the tactics used by evangelicals, ranging from e-mails and phone calls to "takeovers" of party nominations. The second dimension is the degree of ideological focus, ranging from the most extreme and isolationist movements to largely ecumenical groups that work alongside other faith groups and social movements. It will investigate how different groups may or may not choose different tactics, and the relative effectiveness of these tactics. Building on my ongoing study of evangelical Christians in Canadian politics, the paper will compare evangelicals with other pressure groups and social movements in Canadian politics, asking whether evangelicals are a unique political group in how they approach and interact in politics.

Managhan, Tina

Reversing the Gaze: Spectacle and the Antinuclear Movement

This paper begins with the assumption that important debates within feminism about the merits and limits of women's identity politics do not exhaust questions about the critical potential of women's embodied gender performances in the antinuclear movement. Hence, this paper will explore how women's embodied performances functioned in the antinuclear movement such that, despite its limitations, the movement may be credited with playing a vital role in undermining the logic of deterrence theory. What intrigues me is not just the fact that many of the women participants chose to organize under the sign of motherhood, but that the motherhood being performed was often times "hysterical." The rules of appropriately public and political behaviour were made evident by the female refusal to obey: these unruly bodies could not be contained! A drama of sorts was unfolding here, but I argue it would be misleading to focus solely or even primarily on the spectacle provided by the bodies of women. The story and perhaps the movement itself depended upon the other cultural actors that entered the scene - such as the state that was called forth to enact its sovereign power and the male bodies that were called upon to offer a counter discourse, speaking in unemotional terms about the calculated merits of M.A.D. My argument is that in a biopolitical age when sovereign power is always already somewhat suspect, the embodied performances of the women protesters made that power manifest and, in the drama that unfolded, they rendered it, hegemonic masculinity, and modernity, more generally, all rather strange.

Mannathukkaren, Nissim

Construction of the 'National-Popular': Communism and the Founding of Democracy in Kerala

The state of Kerala in India is one of the most celebrated cases of social development in the world with its achievement of remarkable levels of human development despite low levels of per capita GDP. While the role of communism and mass participation in the making of the Kerala 'model' of development has been studied in great detail, the processes through which communism entrenched itself in the social imaginary of a 'traditional' society have hardly been explored. Against the recent scholarship that posits communism as merely addressing local concerns which had nothing to do with anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism, this paper will argue that the communist success can only be understood by its ability to fashion a Gramscian 'national-popular' will which simultaneously negotiated exclusions based on class, caste, language, region and the nation. The communist (and its precursor socialist) intervention in society created wider political unities by linking the countryside and the city, the peasantry and the proletariat, class and caste. If the Indian anti-colonial struggle led by Gandhi culminated in a 'passive revolution' in which the bourgeoisie gained dominance (with significant compromises with feudalism) at the expense of the laboring majority, Kerala alone among the Indian states approximated a democratic revolution with the peasantry and working class at its helm thus putting question marks on the famous dictum of Barrington Moore Jr.: "No bourgeois, no democracy." Based on archival and field research this paper will look at the period from 1930 to 1957.

Marier, Patrik

Expertise and Pension Reform: The role of bureaucrats in reforming pensions in Quebec/Canada and the USA in a comparative perspective

This paper examines the importance of (public) expertise in debates surrounding pension reforms in Quebec/Canada and the USA in a comparative perspective. This paper argues that the perception of the bureaucracy by both politicians and the public matters greatly in times of reform. If the bureaucracy is considered to have an independent expertise, it can act as an efficient middle player enhancing the likelihood of reform and nullify the strength of external experts such as think tanks. This case is represented by Canada and supported by other cases such as Sweden. On the contrary, if the public expertise is associated too closely to a specific interest, politicians (and other political actors) will distrust it and seek 'outsider' influence. However, the bureaucracy will continue to maintain

its influence and may align itself with other interests to convey its message. This results in the creation of polarizing expertise making reform more difficult for all actors. This is the case of the USA.

Marier, Patrik and Kanji, Mebs

Supporting the Market? A Comparative Analysis of Youth's Political Attitudes in Industrialised Countries

According to a recent survey conducted by the Régie des rentes du Québec, younger generations are more likely than older generations to choose market alternatives over investing in publicly administered programs for their retirement. Moreover, young people today have less faith in the public programs. The purpose of this paper will be to examine why this shift may be taking place and whether it is a generalizable trend. For instance, there are reasons to suppose that the values of younger generations in postindustrial societies (in particular) may be significantly different from those of their parents and grandparents (Inglehart, 1977, 1990, 1997). But do today's younger generations embrace private market values more so than their elders? Drawing from sources such as the World Values Surveys (1990-2000) and election surveys in various advanced industrial societies, this paper aims to investigate whether younger generations may be more market oriented than their older predecessors and whether they may be increasingly inclined to support parties on the right. The conclusion of the paper discusses the implications of such a trend for party systems in countries with ageing populations.

Marois, Thomas

The Comparative Political Economy of Bank Privatization in Turkey

Turkey represents a large emerging market on the cusp of a regional economic power striving to develop viable financial and banking institutions. In 2000 & 2001, financial crisis struck again in Turkey after decades of liberal reforms. The size of bank privatizations have also been relatively smaller in Turkey, at barely a billion US dollars overall (whereas Mexico was at several billion US dollars). Turkey thus makes for a rich study given similar financial liberalization reforms and varied processes and timing of bank privatization, but it has diverged by re-experiencing crisis in 2000 & 2001. In contrast to liberal and institutionalist approaches, this study argues that bank privatization takes place within the context of financial liberalization and the wider structural context of neoliberal capitalism. Two questions drive this study. First, what is it about the world market and financial liberalization that enables bank privatization? Second, how have processes of state restructuring and bank privatization further enabled the deepening of financial liberalization? Posing this initial cluster helps one focus on the causal processes behind bank privatization bracketed off by liberal and institutionalist approaches. Understanding the causal processes behind bank privatization, as opposed to correlations and generalizations, is of immense importance to national development given the growing centrality of money, credit, and banking relations to the practical problem of credit allocation amidst financial liberalization pressures and recurrent crisis.

Marshall, Robert

"The State, New Public Management and Outsourcing War"

Traditionally discussions around the organizational theoretical approach of 'new public management' [NPM] has largely focused on the issues over remapping the public-private divide in such policy areas as health care or post-secondary education. Further, much attention has been paid to issues over contracting out, user fees, 3P's and down loading from one level of government to another. However, there is another policy field which, while not normally associated with NPM, is becoming more reflective of its impact. And, this is an area which has traditionally and historically been thought of as the prerogative of the modern nation state. The area to which I refer is: the privatization, or outsourcing, of war. "Mercenaries are back." It can be argued that one of the most interesting contemporary development is the extent to which governments have been contracting out war to private for-profit military firms. And, this is not just true of failed third world states but also of advanced industrial nations. This paper will explore the historical debates around the rise of modern nation states as it relates to the creation of professional standing armed forces. It will then provide a case study of the rise of the modern "condottieri" as it relates to the debates over the relationship between NPM and the functions and restructuring of the nation state today.

Marsiaj, Juan

"How Relevant Are Legislatures? Sexual Diversity Politics and Political Institutions in Brazil"

The study of social movements in Latin America has often focused on movement organizations and their role in the development of an alternative, more democratic political space. More recently, a number of studies have explored the relationship between social movements and the State in the democratizing polities in the region. Partly due to the general discredit of legislatures in Latin America and to the common imbalance of power vis-à-vis the executive, little attention has been given to the relationship between social movements and legislatures. This paper will examine the interaction of the gay, lesbian and travesti (GLT) movement in Brazil and legislatures, both at the federal and state level (Rio de Janeiro and Bahia states). It will demonstrate that, despite significant institutional constraints on the action of legislators, GLT activists have sought alliances and have pressured state and federal deputies, at times successfully. Moreover, important victories, such as the passage of anti-discrimination legislation, have been achieved through an engagement with legislatures. This essay will argue that, despite important constraints and limitations (both endogenous and exogenous), legislatures can provide important paths for the inclusion of marginalized groups in Brazil. Factors such as the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches, the internal structure of the legislature and the ideological makeup of deputies help shape the degree to which sexual minorities are able to gain access to and influence over legislators, as well as the extent to which concrete victories result from this engagement.

Mastro, David and Christensen, Kyle

Power and Policy Making: The Case of Azerbaijan

One of the most crucial challenges to a democratic society is the need to forge a balance between the instinct to be inclusive (designing government institutions so as to include as many voices as possible in decisions) and the competing instinct to be exclusive (to design institutions so as to exclude as many voices as possible). This is especially true in countries transitioning towards democracy. In turn, this paper examines the case of Azerbaijan, which is of growing strategic value to many nations throughout the world due to its vast hydrocarbon resources and its geographic location. We present a qualitative research design that employs Arend Lijphart's classification scheme for democracies. The goal of this research design is to determine what consequences the type of democracy in Azerbaijan will have on the foreign policies of states with an interest in Azerbaijan.

Matthews, Scott

Campaign Learning and the Economy

The conventional wisdom is that election campaigns help voters to make reasonably informed vote choices. The intuition is that the noise and contestation of the campaign supplies voters with both the psychological motivation and informational resources necessary to sound electoral decision-making. Tests of these assumptions, however, are scattered at best. Most of the evidence comes from single country studies and treats only a subset of the plausible implications of the standard view. Previous work also generally fails to examine campaign learning in real time: inferences about the campaign's impact typically rest on comparisons of theoretically important quantities measured pre- and post-campaign. The actual dynamics of learning within campaigns remain largely unexplored. The present paper addresses this gap through detailed investigation of campaign learning in the economic domain. Four questions structure the analysis. First, does the progress of the campaign reduce item non-response on queries of national economic perceptions? Second, does the mean accuracy of economic perceptions improve over the campaign? Third, does the campaign reduce the impact of evaluations of personal financial circumstances on national economic perceptions? Fourth, does the campaign erode partisan bias in economic judgement? The data for the analysis come from rolling cross-section surveys conducted during ten elections across four countries: the Canadian general elections from 1988 to 2004, the New Zealand elections from 1996 to 2002, the British general election of 2001, and the US Presidential election of 2000.

Mayer, Jean F.

An Evolution in State-Labor Relations? Corporatism, Clientelism and Pluralism in Post-Transition Mexico.

My paper will examine the configuration and evolution of patterns of exchanges and linkages of power between the Mexican federal government and labor unions during the Fox presidency (2000-2006). My paper will first: clarify whether there have been significant modifications in the dynamics of state-labor relations under the Fox administration by comparison with those found during the pre-2000 civil-authoritarian regime; outline the nature and scope of such changes (if any); and identify the underlying causes of the democratic deficit in relations between the state and organized labor during the Fox government. My study will argue that the Fox government's profound need of sociopolitical support for its ambitious reformist agenda represents the main explanatory factor for the persistence of practices and institutions of state control over unions. Second, my paper will suggest that the corporatist framework of analysis holds limited usefulness to understand the nature and dynamics of ties between the Fox government and organized labor, given that the characteristics of state-labor relations since 2000 do not appear to correspond to the basic elements of corporatism. Instead, my paper will recommend the utilization of an analytical approach based on theories of clientelism, emphasizing the significance of informal institutions and personalized ties between high-ranking governmental officials and union leaders. My investigation represents a significant contribution as it addresses a topic that has been neglected by the current literature on Mexican politics, and clarifies the accomplishments and limitations of the democratization of state-civil society relations during the Fox presidency.

McArthur, Doug

Making Sense of Social Democracy: Government Measures to Democratize Risk

Social democracy in Canada is a much discussed political formation. However, a difficulty is that it has had little utility as an analytical tool. This is in part because there has been a lack of criteria to locate social democracy in an analytical sense. As a result it has not been explored fully, notwithstanding a rich tradition of politics and policy influenced by social democratic ideas. This paper locates social democracy using policy measures expressed separately from party and ideological positioning of governments. It does so by analyzing the structure of social democracy within a framework of government measures that redistribute risk.

Governments have long assumed risk in support of industrial development in capitalist societies. Capital markets have failed in many cases to provide a vehicle for risk distribution to support robust capitalist development. Shifting risk from investor to the state has been a common function of government in support of capitalist development.

Social democratic measures also typically shift risk. However, their unique feature is that they socialize or assume risk on behalf of workers, salaried employees farmers and small entrepreneurs.

The paper will investigate the intensity of social democratic measures adopted by provincial governments from 1945 to 1970, by identifying measures that democratize risk. An intensity index will be used to classify and compare regimes over the period. The results will be used to discuss the development and evolution of social democracy at the provincial level.

McCormick, Peter

Where Does the Supreme Court Docket Come From?: Examining the Correlates of the Decision to Appeal

The decision to appeal is an important aspect of any judicial system: it is what gives the higher courts their dockets, with opportunities for the endorsement or correction or refinement of lower court actions, or for the judicial review of governmental initiatives. Even where a leave mechanism exists to screen such cases, the appeal court is only deciding whether or not to open the door; someone must previously have decided to knock. But this decision is a mysterious one that has never been thoroughly explored. Examine the docket of any high court, and there are many cases that hardly seem to call for such high-level multi-judge consideration; talk to the judges of any lower court, and they will identify cases that might have benefitted from higher and more focused review. This paper will explore this phenomenon with respect to attempts to appeal beyond provincial courts of appeal to the Supreme Court. It will draw on a data base of all provincial appeal court decisions for eight provinces over a six-year period (excluding Ontario and Quebec because of their sheer size), comparing these first with the subset of cases in which there was an application for leave to appeal or an appeal by right, and then with the even smaller subset of cases which are granted a hearing before the Supreme Court. These comparisons will be used to generate a set of generalized statements about the decision to appeal.

McGrane, David

Explaining the Saskatchewan NDP's Shift to Third Way Social Democracy

It is obvious that the Saskatchewan provincial New Democratic Party (NDP) has transformed from a 'traditional' social democratic party characterized by public enterprise, an expansive welfare state and Keynesian economics to a 'Third Way' social democratic party which focuses on the rationalization of social programs, deficit elimination and reducing government intervention in the economy. Instead of describing the shift from traditional to Third Way social democracy in the case of the Saskatchewan NDP, this paper will focus on evaluating the strengths and weakness of various explanations as to why such a shift took place. As such, the paper will outline explanations of the Saskatchewan NDP's turn to the Third Way which are based on political economy, agency, institutional framework (especially federalism) and political culture. These explanations will then be evaluated in light of their explanatory strength in regard to the Saskatchewan case and an attempt will be made to formulate a holistic explanation for the emergence and dominance of Third Way social democratic ideas and policies within the Saskatchewan NDP.

McGrane, David

Gender and Saskatchewan Social Democracy from 1900 to 2000

While there has been a limited amount of scholarly work done on women and the Saskatchewan Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and New Democratic Party (NDP) within various time periods, there has been no systematic attempt to evaluate the place of gender and women's activism within the entire Saskatchewan social democratic tradition of the 20th century. This paper seeks to correct this deficiency by dividing the history of women in Saskatchewan social democracy into four distinct periods: agrarian protest movements from 1900 to 1933, the CCF from 1933 to 1964, the NDP from 1964 to 1982 and the NDP from 1982 to 2000. My approach will focus on the ideas and activities of women within these social democratic organizations, parties and governments as well as the relationship between social democracy and the broader women's movement in the province. The paper will also attempt to provide explanations for the existence of enduring sexism within the Saskatchewan CCF-NDP and the improvement of women's representation and the cognizance of women's issues within the NDP party and government in the 1990s. Such explanations will concentrate on political economy, agency, institutional frameworks and political culture as instructive approaches to understanding the relationship between gender and social democracy in Saskatchewan.

McKeen, Wendy

Neo-liberalism in Canadian Child Policy: the Case of the "National Children's Agenda"

Over the past twenty five year or more Canada has witnessed an embrace of a neo-liberal philosophy for social policy that replaces notions of collectivity, social solidarity, social rights, and individual autonomy, with a philosophy that individualizes social problems, promotes employability, and assumes a family versus individual focus. No where has this shift been more profound than in the field of federal child benefits policy. This paper describes and critiques current developments in this field through a focus on the emerging philosophy and programming under the "national children's agenda", which is the framework under which much recent spending on children and families has occurred. This paper argues that, contrary to the view that these developments represent a move towards a post-neo-liberal politics, the NCA is both philosophically, and in terms of its social consequences, wedded to a neo-liberal agenda. This paper argues that the emerging programs are creating discursive and social spaces that easily promote a radical anti-social philosophy that rejects the concept of social responsibility, embraces the rule of private, individualized solutions to social problems, *misrecognizes* social reproduction, and increases the familialialization of social policy. The emerging trends in social programming are particularly disturbing from the standpoint of their consequences for women (especially vulnerable groups of women), and for gender equality and social justice.

McMillan, Kevin

"Moral Leadership" and the Emergence of International Governance, 1815-1848

The era of the Concert of Europe witnessed the emergence of a historically novel set of political practices oriented to international governance. Among these were new practices and concerns centred on the age-old problem of international influence — influence, that is, over minor states and polities, but now also including influence over one's peers/partners in the joint management of Europe, over unruly junior partners (like France) who themselves needed to be managed, over national and European opinion, and over the new national and transnational movements that had sprung up across Europe. These new practices and concerns were closely tied to the period's consistent problematisation of the "moral effects" of political action and, more generally, of the "moral" dimension of politics — where "moral" was understood in a broader sense than today, one comprising the domain of human minds, spirits, ideas, allegiances, beliefs. The result was a new focus on practices of "moral leadership". One aspect here was the concern with securing what Prussian leaders like Gneisenau and Humboldt called "moral conquests", with gaining converts to one's cause, winning hearts and minds. Various aspects of Concert-era leadership practices are discussed: their emphasis on getting others to follow one's lead; their programmatic nature; their concern with the problem of appearing competitive and enterprising; their frequent construal in terms of trajectories, paths of development and progress; the concern with the power of good and bad examples/models; and attempts to construct safe outlets for foreign-policy activity and adventurism. Various examples are explored: the political programmes of Bernstorff and Eichhorn in the Prussian foreign ministry, various French foreign-policy initiatives during the Restoration and July Monarchy, Metternich's German policy, the gambits of the South German states, the international constitutionalism of Tsar Alexander and Capodistrias, and so on.

McQueen, Alison E.J.

Bilateral Governance in the Continental Periphery: The Mexico-Canada Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program

While increased North American integration has focused academic attention on Mexican labour flows to the United States, comparatively little work has been done on Mexican labour in Canada. This paper critically explores the interaction between Canada and Mexico that occurs via the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP), the program that brings Mexican agricultural workers to Canada during the growing season. The SAWP is an important case of Canadian hegemony in the context of an asymmetric relationship between North America's two peripheral states. An analysis of the SAWP points to an attempt by the Canadian state to reassert itself in the face of the erosions of autonomy entailed by the integration agenda. While a certain degree of power and influence is exercised outside or on the margins of government structures, the Canadian state ultimately assumes a primary role in the context of the SAWP. It does so through the maintenance of a rigid institutional and regulatory regime, the restriction of the workers' economic freedom, and the use of more subtle ideological processes.

Meer, Zubin

The Affective Regime of Liberal-Capitalist Modernity: Historicizing Althusser's Theory of Ideology

This paper examines Althusser's theory of ideology within the larger context of an historical sociology of modernity, focused on conceptualizing individualism as the cultural logic of a resolutely capitalist modernity. Mainstream social science has long conceived of Althusser's theory of ideology—and more generally, all High Parisian anti-historicist and anti-humanist theory—as anti-historical, or at least, ahistorical, and of little value to the professional historian. But, as I contend, nothing could be further from the truth. Uncomfortable with self-authenticating conceptions of selfhood, Althusser's account of ideological interpellation provides perhaps the best defense against the humanist-teleological charms of liberal Whig historiography. Focused on Althusser's writings on early modernity, in particular, his considerable engagement with the sixteenth to eighteenth century political philosophy of Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Spinoza, Montesquieu and Rousseau, I read Althusserian ideology theory as offering nothing less than a history of subjectivity itself, vis-à-vis the demystification of the self-autonomous, self-regulating "individual" of liberal-capitalist modernity. The aim will be to conceive of an Althusser along the lines of a Weber, Elias, or Foucault, all of whom, have written much on liberal modernity as a mode of individualization, social disciplining, or ethical governance—and all of whom, have long been appreciated for doing so. This paper, then, intends to set the stage for a critical appreciation of Althusser along similar lines.

Mellon, James G.

Urbanism, Nationalism and the Politics of Place: Commemoration and Collective Memory

This paper explores the implications of national identity for notions of place. Communities expect to see their identity expressed in their cities in such elements of urban form as architecture, heritage preservation, monuments and street names. In turn, a study of the elements in any city of urban form reveals much about the history of that city. The paper will discuss these issues from both theoretical and practical perspectives. The latter will involve discussion of a range of specific cases in which people hold strong feelings about their cities as expressions of themselves as a nation, and in which those senses of place may be contested either by neighbours or even by enemies. One such case concerns the conscious efforts of occupying German forces in Warsaw in World War II to study the urban environment so that they could effectively obliterate Polish identity in Warsaw, and the efforts of Varsovian architects and planners to document and preserve architectural history until the city could be restored after the war. Another case concerns the manner in which the revival of Catalan nationalism/regionalism has been reflected in plans to develop Barcelona as a cultural centre. Another case concerns the challenges posed for planners in Berlin of responding to the challenges posed by reunification, and by the question of how to commemorate the past of Nazism and Cold War division. A fourth case concerns the debates about how New York should commemorate the events of 9-11, and redevelop the World Trade Center site. As someone with graduate degrees in both political science and urban planning, it is my view that such a study will be of relevance to both disciplines.

Mevellec, Anne

The political creation of agglomeration. Political, institutional and territorial logics. A French-Quebec comparison

This paper deals with the political creation of urban areas. Based on Quebec's experiences of forced municipal mergers generated by the Harel reform (2001) and on the French urban communities created by the Chevènement law (1999), the author examines the way local political systems adopt transformation processes set off at a national level. These cases of form-fitting an urban territory in a formal legal setting are achieved through the notion of agglomeration. Two objectives are pursued: understanding how urban systems, already in function, react to the constraint of these imposed institutional structures. Secondly, the process of institutional transformation reveals the bonds that tie politics, policies and territory together.

The author favoured three perspectives in studying these periods of institutional change: the institutionalisation of the agglomeration's territory, the complex role of elected officials and the different forms of justification of the new institution. Two case studies realized within the framework of a PhD thesis reveal these perspectives. Cases of Rennes Métropole (France) and Ville de Saguenay (Québec) are therefore mobilized to explore and illustrate political and territorial logics occurred during these agglomeration's institutionalization genesis.

One of our conclusions is that each municipal pattern holds out very strongly and gives structure to territorial, organizational and political forms of the new agglomeration's institutions. However the institutionalization of agglomeration transforms the local political practices and leads to interrogate the specificities of a possible local political craft.

Meynell, Robert

Restoration, not Renovation: A Fresh Start for Hartz-Horowitz

The growing interest in the history of Canadian political philosophy was given a substantial boost in 1995 with the publication of *Canada's Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican*, edited by Janet Azjenstat and Peter Smith. This collection of essays has generated a Canadian branch of adherents to the Bailyn-Pocock thesis which claims to overturn Louis Hartz's account of the US as predominantly defined by the contractual liberalism of John Locke. Just as Bernard Bailyn and J.G.A. Pocock seek to reframe US political history in terms of civic republicanism, Azjenstat and others believe they have toppled the Hartz-Horowitz thesis which contends that Canada's communitarian disposition is rooted in the Tory touch. They maintain that it is not Toryism, but rather the same civic republicanism found in the US that gives Canada its sense of social unity. I argue that both the Bailyn-Pocock thesis and its Canadian variant are mistaken and that the Hartz-Horowitz thesis should be restored, though with some qualifiers. In addition to drawing upon the most recent research that refutes Bailyn and Pocock, this paper will add a new dimension to the Hartz-Horowitz thesis, namely the important influence of British Idealism in Canada during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The purpose of this clarification is not only to ensure that we have an accurate picture of the history of Canadian political philosophy, but also to reaffirm one of the key elements comprising the Canadian identity.

Michaud, Nelson

La politique étrangère canadienne: un long fleuve tranquille?

La politique étrangère canadienne est souvent présentée comme s'inscrivant dans une longue continuité sans trop de heurts : depuis le discours Gray de Louis St-Laurent en 1947, les mêmes valeurs servent de base à l'action internationale canadienne. Les livres blancs qui se sont succédé depuis les années 1960 ne reprennent-ils d'ailleurs pas ces mêmes valeurs pour simplement les réordonner au gré des priorités politiques du jour ? Pourtant, certaines études démontrent qu'il existe certaines innovations (Michaud et Nossal 2001) et l'histoire nous confronte à certains comportements qui vont à l'encontre de ceux attendus : Trudeau, par ailleurs peu enclin à appuyer les initiatives militaires américaines, a accepté que soient conduits au Canada les tests de missile croisé et le gouvernement Mulroney que l'on a dit trop près de Washington, a refusé de participer à l'initiative Star Wars. Plus près de nous, le gouvernement Chrétien s'est enfermé dans une forme d'isolationnisme caractéristique. Voilà autant d'exceptions qui nous forcent à reconsidérer sous un nouveau jour ce que l'on croyait être une continuité. S'agit-il justement de simples exceptions ou doit-on y voir les particularités d'un phénomène plus complexe qu'on ne l'aurait cru jusqu'à date ? Pour répondre à cette question, cette recherche prend appui sur des décisions de politique étrangère des gouvernements Mulroney et Chrétien et, en adaptant le modèle que Legault (1992) avait formulé pour la politique de sécurité, je cherche à les expliquer à partir quatre variables liées aux facteurs issus du contexte international et du contexte intérieur. Les conclusions que j'en tire pourraient nous amener à reconsidérer la manière dont s'articule, en réalité, la politique étrangère canadienne.

Miernicki, Victoria and Brodie, Janine

"Why did the state stop calling? Gender, Shifting State Forms and Canadian Public Policy"

The rise of neoliberalism in Canada and across advanced liberal democracies has fundamentally recast both the individual's relationship to the state and the ways that the individual is recognized (and recognizes him/her self) by the state. This paper explores how the gendered political subject has been constructed, recognized, and erased by the Canadian state, specifically during the transition in governing paradigms and discourses. We argue that discourse enables us to understand the construction of subjectivities and interests. Drawing upon the work of Louis Althusser and his notion of interpellation, we question how the category of 'women' has been called into public policy discourses and subsequently erased. The paper demonstrates that discourses on individualization, in particular, have transformed the gendered subjects of the welfare state into "genderless, self-sufficient market actors" and eroded the foundations for collective action. The paper examines the construction or disappearance of gender in major federal social policy reforms of the past two decades as well as proposals for social policy reform that are currently being advanced by federal policy agencies such as the Policy Research Initiative.

Mihai, Mihaela

Political Apathy in Romania - Lessons to Be Learnt

Many studies have shown that the transition of the former communist countries to a democratic civil society has been marked by the "communist inheritance", which manifested itself as a lack of trust in state institutions and the political efficiency of citizens. Therefore, the issue is to overcome the cynicism and distrust which prevent the development of a robust civil society. I shall put forth an empirical study done in 2003-2004 and I will try to explain the lack of interest in and of knowledge about politics plaguing the youngest Romanian citizens who voted for the first time in the general elections of 2004. At the same time, I shall try to identify some solutions for alleviating this problem and I believe they do not apply to the Romanian environment exclusively but to most of the post-communist countries experiencing political apathy. My report is based on a questionnaire applied on a sample of 368 subjects and statistical tests (correlation analysis, bivariate and multivariate regression), meant to measure the impact of a series of variables on the level of political participation. The final part of my paper contains a proposal for education reform both in terms of the pedagogy and curricula content of high-school social sciences. The hope is that, by getting a better picture of the factors influencing political involvement in a young democracy, active and uniform steps can be taken to promote a more responsible view of citizenship and thus enhance the control the citizenry has over the transition process.

Milner, Henry

Expressive Engagement, Political Knowledge and the Question of Youth Turnout. Canada in Comparative Perspective

Declining youth voting turnout is a phenomenon apparent in almost all advanced industrial democracies, and none more clearly than Canada. But there is some debate over whether this is predominantly an expression of the depoliticization of new generations, or, rather, that voting turnout is being replaced by new alternative or unconventional forms of political participation. I propose to look at Canadian data in comparative context, to test the hypothesis that, in Canada, at least, the latter thesis is unsupported.

Moggach, Douglas

Schiller's Aesthetic Republicanism

While Schiller's thought has frequently been depicted as a flight from contemporary conditions of revolution and war, his aesthetic ideas are closely connected to his assessment of political emancipation, and they contribute to a new kind of republican thought. While earlier eighteenth-century republicanism had presupposed (or attempted to enforce) homogeneity of interest among the citizen body, Schiller acknowledges the fact of modern diversity, resulting from new relationships in civil society and the division of labour. He advocates a politics of mutual recognition, compatible with modern individuality and its differentiated forms. His aesthetic approach seeks harmony through reciprocal interaction and mutual adjustment, without producing uniformity or suppressing spontaneity. Schiller thus attempts an original political application of the emergent idea of intersubjectivity.

The paper will examine the argument in Schiller's *On the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1795), and will comment on the relevant literature. Drawing on my previous work on Kantianism and intersubjectivity, it will illustrate Schiller's relation to Kant and Fichte, and distinguish among juridical, ethical (rigorist), and aesthetic republicanism as alternative positions in the Kantian tradition.

Momani, Bessma

Proposing IMF Reform: Cosmetic, Democratic, or Ideological?

This paper surveys current IMF reform proposals emanating from academia, policy networks, think-tanks, member states, and even within the IMF. It is argued that IMF reform proposals purported today by a variety of actors can be categorized as three types of calls for change: symbolic, democratic, and ideological. While much of the reform proposals found today can be classified in the symbolic and democratic categories, it is argued that those proposed solutions will produce the least amount of real substantive policy change. Ideological change, argued to be the most important and needed type of change, has received the least amount of attention from those recommending IMF reform. Fund critics who call for its demise have criticized Fund ideology, but have not provided proposals to actually change Fund ideology. Beyond the normative critical discourse, why are there not adequate and viable proposals to change Fund ideology? This paper argues and suggests that while Fund ideology has flaws, there is simply no viable alternative being provided by the economics discipline that can challenge Fund ideology. In other words, without a paradigm shift in the economics discipline, proposals to change the Fund will be cosmetic and structural, but not effective in the long run. A paradigm shift in economics will not be achieved until the perceived benefits of the Fund ideology are perceived to have been exhausted within the economics discipline. In the meantime, IMF reform proposals will not produce substantive change, but rather add to the burgeoning litany of complaints against the Fund for something far from IMF control.

Montanaro, Laura

The Impact of Personhood and Public Space on the Recognition v Redistribution Debate

The discourse of social justice is largely divided between claims for redistribution, on the one hand, and claims for recognition, on the other. What framework is required for social justice to consist of both recognition and redistribution? I contend that an institutionally protected public space, similar to that conceived by Jurgen Habermas, is required for social justice to consist of both redistribution and recognition. Moreover, Habermas's public sphere must be supplemented by the Marxian conception of personhood that it has abandoned: one that views people as creatures who need recognition, but who are undermined in needs and capacities by economic power relations and economic need. By neutralizing the media of money and power, Habermas's institutionally protected public sphere allows arguments rather than statuses to determine decisions, thereby providing the critical space necessary for participants to engage with the state on equal terms. However, the ideal speech situation assumes a unified subject, in whom interest and desire are perfectly compatible, an assumption Marx demonstrated to be false by exposing the difference between "class" (interest) and "class

consciousness” (desire). Thus, Habermas’s procedural conception of the public sphere, although crucial, is unable to cope with issues of redistribution and recognition on its own. However, if the state and its institutions utilize a Marxian conception of personhood, with its emphasis on both recognition of difference and unequal economic power relations, we can prevent this political theory from overlooking recognition and redistribution.

Morris, Martin

Aesthetics of Democracy: Communicative Freedom and Communicative Power in Visual Culture

This paper investigates validity-claiming in visual communication, including advertising, film, and television, as a form of communicative power and as a key moment of communicative freedom. My emphasis is on the validity-claiming of visual communication in contrast to and as an analog to that of linguistic communication. Processes of validity-claiming in democratic theory tend to be understood in the terms of linguistic communication (e.g. Habermas, Benhabib). My paper seeks to demonstrate that a theory of democracy that conceives validity-claiming solely in linguistic terms neglects the ways in which visual communication enacts claims to validity. I seek to understand the communicative power that structures interpretive performance in visual communication as an analogue to linguistic communication but not reducible to the latter. A common source for visual and linguistic validity-claiming is hypothesized in the processes of recognition immanent to the interpretive event. The processes of perceiving validity and understanding are thus found to be expansive—visual culture, for example, does not simply reflect or communicate the world, it contributes to the making of this world. Cultural political theory thus becomes crucial for understanding these processes. Investigating this set of problems continues my concern with developing an ‘aesthetics of democracy’—an awareness that communicative freedom in democracy requires attention to both the verbal and nonverbal communicational environments. Among the anticipated results of the research will be a better understanding of the operation of power, social ordering and the sources of moral consciousness within contemporary society.

Muhlenberg, Elisabeth

Measuring Democratic Capital: A Comparative Analysis of PISA Background Factors

Education is widely accepted as a key component of economic growth. The OECD has developed the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), to help more than 40 countries improve their education systems and maintain/improve their economic performance. Some unexpected outcomes suggest that democratic capital is in danger in unexpected places, e.g. Germany, while it seems to be thriving in other, very diverse countries, e.g. Canada.

This paper uses the PISA results to probe macro-level institutional and political foundations of democratic capital formation cross-nationally. It asks what lies behind PISA outcomes, why countries vary, and links educational performance into institutions of the political economy, e.g. the labor market. The literature so far has focused on micro-level factors that explain 85% of the between-country performance variation, with 25% attributable to institutional sources. Unquestionably, school and home environments are extremely important. That should not blind us to the fact that education is also subject to macro-level factors. The goal of this paper is twofold: (i) To explain why educational performance differs across countries, it compares and contrasts agent characteristics and structural factors. (ii) The cross-country analysis is deepened by a case study of Germany. Germany was chosen due to its low national score and large subnational variations. This design produces a two-level comparative analysis capable of tracing the background factors to the subnational level. It allows me to assess PISA overall and to reveal how the measurement supports its economic purpose.

Muñoz Martínez, Hepzibah

Capital Internationalization, the State and the Mexican Nationality of Global Financial Markets

Deregulation of the financial system has led several scholars to assert that world wide integration of financial markets inevitably means the ‘end of geography.’ According to this view, the international mobility of money and the developments in information technology allow finance to escape geography and to undermine the ability of the state to carry out economic policy. This dichotomization of the nation-state and international accumulation, however, cannot explain why the Mexican nation-state continues to exist with international financial market, particularly in after the crisis of 1994, and how the state has played a pivotal role in the expansion of financial derivatives linked to the Mexican peso. In contrast to these views, I will argue, drawing from a Marxian political economy perspective, that the Mexican state has remained pivotal in reproducing global financial markets within its own social formation through its monetary policy. The Mexican state’s monetary policy has also been facilitated by the isolation of economic decision-making, particularly the central bank, from popular pressures and its subjection to further control from financial speculators. This in turn is reflected in the creation of fiscal and tax policies that reduce social spending, increase prices and added-value tax in goods, and policies that put downward pressure on wages and subordinate workers in order to maintain what is referred to as ‘national competitiveness.’

Munro, Daniel

City Citizenship and Democratic Multiculturalism

In this paper I examine institutional arrangements which grant municipal voting rights to non-citizen residents of multicultural democracies and I consider whether such arrangements are normatively compelling and practically useful as a way to achieve the multiculturalist aim of integration. Similar voting arrangements were introduced in The Netherlands in 1985 as a strategy to integrate foreign residents into mainstream political life and thereby to avoid the radicalism that is sometimes the product of political exclusion and isolation. I argue that the adoption of such arrangements in Canada and other multicultural democracies might not only provide newcomers with better opportunities to participate in decision-making processes that affect their interests – thus satisfying a democratic commitment to legitimacy – but that formal political participation by non-citizen residents might also encourage the

development of the deliberative capacities and democratic commitments of those potential citizens. Indeed, the arrangements offer a democratic citizen apprenticeship that pursues a gradual integration of newcomers while being responsive to their claims and interests. The paper identifies and discusses certain barriers to non-citizen participation – including the comparatively lower socio-economic status of newcomers, the lack of official language mastery, and the lack of a formal education in the receiving country – but it argues that inclusive, albeit unconventional, participatory arrangements may offer the best hope we have to overcome those circumstances and avoid newcomers' slide into political cynicism.

Murray, Heather

The Urban Autonomy Debate: Rethinking Intergovernmental Relations in Canada?

In the study of urban politics, it is often held that a gap exists between the need of cities for greater political and fiscal autonomy – and their lack of it. As the demands and responsibilities faced by Canadian cities increasingly grow, a number of cities find themselves without adequate resources and constrained by their subordinate status within the Canadian federal system. In recent years, calls for greater autonomy have become more vocal and organized in certain cities, particularly in the city of Toronto. In an attempt to respond to some of the pressing needs of various cities, both the federal and provincial governments, for instance, have engaged in negotiations surrounding a New Deal for Cities and Communities. Additionally, a new City of Toronto Act is slated to come into effect within the next year. Despite these initiatives, it is unlikely that they will serve to quash calls for greater urban autonomy. This paper asks – given the current efforts on the part of both the federal and provincial government to address some of the concerns of cities, to what extent has the intergovernmental dynamic fundamentally shifted in Canada? Are senior levels of government rethinking the place of cities within the federal context and, if so, what does this mean for the way we have traditionally viewed our cities? While this paper primarily focuses on Toronto, comparative examples will also be drawn from both the Vancouver and Winnipeg cases.

Myles, John and Beland, Daniel

Stasis Amidst Change: Canadian Pension Reform in an Age of Retrenchment

Faced with aging populations heightened fiscal constraints, large scale pension reform were implemented in many affluent democracies during the 1990s. Canadian reform, by contrast, were quite modest and old age security benefits emerged largely unscathed. Drawing on the comparative experience of other OECD nations, we highlight four characteristics of the Canadian pension system and the policy environment to account for this relative stability: 1) the comparatively modest scale of Canadian public sector expenditures; 2) relatively greater reliance on general revenue; 3) the availability of other expenditure targets that could be cut with less political backlash; and 4) a pension design that allocates the public sector share disproportionately to the bottom end of the income distribution.

Nash, Andrew

Fifty Years after the Death of Political Philosophy

In 2006 it will be fifty years since Peter Laslett introduced the first series of Philosophy, Politics and Society with the announcement, "For the moment, anyway, political philosophy is dead." Subsequent volumes in this series described the revival of the discipline, recast in accordance with the needs of the time. This paper examines the nature of the crisis faced by political philosophy in mid-century, initially in the Anglo-American context, the way the discipline was reconfigured to resolve that crisis, and how lasting a solution to the crisis it will prove to be. The three issues are related, and on all three I argue that Laslett's perspective and that of his collaborators in the series was inadequate. The paper relates the arguments, assumptions, and innovations of the book series to the global context in which Western political thought was reconfigured—Cold War, decolonization, and the emergence of national liberation struggles in the Third World—and interprets that reconfiguration as an attempt to establish an apparent pluralism of values, compatible with the Western domination of a global capitalist system. The end of Cold War and Third World insurgency has brought about the global ascendancy of Western liberal democracy at the same time as the debasement of its normative ideas—a process that contemporary political philosophy is ill-equipped to grasp. The paper concludes with a brief outline of the conditions for a contemporary resolution of the crisis which Laslett & Co. postponed but did not resolve.

Needham, Robert L.

Freedom and Free Time: The Ethical Implications of Expanded Free Time

This paper will examine the meaning of the concept freedom in relation to free, or leisure, time, and the ethical implications that the expansion of free time might have for human well-being and development in post-industrial societies.

The paper will make use of the methods of philosophical analysis and, to some extent, present empirical evidence. Free time will be analyzed and defined, and the concept of free time that emerges from this will be situated amongst existing political theory scholarship on freedom. The burdens and benefits of being free will be examined. Empirical evidence pertaining to the relationships between free time, its expansion, and human well-being and development, will be presented.

It will be argued that while there are potential drawbacks to the expansion of the freedom which is available in free time, logical argumentation and, on balance, available empirical evidence, would suggest that the expansion of such time should have beneficial consequences for human fulfillment, well-being, and development.

This paper seeks to make a significant contribution to the political theory literature that makes free time central to human freedom and argues for an expansion of such time. It does this by examining the implications that such an expansion might actually have for human well-being and development.

The author's wider research program is on human need fulfillment in work and leisure, and the implications that expanded free time might have for human need fulfillment.

Newman, Sarah

Gender Mainstreamed: A Feminist Critique of The Strategy of Gender-Mainstreaming

The gender-mainstreaming project, which ensures that a gender analysis and attention to gender equality is central to all governance activities, has recently been heralded as a great feminist achievement in many feminist circles. I hope to show through a critique of the theoretical framework of the strategy of gender-mainstreaming that it relies on fixed conceptual boundaries, which obscures power relations and serves the interests of a particular group, namely, upper class, mainly white women. Moreover that the gender-mainstreaming literature fails to provide a radical critique of the neoliberal project, which leads the gender-mainstreaming strategy to (re)produce the power relations, it seeks to transform and become a complicit actor and regulating force in the new system of global governance. I will argue that the analytic framework of gender-mainstreaming is not only conceptually problematic, but has created a hegemonic feminist politics that controls, manages, and contains feminists' struggles.

To do this, I will rely primarily on literature produced by or for the United Nations on gender-mainstreaming, as it is the chief promoter of this project. I will begin by reviewing how the gender-mainstreaming literature understands the concept of gender and how it limits their political practices. Then, I will explain how the literature adopts an ontology that maintains the existing social order by subsuming social reality under fixed conceptual categories. Finally, I will address the material consequences and, through my critique, I hope to re-open political space and present an alternative framework that provides a more productive approach to understanding gender inequality.

Newton, Janice

Education for Democracy: What Does it Mean for Our Teaching?

This paper explores what it means to educate our students for democracy. Provincial governments are beginning to mandate that universities articulate learning objectives for specific programs. "Education for democracy" is a learning objective that is ideally suited for political science programs, but do we know what that means our teaching practice? The Political Science program at York University adopted "Education for Democracy" as one of our learning objectives, and we have begun to collectively explore what this might mean, and what its implications are for classroom teaching. This paper reviews pedagogical literature to discover teaching practices that would support such a goal. It also draws on pedagogical practices from other disciplines to outline a variety of practical teaching strategies that would promote student learning towards this objective. The paper argues that if we take this learning goal seriously, it will necessarily transform our teaching practices in the political science classroom.

Nichols, Robert Lee

Recognition and the Cultural Theory of Modernity

This paper is a study of Charles Taylor's project of 'provincializing Europe' via a historical hermeneutics. The paper looks at Taylor's cultural theory of modernity and, specifically, at how his interpretation of the formation of modern identity masks some of the ways in which this identity is developed in relation to its opposite (the non- or pre-modern). I draw upon Taylor's work to argue that the emergence of modern historical consciousness marks a definitive transition point in the making of the 'modern' self. However, I also argue that Taylor's project does not pay sufficient attention to the ways in which this moment may be marred by forms of overt and implicit violence. The emergence of linear, secular time is fundamental to the constitution of modernity according to Taylor, yet there is little acknowledgement in his on how this relation to time, and the resultant historical consciousness it engenders, defines the identity of 'the modern' over against other possible alternatives (non- and pre- modern) which are presumptively inferior. The remainder of the paper expands upon Taylor's work, moving from his cultural theory of modernity, to a more genuinely inter-cultural one. An intercultural theory of modernity, I argue, could not seek to explain modern identity via a narrative of change internal to a single historical tradition, but would also have to make central the interrelationship between modernity and whatever is taken to be outside or beyond modernity—what Enrique Dussel calls 'the underside of modernity'.

Nikolenyi, Csaba

Minority Governments in Post-Communist Democracies

Minority governments have been formed with much less frequency in the new post-communist democracies of East Central Europe than in the established democracies of the West. Nonetheless, these instances provide an important pool of hard cases for the evaluation of the predictive power of major theories of minority government formation that have been mainly tested in the context of the established parliamentary democracies of Western Europe. Such accounts have stressed the importance of various causal factors such as the fragmentation of the party system (Dodd 1976, 1974); the size (Taylor and Laver 1973), the spatial location (Crombez 1996, van Roozendaal 1992), and the bargaining power of key players (Anasolahebere, Snyder, Staruss and Tang 2005) or broader institutional features of the political system such as the power of the parliamentary opposition relative to the executive (Strom 1990) or the government formation process (Bergman 1993). The paper will evaluate these competing hypotheses of minority government formation in the context of the eight post-communist democracies: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

Nuruzzaman, Mohammed

Institutional Reforms to promote Multilateralism: The Challenge of Radical Islam

The liberal idiom of multilateralism came under attack after the American invasion of Iraq in March 2003. Critics point out that American unilateralism paved the way for a wrong kind of action putting radical Islamists (or Islamic cosmopolitans) and the American neo-conservatives pitted against each other. Liberals who still believe in multilateralism as the best way to build a peaceful and orderly world underestimate the nature of post-9/11 global challenges, particularly the challenge of radical Islam. This paper

proposes to explore the nature of theoretical and practical challenges radical Islam poses to effective multilateralism through institutional reforms. It will argue that the growing popularity of radical Islam (led by al-Qaeda) in the Muslim world and its unavoidable conflicts with American power would seriously undermine the very foundation of multilateralism.

Nuruzzaman, Mohammed

Neo-liberal Institutionalism and Cooperation in the Post-9/11 World

Neo-liberal institutionalism, so far the most formidable challenge to realist and neo-realist theories of international politics, has traditionally emphasized the need for institutional arrangements to achieve and maintain cooperation between nation-states. The neo-liberal scholars see institutions as the best means to promote effective interstate cooperation and deal with emerging global challenges. A good number of recent developments, particularly the American neo-conservative decision to invade Iraq to extend the zone of democracy (democratic peace thesis!), greatly minimize the prospects for international cooperation in the post-9/11 world. This paper proposes to analyze how the neo-conservative turn in American foreign policy undercuts the premises of neo-liberal institutionalism and, by implications, confirms the neo-realist concern about relative gains that largely block meaningful cooperation between nation-states.

O'Brien, Dan

Post-Bureaucracy or Post-Public Good? New Public Management and the Policy Process Constraints in Ontario

Over the past two decades, substantial changes in governance have occurred worldwide producing various implications for the public policy determination process. Novel forms of administrative reorganization, new public management (NPM), have led to many constraints being placed on the functions of governments. Since many of the tenants of NPM are ideologically based, the process driving such reorganizations may be flawed. Though possible that desirable policy outcomes may be produced through the implementation of NPM techniques, governments must recognize that not all services are best delivered to the citizenry through such an approach. NPM has influenced the actions of all levels of government in Canada, however this paper will pay particular attention to the Ontario experience. By examining the various New Democrat, Progressive Conservative and Liberal governments since 1990, it will be argued that NPM has impacted the public policies of all three provincial parties, albeit to differing degrees. In doing so, this paper will posit whether such developments have resulted in bureaucratic restructuring that more effectively provides services to the citizenry. As well, it will question the ways in which government adherence to NPM has altered traditional conceptions of the public good.

O'Brien, Robert

Labour Internationalism and State Transformation

The issue of labour internationalism has become more pressing as state policies undermine labour rights and conditions at the same time that external pressures upon workers have increased. These external pressures take the form of economic competition and expanding global regulation. In such an environment the question becomes: how should workers relate to the world outside their own national state? Labour organizations and academic opinion ranges from those who believe energy should be almost exclusively devoted to capturing power at the national level to those who argue for a reborn internationalism. The question is both theoretical and practical. The theoretical element involves making judgments about where power lies and how it can best be confronted. The practical side involves a question of resource use and tactics to be deployed by labour groups. This presentation will explore the different perspectives on labour's interaction with global factors and suggest a variety of options for strategy and research.

Ogrodnick, Margaret

Violence and Politics in Beauvoir and Arendt

I propose to analyze at the foundational level the practise and ethics of violence in relation to the political world. The contours of this examination will emerge from a philosophical encounter between Hannah Arendt and Simone de Beauvoir. Both thinkers were stimulated to address this question by their experience of World War II and its aftermath. They both embedded their inquiries in philosophically dense understandings of freedom and human agency. Their treatments, however, diverge in the more collectively oriented framework of Arendt's republicanism and the more individualistic rubric of Beauvoir's existentialist politics. Arendt's philosophy is familiar to Political Theorists. In contrast, Beauvoir is almost entirely known to the discipline of Political Science through her feminist philosophy. Her humanist political philosophy is virtually unknown even though there has been a surge of recent interest amongst Anglo-American Continental Philosophers. Her Ethics of Ambiguity has long been available in English translation, and this recent interest is sure to be intensified by the 2004 English translation of a collection of other philosophical writings. Thus, my paper aims to bring the humanist philosopher Beauvoir to a Political Science audience through the reflective lens of the more familiar Arendt, on the perennially troubling subject of the political standing and ethics of violence. This essay is part of a larger project on Beauvoir I have underway which explores her numerous autobiographies as another medium for the philosophical expression of a politicized self and an ethics on the political.

Ohemeng, Frank and Grant, John

When Markets Fail to Deliver: An Examination of Privatisation and Deprivatisation of Water Services Delivery in Hamilton

The rise of NPM and its faith in the 'market' in the early 1980s led governments to search for alternative methods in the delivery of public services. The fundamental philosophy was that governments should rethink what they do and how they do it. Under this philosophy, it was suggested that governments should devote their attention to policy development and allow organizations or agents outside government to undertake service delivery.

The search for new methods culminated in what is referred to as Alternative Service Delivery (ASD). The idea behind ASD was that the market would eventually deliver service more efficiently than public sector institutions. In Canada, this was fully embraced at all levels of government. Notwithstanding the perceived efficiency of the market, however, many forays into the realm of ASD have been less than successful. Thus, the market has, in fact, failed to deliver services as projected by its advocates. This is reflected in the case of the City of Hamilton's water services after almost a decade of private sector delivery.

What accounts for the failure of the market to deliver the service and the subsequent deprivatisation of water service delivery by the City of Hamilton?

Using Charles Wolf Jr.'s model of non-market failure as the theoretical framework, we argue that the market is far less efficient as its proponents have asserted. This is especially true when there is a monopoly on service delivery pressures.

O'Neill, Brenda

Exploring the Religious and Feminist Values of Canadian Women

The role that feminist values play in shaping women's political attitudes (largely in the context of the 'gender gap') has been identified in the literature. The role of religious beliefs, although to a lesser extent, has also been examined. The latter has a long history and often reflects women's traditional societal and private roles; the former can be seen as a more modern phenomenon encompassing different roles for women in society and in their private lives. Both can be argued to shape how women come to their political opinions. These two values can, but do not necessarily, compete in the shaping of political opinions. Modelling how and when these two sets of values come into play is the goal of the research project from which the proposed paper stems.

Building on research that I have undertaken on the role of religious values in shaping gender gaps, the proposed paper reports on the first stage of a research project examining the interplay between religious and feminist in the shaping of political opinions. The first stage of the project involved conducting nine focus groups with women in eight cities (Vancouver, Calgary, Lethbridge, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Fredericton and Halifax) in the summer of 2004 with a goal of exploring how women defined and understood feminism and religion within their lives. The proposed paper will report on the results of these focus groups. The paper will conclude with an discussion of how these results should inform survey research examining gender gaps in attitudes.

Ooi, Su-Mei

The International Dimensions of Democratization - The Case of Taiwan

Democratization was understood as an essentially domestic process until the East European cases of the late 1980s exploded the notion that domestic political developments were largely insulated from international influences. Successive pro-democracy movements that spread across the Philippines, China, Taiwan, South Korea and Thailand in the 1980s and early 1990s suggested that the Pacific Asian region was not immune to the zeitgeist of democracy gripping other parts of the world. Certainly, the timing of these struggles seemed to suggest that international factors had also been previously underestimated in the analysis of democratic transition in the region, with larger theoretical implications. This paper focuses the case of Taiwan in order to explicate more precisely how geopolitics, external pressure, global norms and transnational organizations come together to undermine the legitimacy of the old regime as well as nurture an opposition movement. Using the comparative historical method of "process tracing" in detailing the experience of this country, this paper will also show that the particular mode of transition that it experienced – top-down, gradual and transacted – took shape at the international-domestic interface. Research for this paper will be based on interviews conducted in Taiwan and the US with political [opposition] leaders, social movement leaders, civic groups, journalists, government officials, and archival/news research.

Orchard, Phil

"The politics of failure have failed. We need to make them work again" Refugee Response and Normative Change- The Case of the League of Nations and United Nations

Refugees have been a substantial problem in international relations for well over a hundred years. States have generally been united in a common understanding that refugees, as people persecuted primarily by their own state, should be given a right to leave. The international response, however, has still varied considerably.

This paper examines the League of Nations' and United Nations' response to the refugee problem, and suggests that these responses indicate the existence of two dramatically different regimes held together by different norms. In particular, it was only after the establishment of the United Nations that states began to regard the refugee problem as long-term, global in scale, as well as that refugees should possess the right of non-refoulement – the right not to be sent back to a persecuting home state. In contrast, the League of Nations dealt with refugees on a case by case basis, assumed the problem was short term and resolvable, and, most alarmingly accepted no right of non-refoulement. In fact, forced return was common, such as in the case of the German Jews.

This comparison points to two conclusions with intriguing implications for the study of refugees and the literature on norm change. First, regimes, even if ineffective, will generally collapse only during a crisis, such as the outbreak of World War II. Second, and unexpectedly, there may also be a period of contestation prior to the emergence of a new regime, during which states default to norms which have already failed.

Ormiston, Alice

Asceticism in the Dominant North American Culture

This paper will be an investigation into the historical context surrounding the emergence of a powerful strand of pessimism in social and political thought at the turn of the nineteenth century. This pessimism is reflected in the writings of Nietzsche, Weber, Freud, and Heidegger, among others. Furthermore, in all of these thinkers the pessimism seems characterized by the conviction of a profound, indeed a tragic, conflict between the growing forces of abstract or instrumental reasoning, and other, more instinctive, modes of experience and ways of relating to the world. In other words, this intellectual period is characterized by a rejection of the dialectical optimism of Hegel and Marx, both of whom had believed that instrumental rationality could be absorbed and transcended in a higher, more synthetic, mode of existence. What was the historical experience that could help to explain this growing conviction? This is the question that the paper will pursue.

Orsini, Michael

Illness Identities and Biological Citizenship: Finding the "Body" in Citizenship and Identity Theory

A number of scholars are asking important questions about the dawning of a new kind of citizenship and its implications for how we understand the relationship between the state and civil society. Petryna (2003: 6) coins the term "biological citizenship" to describe "a massive demand for but selective access to a form of social welfare based on medical, scientific and legal criteria that both acknowledge biological injury and compensate for it." As she explains, "the damaged biology of a population has become the grounds for social membership and the basis for staking citizenship claims." (2003: 5). How does biological citizenship challenge, supplant or intersect with the dominant mode of understanding citizenship as linked to a nation state or territory?

This paper aims to address an important gap in the dominant literature on citizenship and identity politics, which normally focuses attention on race, gender, ethnicity, and recently sexuality, as the favoured identity markers. While these are nonetheless significant, I argue that political contestation in the domain of health is a distinctive prism through which we can examine how "citizenship projects" are played out. Using the recent proliferation of "health social movements", from breast cancer to asthma activism to HIV/AIDS, as a launching pad, I ask how these new forms of contention, which take as their starting point the citizen's relationship to his/her biological body, challenge current theorizing in the area of citizenship and identity. Does activism rooted in illness challenge the ways in which we understand the redistributive aims of social movements? How does current theorizing (i.e. Kymlicka, Taylor) reinforce an unproblematized notion of the rational human subject?

Ozcurumez, Saime

New Forms of Intergovernmentalism in the EU? Blurring the boundaries of JHA and External Relations

Against the background of developments in European Union (EU) Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) and fluctuating support for the Constitution, this paper argues that an emerging form of intergovernmentalism explains EU policy and politics whereby converging national interests and relative bargaining power of certain member states increasingly determine the scope and terms of further collaboration. In order to do so, I study the blurring of boundaries between JHA and external relations by first, analyzing the evolution of JHA in general and immigration policy in particular focusing on post-Tampere developments. Second, I examine the proposals on readmission, migration and development, and regional protection programs introduced in Fall 2005.

Özgün- Çakar, Yasemin

The Constitution and the Concept of "Development" in Turkish Political Life

The concept of "development" is used as equal for economic growth generally; it is employed to describe a change in a country's economy involving qualitative as well as quantitative improvements. Economic development first became a major concern after World War II. As the era of European colonialism ended, many former colonies and other countries with low living standards came to be termed underdeveloped countries, to contrast their economies with those of the developed countries

The concept of "development" has been also a widely debated issue throughout Turkish political life after 1960's. This paper will examine how the concept of "development" constructed, maintained and transformed in and through political struggles since 1960's onwards by different political and social groups. The paper suggests a twofold analysis of the subject- matter; an historical analysis complemented with a discourse analysis. An historical analysis, which dwells upon particular political moments as manifestations of discontinuities and continuities will illuminate the nature of economical, political and social relations paved the way for the constitution of a particular "development" discourse, and eventually prepared the conditions of its dissolution. A discourse analysis, in conjunction with the historical analysis attempts to show the ways in which development discourse articulated itself as a political project and constituted its hegemonic subjectivity and will illuminate the ways in which its counterparts articulate their challenge, undermining the certainty of its constitution.

Pacini-Ketchabaw, Veronica, Lee, Jo-Anne and Chen, Xiaobei

Reconceptualizing Citizenship Entitlement to 'Quality' Care: What Happens when Racialized Girls Provide Care for Their Younger Siblings?

This presentation will outline the problems that exist with current definitions of 'quality' care in the field of early childhood education. It will juxtapose discourses of 'quality' care with findings from a participatory action research (PAR) project with racialized girls performing the everyday care of their younger siblings. The presentation will outline the limitations of current 'quality' care discourses and attend to the tensions and complexities that exist in caring for young children. Definitions of children's citizenship entitlement to 'quality' care are constructed in isolation to issues of migration, and assume color and gender blindness. Further, when migration is taken into consideration, it is assumed that racialized minority young children need stringent 'quality' services ('beyond

what all children need') to 'compensate' for the 'deficiencies' of their families. The inherent assumption and logic of the 'quality care' model creates racialized minorities as 'others'. Furthermore, little consideration has been given to precarious employment in the labor market as a mediating condition that requires immigrant parents to work double and triple shifts to support the household while transferring caring responsibilities to daughters as a strategy of survival. The presentation will problematize assumptions, recontextualize caring work in the context of neo-liberalism, globalization and citizenship and draw on PAR findings to amplify the usually absent voices of racialised immigrant children.

Pal, Leslie

Exporting Policy Models: The Role of International Agencies

Most models of the policy process presume that most of the players are domestic ones – politicians, policy advisors, think tanks, and NGOs. Globalization has encouraged a better understanding of international actors such as transnational policy networks, epistemic communities and the importance of other states and international agencies (e.g., the WTO). However, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, there has arisen another category of donors, foundations and international agencies working to spread western policy models and analytical techniques in central and eastern Europe and central Asia. A good example is the Open Society Institute's network of programs that seek both to train analysts (usually in the non-governmental sector) and also to influence domestic public policy. The governance programs of the World Bank, the OECD, and the OSCE are other prominent examples. In short, what is sometimes termed the "donor community" plays a crucial role in the policy-making process in many countries, but its dynamics and impact are only imperfectly understood. The paper provides an overview of standard models of the policy process, and then develops a specific model that captures the impact of donors. It then reviews the policy models/analytical techniques being exported by these players, and closes with some empirical illustrations (Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, where the author has participated in this type of work).

Panagos, Dimitrios

Aboriginal Rights and the Contested Meaning of Aboriginality

Rights based on collective identity seek to publicly affirm and recognize the diversity which characterizes a state's citizenry. These rights aim to address concerns about justice, fairness or democracy by accommodating difference. A number of theorists concerned with the issue of identity argue that there is an emerging consensus that identity is inherently unstable and subjective. How, then, can the state make decisions with any confidence that affirm or deny rights based on collective identity? It is true that in many cases the absence of stability in many of the important concepts regularly wielded by the state does not result in an inability to engage in politics. But the instability of the concept of identity presents a particular problem for politics because it facilitates the development of group conflict and hinders conflict resolution. This paper will explore the link between the instability of the concept of identity and group conflict creation/resolution by investigating the contemporary Aboriginal struggle in Canada. It will demonstrate that Aboriginality has been taken to mean a guardian-ward relationship, a trustee-beneficiary relationship, a citizen-state relationship and a nation to nation relationship. This paper will then examine specific attempts by the state to either affirm or deny Aboriginal rights. The purpose of this examination is to illustrate how the contested nature of Aboriginal identity negatively affects the capacity of these collective rights to successfully accommodate Aboriginal difference. When theorizing about identity is approached from the perspective of the contemporary Aboriginal struggle in Canada unnoticed and important aspects of its political implications can be brought to light and change the way we think about identity.

Papic, Marko

Divesting Power: Comitology procedure and the conscious surrender of Member State competency

This paper deals with the decisions of Member State governments to willingly cede decision-making power to the Commission so that they don't have to be held accountable for controversial decisions, such as GMO product authorization. The paper makes theoretical claims on process of comitology based on the case of GMO product authorization.

Paré, Isabelle

La non-européanisation de la France et de la Belgique face à la politique du génome humain

L'impact des politiques européennes sur les États membres, ou européanisation, a fait l'objet de différentes études. Ces dernières démontrent que l'impact de l'Europe n'est nullement systématique en regard des différents secteurs de politiques et des pays. Nonobstant les définitions, un consensus émerge néanmoins quant au fait que l'européanisation implique une nécessaire reconsidération de l'ordre des niveaux supranational et national et de l'impact de l'un sur l'autre. L'européanisation est ainsi définie comme étant l'impact de l'intégration européenne sur les structures et les politiques domestiques. Les travaux sur l'européanisation ont porté sur des exigences européennes devant être mises en œuvre par les États membres (ÉM). Nous proposons d'analyser l'influence de l'Union européenne (UE) sur les ÉM relativement à la politique européenne du génome humain. Puisque cette politique n'a pas fait l'objet d'une mise en œuvre nationale, il importe de reconceptualiser le concept d'européanisation. Positionnant notre analyse dans les travaux de Radaelli (1997) et de Knill et Lehmkuhl (2002), nous traitons d'européanisation indirecte qui porte sur l'influence des discours et des idées de l'UE sur les ÉM. On assiste ainsi à une conception revisitée de l'européanisation où l'influence de l'UE n'est plus une contrainte mais une source d'inspiration pour le développement d'initiatives nationales. Il s'agira ainsi de discerner l'impact réel de l'UE sur les politiques et activités de recherche nationales en génomique tout en évitant le piège d'attribuer à l'UE des changements qui s'expliquent par la structure domestique.

Parent, Geneviève

When Crime Pays: the Politics of Crime, Law, and Victim Compensation in Quebec

In North American and Western European criminal justice systems, crime pays when it comes down to being rehabilitated. Whatever one's crimes, the criminal is given every opportunity to reintegrate society. On the other hand, the victim of criminal acts is often left on his or her own. After being subjected to criminal violence, the victim is utilised by the justice system as a witness but no more. Reintegration of victims is not a priority while criminals have access to more rights and better services. In Quebec, there exists a State compensation system for victims of criminal acts. However, it is argued that this system has little to do with victim rehabilitation and reintegration. That is, the victim that fills out all the forms, that follows bureaucratic procedures, and, more importantly, that fits the social profile of the 'innocent' victim as defined by the government will be compensated after laborious efforts. The victim which does not fit the stereotype will not be compensated. But in either case, the system often produces pernicious effects that hinder victims' recovery. The thorough analysis of the system here offered, based upon over forty interviews of victims, public servant, and private practitioners, shows that victim compensation in Quebec is a political symbol more than anything else. Foucault illustrated how crime control is social control. It is argued here that victim compensation is another instance of how criminals and victims are imagined outside social conditions; how they are constructed as to never question existing relations of power.

Patel, Nazeer

The Nation as Problem: Nationalism and Normative Argument

The 'nation as problem' simply means that the starting point of analysis, the central unit of inquiry, should be viewed as an object that necessarily rejects simple definitions. This insight and our preoccupation with understanding why we define nations comprise the foundation from which we can derive a framework for evaluating the particular questions that normative theories of nationalism seek to answer. The purpose is not to offer the definitive characterization of the nation, nor do we seek a comprehensive exposition of every theory of nationalism developed; rather, the primary objective before us will be to demonstrate the necessity of defining the nation, and of developing a theory of nationalism. The starting point, then, will be to explain why it is important in the first place that a definition of the nation is offered, or a theory of nationalism is propounded. The premise of the argument recognizes the importance of arriving at these definitions for conceptual reasons, but also seeks to enunciate how these definitions are contingent on very specific problems that nations and nationalism generate. The focus on the necessity of definition represents a methodological affront against the belief that a single definition of the nation or a general theory of nationalism can account for all the problems nations and nationalism generate.

Paterson, Stephanie

Rethinking Wife Abuse: Violence, Resistance, and Public Policy in Canada

Women's resistance to violence is a relatively new study in the field of violence against women and it is from this lens that I critique and challenge Canada's anti-wife abuse policy framework. Adopting a constructivist approach, I elucidate the ways in which resistance is conceptualized in public policy, demonstrating that women's resistance is not an issue of women's agency, or lack thereof, but rather of public policy. Current policy narrowly defines resistance only as departure from the household, falsely dichotomizing women who leave as resisters and women who stay as victims, neglecting not only the women who do not want to leave, but also the women who cannot leave due to economic and social constraints. As a result, the policy framework imposes a number of barriers on women as they attempt to resist violence, which will be shown analytically using a bargaining approach. The approach will expose the political-economic determinants of violence and its resistance, as well as illuminate key areas for policy reform.

Patsias, Caroline and Patsias, Sylvie

L'altermondialisme : mobilisations locales et lutte globale. L'exemple du milieu communautaire québécois

Cette conférence fait le point sur les différentes recherches consacrées à l'altermondialisme. Elle présente une nouvelle perspective d'analyse qui veut comprendre l'émergence de ce phénomène à partir des racines locales du mouvement. Les explications communément répandues sur l'altermondialisme insistent sur la nouveauté du mouvement dont Seattle (1999) aurait été «la divine surprise». Ma perspective de recherche prend le contre-pied de telles analyses. En mettant l'accent sur les filiations et les reconversions entre groupes locaux et supranationaux, je voudrais vérifier que l'altermondialisme relève moins d'une véritable nouveauté, que d'une complexification et d'une superposition de réseaux déjà existants.

Cette analyse prend comme objet d'étude le milieu communautaire québécois et plus particulièrement le comité de citoyens du quartier Saint-Sauveur à Québec – et trois groupes de femmes : la Fédération des Femmes du Québec (FFQ), ConcertAction Femmes Estrie, et le Centre des femmes de la Basse-Ville de Québec. Ces groupes locaux appartiennent à deux réseaux altermondialistes internationaux, Opération Printemps Québec et Réseau Forum Social. À partir du cas québécois, il s'agit de montrer que le mouvement altermondialiste émerge au confluent de traditions militantes et de courants idéologiques anciens qui trouvent dans ce nouveau combat un espace de reconversion. Plus précisément, comment s'effectuent les reconversions des mouvements locaux au sein de la mouvance altermondialiste ? Quels sont les liens et les filiations entre les groupes ? Comment les groupes partagent-ils valeurs et ressources ? La conférence sera l'occasion pour moi de démontrer l'originalité et la pertinence de la perspective proposée, et de faire une présentation des premiers résultats de l'enquête basée sur l'observation participante des groupes et des entretiens auprès des militants.

Patten, Steve

Brokers, Feminists & Populists: Understanding Parties and Social Movements in the Representational Politics of Identity

This paper offers a framework for understanding the relationship between parties and social movements in Canadian politics. Building on an understanding of political representation as a process that constitutes political identities and interests, it is argued that both political parties and social movements can be understood and studied from a perspective that locates them in the ideological and discursive processes of the 'representational politics of identity'. The empirical core of the paper examines the character of brokerage politics, explores the frustrations of feminists who once participated in constructive engagement with partisan politics, and reveals the role of hostility toward contemporary social movements in the rise of exclusionary populism. While exposing the extent to which the representational politics of identity puts political parties and social movements in competition with one another, the paper concludes by arguing that the tension between these competing institutions of representation is healthy for Canadian democracy.

Paudyn, Bartholomew

Disciplining the European Monetary Union Through Audit

The European Monetary Union is not an Optimal Currency Area as members lack the necessary flexibility in wages and prices, labour mobility or regional fiscal transfers to offset the costs of a common monetary policy. Left at their disposal is fiscal policy, which is restricted by the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP). Unfortunately, the aim to prevent fiscally responsible states from being penalized by lax budgetary policies via inflationary pressures and interest rates is jeopardized as members breach this protocol. Threatened is the value and stability of the euro. Therefore, how does the differentiated assessment of SGP statutes problematize the changing governmental problem of European monetary management? Specifically, how is the "audit" as a quantification of risk and institutionalization of value used to regulate this asymmetric application of the SGP? Managing this monetary spatial order is done through technologies and discourses of "risk" and "uncertainty". I argue that the audit exerts a disciplining force on governments reducing the uncertainty dimension of monetary governance. The former is evident in how European Central Bank (ECB) economists calculate and hedge against a probable estimation of how their policies will affect the ECB's main goal of price stability. Audits are a particular style of processing and institutionalizing this risk as an aggregate future of monetary activity. Conversely, to manage the subjective and non-quantifiable chances that a member will violate the SGP is to govern through uncertainty. Surveillance, as audit, is a technology that regulates this qualitative assessment.

Perrella, Andrea M.L.

Long-Term Economic Decline Among Occupational Groups: Political Efficacy And Support For Non-Mainstream Parties

A long-term perspective to economic voting in Canada reveals more than just merely short-term fluctuations of support levels for the party in power. Those who suffer long-term economic decline behave in ways that yield implications that extend beyond that of mere electoral politics, and touch on the legitimacy for the entire political system. In particular, voters whose occupational group has experienced long-term economic decline tend to feel less external political efficacy than voters whose occupations have not fared as badly. Furthermore, voters in the adversely affected group tend to vote less, and also are more likely to support non-mainstream parties (parties other than the Liberals or Conservatives), which when interpreted in light of attitudes suggests a rejection of not just particular political parties, but of the entire political system.

Pétry, François and O'Connor, Dermot

Foreign Policy And The Rational Public In Canada: Putting Aggregation Theory To The Test

Based on 399 repeated polls about foreign policy administered between 1980 and 2001, we find comparable, perhaps even higher, levels of opinion stability in Canada than previous research in the US and Europe. Unlike previous research, however, we do not believe that opinion stability reflects collective rationality of mass opinion toward foreign policy. A multiple logistic regression model of opinion stability indicates that factors usually associated with a rational public fail to correlate with opinion change as the rational public argument predicts. We argue that in a parliamentary regime like Canada, where foreign policy makers usually lead the public rather than the public leading policy, opinion stability should perhaps be taken more as a sign of opinion ignorance and complacency in foreign affairs than of collective rationality.

Pétry, François and Gosselin, Tania

Print Media Coverage of Polls on Health Issues in Canada

We measure the quality of reporting health policy-related polls in the Canadian print media. Surprisingly, this subject has never been studied in Canada. It is important to remedy this oversight in view of recent concerns voiced by the health care establishment about the low quality of media coverage of health issues. We collect from a sample of national and provincial newspapers all the articles that presented poll data on health issues over a period of several months. We report all the relevant methodological information made available in each article: identity of the pollster; period during which the survey was conducted; sample size; margin of error; wording of the question etc... We then compare the information that is made public by journalists with the information that must compulsorily be given according to the disclosure standards contained in the Canadian Elections Act and the guidelines that rule the Canadian polling industry. We run regression analyses of the determinants of the variation in the information disclosed in the articles under study. Various suggestions for improving poll reporting by journalists have been presented in the scientific literature. We discuss the applicability of some of these suggestions in the light of our findings, and conclude with a few practical suggestions of our own.

Peverini, Marc

The Effect of the Ontario Legislature Internship Programme on the Political Beliefs and Aspirations of Interns

For the past thirty years, the Ontario Legislature Internship Programme has hired eight university graduates to work at Queen's Park on an annual basis. Interns spend four months working in the office of a Member of Provincial Parliament on the government side, and four for a member in opposition. While each intern is required to complete an academic paper as part of the process, the effect of the internship on the interns themselves has not been measured in these essays. This paper attempts to gauge the political impact of the internship on its participants. Past interns have been surveyed to reveal how the experience affected their existing political beliefs. Similarly, the paper explores how the direct experience gained at the Legislature has influenced the interns' perception of elected office. Finally, the paper attempts to draw links between the common experiences of interns and the how these have shaped their ideals, beliefs, and desires. The Ontario Legislature Internship Programme is more than a hands-on employment experience. A discussion of how the internship has affected its participants can shed light on how the Programme shaped interns as persons in an impressionable period of their lives.

Pilon, Dennis and Docherty, David

Local members and the size of Canadian legislatures

The key importance of the local representative in Canadian legislatures is a widely held belief in both popular and academic circles in Canada. But to date there has been no systematic effort to gauge what 'values' have affected decisions over how many local representatives any legislature should have, or what the appropriate ratio of representatives to the represented should be. The recent Law Commission report on electoral reform held that public concerns about retaining a close link between a local member and the public in our representative system meant that certain forms of PR would not be suitable. But Ruff and Pond have argued in the cases of BC and Ontario respectively that decisions about the relationship of local members to constituents, at least in terms of the size of ridings, have been primarily affected by party interests, and others have gestured toward similar motives in other Canadian jurisdictions. Establishing which of these factors is actually more important would go some way in determining just how important the local member really is in our legislatures.

If the local member is, in fact, a key component in our system, then analysts might expect to see a coherent relationship between the rise of population in any given locale and a rise in the number of local members. This paper will analyze this relationship by comparing increases and decreases in the size of Canadian legislatures with increases in population, as well as gauge increases or decreases in the ratio of representatives to the represented in the different locales.

Plaw, Avery

Fighting Terror Ethically and Legally: The Case of Targeting Terrorists

On September 20, 2001 President Bush declared a worldwide "war on terror." The "campaign," he warned, would be "unlike any other we have ever seen." Since the enemy was a covert, transnational network different from past adversaries, so too would the tactics be different. Among the most controversial of these tactics is what I call "targeting terrorists" - what the Israeli government calls "targeted killing" but critics label "assassination" or "extra-judicial killing." The policy, in short, employs the military to kill alleged terrorists who are believed to mortally threaten citizens but who cannot be brought to justice through normal law enforcement. Since the President's speech, America is reported to have killed at least eight people under this policy - without trial or warning - while the Israelis have killed 167, including 87 unintended targets. The United Nations, human rights organizations, and many states and scholars have denounced this policy as both immoral and illegal. Several states and scholars, however, have defended it. This paper examines the arguments for and against "targeting terrorists" to determine its ethical and legal status. It concludes that while the advocates of the policy are correct that it is justifiable in principle, its critics are right that specific targetings have frequently been both illegal and immoral. The paper ends with recommendations designed to bring the policy into line with legal and moral norms, including judicial review procedures to determine the combat status of proposed targets and a series of safeguards designed to mitigate collateral damage.

Ple Khanov, Sergei

The Issue of Democracy in Transition to Capitalism

A key assumption in the ideological rationalization of Russia's transition to capitalism was that political democracy and a capitalist-type economy would be mutually reinforcing. In fact, the implementation of neoliberal economic reforms severely undermined Russia's democratic prospects. The emergence of a neo-feudal system in which political and economic power are closely fused presents a host of challenges both to Russia's new bourgeoisie and to society as a whole, putting the need for democratisation at the centre of political struggles.

Pond, David

Greenbelt Politics in Ontario

The provincial Liberal government's greenbelt initiative in southern Ontario is analyzed using the Urban Growth Machine paradigm. Urban sprawl is the product of local growth coalitions (municipal politicians, developers, financial institutions, builders), who frame the municipal policy agenda. For the greenbelt to prevail the province will have to reconstruct the terms of the urban political economy, re-directing the conventional pattern of local development. This is illustrated with reference to the Niagara Escarpment Plan, whose success in protecting the Escarpment from development reflected a policy compromise minimally acceptable to participants in the local growth coalition. How does the Liberal greenbelt package compare? While it has attracted support from key municipalities such as Brampton and Mississauga, who perceive further sprawl as antithetical to ratepayers' interests, other

municipalities still containing significant agricultural land attractive to developers are hostile. The greenbelt may stimulate the recreation and tourism industries, which will likely become vocal supporters, but it is under attack from the agricultural and development industries, key participants in local growth coalitions. In a significant departure from the Escarpment Plan model the Liberal government retained direct responsibility for the greenbelt, instead of relinquishing administration to an arm's length agency. This raises the question of whether this project can survive the vicissitudes of the provincial electoral cycle, or suffer the fate of the earlier anti-sprawl reforms introduced by the NDP government, which were subsequently eliminated by a Conservative government catering to pro-growth supporters.

Popescu, Marina and Gosselin, Tania

Turnout in Post-Communist Elections: The Salience of Elections and Information Availability

Eyeballing turnout figures in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), we find a puzzling variety not only across countries but also between elections. The analysis builds on the concept of salience of elections put forth by Franklin, Lyons and Marsh (2001) (see also Franklin 2004). The more consequential the office to be filled and the more competitive the race, the more likely it is that citizens will perceive elections as significant events worth participating in. The perception of elections' salience may also lie with the publicity received by electoral campaigns and political affairs in general in the media (Blais 2000). Moreover, the decrease of turnout has been associated with alienation from politics, a drop in trust in government, politicians, and institutions (Teixera 1992; Dalton 2000). Distrustful citizens may become estranged from politics and thus perceive elections to be of lesser importance. The latter two explanations - availability of information and political trust - potentially carry greater weight in CEE due to higher uncertainty about the role and relevance of institutions.

In addition to assessing the influence of competitiveness, the decisiveness of elections (bicameralism and legislative powers enjoyed by the office at stake), information availability and trust, we control for factors found to be relevant in previous literature such as electoral rules and socio-economic variables. We also consider the degree of democratic development by including Freedom House ratings of civil and political rights. We include elections for all countries of the region since 1990, with the exception of those not independent or democratic for much or all of the period examined in this paper.

Popova, Maria

Just Fix It! The Role of the EU and Domestic Political Actors in Efforts to Reform the Judiciaries in post-Communist Eastern Europe

The paper posits that a lack of "guidance" from the EU has led to the failure of judicial reform in EU candidates (especially in the Balkans) where accession has not always been a done deal. EU members do not agree on a "best practice" standard of the organization of the judiciary, because of diversity of practices within the union. Therefore, they have refrained from proposing concrete institutional solutions. In the ensuing conflict between the executive and the judiciary in the candidate countries, each side seeks to portray the EU as its ideological ally. Moreover, each side sees the EU accession timeframe as a window of opportunity for consolidating power and resources, which would be "frozen" after entry. The result is a "war of institutions", which undermines trust in both the judiciary and the political establishment and generates a vicious circle. Successive governments fail because each institutional proposal is denounced as a threat to judicial independence. The string of failures boosts judicial unaccountability, which in turn only underscores the sore need for reform and generates even more sweeping reform proposals.

The paper will test the theory formulated in my dissertation about the adverse effects of political competition and polarization on judicial independence. The paper will engage not only the judicial politics literature, but also the literature on EU enlargement. Specifically, it will contribute to scholarship on EU conditionality, which discusses the causes of variation in the implementation of EU demands across policy areas (Moravcsik and Vachudova 2003, Kelley 2004, Andonova 2004).

Porter, Ann

Income Security: Implementing Reforms, Household Survival and the Limits of Neo-Liberalism

During the 1990s income security programs, like other areas of public policy in Canada, underwent a profound transformation. Income security changes for working age adults included both a large-scale reduction of federal rights-based unemployment benefits as well as, in many provinces (including BC and Ontario) of "needs-based" social assistance benefits. This paper argues that we are currently not experiencing, "post-neo-liberalism" in the area of income security, but rather, the implementation and consolidation of neo-liberal reforms. This is evident in terms of current low levels of state support for the unemployed, the persistence of individualized and privatized solutions, and the retention of an underlying neo-liberal ideology. The paper does however raise the question of what are the limits of neo-liberal reforms in this area? Through a focus on income security for individuals and households in Toronto, the paper examines the combined impact of income security changes at the two levels (federal and provincial) in Canada, and asks the question how are people surviving given the neo-liberal reforms of the 1990s? Are there limits to reform in this direction to be found, for example, in terms of such factors as social dislocation, political reactions or increased health costs? Through what combination of work and state provided income security is household survival now ensured? It will address the question of the differential impacts of this neo-liberal restructuring according to gender, race/ ethnicity and period of immigration.

Prasad, Binoy

The First Post-Bifurcation Parliamentary Election (2004) in Bihar and Jharkhand: A Comparative Study

United Bihar was the second largest province of India. Endowed with natural resources, it was roughly as large as Germany, as populated as France and as impoverished as any sub-Saharan country in Africa. A new province called Jharkhand was carved out of Bihar by the end of 2000 which covered almost entire industrialized area and the land with underground resources like coal, mica and

other minerals. Bihar was, therefore, left amputated and bereft of sources of employment. Agriculture, the main source of livelihood, too depended on the vagaries of nature like flood, draught or cold-wave.

In 2004 general (federal) election to the Lower House of Parliament (the Lok Sabha) which elected a coalition government led by the Congress, Bihar and Jharkhand showed different election trends. In Bihar, the ruling state government party, the Rashtriya Janata Dal (the RJD) and its allies won 29 of 40 seats contested, whereas in Jharkhand, the opposition Congress party-led alliance won 13 out of 14 Lok Sabha seats against the Bharatiya Janata Party (the BJP). The voters of Bihar did not express their anti-incumbency sentiments against their state government whereas the voters in Jharkhand did vote against the BJP-led government both in the state and the center. The verdict, therefore, was against the pro-Hindu BJP government in both the states: Bihar and Jharkhand. Shifting social alliance at the local level, failure of the BJP to make its impact in rural areas and the limits of its 'India Shining' slogan were among the reasons for its electoral set back. The proposed paper takes up a comparative study of the electoral behavior of the two states in 2004 parliamentary election.

Prideaux, Simon

New Labour, Old Functionalism

As the title of this paper suggests, the fundamental premise behind this train of thought is that New Labour, when dealing with welfare, utilise functionalist diagnoses and remedies for the perceived ills within British society. However, this is not to suggest that New Labour are either aware of, openly display, or even acknowledge their allegiance to such sociological trains of thought. Nor is it to suggest that functionalism is the only influence behind Labour's policies. More it is an attempt to describe the way in which North American sociological thinking has directly or indirectly made—and still makes—an impact on the interpretations to which Tony Blair and his party attach to past, present and future social relations. To fully demonstrate this North American influence, the paper briefly looks at the works of Talcott Parsons, Amitai Etzioni and the complementary machinations of Charles Murray and Lawrence Mead. All, it is argued, have led New Labour to adopt similar welfare-to-work policies as those already implemented and operational in the United States: hence the intention of this paper is to explore any shared theoretical foundations in an all-embracing attempt to reveal and explain the origins of the relatively pubescent 'workfare' schemes in Britain today.

Quinn, Joanna

Sophisticated Discourse: Why and how the Acholi of Northern Uganda are talking about international criminal law

The transition from conflict to peace, or from atrocity and authoritarianism to democracy and freedom can be difficult, particularly in achieving social repair. In the case of Uganda, which has been engaged in civil conflict since 1962, the conflict is on-going and no real progress has been made. Several efforts have been made to bring about peace and democracy, including a truth commission, peace negotiations, a national amnesty process and the involvement of the International Criminal Court. As a result of the lengthy duration of the conflict, people living in Uganda have developed a sophisticated awareness and comprehension of the restoration efforts and mechanisms that have been used. The discourse throughout the country reflects this. Based on approximately 200 qualitative field interviews conducted in Uganda in 2004, this paper explores the understandings, misunderstandings and perceptions of Ugandans surrounding the many mechanisms employed in the country, and examines how their highly developed conception of the peace process is influencing the outcome(s) of the process.

Quinn, Joanna

Customary Mechanisms and the International Criminal Court

In the period after civil war or mass atrocity, trials and truth commissions have been used in a growing number of societies to try to bring about social repair and acknowledgement. Unfortunately, they often fail. Researchers have just begun to study the possibility of using customary mechanisms, including traditional ceremonies and rituals, instead of more western institutions like trials and truth commissions, in countries trying to move on in the aftermath of social destruction, with the idea of capitalizing on indigenous knowledge and local solutions in societal restoration. This paper explores the use of customary mechanisms. It further examines the role that these mechanisms can play in the social rebuilding process, with emphasis on the restrictions imposed by the presence of the International Criminal Court. It explores attitudes toward these mechanisms in Uganda, where protracted inter- and intra-group conflict has been on-going since 1962.

Raney, Tracey

Two Faces of Canadian Nationalism: Civic and Ethnic

Within the literature on nationalism in Canada research generally rests on two interrelated assumptions: first, that Canada has a weak national identity and second, that it is a 'civic' nation rooted in common political principles such as 'democracy', as opposed to other factors like ancestry or religion. This paper challenges the viability of these two assumptions in best explaining Canadian nationalism today and employs a two-pronged methodological approach using comparative analyses across time and countries and quantitative analyses using data from the ISSP National Identities I (1995) and National Identities II (2003) surveys.

Two central arguments are forwarded: the first challenges the notion that the Canadian national identity is weak. Findings are reported that demonstrate that many Canadians identify more with their country today than did twenty years ago and are also more likely than citizens of most other Western nations to identify with their country at all. The second argument forwarded challenges the idea that Canada is best or only understood as purely a 'civic' nation. Alongside civic principles, the findings demonstrate a growth of ethnically-based beliefs of nationalism amongst Canadians. The paper aims to show how two different (and divergent) visions of the national political community currently exist in Canada: one rooted in the principles of civic nationalism and the other, a weaker,

ethnically-based one. Future studies of Canadian nationalism ought to take into consideration not only the strength of Canadian nationalism, but also the reality that Canadian nationalism possesses both 'civic' and 'ethnic' properties.

Raymond, Leigh and Olive, Andrea

Protecting Biodiversity on Private Property: The Role of Landowner Beliefs and Norms

This paper investigates the intersection between private property rights and endangered species, or more specifically the decision making process of private landowner's as it affects endangered species conservation. Loss of biodiversity is one of most prominent threats to human welfare, yet there has been little research on why property owners support or oppose the Endangered Species Act (ESA), or how the law affects their behavior. This project addresses this oversight, conducting in-depth interviews with landowners in the Conservation Management Area for the Indiana Bat. These property owners are representative of those subjects whom administrators of the ESA are most concerned with obtaining cooperation from: private owners of large lots of undeveloped and/or agricultural land that serves as important species habitat. The primary research hypothesis holds that landowner support for and compliance with the ESA will depend fundamentally on their belief in certain ethical norms: that is socially shared, non-legal rules of how moral individuals ought to behave.

Rice, Roberta

Why Indigenous-Based Parties? New Party Formation and Electoral Success in Latin America

The study of new party formation is important for uncovering the ways in which social conflict may be addressed by political systems. New parties can serve to replace established parties or force them to incorporate new demands into their political programs. Perhaps most important to the case of Latin America, new parties can enhance the quality of political representation by effectively articulating the interests of new social actors in the political arena. The central questions addressed in this study are, why are indigenous-based political parties forming in some Latin American countries and not in others? And what factors account for the varying degree of success of these newly formed parties? While a number of scholars have sought to explain the recent emergence of indigenous rights movements in the region, few have examined the efforts of indigenous movements in some nations to assert their voice more directly into formal democratic institutions by creating their own political parties. Using a pooled cross-sectional time-series regression analysis of presidential and legislative elections in seventeen Latin American countries between 1978 and 2004, the study tests several key hypotheses regarding the determinants of indigenous-based party formation and success. The paper contends that indigenous party emergence and electoral performance are conditioned by two basic factors: institutional rules and arrangements and historic patterns of popular political incorporation. This study is part of a larger project examining the recent politicization of ethnic cleavages in Latin America.

Riddell, Troy, Hausegger, Lori and Hennigar, Matthew

Federal Judicial Appointments 1988-2003

There has been no major follow-up to the Russell-Ziegel (1991) study which revealed significant levels of patronage in the Mulroney government's judicial appointments from 1984-1988. This paper would begin to study systematically the effects of the 1988 changes to the federal appointment process--introduction of screening committees in each province-- by ascertaining the demographic characteristics of the approximately 1000 federal judicial appointments made by the Mulroney government between 1988 and 1992 (Mulroney II) and the Chretien governments from 1993-2003 (Chretien I-III) and by comparing judicial appointees with public lists of donors to political parties.

The study would form the foundation for future research that would further refine the methodology for assessing patronage and investigate the relationship between patronage and "quality" of judging. As courts come to be perceived more as "policy-makers" rather than as "adjudicators" we hear greater demands for judicial accountability and a more representative judiciary, and concern that such demands potentially could interfere with judicial independence and merit (Morton 2002). The paper will begin to explore these more general questions and issues in the appointment process and review the effects of other judicial appointment systems on the kinds of judges selected (see Reddick 2002).

In studying the appointment process from a broader perspective of the role of courts in the political process and investigating the effects of institutional change, the study will use and contribute to the "new institutionalism" theoretical framework that has become popular in political science, sociology and socio-legal studies (Immergut 1998, Kritzer 2003)

Roberge, Ian

For Better or Worse: the Politicization of Canadian Finance

Financial services sector policymaking is traditionally made by a small set of stakeholders that include top-level bureaucrats, central bankers and key representatives from across the finance industries. Such experts share fundamental and core beliefs about policy objectives even though disagreements may exist in regards to specific policy tools. Yet, recent scholarship about policymaking in the Canadian financial services sector points to a policy field that is increasingly open and politicized. What exactly is politicization and what does it entail? How has policymaking in the Canadian financial services sector become more politicized? How has this politicization affected the decision-making process? Has such politicization led to better or worse policies? Using a policy network approach, I argue that the effects of politicization differ across the banking and securities industries. In the former, policies represent extensively worked-out compromises. Banking policy is contentious, but there are ample opportunities provided for debate. In the securities industry, the inter-jurisdictional dispute prevents substantial reform of the regulatory apparatus making the Canadian market less efficient and safe. The results suggest that although policymaking in the financial services sector must remain accessible, strong

political leadership must equally exist to ensure the adoption and implementation of policies that contain discernible objectives supporting a clear vision for the future of the Canadian financial system.

Robinson, Andrew M.

Intergovernmental Relations and International Human Rights: Canadian Federalism and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

This paper is intended to explore the origin, context, development, and pattern of intergovernmental relations that have developed between the federal government and the provinces (Ontario in particular) in the field of international human rights since 1948. While the paper's main purpose is exploratory, attention will be paid to a number of important questions concerning the impact of globalization, in the form of international human rights treaties, on Canadian federalism. These include: i) How has the ability to coordinate responses to international human rights organizations been effected by the division of powers?; Has this had an effect on the balance of power between federal and provincial governments?; ii) Which ministries were involved?; iii) Were patterns that evolved to deal with international agreements concerning trade and environmental policy replicated in this forum? and iv) How have officials worked out Canada's response to challenges to Canada's human rights record that fall within provincial jurisdiction?

Rocher, François

Canadian Citizenship and Immigration Policies: Securing a Security Paradigm?

This paper discusses the contradictions and possible incoherence between immigration and citizenship policies and security concerns. Aiming to strengthen its security, the Canadian government adopted a new immigration policy in 2002 and has also signed a number of agreements with the United States pertaining to controlling borders (Smart Border Agreements, Safe Third Country Agreement). It has concerned itself with increasing its control on irregular immigration. Although these tightening measures appear acquiescent with a closed border, at the same time, the Canadian government has announced that it aims to substantially increase the level of immigration over the next decade.

In the post 9/11 context, it is important to assess the extent to which security concerns have infiltrated policy discourse and choices. Has the Canadian government modified goals of integration and diversity developed in the policies dating prior to 9/11 or have these policies been adjusted to reflect concerns with security without altering fundamentally goals previously advocated? In this paper, we will provide a brief historical overview of the policies of immigration and citizenship. We will trace changes in the policies over the last decade and explore how the new security context has infiltrated or not the discourse on policy choices and has been used or not as a justification for changes in policies and programmes. It will be based on an analysis of government documents and interviews with civil servants.

Rocher, François

The End of the Two Solitudes? The Presence (or Absence) of Quebec Scholarly Work in Canadian Politics

The paper will explore the presence (or the lack thereof) of reference to work done by French speaking scholars in the broad literature dealing with Canadian Politics over the past ten years. It will survey books published by commercial and university presses and analyse both quantitatively and qualitatively the reference and use of scholarly work by French Speaking Quebec scholars published in English and French.

The paper will shed light on the sociology and the politics of scientific production in the field of Canadian politics. It will explain a phenomenon that is both troubling and revealing of the unequal status of scholars in the field of Canadian politics. I will question the extent to which the current Canadian politics field reflects a comprehensive understanding of the Canadian political dynamic.

Roman, Joseph

The End of Glocalization? Or, Its Uses, Misuses, and Abuses

Recently, "glocalization" seems to have become a favourite word to describe global impacts on local politics. As an idea, glocalization suggests that there is an intense rescaling of social relationships as localities become increasingly important sites of political struggles as globalization and its resultant transformation of social relationships within and between states proceeds. Indeed, a term's success can be measured by, among other things, how much other disciplines are willing to embrace it. Originally coined and developed by radical geographers — most notably the radical geographer Erik Swyngedouw — studying the interplay between the global and the local, glocalization has become embraced by an increasing number of sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and economists. But terms can be the victims of their own success, eventually falling out of favour, for they can come to mean everything and, thus, end up meaning nothing. The aim of this paper, then, is to explore how glocalization is being used, abused, and misused. As a result, glocalization may soon fall out of favour as a means to better understand the complexities taking place in our current era of globalization. The first part of this paper inquires into the origins of glocalization as an idea. Where did it come from? What were its aims? The second part of the paper then surveys how and why glocalization is being applied. Is it becoming a term for all seasons? Finally, the paper considers how glocalization can avoid the unfortunate fate of being relegated to the dustbin of social science.

Rothmayr, Christine and Lespérance, Audrey

Courts and the Biotechnology Revolution: Policy-Making in North America and Europe

By radically expanding our scientific capacities, the "biotechnology revolution" offers the promise of new therapies to treat diseases or new types of food of higher nutritional quality, but it also raises a number of ethical, health and ecological concerns. Around the world, public policies have been adopted to address these challenges. Courts are also strongly involved in the governance of

biotechnologies, which is not surprising when we consider the global expansion of judicial power. However, political scientists have so far neglected the question of how courts have contributed to the governance of biotechnology. The implication of courts in biotechnology policy-making raises a number of important questions. Have courts primarily acted as safeguards against the risks of biotechnology and hence indirectly supported interests critical towards biotechnology, or have they promoted research and application and thus strengthened the position of industry and research? Following Galanter's argument that the "Haves come out ahead" one might suspect that industrial and business interests have been more successful in employing litigation as a strategy to influence policies. More recent research, however, suggests that litigation can also be a successful strategy for less powerful interests. This paper will analyze which issues have been brought before courts, by whom, and how the resulting rulings have influenced public policies, i.e. whether they have strengthened particular interests in the policy-making process. The paper draws on data collected for Canada, the USA, Switzerland and Germany.

Rouillard, Christian

Global Public-Private Partnerships for Pharmaceuticals: Ethical and Procedural Features, Prospects and Challenges

Global public-private partnerships (P3s) in health have been created, purportedly as a response to both market and government failure to provide health care goods and services, particularly in developing countries. They have been created to address issues of product development (vaccines or drug treatments), improve access to healthcare products, assist with global coordination mechanisms, strengthen health care services, provide public advocacy and education, and for regulatory and quality assurance purposes. This paper examines three types of global P3s (African Comprehensive HIV/AIDS partnership, International AIDS Vaccine Initiative, Accelerated Access Initiative). It analyzes and compares the ethical and procedural features and issues of the P3s. It concludes by considering the prospects and challenges of global P3s as a mechanism of global health governance in advancing health as a global public good.

Rounce, Andrea

Political Actors and Public Opinion: Implications for Understanding Public Policy Making

Understanding how various actors involved in the policy making process conceptualize public opinion is an important step in clarifying the impact of public opinion on policy making. Recent research undertaken by François Petry and Matthew Mendelsohn (2004) at the national level with elected and government officials, as well as that done in the United States with similar groups (see Susan Herbst, 1998), has shown that actors have very different conceptions of what constitutes public opinion. Influential public opinion can include citizens' letters to newspaper editors, op-ed columns in newspapers, elite and interest group communications, and the commonly commissioned and reported-on opinion poll.

Interviews conducted with Saskatchewan pollsters, party officials, government officials, interest group members, elected members, legislative staff, and media people will cast light on the importance of different forms of public opinion in the context of a small province. In a governmental system like Saskatchewan's, which requires the release of publicly-funded opinion research, how influential are opinion polls, vis-à-vis other forms of opinion research? How important are interest group communications when Cabinet Ministers and Members of the Legislative Assembly are more easily accessed than in other, larger provinces? Are talk radio shows more important in this province than they might be elsewhere? What are the implications of these findings for how we understand the relationship between public opinion and public policy?

References

Herbst, Susan. 1998. *Reading Public Opinion: How Political Actors View the Democratic Process*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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Rowe, Paul

Adding "Muscle" to Liberation? Lessons for Religion and Development from Colonial Newfoundland and Labrador

This paper will explore a unique intersection of the provincial politics of Newfoundland and Labrador, the politics of religion, and the administration of international development. It seeks to understand modern global religious movements in the perspective of historic examples of liberation.

With a view to shedding light on such an historic case, the paper will explore the liberative aspects of the International Grenfell Association involvement in the development of Newfoundland and Labrador from the colonial period on. The creation of an international network of support was an early form of international development with interesting harbingers for the present. Even today, there are linkages between this historic movement and the administration of health care in northern Newfoundland and Labrador. The endeavour was linked to a theology distinct from liberation, one sometimes called "muscular" theology – yet the institutional aspects of the Grenfell organization were similar in many ways to aspects of liberation.

The Labrador experiment demonstrates the potential for liberative strategies to gain from transnational organization; it shows the potential for ecumenical organization in favour of a general development strategy; and it serves as an example of the adaptability of a conservative religious tradition to the ideals of liberation. Each of these lessons might be applied to many movements of the present day that are not typically viewed through the lens of liberation theology.

Rowlands, Ian

The Development of Renewable Electricity Policy in Ontario: Progress and Prospects

Many argue that electricity systems are, as currently structured, not sustainable. Ontario is no different. Rising costs, smog and climate change challenges and increasing 'energy poverty' have all served to stimulate debate in the province. The 2003 blackout and the 2005 voltage reductions further catalyzed such a consideration.

To promote the sustainability of electricity systems, it is widely agreed that a combination of low(er)-emission sources, renewable resources and demand management must form the core of any strategy. The purpose of this paper is to examine the debate surrounding the proposed greater use of renewable resources – for example, solar, wind, biomass and water – in the generation of electricity in Ontario. Reviewing proposals made in the Macdonald Commission's Report, the Conservative Government's White Paper, the first part of the paper concludes by examining the way in which electricity market restructuring, as implemented by the Harris Government, was designed to encourage greater use of renewable electricity. Analysis of subsequent activity – in particular, the report of the Select Committee on Alternative Fuels – is followed by a study of the way in which the new McGuinty Government changed course. Interest in 'renewable portfolio standards' was supplemented by attention to 'feed-in tariffs', though the formation of the Ontario Power Authority introduced another significant player into the debate.

The paper concludes with a review of the current debate before identifying alternative sets of possibilities for the future.

Ruchet, Olivier

The Closing of the Republican Mindset: Headscarves, Hegemony, and the Recent Debate on Secularism in France

As television screens across the world project the viscous images of burning cars and public buildings in France's dilapidated suburbs, the collapse of the French model of integration is acquiring a stunning materiality. This paper proposes a critical perspective on this collapse, and probes some of the limits of a jealously defended Republican tradition, focusing on its recent reaffirmation through the ban on "ostensible" religious symbols, and notably Muslim headscarves, in French public schools.

The paper is organized around a critical reading of the report drafted by the commission gathered around Mr. Bernard Stasi, which inspired the law organizing the ban. It contends that the rhetoric employed in the report, and the self-presentation and self-understanding of French Republicanism displayed therein, attest to the very situated and utterly political dimensions of a tradition that still conceives of itself as universal and therefore politically neutral. The paper also demonstrates the particular reformulation of the French secular tradition mobilized by the report to justify the ban, and the inconsistencies of its vindication of the protection of women. Additionally, the paper questions the selective use of Anglo-Saxon literature on multiculturalism in the report, even when available in French translation. Drawing on recent writings by Ernesto Laclau, the paper eventually argues that these many lines of flight can be interpreted as the different elements of a hegemonic struggle waged by French political elites to buoy up a model whose inability to adapt to evolving social and political conditions has nevertheless rendered unsustainable.

Ruckert, Arne

Towards a Post-Neoliberal Regime of Development? From the Washington to the Post-Washington Consensus

The recent articulation of the Post-Washington Consensus within the most prominent development institutions, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, has been met with two fundamentally opposed responses. One the one hand, critics of the development establishment maintain that the Post-Washington Consensus and the policy changes that it involves do not represent a shift away from neoliberal policy practices but have rather tightened the grip of the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) over developing countries, foreclosing social and political alternatives to neoliberal practice. On the other hand, supporters of the IFIs argue that the Post-Washington Consensus represents a fundamental rupture in development thinking and a progressive move away from policy conditionality towards country ownership and the acknowledgement of the importance of home-grown institutions and policies. This paper will present a different interpretation of this recent shift in the development discourse, and it will argue that the bifurcation in the literature has led to an impasse in understanding the significance of this policy shift. The paper will show that the Post-Washington Consensus neither represents a fundamental rupture with the Washington Consensus nor an attempt to reproduce the same neoliberal policy regime. In order to capture this ambiguity, the paper introduces the concept of post-neoliberalism and argues that the Post-Washington Consensus is the first step towards the tendential emergence of a post-neoliberal regime of development in the global economy.

Russo, Rick

Theories of memory and a modified approach to discourse ethics.

The reality of polycentric societies, and the different ethical perspectives it implies, brings forward what Habermas characterizes as distinctly 'moral' issues that require participants to enter a 'post-conventional' level of 'moral consciousness'. I will outline Habermas' theory of 'moral consciousness' and in particular his grounding of it in psychological theories of cognitive development. I will then discuss various critiques of discourse ethics that philosophically and empirically challenge the validity of the cognitive theory of moral development upon which it relies. The goal of this review of critiques of discourse ethics will be to highlight the practical difficulties that result from the level of abstraction required by Habermas' idealization of discourse aimed at reaching an understanding on moral issues.

To address these difficulties, I will introduce an alternative theory of the 'self' premised on Endel Tulving's theories of human memory. Rather than relying exclusively on cognitive theories of moral development, I will attempt to show how interlacing these theories with an understanding of how lived experiences relate to memory can provide an enhanced psychological account of moral development. Through integrating theories of memory with cognitive theories of moral development, I will speculate as to how discourse ethics can be recast to place a greater weight on personal and idealized narratives. The purpose of my analysis is not to

negate the procedural elements of discourse ethics per se, but rather to question, through Habermas' own method of connecting philosophy with empirical science, the value in use of his requirement for a participant to decontextualize issues of moral versus ethical justification.

Rygiel, Kim

Detention and (Dis)order: The Politics of Citizenship as Government in an Age of Security

Citizenship is fundamentally a politics of ordering based on the division and construction of the world's peoples into distinct populations within nation-states. Yet, at the same time, citizenship also produces disorder by creating abject populations like refugees and stateless minorities, excluded from the nation-state system. For this reason, Arendt, and later Agamben, have argued that the international order must be understood not only as a system based on the nation-state but also as one based on the camp. For it is through the creation of camps and camp-like spaces (e.g. concentration camps, detention centers, offshore processing centers etc.) that abject populations are 'housed', their potential ability to disrupt contained, and the international state system maintained.

This paper reflects on the above discussion of citizenship and (dis)order in international politics by examining the role that detention camps and practices play in securing a particular gendered, classed and racialized international order. In particular, the paper examines a number of recent policy changes, led by Anglo-American states like the USA, UK, Australia and Canada, in the aftermath of the September 11 bombings and subsequent 'war on terror.' Such policy changes include the creation of new types of detention spaces like extraterritorial offshore processing centers and detention camps like Guantánamo Bay as well as new detention practices like the recent British proposal to e-tag, and track by satellite, failed refugee claimants. The paper examines how such policies are used in governing the mobility of populations and securing a particular international order of mobility rights, one which is highly gendered, racialized and classed based.

Sampert, Shannon

All Things Gomery: The use of the scandal and game frame in the coverage of the initial Gomery report in English Canada's national newspapers

This paper examines the use of the game and scandal frame in the coverage of November's release of the Gomery report. It examines these frames that dominated the coverage in the Globe and Mail and National Post over a six-day period in November 2005, arguing that both papers relied on an artificial "winner/loser" dichotomy. Further, the paper analyzes the use of the "scandal" as a way to create new interest in a report that for the most part said nothing new. This raises the broader question of how newspapers deal with issues of public significance and its impact on citizen's political literacy.

Sampert, Shannon

Asking for it? The use of blame in the depiction of sexual assault crime in local English Canadian newspapers

This paper examines the use of the myth that women through their behaviour are responsible for their own sexual victimization. It does this by conducting a content and critical discourse analysis of six local English Canadian newspapers in the year 2002. This paper argues that victim blaming continues to be one way that local newspapers frame sexual violence. However, perhaps more importantly, it discusses who does the blaming and determines that the state, through the use of Crown prosecutors and police agencies continue to propagate the myth that women themselves can prevent their sexual victimization.

Saraka, Sean

The Politics of Form

In *Politics and Vision*, Sheldon Wolin writes that political theory manifests an "architectonic impulse" according to which the theorist impresses a preferred political form on recalcitrant matter. For Wolin, this relationship between form and politics relates to the aesthetic dimension of political vision. But does all political thought manifest the same conception of, or relationship to, form? Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's distinction between molar and molecular forms, we can discern in the tradition of Western political thought at least two distinct orientations regarding form.

Distinguishing the "molar" formalism of political thinkers such as Kant and Plato from the "molecularism" of a Hobbes, a Foucault, or of Deleuze and Guattari themselves, we can identify two distinct conceptions of political community and of political power, turning on the recognition of the formative potential of power itself. While molar formalists assume the preexistence of integral forms, molecularists acknowledge the role of power or force in the constitution of political forms, and thereby offer a very different account of the nature and potentials of both politics and political theory.

Saurette, Paul, Trevenen, Kathryn and Turenne Sjolander

One of the Boys? Gender Disorder in Times of Crisis

This paper examines discursive representations of Jessica Lynch and Lynndie England, two female US army privates with different experiences of the Iraq War. Jessica Lynch, a "petite, blond 19-year old" (Washington Post, April 2, 2003) became a national celebrity in the United States after her much heralded rescue raised a waning national spirit. Lynndie England, on the other hand, shocked a nation as pictures of her participation in the humiliation of Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib were beamed around the world. This paper argues that the media photographs of each case illustrates the ways in which gender has been reordered, policed and disciplined within North American in the wake of 9/11. In particular, we will argue that these cases highlight: (a) the limits of accepted gender disruption; (b) the precise limits of militarized gender and (c), at a more general level, the opportunities created by external disorders in the ordering, securitizing and governing of the nation.

Schmidtke, Oliver

EU immigration and refugee policy

This paper examines the EU immigration and refugee policy. It examines its development from the Maastricht Treaty until its incorporation in the Draft Constitutional Treaty. It examines why in the first Treaty this policy field was still subject to unanimity voting and why (what factors) led to the change from veto power to majoritarian voting. In technical terms, why was immigration and refugee policy first incorporated in the third pillar and subsequently moved into pillar 1. It reflects on various European integration theories for insights into why one might or might not have expected this rapid development of integration in this policy area.

Schmitz, Gerald

Accountable Governance and International Reviews : Canadian Foreign Policy as if Democracy Matters?

This paper will follow up and build on several questions raised by the author's June 2004 CPSA conference paper on "Foreign Policy White Papers and the Role of Canada's Parliament". Specifically, it will explore the current state of governance of foreign policy decision-making in Canada, and the prospects for increasing the democratic accountability of that governance regime in the wake of the Government of Canada's April 2005 International Policy Statement (IPS). The timing of the Statement was complicated both by its own baggage of "democratic deficits" and repeatedly delayed delivery dates, and by the ongoing circumstances of fractious and uncertain minority government. While proclaiming a normative projection of Canadian values abroad – including the virtues of "good governance" – the IPS release coincided with a mounting furore over good governance at home in light of damaging testimony before the Gomery Commission, with allegations of domestic government "corruption" largely overshadowing this attempt to engage the internationalist aspirations of Canadians.

The paper's analysis aims to contribute to the continuing debate among scholars and practitioners over the extent to which Canadian foreign policy can, or should, be more "democratic". What do advocates and skeptics mean by that term? What evolution is actually taking place from a democratic standpoint? How much does it matter to Canadians? What forms of (more democratically) accountable governance of international policy would be both desirable and realistic in the Canadian context?

Schneider, Steffen and Abedi, Amir

Winning is Not Enough: A Reconceptualization of Single-Party Dominance in Established Democracies

Dominant party regimes in which a single party controls government over an extended period, whether alone or as the major player in coalitions, are usually treated as an infrequent, empirically puzzling and normatively troubling anomaly in the literature. Yet valid descriptive and explanatory inferences on the prevalence, causes and impact of single-party dominance have so far been hampered by the notoriously vague, convoluted and arbitrary definitions of the phenomenon. In this conceptual paper, we review and criticize extant definitions. We argue, first, that simple and plausible qualitative criteria of a party's dominance vis-à-vis its parliamentary competitors may be derived from the dominant player concept developed in the literature on weighted majority games. Secondly, we contend that no obvious qualitative thresholds are readily available in the temporal dimension of dominance. Here cut-off points have to be developed in an empirical fashion, drawing on the analysis of a sufficiently large and clearly delimited population instead of an ad hoc sample of cases. In the empirical section of the paper we use an original dataset of several hundred national and subnational election and government formation outcomes since 1945 in Canada, Germany, Australia, and Austria to demonstrate our two-pronged approach. We show that our reconceptualization of single-party dominance yields more intuitive results than standard operationalizations while also enabling us to distinguish types and gradations of dominance. This firmer conceptual grounding – together with a larger number of cases – is a prerequisite of more ambitious, hypothesis-testing work in the field.

Scotto, Thomas and LaFone, Frank

Strategically Targeted Strategic Voting: The Case of the 1999 Ontario Election

The 1999 Ontario Provincial Election constitutes an interesting "case" for both students of Canadian politics and those interested in strategic voting. For students of Canadian politics, the election constitutes a referendum on the Harris-led "Common Sense Revolution" and the rise of neo-conservatism in Canada's most populous Province. For comparativists, this offers scholars a glimpse of whether interest groups can motivate strategic voting.

Using the 1999 Ontario Provincial Election study, we first ask if a respondent's evaluations of the each of the three major party's chances in the riding influenced their choice. An enhanced dataset that includes constituency characteristics allows us to test the assertion that strategic voting in favor of the one of the two "left" parties (Liberals and the NDP) should be more common in ridings where voters were asked by elite interest groups to vote strategically in order to deny the Conservatives a plurality of seats in the Provincial legislature.

Sengupta, Mitu

Business and the Politics of Market Reform in India –How relevant is the issue of 'class'?

One may identify two prevailing views in the literature on the political economy of market reform in India regarding the role of the 'big business' in influencing the direction of policy change. The first, 'orthodox Marxist' approach suggests that big business, as a 'class', has exercised profound influence on the formulation of development strategy. In these accounts, the political elites are portrayed as little more than 'steering committees' of the 'big bourgeoisie.' Neo-Marxists have reformulated the orthodox position to by emphasizing the 'relative autonomy' of the Indian state at critical junctures, but have nevertheless insisted on 'class' as the crucial factor in the study of economic policy development and change.

The second, 'liberal', view is that 'big business' is simply too fragmented along sectoral, regional and caste lines to even develop a coherent set of 'class objectives', much less press these upon the political and bureaucratic elites in a decisive way. Liberals charge the Marxist view on class for failing to specify the instruments through which 'class power' is leveraged.

Intervening in this debate, I argue that 'class' remains highly relevant in explaining the direction of development strategy change in India, especially in the current period of neo-liberal reform. I argue, furthermore, that one can, in fact, specify the instruments through which 'class power' is leveraged – but only when one shifts the focus of analysis from formal institutions and processes of conflict resolution to informal methods of bargaining and compromise, and to informal networks of communication and exchange.

Shlozberg, Reuven

The Trouble With Moral Habits: When Rational-Choice Judgment Meets Hannah Arendt

Implicit in Hannah Arendt's later work is a powerful normative account of human decision-making. Informed by her analysis of the conduct of Germans during the Holocaust, she suggests that the ordinary way in which we make decisions, because it is necessarily habitual, is ill equipped for making moral decisions. Such decisions, she contends, need to be arrived at aesthetically, after our mental slate of (socially derived) moral knowledge, has been wiped clean.

But how plausible is this position? Is Arendt's distrust of habitual decision-making warranted? How realistic is her alternative? This paper examines the ability of the vast body of psychological research into Judgment and Decision-Making (JDM), widely used in formal political theory and political behaviour studies but virtually overlooked by practitioners of normative political theory, to answer these questions. In particular, in this paper I examine, first, what insight can JDM (in its two leading strands, the more pessimistic 'heuristics and biases' tradition as well as the more optimistic 'adaptive rationality' approach) give us into moral decision-making and whether this insight amounts to an alternative conception of moral decision-making that vindicates moral decision-making within a socially derived and habitual mental context. I then discuss what this encounter between Arendt's normative concerns and actual psychological findings can tell us both about the practical adequacy of Arendt's political thought, and about the normative adequacy of grounding political thought in ordinary psychological practice.

Short, Damien

The Paradox of 'Native Title' as a Remedy to Historic Injustice

The term 'historic injustice' in the context of indigenous/settler relations is often used to refer to a number of injustices perpetrated on indigenous peoples, from the first act of dispossession, to massacres and the forcible removal of children (for the purposes of cultural assimilation). This paper focuses specifically on Australian attempts at redressing the historic injustice of dispossession. In 1993 the Australian government passed the Native Title Act which it suggested would right the historic wrong of colonial dispossession. This paper analyses the Australian indigenous land rights regime as a socially constructed phenomena, the product of ideals, entrenched colonial structures and the balance of power between political interests. I show how, during the process of rights institutionalisation, commercial lobby groups, ably aided by a receptive government and media, constructed propaganda campaigns to further their interests to the detriment of indigenous interests. I argue that the Native Title Act 1993 should be understood as an exercise in rights limitation behind a veneer of agrarian reform. I also argue that, far from improving the situation, the subsequent 1998 Native Title Amendment Act has actually functioned as an instrument of further dispossession. The paper concludes that in this context the notion of 'historic injustice' fails to capture the ongoing and contemporary nature of the dispossession of indigenous communities which has occurred under the auspices of indigenous rights to land.

Shugarman, David

Noam Chomsky and The New Military Humanism

This paper will critically investigate Noam Chomsky's influential analysis of the NATO intervention in Kosovo. Chomsky was an adamant oponent of this intervention and his critique of The New Military Humanism will be carefully assessed. Specific attention will be paid to his empirical claims and methodological approach.

Siaroff, Alan

Party Systems in Ontario Since 1867

This paper seeks to classify Ontario's party systems chronologically since 1867 primarily on the basis of seats. Given the effects of (single-member) plurality voting, it defines a main party charitably as one receiving either 10 percent of the seats or 20 percent of the votes, and a *Ahalf@* party as one below both of these cut-offs but with at least two seats. Consequently the Conservatives and Liberals have always been main parties. The real shifts in Ontario's party systems have come with the rise and fall (and varying size) of other parties, especially the United Farmers and the CCF/NDP. These other parties will thus get disproportional analytical focus. By arguing that a given party system needs to last at least two elections, it will be shown that Ontario has gone through seven party systems since 1867, alternating amongst two-party, two-and-a-half-party, and multiparty systems.

Singh, Jakeet

Beyond Free and Equal: Decolonizing Political Theory and Practice

A key legacy of the colonial/anti-colonial periods on our postcolonial present is a widespread commitment to cultural difference and diversity, and to a world that is radically heterogeneous in its forms of life. This legacy is manifest in struggles for cultural protection and authenticity, and in resistance to 'Westernization', cultural imperialism, and Eurocentrism. I want to suggest that a key failure in these struggles for protecting or asserting difference has, to this point, been that the commitment to difference has largely not been applied to the realm of politics itself (or when it has been, it has been done in a highly reactionary way); rather, difference has most often been taken up as a problem within a particular (European-American) horizon of politics—that is, as a problem within a liberal-democratic politics—and not as an opportunity and challenge to imagine and create new forms of politics that are distinct from the liberal-democratic form(s). This paper will survey four key strategies used in struggles for cultural difference in order to illustrate this shortcoming: (1) national self-determination; (2) liberal-democratic accommodation; (3) postcolonial criticism; (4) nativism. I will argue that our failure to apply 'difference' to our normative ethico-political frameworks is itself a colonial legacy, and plays a key role in facilitating the postcolonial imperial order. As such, I want to suggest that our commitment to difference now challenges us to seek a pluralization of normative horizons or social imaginaries.

Smardon, Bruce

Following the Leader: Innovation in the Canadian Economy

There are differing views on whether Canadian industry has reached a level of development comparable to that in other advanced capitalist economies, or remains limited by important forms of truncated or blocked development.

This paper will review the current situation of Canadian manufacturing industry in the area of R&D (research and development) and original innovation. It will argue that the Canadian national system of innovation remains limited in important ways leading to lower relative rates of productivity growth, lower relative wages and a restricted ability to expand in key areas of high-tech production.

Smith, Charles

Canada's Uneven Post-War Compromise: Keynesian Labour Policy in Ontario, 1949-1961

The post-war compromise between capital, labour and the state has long been heralded as forming the institutional backbone of Canada's long post-war boom. Indeed, Canada's economic record after the Second World War was predicated on providing economic stability through a full employment policy based on high wages, an established welfare state and a stable collective bargaining regime within the private sector. Yet, immediately following the war, responsibility for labour relations was reverted back to the Provinces, making Canada's collective bargaining regime uneven and highly distorted between regions.

In Ontario, the post-war economic model took on special importance, as economic growth was dependent on a stable labour relations climate to maintain the free flow of manufactured goods. This theory of stability guided the Frost government's policy towards labour relations, as the Ontario Labour Relations Act was steadily amended between 1949 and 1961. Yet, despite the government's public stance on post-war stability, the collective bargaining regime lagged significantly behind other jurisdictions, as Ontario refused to give in to union demands for the check-off, extended restrictions on the right to strike, declined to ease restrictions on organizing in the manufacturing and construction sectors, and rejected collective bargaining rights to municipal employees.

In reviewing this history, my paper will seek to explain why the Frost government mapped out a "go slow" approach to post-war labour policy. It will seek to explain the relationship between capital, labour and the provincial state in the immediate post-war period. In so doing, my paper will argue that Ontario's post-war labour policy was characterized by long-term instability, which was reflective of the wave of industrial strikes in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Smith, Charles and Crow, Dan

A Sliding Scale of Solidarity?: Neo-Liberalism, the NDP and the Labour Movement in Canada

Since 1990, the New Democratic Party has governed in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario, while also forming a strong opposition in Nova Scotia. Recently, the NDP has worked with the federal Liberal Party to modify its budget such that there was more spending on social programs, and proposed tax cuts were withdrawn. This suggests that the NDP still maintains some policy influence at the federal level. Yet, despite this political success, or maybe because of it, the NDP's relationship with organized labour has come under considerable strain in recent years. In the federal arena, the NDP's push for party renewal has stressed ending the party's official affiliation with organized labour.

In British Columbia, NDP leader Carol James has publicly expressed her desire to limit the influence of organized labour in the party. Meanwhile, in Saskatchewan the Calvert government continues to push forward with openly neo-liberal reforms, alienating key members of the labour movement in that province. Perhaps somewhat differently, in Ontario, there has been some rebuilding between

labour and the party (perhaps most notably with Sid Ryan's candidacy for the party) and there has been some attention paid to labour issues in party platforms in Ontario. Yet, despite these recent attempts at rebuilding labour support towards the party, the remnants of the Social Contract remain, suggesting that this rebuilding is uneven and many labour leaders and activists remain reticent to fall back into the NDP fold. Given this tension, our paper will explore the NDP's recent push to limit the role of the trade unions within the party. We suggest that this push represents a significant break within Canadian social democracy. Ultimately, this shift is significant and needs to be explained. Our paper will seek to map these fissures by exploring the tense relationship between the party, public sector trade unions and the gradual abandonment of an openly class politics both within the party and, increasingly, within the trade union movement itself. Ultimately we will argue that the defeat (uneven as it is) of labour by neo-liberalism has resulted in a decline of working class content in all electoral politics - most notably, for our study, in the NDP.

Smith, Loretta

Mending Fences: Increasing Aboriginal Representation in Canada

Around the world, there are few countries where Aboriginal peoples represent a majority of the population, either nationally or sub-nationally. Given the nature of Canada's electoral system, and the fact that they represent a minority of the population, Aboriginal peoples tend to be under-represented in its legislatures. Electoral reform is often presented as one means to increase this representation. We would expect that with universal suffrage, people would involve themselves in political processes at the same rate as their proportion of the population. Yet, Canada's Aboriginal peoples have lower than average political participation rates. What accounts for these lower levels of participation vis a vis the majority population? This paper examines the role of Aboriginal candidates who sought election in both the 2004 federal general election and the 2005 provincial election in British Columbia. This analysis provides a basis for discussing how to address the issue of Aboriginal under-representation. One way Aboriginal under-representation might be addressed is via electoral reform. Such a consideration is timely, given the fact that several jurisdictions in Canada are (or have already) considering reforming their own electoral systems. This discussion also examines models for Aboriginal representation in other countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Norway. Although the experiences of other jurisdictions cannot be discounted, the ultimate argument presented here is that a unique model, one that reconciles systemic Aboriginal under-representation in Canada's legislatures is necessary. Such a model will go miles in mending the fence between Canada's Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations.

Smith, Malinda S.

Oil-Rich But Dirt-Poor' in Angola: Geopolitics of Oil and Accountability

This paper examines the geopolitics of oil and democratic accountability in Angola. The current geopolitical context is shaped by a renewed scramble for African oil. Over 80% of all US investments in Africa are concentrated in the oil sector. During the 1990s some 15% of US oil-imports came from Nigeria and Angola, and this is expected to increase over the next decade. The majority of Angolan oil is controlled by California-based Chevron-Texaco and the French multinational, Totalfinaelf. The Angolan government receives over \$7 billion annually in oil revenues. The IMF estimates that annually about \$1 billion of these revenues disappears. Less than 3.0% of the budget is spent on social programs such as health and education. The triangular relationship between Angola's political and military elites, transnational oil companies, and commercial banks is intimately connected to lack of transparency, accountability and corruption. Angola has the highest level of inequality in the world. Oil-wealth finances the extravagant lifestyles of political and military elites, including private schools for their children and healthcare in European facilities. Similarly, oil executives and high-skilled oil workers live in gated communities with golf courses and world-class amenities, cut off from the everyday life of Angolans. By contrast, ordinary Angolans fare poorly on all indicators of social well being. The country ranks 164 of 175 countries on the Human Development Index and, according to UNICEF, Angola is the worse place to live if you are a child. This paper will address why oil-wealth coexists with human misery in Angola.

Smith, Miriam

Citizenship in a Neoliberal Era: Contemporary Queer Politics in Canada & the U.S.

This paper will examine recent debates in the international literature on neoliberalism, the voluntary sector and social movement organizing, exploring the impact of neoliberalism as a set of practices that reshapes the spaces of agency and organizing. The paper will use selected empirical case studies drawn from lesbian and gay organizing in Canada and the U.S. to demonstrate how the shift to neoliberalism opens up ambiguous and contradictory spaces for citizen organizing and for the enactment of new citizen identities. The paper will offer an alternative perspective on the traditional Canadian debates on multi-nationalism, multiculturalism and identity by considering citizen engagement with in the lens of economic and policy change as well as political, legal and constitutional perspectives. Lesbian and gay politics is about much more than legal recognition and citizen rights; rather, it is used here to demonstrate the shifting terrain of political mobilization and agency in the neoliberal era.

Smith, Patrick and Stewart, Kennedy

The Cope Interlude

Lessons On Holding – And Losing – Power: Who Governs – In Vancouver? And Why?

On November 16, 2002, COPE (The Coalition of Progressive Electors), a left party coalition won the municipal election in Vancouver, British Columbia. It did so in spectacular fashion – winning 9 of 11 council seats (plus 7 of 9 school board and 5 of 7 on parks board), for the first time controlling Canada's third largest city, defeating the rightist "natural ruling" Non-Partisan Association (NPA). The NPA had first formed and been elected in 1937 when Generalissimo Francesco Franco was trying to consolidate his hold

on power in Spain. Franco ruled Spain until 1975. The NPA proved more successful than Franco, holding office/controlling a majority of council/school and parks board seats, 38 of 45 times between 1937 and 2002 – a remarkable 55-year ‘reign’. – and an 85% electoral success rate.

On November 19th, 2005, COPE lost power, turning control of Vancouver back to the NPA. It did so in as spectacular a fashion as it won in 2002: COPE won just 1 city council seat (its split partner Vision won 4 = a total of ½ of council minus the NPA Mayor). COPE also lost control of School and Parks Board in Vancouver.

For political scientists and those who are interested in governing, authority and holding on to democratic political power, what are the lessons from this dramatic win and loss in the space of two consecutive elections – what can be learned, particularly for the left in Canadian urban governance, for what we term THE COPE INTERLUDE.

Smith, Travis D.

On Pardon, Hobbes's Sixth Law of Nature

Hobbes takes concepts which are central to Christianity and redeploys them for secular purposes, hoping that their new meanings will transform and tame the faithful. He thinks that religion must be reformed so as to best suit his political science, for the comfort and protection of men. This is part of Hobbes's effort to establish a new civil religion in the hearts of men. In this way, the religious may be brought into line indirectly rather than having to impose state authority on them directly, which is difficult and risky. Fortunately for him, Christianity proves highly malleable. Hobbes's moral teaching is presented in terms of a long series of laws of nature. This essay focuses on the sixth law of nature in particular, on pardon. Forgiveness is a central Christian commandment and virtue. Hobbes appropriates it and uses it in combination with secularized versions of other Christian concepts such as repentance, charity and pride in order to give new substance to Christianity, or rather, empty it of substance. For instance, the establishment of a generous state which will safeguard its subjects' well being involves discouraging private charity, doing good unto others. Similarly, the establishment of an institutional and legal order which treats all persons impersonally means formalizing and depersonalizing forgiveness, regarding it a prudential calculation based only on its conduciveness to the tranquility of society as a whole. People must therefore forget that forgiveness is a response to sin, which is something other than and worse than what is merely unlawful, and that it has to do with salvation, which is something beyond the preservation of life.

Smith, Travis D.

Politics and Religion on the President's Council on Bioethics

The Bush administration is criticized in broad strokes as being “anti-science” (e.g., Union of Concerned Scientists, 2004; Mooney, 2005). Speculative biotechnology was a particularly prominent issue in the 2004 elections. Also in 2004, membership on the President's Council on Bioethics was not renewed for Elizabeth Blackburn, who then argued in the NEJM that the Council is ideologically rigged. One component of the accusation that science has become too politicized is the claim that religious convictions are intruding inappropriately into matters of public policy. The present paper investigates the validity of this accusation as it pertains to the President's Council on Bioethics. To this end, I consider the evidence of the Council's published reports, transcripts of their public meetings, interviews with its members, and scholarly commentary on its composition and activity. The Council's membership is not comprised entirely of secular bioethicists, but rather, it combines professionals from the natural sciences and medical profession with experts in the social sciences, humanities, law, and religion. I am specifically interested in determining the extent to which the claims of religion exert influence over the Council directly or indirectly. I do not, however, regard the presence of religiously informed voices on the Council as in itself plainly objectionable. Their presence in principle allows the Council to better reflect the variety of competing views and interests among the American people than their exclusion would. The question is whether or not their presence becomes authoritative in some sense, as in exerting a claim to rule, or at least, offering supposedly authoritative counsel to those who rule.

Soennecken, Dagmar

Comparing the Expansion of Judicial Power - Refugees and the Courts in Canada and in Germany

How does judicial power expand in a comparative context? What are the most popular explanations for this expansion and their pitfalls? My paper investigates three competing explanations: First, judges could have empowered themselves by using their docket control powers. Secondly, interest groups could have empowered the courts. Third, politicians could have invited the expansion of judicial power by facilitating access to the courts. Focusing on the increasing influence of courts in determining the fate of refugees in Germany and Canada, the paper argues that courts have become influential ironically, despite later efforts to reduce access to them. Once politicians opened the door, they became relatively powerless to stop the process of judicial empowerment. Courts become influential through a subtle shift in the institutional structures governing their involvement, not simply through their rulings. In Germany, judges control access to legal aid, of which refugee claimants receive relatively little. Non-governmental organizations have stepped in and offered legal aid of their own. Their efforts have extended the influence of the courts outside the courtroom. To reduce access to the courts for refugees, parliamentarians have also granted judges greater control over their caseload. In Canada, government cutbacks to legal aid did not harm a commitment to quasi-judicial standards of procedural fairness. Restricting access to the courts has heightened the attention paid to every court decision relating to refugees - in particular those issued by the Supreme Court. Advocacy-oriented NGOs also perpetuate the power of law by focusing much of their energies on court interventions.

Solanki, Gopika

Beyond Citizenship? : State-society Relations and Gender Justice in India

Three theoretical approaches attempt to address the question of facilitating minority cultures while ensuring gender equality within minority cultures in multi-religious and multi-ethnic democracies. Some scholars advocate constructing multicultural citizenship to ensure flourishing of minority cultures. Criticising this proposal as statist and gender-blind, others argue for democratisation of inner realms of cultural communities as a solution to accommodate difference in democracies. More self-consciously feminist arguments call for multicultural jurisdictions which privilege citizenship rights in some legal spheres and accord primacy to intra-community governance in others. The debates are particularly relevant to discussions around recognition of religion-based personal laws i.e., laws governing family relations in marriage, divorce, custody and maintenance, since personal laws demarcate group boundaries and govern intra-household distribution of resources.

The paper engages with these normative theories through an empirical investigation of the Indian model of legal pluralism which incorporates elements from all the approaches discussed above. The Indian state recognises religious laws and shares adjudicative authority with communities. Using state-society relations as its analytical framework and drawing from ethnographic fieldwork conducted during 2002-2003, the paper discusses the efficacy of the Indian model by examining micropolitics of adjudication in state-courts and informal forums. The paper calls to move beyond existing normative approaches and argues that hybrid rather than segregated legal spheres provide more avenues for gender justice. The paper discusses the agency of women litigants as producers, interpreters and implementers of laws and outlines its limits.

Soroka, Stuart, Blidook, Kelly and Penner, Erin

The Nature of Representation in Canada, Part II: Constituency Opinion and MPs' Oral Questions

This paper examines relationships between constituency opinion and individual legislators' behavior in a parliamentary system. This 'dyadic' representation has received considerable attention in the US, particularly in the study of roll call voting. The study of individual representatives' behavior has lagged elsewhere, however, as indicators of legislators' behavior have been difficult to both identify and obtain. The issue of dyadic representation is nevertheless important in these systems. Even in a Westminster system such as Canada, where 'party' representation is surely more prominent, dyadic representation should matter. Canadians are voting for individual representatives, after all; the extent to which representatives' actions reflect constituency preferences should be of some significance.

We nevertheless know very little about the extent to which Canadian legislators demonstrate any degree of dyadic representation. We investigate this possibility here, drawing on a dataset of over 30,000 oral questions in the Canadian House of Commons. We argue that oral questions are one of the very few occasions where constituent, rather than solely partisan, interests can be represented: if there is evidence of dyadic representation in Canada, we suggest it will be here. We accordingly merge data on Oral Questions with data from Census Canada and opinion surveys, and conduct an analysis of the relative weight of individual characteristics, partisan affiliation, party role, and constituency opinion on MPs' parliamentary questions. This represents one of the very few such analyses outside the US; it tells us much, we believe, about the nature of representation in Canada.

Soroko, Leah

Human Dignity and Rights: Reconceptualizing the Debate Over the Scope of the State

One of the central questions in constitutional liberalism since WWII revolves around the appropriate scope of the state. The classical liberal rhetoric of private and public may still be present, but its philosophical foundations have long been discredited. What then can sustain the constitutional liberal project if we agree, on the one hand, that determining the scope of the state in one way or another is necessary for the success of the project, and on the other hand, that no natural or metaphysical groundings for demarcating the boundary between private/public are available? How can the political nature of the debate over where the line between private/public should lie be mitigated, and the complete 'displacement of politics' prevented?

The categories of private/public have outlived their usefulness as a conceptual framework that helps in sorting out political reality. Alternatively, in my paper, I would like to suggest that the notion of human dignity could prove to be helpful in determining the thorniest questions of the state's scope. With the post-WWII realization that human and civic rights must be coherently and explicitly linked to a moral anchor, human dignity is becoming a foundational concept in an increasing number of constitutional jurisdictions. As a multifaceted concept that denotes simultaneously a universal postulation of equal moral worth and a subjective personal sense of dignity, deliberation over what constitutes human dignity allows to criticize institutional humiliation on the one hand and call for affirmative state action on the other hand. I will illustrate my argument by focusing on the problem of physician-assisted suicide.

Sparling, Robert

Political Arithmetic: The Language of Enlightenment and the Practice of Despotism

Johann Georg Hamann was a lifelong friend and intellectual adversary of Kant, and a teacher and close friend of Herder. He exercised some considerable influence on continental philosophy and literature, developing a radical linguistic theory that undermined the authority of reason. Hamann was, in the words of Sir Isaiah Berlin, "the most passionate, consistent, extreme and implacable enemy of Enlightenment ... of his time." This paper explores Hamann's counter-Enlightenment as a political project, taking seriously his claim, "my hatred for Babel [Berlin]... that is the true key to my writings." Drawing both on Hamann's polemical writings against Frederick the Great's regime and on his response to Kant's famous statement about the nature of Enlightenment, this paper explores the suggestive links he drew between Enlightened theory and despotism practice. With one foot in history, we will contextualize Hamann's attack on the eighteenth century's most Machiavellian Anti-Machiavel; with the other foot in eternity, we will explore the implications of this polemic for our ongoing engagement with the 'Enlightenment project'.

Spronk, Susan

Roots of Resistance to Urban Water Privatization in Bolivia: The Crisis of Neoliberalism, the "New Working Class" and Public Services

This paper analyzes the roots of resistance to the privatization of public services in the context of the recent changes to class formation in Bolivia. It argues that protests against the privatization of water utilities in Bolivia must be understood as connected to the emergence of what has been termed the "new working class," which is now primarily urban and engaged in informal forms of work. Based upon two case studies of urban water privatization, it seeks to explain why the social coalitions that have emerged to protest the privatization of public water services in Bolivia have been led by territorially-based organizations rather than class-based organizations such as public sector unions. While most "new" social movement evaluations of the Water Wars have rightly stressed the importance of building territorially-based, multi-ethnic, and multi-class coalitions in the struggle against neoliberalism, the investigation focuses on the inherent tensions between consumers and producers of public goods and services that emerges within such coalitions. The paper argues that while consumption issues such as access to potable water are an essential part of the struggle for democratic citizenship rights, coalitions that focus on cheapening of wage goods at the expense of workers' struggles for better wages and working conditions risk contributing to the decline of the working class as a whole. It concludes by reflecting on what these examples

teach us about the meaning of "citizenship rights" in underdeveloped countries like Bolivia.

Stavro, Elaine

Politics of Hate: Race and Psychoanalysis

Political theorists have been wary of psychoanalysis. The role of the unconscious in subject formation; the way fantasy dematerializes the 'real'; and the significance of emotion, challenge the rationalist assumptions of much liberal democratic and socialist thought. As a result, given the significance of fear in civil society; communities bound by love and hate (for example religious fundamentalist and racist societies), a rethinking of the intersections of politics and psychoanalysis is imperative. Towards this end, I will trace the genealogy of the discourse of racial Othering in the works of Sartre, De Beauvoir and Fanon to contemporary poststructuralists Kristeva and Homi Bhabha. Attention will be given to theoretical shifts and their political implications.

Stephenson, Laura

An Examination of Religious Voting in Canada

The importance of religion in voting behaviour is a well-documented and puzzling aspect of Canadian elections (Meisel 1964, 1975; Irvine 1974; Johnston 1985). Despite the increasing secularization of Canadian society, religion continues to exert an important force on the voting behaviour of many Canadians (Gidengil et al. 2005). Specifically, it continues to be the case that Canadian Catholics vote for the Liberal Party.

This paper tests the hypothesis, suggested by Johnston (1985), that religious voting in Canada is not actually religious in nature; instead, it is a product of the development and persistence of distinct values and norms – as Johnston puts it, a "Catholic ethos".

These values and norms, in turn, are perceived by many voters to be best served by the Liberal Party. This paper also investigates the roles of geography and community and social standards in perpetuating the Catholic-Liberal link.

I use data from various years of the Canadian Election Study, as well as supplementary information from the World Values Study, to test these hypotheses and examine the links between religiosity, values, and party preferences.

Studer, Isabel

NAALC

The Canadian, Mexican and US governments signed the NAALC, the first labour agreement negotiated as part of an international free trade agreement, on September 14, 1993 and it came into force along with its parent trade agreement, NAFTA, on January 1, 1994.

The NAALC's stated objective is to provide "a mechanism for member countries to ensure the effective enforcement of existing and future domestic labor standards and laws without interfering in the sovereign functioning of the different national labor systems." The goal is to "improve working conditions and living standards, and to protect, enhance and enforce basic workers' rights" via specific Objectives, Obligations and Labor Principles that the three signatory governments are bound to uphold. This presentation reviews the results of research on the operation of NAALC and seeks to outline the key issues for a future research agenda.

Subhash, Manju

Dilemma of Diversity in a Multicultural Democratic Set-Up: A Comparative Study

Minority groups exist in almost all nation states of the modern world. Some minority groups with distinct pockets of influence assert their rights aggressively; at times threatening the peace, unity, and security of the nation state itself. Though, being in minority because of religion, race, language, caste, colour, culture, etc., should in no way be a handicap in a truly democratic state, but democracy succeeds only when people imbibe qualities which are basic to its functioning, i.e., the qualities of tolerance, of differing without offence, and of allowing every person the freedom which is the blood line of a decent and dignified existence. In the context of India and Canada, this paper proposes to test a hypothesis - a tentative one – whether there can be a cogent correlation between multiculturalism and minority rights. The paper highlights plausible answers relating to the needs of the minority groups. How these groups can maintain their separate identity in the changing social milieu? What can the governments do?

Sun, Liang

Power and Cooperation : Peasants, Elite, and the State in Four Chinese Cooperatives

How are bindings of ethics possible in the face of power inequalities? This paper explores the conference theme through the new peasant cooperatives in central China. Many post-WWII cooperative movements ended in total state and elite capture. The new Chinese coops similarly depend heavily on external sponsors, in this case an authoritarian state and the agro-industrial interests. They show however varying degree of success. Peasants in some cooperatives are better able to exploit different incentive structures and capacities within the political and economic elites to achieve developmental and participatory goals, achieving apparently "ethical" distributive outcomes. What are the conditions for and limits of their political action? I look into the formal and informal decision-making processes in four cooperatives with controlled variations in socio-economic features, internal political dynamic, and coop performance. Applying tools of political economy and discourse analysis to interviews and survey data, I test two hypotheses: (1) Specific mode of production and organizational structure generate different divisions among elites. These divisions affect how effective peasants can exploit the power balance among the elites and construct vertical alliances. (2) The more effective peasants perceive their actions to be, the more "ethical weight" they assign to the power structure, the more likely the coop will achieve long-term development. These findings bear on China's political future as well as standing debates on power and ethics, including the civil society and the rational-moral peasant debate.

Sundar, Aparna

The Making of An Indian Working Class: Class, Community and Public Action in a South Indian Fishery

The salience of the politics of caste and (religious) community in India has led theorists to argue that it is community and not class that is the operative category in Indian public life. Sudipta Kaviraj, for instance, notes that Indians enter politics as "identities, not interests." These arguments reflect the prevailing influence of the subaltern theorists, amongst others, in emphasising the role of culture in shaping agency, as against earlier theorisations, such as in the modes of production literature, that saw class as central. This paper renews this debate using the case study of political organising in a south Indian fishing community. The fishery is undergoing a "great transformation" from family based units of production to non-family labour on larger crafts, the "enclosure" of the fishery commons, and the increased importance of distant (national and global) seafood markets. Yet the political response of the fishworkers seems to consist of electoral politics invoking caste, and village level associations invoking "community." Contrary to the belief that this suggests the political irrelevance of class, however, I argue that it is only through the use of a multi-layered definition of class that one might explain this seeming disjuncture between the structural position of the fishworkers and their political practice. The contribution of this paper lies in its attempt to redefine and reclaim class as a significant political category despite its apparent erasure under consumerist globalisation and civil society.

Sutcliffe, John

Municipal Influence in a Multi-national Setting? The Windsor-Detroit Border Crossing.

This paper examines Windsor City Council's activity and influence within the decision-making process regarding the establishment of a new Detroit-Windsor border crossing. A proposed new border crossing is currently being examined by a bi-national committee comprised of officials from the governments of Ontario, Canada, Michigan and the United States.

Windsor City Council has sought to be an active player in this decision-making process. In 2003 Windsor City Council took the decision to hire transportation expert Sam Schwartz to develop a border crossing plan. This plan was presented in January 2005 and the city council has since sought to secure support for this plan at the provincial and federal levels and within the United States. This paper examines the development of the municipal position and charts the municipal attempts to have this position adopted at other political levels.

With reference to literature on multi-level governance, the paper argues that Windsor City Council has been pro-active on this issue and has taken many of the steps necessary to secure influence. It is nevertheless the case that activity does not always translate into influence. In this case, the range of other actors involved and the extent of the other influential factors demonstrates the difficulty a municipality faces in affecting a decision even over an issue of such fundamental importance to its local community.

Swift, Anne

Intellectual Property Rights and Continental Governance in the Pharmaceutical Industry

Despite recent attempts, international agreements have failed to harmonize intellectual property rights (IPRs) in North America. In particular, the WTO's Trade-Related Agreement on Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) and Chapter 17 of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) have not resulted in convergence and integration of IPR policies in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Furthermore, the lack of a formal North American market in the pharmaceutical industry and scant evidence of explicit intellectual policy coordination between the United States, Canada, and Mexico indicates that NAFTA's Chapter 17 and TRIPS have failed as institutions promoting continental governance within the pharmaceutical industry. A historical analysis of the evolution of the North American pharmaceutical sector, as well as an examination of its current state, indicates that it is most appropriately represented by a "hub-and-spoke" model, with the United States "hub" shaping the policy of the Canadian and Mexican "spokes" on a bilateral (Canada-U.S. and Mexico-U.S.) basis through interactions of actors in the government and the industry. The issue of "governance" in the pharmaceutical industry can be more appropriately understood within the global context.

Tabachnick, David Edward

Hobbes on Sovereignty, Failed State Terrorism and Political Society

The crisis of failed state terrorism invites us to revisit the arguments made by early modern thinkers on the sovereign state such as Hobbes. In some measure, his theory suggests that failed state terrorism is problematic, not because of the particular type of religious ideology or political ambition that one finds in such states, but because it is an aspect of a larger rupturing or splintering of sovereignty. The lesson on fighting terrorism from Hobbes, then, is to uphold the absolute, sovereign power of the state, oppose political dissent and oppress differing factions. However, as I will argue, terrorism is as much the release of religious, ethnic, ideological and political tensions from the grip of sovereignty as it is a result of an absence or dearth of civil society or, more accurately, political society. Without common and ingrained political values, the citizenry of even the strongest state can be subject to violent factionalism with even the slightest erosion of the exclusivity of state power. Therefore, the challenge of the new world order is to defend the doctrine of sovereignty from competing non-state actors while also defending and instituting political society within sovereign states.

First, I summarize how the Hobbesian state is founded upon a consolidation of fear. Second, I explore Hobbes' concern for factionalism. Finally, I introduce political society as both a brake on the rapid failure of the sovereign state and a safeguard against terrorism.

Tellier, Geneviève

Political determinants of taxes: an empirical analysis for the Canadian provinces

The public choice literature suggests that elected politicians use public policy instruments for two major reasons: to implement programs that put their ideological views into practice and to secure their re-election. The two explanations have received much attention over the years in the field of public finances. The bulk of the work has been oriented toward explaining the growth of public expenditures in industrialized democratic countries. Overall, empirical findings support both theses: public expenditures tend to increase before an election and spending are usually higher when left-wing parties are in power. Public deficits have also been investigated and, once again, findings generally give support to the electoral constrain (deficits increase before elections) and the partisan theses (although in this last instance, deficits seem higher when centrist parties are in power, not the Left or the Right). In opposition, very few studies have attempted to verify if ideology and the electoral constrain can explain and predict taxation policies. Furthermore, the two explanations have not been used to analyse the amount and composition of taxes collected by Canadian provincial governments. Our objective is to address this issue. We will test empirically if the partisan stance of provincial government and the electoral constrain play a role in the determination of the level and composition of provincial taxation revenue. Our analysis will cover the 1982-2002 period.

Teplova, Tatyana

State Capacity in Russia: The Case of Child Care Policies

For assessing policymaking capacity of the Russian state, the paper assumes that “the state” is comprised of Russian political leaders and bureaucrats at the federal, regional and local level, which represent interests of the state as opposed to the non-state groups. The non-state groups can be divided on external and internal ones. External groups include global political actors such as World Bank, International Monetary Fund, International Labour Organization and European Union. Internal groups include but not limited to the Russian business elite, trade unions and civil society groups. The counterbalance of these actors appears to be quite important for the policymaking process in the Russian Federation. The paper closely examines their interaction with the Russian state in order to assess the degree of their influence on the development of the child care policies.

Teyssier, Ronan

Retour sur l'arbitrage religieux: un exemple des dynamiques de la mise sur l'agenda en Ontario et au Québec

Les débats récents sur l'arbitrage religieux au Canada et plus spécifiquement en Ontario et au Québec ont pour autant qu'ils concernaient les communautés musulmanes, semblés avoir été conçus en termes d'opposition entre d'une part les droits des femmes et d'autre part le principe de la liberté de religion.

La prise en compte de la genèse de ces débats révèle à tout le moins des conceptions divergentes du « problème » selon le regard porté par les autorités publiques, les médias ou encore l'opinion publique. Une stratégie de recherche stimulante pour saisir la dimension dynamique des relations entre les trois types d'agenda a été initiée par Stuart N. Soroka. Cette approche parce qu'elle repose sur la prise en compte de séries chronologiques permet de rendre compte efficacement des séquences qui jalonnent la mise sur agenda d'un problème de « politique publique ». Aussi, nous proposons une application du modèle élaboré par cet auteur aux dynamiques entre les agendas gouvernementaux, de l'opinion publique et des médias concernant l'arbitrage religieux en Ontario et au Québec. La prise en compte chronologique de l'évolution des trois agendas permet de tester l'hypothèse d'une évolution des attributs de l'enjeu relevant initialement du type « gouvernemental » au type « sensationnel ». Par ailleurs, cette approche permet de voir comment les autorités provinciales ontariennes et québécoises ont été amenées à formuler des politiques en matière de religion dont nous chercherons à montrer quelles sont intersectorielles.

Thomas, Brooke

“Unequal Votes: The Malapportionment of Canadian Minorities”

The objective of this research is to examine the effects of urban malapportionment on the political representation of visible minorities within Canada. In recent years, scholars and policy-makers have considered a number of ways to eliminate the electoral barriers that currently deter the participation of non-traditional political actors. However, glaringly absent from the conversation thus far is an analysis of Canada's electoral redistribution and redistricting policies. Yet there is reason to believe that decisions of how many people to include in a riding (redistribution) and the delineation of boundary lines (redistricting) may adversely affect the representation of ethnic communities. Of particular concern are institutional mechanisms that amplify rural representation while diluting urban representation. Such outcomes are troubling in terms of visible minority vote shares because malapportioned urban ridings contain large percentages of Canada's minority population.

This paper will empirically examine the dilution of visible minority representation at the federal level. This is the first time that such an analysis has been conducted within the Canadian context. The article will provide results from a series of regressions that examine the correlations between visible minority populations, riding magnitude, and class. The results lend support to the argument that visible minority communities, especially lower-income minority communities, are disproportionately affected by the dilution of urban political representation.

Thomas, Gulian

Managing Ethnic Diversity In Cities: Towards A Decentralization Of Citizenship Regimes

The last decades have brought about important changes in western countries citizenship regimes. Since the 1970's, globalization has called into question the primacy of the national scale of states economic and political regulation which had been one of the principles upon which post-World War II Keynesian citizenship regimes were built. Indeed, there is currently an agreement among scholars which points to the city-regions as the new fundamental economic units of world capitalism. In response to this rescaling of capitalist economy, states have rescaled their regulatory activities, transferring powers to subnational levels, rearranging relations between levels of government. In doing so, states have provided spaces for local variations in the ways through which citizens have access to the state.

At the same time, globalization has been described by demographers as one process which has dramatically increased ethnic diversity in cities thereby questioning the very definition of the community of citizens. Cities are now construed as fundamental places in which the struggles for citizenship rights occur.

Many scholars have tried to capture this new reality. Particularly, urban citizenship is one concept which has been gaining interest. Through an analysis of the uses of this concept, we shall assess whether citizenship could be theoretically conceptualized as urban. Though “city matters” as far as citizenship is concerned, we shall see, through a brief evocation of the case of Marseille, France, that the transformations undergone by the institution of citizenship could be more easily captured by the idea of decentralization of citizenship regimes.

Thomas, Melanee and Young, Lisa

Young and Indifferent? The Political Disengagement of Canada's Young Women

Research undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s argued that gender gaps in political engagement would disappear once women attained education, income, and occupational status more comparable to men's. Data from the 2000 and 2004 Canada Election Study indicate, however, that young women with comparable levels of education are still less interested and less knowledgeable about politics than their male peers. This persistent gap is significant not only because it is counterintuitive and contradicts existing literature on political engagement, but because these gaps may have an impact on political participation. The purpose of this paper is to probe the causes of this persistent gender gap, testing hypotheses suggesting that civic engagement and childhood socialisation play a role in determining gender gaps. Preliminary analysis finds that a politically active mother is more likely to produce a politically active daughter while active parents of either gender do not affect their sons' political engagement. These findings are important as they indicate that childhood socialisation may play a role in adult political behaviour. Additionally, these persistent engagement gender gaps indicate that we may not achieve equal political representation for women until these gaps are closed.

Tiberghien, Yves and Papic, Marko

How Regional Politics redefine internal EU governance: GMO policy and bottom-up policy-making.

Much is known about the role of state coalitions and strategic interactions among states in shaping the EU's policy-making. Much has also been written about supranational politics within the EU. Much less is known about the impact of regions and of coalitions of regions in shaping EU outcomes. This paper focuses on a novel political process within the EU: the rise of a large coalition of regions focusing on a common strategy in the field of genetically modified organisms. To date, 163 EU regions and thousands of city councils have joined the Florence declaration and affirmed themselves as GMO-free regions. This coalition is having a major impact on the EU debate about coexistence and is questioning the balance of power with the EU and within major states. It may define future EU legislation in the field. The paper unpacks the process through which the coalition came together and is providing a framework to analyze this latest creature within the EU galaxy.

Tieku, Thomas

The Role of Ideas and Entrepreneurial Leadership in International Negotiation

This paper draws on archival research and elite interviews to demonstrate the influence of ideas and entrepreneurship in the negotiation of international agreements. It reconstructs in detail the negotiation of the Africa Union Constitutive Act and the protocol on Pan-African Parliament to show that Pan-African solidarity norm (a regional norm) provided structural constraint and the regulative framework for bureaucrats and Mali officials (a small state) to influence African governments to bind their states within the African Union (AU).

The paper also suggests that contrary to rationalistic IR analysis which considers negotiation as a bargaining issue, arguing drove the processes that led African governments to bind their states within the AU. Thus, arguing rather than bargaining was the currency of the negotiation processes.

Toews, Ryan

Commodification and Criminalization: Redefining the Possible at York University

A key concern for contemporary left social science has been the 'recommodification' of social life and labour in the context of globalization and neoliberalism. This 'recommodification' is linked to, among other things, increasing surveillance by the state and by employers, as well as a re-emphasis on the responsibility of the individual to behave 'ethically.' Universities have also been transformed by these shifts. It is perhaps ironic that critical social scientists don't always examine critically the changes in the organization of the university and our own practices as teachers. For example, rather than examining the social causes of plagiarism and cheating, university teachers have increasingly come to rely on new techniques to discipline their students - including private-for-profit surveillance services such as Turnitin.com. Drawing upon both contemporary Marxist scholarship on the impact of neoliberalism on the workplace and on education, as well as a Foucault's analysis of disciplinary technologies, this paper will explore the ways in which our strategies as university teachers reflects a broader transformation in the university where the criminalizing practices and emphases of neoliberalism are inserted into the relationship and work of students and teachers in the university.

Tomlinson, Patrick J.

Legislating Through the Drunken Haze: An Evaluation of the Nature of Canadian Citizenship in the Post-Charter Era

With the coming into force of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms the political relationship between Canadian citizens and the state changed fundamentally. The Charter established formal rights (and limitations to rights) both for individuals and certain groups, and those rights are understood to hold primacy when resolving citizen-state conflict. Canadian citizens are now considered constitutional actors with a set of legitimate constitutional rights. This paper will examine the effects of the Charter on the notion of citizenship by delineating the "fine print" of the new constitutional status of Canadian citizens.

The focus of this paper is judgments of the Supreme Court of Canada involving criminal cases and drug and alcohol abuse, or the voluntary intoxication defence. As will be demonstrated, several Charter judgments involving alcohol and drugs have forced the Supreme Court and Parliament to better define key meanings concerning Citizens' rights as well as their Charter responsibilities. These cases have forced both politicians and judges to articulate in more precise detail the nature of citizenship by claiming that individual citizens hold specific responsibilities to their community, and by arguing for a particular conception of personal responsibility for one's actions. These responsibilities are representative of a distinctly Canadian interpretation of constitutional citizenship.

This paper begins from two basic assumptions: first, that issues involving Charter rights and freedoms demand political attention and therefore contain an indisputable political dimension. Secondly, that the courts and legislatures each play a distinct yet complementary role in the deliberation and resolution of questions involving rights and responsibilities.

Tomsons, Sandra and Tomsons, Corey

Canada's Governance of Aboriginal Peoples: Is it Ethical?

Our paper argues Canada fails to meet basic requirements of ethical governance in its past and present exercise of sovereignty over Aboriginal peoples. Canada's sovereignty over Aboriginal peoples is admittedly unjust because of its harmful effects. However, this injustice arises from a more fundamental injustice, namely, unjustly claiming sovereignty over Aboriginal peoples. We show that non-Aboriginal sovereignty over Aboriginal peoples is without moral foundation and receives only suspect support in international law. Since its unjust sovereignty claim results in the systemic violation of human and national rights, we conclude that Canada's sovereignty over Aboriginal peoples constitutes a more fundamental injustice than is generally acknowledged. As evidence of systemic injustice, we examine (1) Canada's paternalism, exemplified best by the Indian Act (2) violations of important components of both the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the UN's Draft Declaration of Indigenous Rights. Since Canada's sovereignty over Aboriginal peoples results in multilayered injustice, we conclude that non-Aboriginal sovereignty of Aboriginal peoples in Canada fails to meet the most basic requirements of ethical governance. We also show in the chain of moral reasoning that establishes our conclusion, why those aiming to establish a just relationship between Canada's Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples could usefully replace the concept of sovereignty with the concept of group autonomy. This replacement also resolves two problems of perspective: for non-Aboriginals, the incongruity of 'nations within a nation'; for Aboriginal peoples, a concept is deployed which actually has meaning in Aboriginal world views

Tossutti, Livianna and Wang, Mark

Family and religious networks: stimulants or barriers to civic participation and the integration of newcomers?

The central role of families and religious institutions in early childhood underscores their potential to transfer social capital to younger generations. Yet studies of the links between strong ascriptive ties and one behavioural component of social capital - civic participation - have produced conflicting results. Cento Bull has argued that individuals with stronger family and religious ties are more or as likely to participate in apolitical voluntary associations and in political activities as those who are less integrated into these networks (2000). Others have observed that strong family attachments delay democracy if individuals focus their efforts on the attainment of private goals at the expense of the common good (Ginsborg, 1995). Traditional religious networks that emphasize relationships of obedience and authority between clerics and their followers, rather than relationships of cooperation and reciprocity between "equals", have also led to delayed democratic development in some settings (Putnam, 1993).

The potential for family and religious networks to revitalize the civic community should be of interest in Canada, where participation in elections and group-based volunteering activities is on the decline and becoming the preserve of older, wealthier, well-educated, long-term residents. As a result, this paper will analyze the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey to determine whether individuals who are more closely integrated into these ascriptive networks are also more likely to be engaged in civic affairs. Since my previous research has shown that recent immigrants are less likely to be involved in voting and volunteering, even after holding other factors constant, the paper will also examine whether family and religious attachments can facilitate their civic integration.

Triadafilopoulos, Phil and Faist, Thomas

Beyond Nationhood: Citizenship Politics in Germany Since Unification

In the years since unification, citizenship politics in Germany has been driven by a clash of two variants of civic republicanism. Whereas liberal egalitarian republicans view citizenship as a means of facilitating immigrants' integration, statist communitarians argue that citizenship should only be awarded as a result of their successful integration. These divergent ideological positions have mapped onto existing party cleavages, with expansive liberal egalitarian positions on jus soli, dual citizenship, and integration being embraced by the Greens and the SPD and opposed by conservatives in the CDU/CSU. CDU moderates and the FDP have struggled to reconcile their affinity for liberal egalitarian principles with the demands of party and coalition solidarity. This politicization of intra-republican differences has led to strained solutions that awkwardly capture both sides' positions, most notably the 1999 citizenship law's peculiar combination of an extremely liberal jus soli provision and principled rejection of dual citizenship.

Trichilo, Juliana

Are You Willing to Trade Your Privacy for National Security? Would an Ethical Government Let You?

Privacy rights are under attack as the international trend to pursue increasing national security gains momentum. As the substance of privacy faces erosion, the begging question remains: Shall privacy shape national security or vice versa? This inquiry intentionally invokes both what can be expected in reality versus what should be expected ideally. Using a comparative approach, a set of realist expectations can be sketched. However, domestic to Canada, I am far more concerned with a normative examination using jurisprudential, Constitutional, and policy-related benchmarks to determine the context within which national security pursuits should be executed. The urgent flavour of security issues, alongside inadequate scholarly guidance, makes this research even more necessary. Trends indicate that national security will likely determine the mold within which privacy must fit. Conversely, privacy merits an advocate to ensure that policy adheres to Constitutional principles—specifically, privacy must constitute the die in casting security policy. It is vitally important for this discussion to ensue pre-emptive to policy formulation. To rely on after-the-fact, retrospective analysis is mere acquiescence to hegemonic policies that refuse to work within a rights' framework. While I have performed comprehensive policy surveys relating to the privacy-security debate, the inquiry I propose here will run the same debate through a

sieve of ethical governance. Academics and policy-makers alike must evaluate the Canadian Constitution, its parameters, and the nature of the consent to which citizens have surrendered.

Trick, David

Continuity, retrenchment and renewal in public policy: The case of government-university relations in Ontario, 1985-2002

This paper examines how ideas and institutions shaped the Ontario government's relationship with the province's universities from 1985 to 2002. Using a theoretical framework drawn from the work of Peter A. Hall and Margaret Weir, the paper shows how the relationship was dominated by two government commitments from the postwar era: ensuring access to university for every qualified student, and providing every university with the means to offer programs of reasonably equal quality. Governments from all three political parties accepted these commitments in the 1985-2002 period, even as they attempted to revise or add to them.

The paper shows how the ideas of access and equality were embedded in institutions established in the 1950s and 1960s, placing boundaries on the options available to governments in recent years and protecting universities from externally-imposed restructuring during a period of fiscal restraint. Despite these boundaries, governments were able to introduce some significant policy changes in the period 1985 to 2002. Change in student assistance programs is shown to be consistent with Paul Pierson's model of welfare state retrenchment, while change in university research funding is shown to be consistent with Kathleen Thelen's concept of paradigm layering.

By 2002, these changes raised important questions about the status of access and equality. Growing participation rates in the 1980s and 1990s had the effect of confirming access to university as a de facto right of citizenship, yet the right of access has been heavily circumscribed. The Rae Review has created the opportunity for the provincial government to strengthen students' right of access and to ensure that all universities have the capacity to provide a high quality of education.

Trimble, Linda

From Flora to Kim to Belinda: National Newspaper Coverage of Women Seeking the Leadership of the Conservative Party

This study uses content and discourse analysis techniques to analyze Canadian national newspaper coverage of the three Conservative Party of Canada leadership races that have been contested by female candidates: 1976 (Flora MacDonald); 1993 (Kim Campbell); and 2004 (Belinda Stronach). The analysis is prompted by the literature on media treatment of female politicians, as several studies conclude that women receive less, and less prominent, coverage, are subjected to scrutiny of their appearance and private lives, treated to gendered framing devices, and evaluated as lacking the qualities and characteristics needed to win elections. If masculine norms do indeed define political leadership roles and shape media coverage of leadership contests, they are likely to be revealed by press coverage of serious challenges by women for the leadership of competitive political parties. In each of the cases examined in this study, a woman with at least two of the three features of "high quality" candidates, namely money, visibility and political experience, sought the position. While the three cases are similar in some respects – political party, news source – they span almost 30 years of Canadian history, thus reflect changes in the electoral fortunes of the Conservative party and dramatic improvements in women's political representation. Comparing media coverage of female leadership contenders over this time period will, therefore, reveal shifts in media discourses about gender roles and norms of political leadership.

The paper is based on a quantitative (content) analysis of the entire universe of news coverage of each of the three leadership contests in Canada's national newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*. This study examines whether the national newspaper's treatment of leadership candidates reflects differences based on the sex of the candidates and the time period of the leadership race. Coverage of male and female candidates is compared along three axes; visibility (amount of coverage), framing (type and emphasis of coverage) and evaluation (tone of coverage, including viability assessments). As well, a qualitative method, discourse analysis, is used to evaluate the extent to which gendered assumptions about political leadership and masculine leadership norms have shaped descriptions and evaluations of male and female candidates in the news coverage.

Trochev, Alexei

Between Authoritarianism and Territorial Disintegration: Judicial Vision of Russian Federalism

How do new courts function in new federations? How do new judicial review tribunals build or fail to build their actual power of policing federal-provincial conflicts in nascent federations? Some argue that the courts succeed if they protect original constitutional commitments and establish clear rules of the federalism game. Others claim that judges should not impose comprehensive solutions and should let politicians hammer out new compromises. Some scholars propose that courts succeed by siding with the federal center and by protecting national values against recalcitrant sub-national units. Others caution that federal-local conflicts may be too costly for young courts; therefore, judges should focus on the protection of individual rights, a subject that does not involve high stakes. This paper addresses these questions by analyzing the role of the federal Constitutional Court in the development of fledgling federal system in Russia between 1992 and 2005. During this period, this Court operated under three different Chief Justices, two different constitutional orders and two Presidents: Yeltsin and Putin. By drawing on the comprehensive examination of all judgments of the Court and their (non)implementation by the federal center and the constituent parts, this paper argues that judges chose to champion strong federal guidance and symmetrical federation. Judges made this choice in order to reduce the danger of the break-up of Russia, even if it meant the entrenchment of the strong executive authority in the center and the regions. Meanwhile, politicians selectively complied with court decisions to enhance their own ruling status and bargaining power.

Tronto, Joan

Is Peacemaking Care Work?"

In some situations, care receivers depend upon care givers to provide them with care, situations called necessary care. Unequal power is an inevitable feature of necessary care settings, and in bioethics, the dependency is often quite extreme; care receivers will often die or suffer grave consequences without the work and expertise of care givers. What effect does such unequal power have upon the moral judgments made in settings of necessary care? The intersection of morality and power is always complex, but if moral prescriptions and discussions only ignore the existence of power, there is no guarantee that power will not significantly affect moral judgments. This essay considers how, in mainstream bioethics, consent as an aspect of autonomy serves to address questions of power. It will draw upon the theoretical critiques of consent that emerge from discussions of the social contract in political theory. I shall argue that consent is vitally important, but ultimately inadequate, to equalize unequal power in care settings. The essay will conclude by exploring how other means to be attentive to power imbalances in care settings, drawing upon practices of reflection and democratic process, can enhance the commitment to consent to equalize power imbalances.

Trott, Stephen

Political Reform in China's Cities: Introducing Community Elections

This paper examines the importance of local initiatives in China's slow-moving process of political reform. Since 1999, free and open "direct elections" for community residents' committees have emerged in a number of Chinese urban communities. These include open nominations of candidates and secret ballots for all citizens. Why have such democratizing reforms emerged within some communities but not others, when all communities are tightly embedded in a Leninist political system in which the dominance of the ruling Communist Party remains an indisputable principle?

First, this variability indicates that local factors can play a critical role in China's process of gradual political reform, where local conditions in some areas are conducive to establishing electoral reform "test-sites" while in others they are not. Based on field work in communities in three Chinese cities, evidence points to a number of structural factors which facilitate such reforms, including social stability and cohesion and lack of vested institutional interests.

Second, it is argued that these institutional reforms proceed gradually through the ordinary policy process, in which policy entrepreneurs (sometimes outside the party-state nexus) committed to participatory reforms are able to invoke state ideology to convince key decision-makers to implement electoral reforms.

Tucker, Eric

NAFTA and Collective Bargaining Law in Canada and the US

This presentation will focus on the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement on collective bargaining law in Canada and the United States. A number of recent revisionist scholars have concluded that contrary to expectations that NAFTA would trigger a regulatory race to the bottom (RTB), labour law has remained relatively stable in the post-NAFTA era. My presentation will argue, on the one hand, that the analytic lens used by revisionists is too narrow and fails to take into account changes in public sector collective bargaining and the declining effectiveness of the statutory labour relations regime. On the other hand, I also argue that the RTB model itself was overly structural and failed to take into account the salience of economic, political and organizational factors that have mediated the impact of NAFTA on unions and collective bargaining. Without denying the salience of NAFTA as a structuring framework, I argue that these mediating factors create spaces for effective resistance.

Tunc, Hakan

Bush's Foreign Policy and the Limits of Realism

The foreign policy undertaken by the George W. Bush administration since the September 11, 2001 attacks has exposed the serious limits of Realism in explaining America's behavior in world politics. This paper's aim is twofold: first, it shows how Bush's foreign policy in the post 9/11-period has defied the basic assumptions of Realism. Second, it explores why Realism has failed to explain Bush's foreign policy thus far.

I argue that the Bush foreign policy has deeply challenged two basic Realist assumptions about state behavior. First, it has demolished the basic Realist assumption that foreign policy is based on calculations of power and Realpolitik, and not on moral or ideological assessments. Bush's ideological motives in invading Iraq is the prime example. Second, the Bush administration announced that it would pursue an absolutist national security strategy to ensure American military dominance of the world stage. Such strategy departs from the four hundred year-old Realist balance of power tradition.

I argue that the major reason for Realism's failure to explain Bush's foreign policy lies in the former's treatment of the United States as an ordinary great power. The United States has unique attributes which invalidate a Realist interpretation of its behaviour. These attributes include: a sense of having a global mission to spread democracy and freedom; the belief held by American policymakers that they must act for the common good of their allies in order to achieve peace and stability; and a desire to maintain America's credibility vis-a-vis its adversaries by demonstrating strength and resolve.

Tung, Han-Pu

Fiscal Decentralization and the Choice of Foreign Exchange Regime

The topic of the paper is the relationship between fiscal decentralization and the choice of exchange rate regime, and the argument is the extension of credibility argument we have seen quite often in the literature. The fixed regime is used as a device of commitment by the central government to convince local governments in a fiscally decentralized country that its commitment to no bailout policy is credible. The argument is conditional on two mechanisms. One is the correlation between government spending and fiscal

decentralization, and the other is the correlation between nominal anchor such as fixed exchange rate regime and fiscal discipline. Concerning the first mechanism, the argument is that as a country decentralizes fiscally, the devolution of fiscal authority to local government makes the local governments more vulnerable to local requests and also increases the costs of any collective efforts on fiscal discipline. On the other hand, although the fiscal relation between central and local governments can be codified in the national constitutions, the decision to bail a lavish local spender out is still a political decision. The discontinuation of local projects originally financed by the local governments might lead to a great loss of social welfare in general, or the negative externalities of the fiscal crisis in one jurisdiction might spread to other areas. These undesirable failures in the local level might in the end reflect poorly on the quality of center's governance. Therefore, finding a mechanism to convince local governments of its commitment to no bailout policy so their fiscal policies can be more disciplined should take priority over others in its preference set.

For the second mechanism, it is the application of the "tying one's hand" kind of argument. The disciplinary effect of fixed exchange rate regime on fiscal policy, or simply put, exchange rate stabilization, is quite well established in the economic literature. The application of this thesis in this case of fiscal game between central and local governments does not so much hinge upon the transparency of a nominal anchor. The argument is a combination of an economic mechanism that loose fiscal policy has a real economic effect to make the nominal pegging unsustainable, and a signaling effect to local governments that the hands of the central government are tied and won't be able to bail them out if they run into trouble. The second signaling effect again depends on another argument that both local governments have to believe that the collapse of the fixed regime is so political costly for the central government that it won't take the risk.

These two mechanisms work in tandem to bring about the hypothesis of positive correlation between the fiscal decentralization and a fixed exchange rate regime.

Turner, Dale

"To be and not to be": Indigeneity and the Politics of Respect

In this paper I will explore the inextricable tensions between constructions of indigenous identity as understood and articulated by Aboriginal peoples and the language of Aboriginal politics in Canada. I examine the concept of "indigeneity" and claim that by engaging in identity debates with the dominant culture we have already committed ourselves to a problematic normative language. How has this normative language evolved and can indigenous peoples play a role in shaping its content? However, the problem of normative language is only part of the problem. From an indigenous perspective, there are two fundamental issues at stake. First, what exactly are "indigenous understandings of identity" and how should these understandings be articulated? Secondly, does the content of these understandings matter politically? I argue that the political relationship between indigenous and Western European peoples will remain a colonial one as long as the dominant culture continues to disrespect indigenous ways of thinking about the world. But how should we understand indigenous identity in a colonial context when most indigenous peoples themselves now use the language of the dominant culture, not only to articulate their identity, but also to make sense out of the world? Or do they?

Ugland, Trygve and Vegeland, Forde

Policy Integration and International Representation: Promoting Canadian and European Union (EU) Food Safety Interests on the World Stage

This paper examines the link between the domestic integration and international representation of policy issues. More specifically, we assume that the way food safety policies are integrated at the domestic level affects the coordination within national delegations to international organizations, and ultimately also the opportunities for countries to exert influence and international leadership on food safety. This hypothesis will be explored by analyzing and comparing patterns of food safety policy integration in Canada and the European Union (EU), as well as the coordination of their representation to the Codex Alimentarius Commission (Codex) of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the Committee on Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) Measure of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The study relies on documentary information and qualitative interviews with Canadian and EU officials working with food safety issues at different levels.

Urbaniak, Tom

Neighbourhood Capacity and Emergency Preparedness

This paper examines whether emergency-preparedness policies, processes, and planning in Canada are giving sufficient attention and resources to cultivating internal neighbourhood networks, strengthening local social capital, and developing the capacity for temporary local self-sufficiency. The author's preliminary findings will be based on an examination of emergency-response and emergency-preparedness plans of Canada's largest cities and senior levels of government, a survey of relevant public officials, and a review of literature on past disasters and emergencies. Should neighbourhood capacity be enhanced with respect to potential emergencies? What institutional, cultural, and economic variables should be considered if reforms are deemed necessary?

Varughese, Anil

The Politics of Social Citizenship in Kerala and West Bengal: From Class Compromise to Class Co-optation?

Why do some pro-poor democracies in global South enact generous and universal social policies while others do not? If lower class integration and programmatic commitment steers policy outcomes to be more egalitarian, what explains the variance within the universe of such more radical democracies? In order to answer these questions, I examine the dissimilar policy trajectories of two Indian states: Kerala and West Bengal. Despite a host of similar background conditions (democratic framework, pro-poor orientation with programmatic political parties, strong labor unions, and a high degree of subordinate class integration), the cases display considerable variation in their pro-poor redistributive commitment. The paper seeks to explain the variance using the comparative-

historical method, arguing that the nature of lower class integration (class compromise or class co-optation) is a key variable in explaining the divergence. The differences in the nature of lower class integration give rise to two different visions of social citizenship, which in turn produce redistribution-enabling or limiting policy environments. The paper provides nuance to the 'balance of class power' perspective within the welfare state literature by outlining more precisely why and how the nature of lower class integration diverges, despite similar set of class alliances and identical political processes. It also seeks to modestly contribute to the democracy literature by pointing to the complex trajectories of cross-class alliances, which often get left out in the technocratic blueprints for deepening democracy, but are crucial in understanding the political conditions that will produce fair and just social outcomes.

Veltmeyer, Henry

Social Movement and the State: The Social and Political Dynamics of the Indigenous Movement in Latin America

In diverse contexts there are stirrings of revolutionary ferment and, in Latin America at least, it would appear that socialism is back on the agenda. This agenda does not relate to the observed but little studied tilt to the left in national politics - to the emergence of what would appear or deemed to be left-of centre regimes in Brazil, Uruguay and Venezuela and potentially in Bolivia and even Mexico. It has more to do with a wave of sociopolitical movements that hit the shores of Latin American politics in the 1990s. This wave of sociopolitical movements originated in the indigenous communities and peasant organizations in Ecuador, Bolivia and in Chiapas, and with the movement of landless rural workers in Brazil. The most dynamic forces of social change, however, can be found in Bolivia in Ecuador, where the popular movement has advanced not so much in the form of electoral politics and regime change as the mass mobilization of the forces of resistance and opposition to the policies of neoliberal globalization. This paper explores the political dynamics of these forces.

Verdun, Amy and Toemmel, Ingeborg

EU Policy-Making and EU Governance: A theoretical overview

This paper serves as a background paper to a larger project on European Union (EU) governance that the authors are currently involved in. The paper seeks to offer a review of the various theories of governance and policy-making. From that review hypotheses are distilled. These hypotheses are tried out on selected areas of policy-making in order to see what understanding best describes the process of EU policy-making in the various policy fields.

Vickers, Jill

What Makes Some Nation-States 'Women-Friendly'?

I will explore why some 'western' nation-states are more 'women-friendly'; and what role women's engagement with national projects plays. Jacqueline (2003) observes that contemporary feminist theory has a strong anti-state bias; and hostility to nationalism is widespread. Consequently, many consider engagement with nation-state politics and national projects unproductive. Nonetheless, that some nation-states are more 'women-friendly' is shown by the greater presence and influence of women in nation-state politics, and greater and more long-lasting policies promoting gender justice, and respecting diversity. I link 'women-friendliness' to a history of organized women being involved in national projects. I will outline explore the conditions correlated with different levels of 'women-friendliness' in: 'first-wave', 'civic' nation-states formed through 'bourgeois revolutions'; small, nation-states formed in communal solidarity against foreign rule; Southern European nation-states created without prior nationhood, stable boundaries or a unifying monarchy; and white-settler nation-states. I outline two hypotheses concerning the 'modernization' of gender regimes developed by Walby (2001); then test the thesis that organized women's active engagement in nation-state founding, and/or in 'moments' of restructuring like democratization lets them, affecting the relative 'women-friendliness' of their nation-state.

Virdis, Robert

"Only a God Can Save Us"? Arendt and Aristotle on the Human Condition

Hannah Arendt's critique of modernity confronts totalitarian attempts to artificially resolve the tension between individual self-assertion and the urge to cultivate a shared conception of world. Critics have often questioned the extent to which her search for an ennobling concept of the political is applicable to our contemporary situation. In particular, they question Arendt's ability to both resist troubling consequences and affirm obvious benefits of the modern project, while still asserting their common origin. Robert B. Pippin, for example, has argued recently that Arendt's critique of the dubious status of rights without community reveals an apocalyptic, and anachronistic, strain in her thought. He maintains that Arendt's politics posit that "only a god can save us" from our political excesses by reversing the process of secularization through the re-establishment of a transcendent measure for ethical governance (The Persistence of Subjectivity, Cambridge: 2005, 166-7). My paper follows Elizabeth Brient, who argues that Arendt endeavors to establish an ethical measure available to human beings as human beings, and thus in a manner appropriate to our present condition ("Hans Blumenberg and Hannah Arendt on the 'Unworldly Worldliness' of the Modern Age," JHI: 2000, 528-30). I argue that Arendt's return to Aristotle is indicative of how she questions modernity as a modern. Specifically, I examine her account of how cultivation of the human capacity for action facilitates the safeguarding of practical wisdom. I proceed by reading Arendt's *The Human Condition* and *Between Past and Future with Aristotle's Ethics and Politics*.

Warby, Meghan

How to Make Friends and Influence People: Lobbying at Queen's Park and Playing by the Rules

Greater public awareness of lobbying practices, high profile scandals and increased media scrutiny has cumulated in a culture change within government that approaches any type of consultation with an emphasis on accountability and transparency. The most visible

example of this shift is in the office of the Integrity Commissioner. Using interviews with the lobbyists active at Queen's Park, this paper will gauge the impact of the Commissioner's office in a behavioural, educational and regulatory capacity. This paper examines the transformative power of lobbying in Ontario politics, comparing both the subtle and overt tactics employed by the full spectrum of 'stake holders,' including industries and corporations, trade associations and unions, and non-profit and charitable organizations. Organizations' influential communication with legislators and decision-makers has changed considerably in the past ten years. This paper will analyze the behavioral changes of lobbyists to adapt and change to fit the regulations established and enforced by the Integrity Commissioner. Regardless of the aura of vigilance that surrounds lobbying, considerable grey areas remain. Offsite charitable fund-raising, events and receptions held at Queen's Park are undeclared attempts to create goodwill between politicians and causes or organizations. The advent of technologically advanced communication methods presents another aspect of lobbying's grey zones. Excerpts culled from both government and opposition MPP interviews will illustrate the more modern creative, intrusive and effective messaging methods that politicians have experienced firsthand and how they perceive changes affected by the office of the Integrity Commissioner.

Warner, Rosalind

National Parks and the Challenge of Ethical Governance: Conservation or Preservation?

This paper will explore national parks development in the US and Canada through the lens of political contestation over often incompatible social, environmental, and economic values. Traditional accounts of national parks development have focused on their symbolic and ecological importance as repositories of biodiversity, wilderness, and pristine natural beauty. Such a reading obscures important moral and discursive complexities around national parks as 'natural destinations' through which conservationist and preservationist values conflict. The paper will use a qualitative methodology to 'map' the terrain of conservationist and preservationist discourses regarding parks. It will compare past and present debates over the establishment and sustainability of parks using a methodology of case study. This includes description, categorization, longitudinal and conceptual comparison, and interpretation. The work will be grounded in the context of the historical and contemporary development of national parks and tourism in North America, particularly Yellowstone and Banff National Parks.

Nature tourism in protected areas raises important ethical issues of sustainability, inequality, and accountability that effectively link the local and the global levels of analysis. Accordingly, the paper will focus conclusions on the challenges of policy coherence across local, regional and global levels. Long-standing conflicts over the purposes and uses of parks are likely to become more acute as globalization increases both the number of visitors and the intensity and scope of tourist activities.

Watson, Scott D

Manufacturing Threats: Boat People As Threats or Refugees?

How have certain illegal immigration control policies come to be regarded as essential for national security in some liberal democratic states while in others these policies remain unacceptable? Forced return, mandatory detention, restricted access to courts and temporary protection have been adopted by a number of liberal states, all of which violate the regulative norms of the 1951 Refugee Convention. This paper argues that the constitutive and regulative norms of the international refugee regime are based on a 'humanitarian' construction of refugee and receiving state identity, and that the shift toward a securitised discourse has re-constructed the identity of refugees and refugee producing states. This discursive shift has been a crucial factor in permitting state elites to enact policies that violate these international norms.

Drawing on the arrival of unauthorized boat arrivals in Canada and Australia over a twenty-year period, this paper will show that securitising actors within these societies sought to alter the dominant discourse on refugees and asylum seekers. In Australia, these securitising attempts proved successful, shifting the discourse from humanitarian to securitised, thus ultimately paving the way for government elites to enact policies previously deemed unthinkable for a generous, humanitarian state. In Canada, these securitising attempts failed, making the implementation of restrictive measures unbecoming to the perceived Canadian national identity.

Webber, Jeffery R.

Radical Indigenous Politics and Class Struggle in Bolivia's Revolutionary Cycle, 2000-2005

The mainstream literature in indigenous studies on Latin America suffers from a one-sided emphasis on the cultural and institutional causes and effects of the emergence of indigenous movements. The political economy of class struggle under neoliberalism, and how it relates to and affects indigenous struggle, often falls by the wayside. Marred by a normative commitment to liberal multiculturalism, the literature also tends to celebrate indigenous "gains" in terms of cultural and symbolic "recognition" by the state, during a period in which the material well being of indigenous peoples has deteriorated dramatically. After all, the vast majority of indigenous peoples in Latin America are part of the rural and urban working class.

My paper seeks to understand the relationship between indigenous radicalism and new forms of class struggle in Bolivia. The country has experienced an ongoing revolutionary cycle since the Water War of 2000. I look at the cycle of insurrection as a whole, providing a window into how radical indigenous politics interacts with more straightforwardly class-conscious organizations of the "old Left." I show that in Bolivia, the ideologies and tactics of indigenous struggle transcend the narrow boundaries of liberal multiculturalism, with important anti-capitalist implications. I demonstrate, further, how the literature needs to take into account urban struggle and rebellions with a focus on state power, in addition to the traditional studies of rural areas and movements for autonomy.

Weinstock, Daniel

“Was Taylor right about the Constitution?”

In the debates surrounding the adoption of the 1982 constitution, Charles Taylor was a vocal opponent of the practice of judicial review that would emerge it, claiming that it would lead to an Americanization of Canadian political life. My intention is to see whether the past twenty years have confirmed Taylor's fears. I will argue that Canadian judicial review, conditioned by the notwithstanding clause and article 1, has developed in an autonomous manner that establishes a philosophically defensible balance between democracy and rights protection.

Wesley, Jared

Bleeding Hearts and Troubled Minds: Red Tories and Social Democrats in Manitoba

While often depicted on opposite sides of the political spectrum, red tories and social democrats share a number of common political attitudes. Whether in terms of their support for the modern welfare state, their (relatively) progressive view of social communities, or their belief in the positive role for the state in society, in many ways red tories and social democrats have more in common with each other than with other political groups, like liberals or neo-conservatives. These overlapping, collectivist values create opportunities for political parties to bridge the gap between left and right on the political spectrum, and to build large - but fragile - electoral coalitions in the political centre. This paper examines how two political parties - the provincial New Democrats and Progressive Conservatives in Manitoba - have been striking such alliances for over half a century, creating a competitive, two-way competition for power (to the exclusion of the Liberal Party). The study draws upon an original survey of major-party candidates in the 2003 Manitoba election, lending empirical evidence to the claim that - in Manitoba, at least - the party that is able to capture the 'bleeding hearts' and 'troubled minds' of the red tory / social democrat population is able to secure and maintain power in the provincial legislature. The findings of this study may hold practical lessons for (Progressive) Conservative and New Democratic parties across Canada, as each searches for ways to build a larger base of electoral support.

Wettlaufer, Brian

Ontario Politics over the last 20 years: A Comparison of Tory, NDP and Liberal Rule

In 1985 a fundamental change occurred in Ontario politics: the Tory Dynasty was finally ended by the election of a liberal minority. Subsequently, since the end of Tory rule, all three major political parties have held power in Ontario's legislature. The Liberals consolidated their power with a majority victory in 1987, followed shortly by a New Democratic government that was able to form government with little over 36 percent of the popular vote. In 1995 Tory rule was re-established as Mike Harris was able to win consecutive majorities riding the wave of support generated by his Common Sense Revolution. Yet by the end of his second mandate and after eight years of cuts to the education and health sectors the Liberals under Dalton McGuinty were able to win an overwhelming majority in 2003.

The last 20 years in Ontario politics has been an interesting time in its history: three different parties have been able to hold power and they have all employed quite different methods of governing. Although what might be even more unique is that many of the major actors including former Cabinet Ministers and House Leaders still hold seats in the current legislature, both in the government and opposition. My essay will attempt to trace the changes of the last 20 years by examining how different governments have attempted, either successfully or unsuccessfully, to achieve their mandate. This essay will be both a study of history, touching how politics in Ontario has changed in the last 20 years, but it will also be a comparison of three parties which have held power and the strategies they subsequently employed.

White, Stephen

Do Voters Learn Through Experience? Testing Duverger's 'Wasted Vote' Thesis

Duverger (1954) proposed a theory about the role of voter expectations in single-member plurality (SMP) electoral systems. He argues that SMP rules favour a two-party system because of two factors: a “mechanical” factor, the near-systematic underrepresentation of parties that win relatively small proportion of the vote; and a “psychological” factor, the sense among voters, upon recognizing this distortion of outcomes, that a vote for one of these smaller parties is a 'wasted' vote. The impact of the mechanical factor is well documented, but empirical tests of the psychological factor are few and far between. This paper presents a simple test of Duverger's psychological factor using data from the 1997-2004 Canadian Election Studies. It argues that direct, repeated experience with SMP elections is a crucial aspect of the psychological factor that must be incorporated into any test of Duverger's theory; experienced voters, after all, have a larger stock of knowledge about previous election outcomes, and about how their own behaviour squared with those outcomes. Two hypotheses flowing from this line of reasoning are tested here. First, younger, less experienced voters are more likely than their older, more experienced counterparts to enter an election without any preconceptions about the outcome; that is, the young think elections are closer. In turn, expectations about smaller parties' success or failure have a greater impact on the vote decisions of older, more experienced voters than those of younger, less experienced voters. Moreover, both of these effects should hold even after partisan predispositions and campaign knowledge are controlled. One key implication of these hypotheses is that support for smaller parties can persist in SMP systems simply because new cohorts, who have not yet developed the sense that supporting smaller parties is a 'waste,' enter the electorate continually.

Whitehall, Geoffrey

Exceeding Asia/pacific: time, movement and solidarity

In “Exceeding Asia/pacific: time, movement and solidarity” I explore competing political grammars used to conceptualize the Asia/pacific community. Specifically, I problematize the dominant spatial concept of the Pacific Rim that reflects the transcendental

resolutions of sovereignty of APEC. Opening the spatial Pacific Rim up to the temporalization of the Pacific Event effects this problematization. Such a shift encourages the Pacific community to be rethought in terms of immanent forces that flow together to constitute shifting island networks or what Epele Hau'ofa calls "a sea of islands." Finally, pushing this drive of movement and immanence beyond its conceptual limits, I look at a particular political struggle on the edge of the Asia/Pacific community. I re-read the recent referendum on indigenous rights in British Columbia. In the face of a referendum designed to limit and define the possibilities of indigenous politics, an interesting strategy emerged that exceeded the accepted terrains of political action. I conclude that the result was a critical horizon of solidarity politics.

Whitson, David, Wall, Karen

Cultural Policy in Alberta

Since the Massey Report in 1951, the policies that Canadian governments have pursued with respect to culture have evolved considerably, in response to a growing recognition of the cultural sector as a source of jobs and economic activity, of the role of 'heritage' and other cultural attractions in the development of local and regional tourism, and of the roles of artists and of cultural participation more generally in the development of social capital. Part of a wider comparative study of the development of cultural policy across Canadian provinces and territories, this paper offers an overview of the evolution of cultural policy in Alberta. Among the specific developments to be addressed are the emergence of a provincial bureaucracy charged with dealing with cultural issues and with disbursing funds to cultural groups at both the provincial and community levels; the changing locations of that bureaucracy within the provincial government; and the articulation of cultural policy at various times with multiculturalism, with recreation and parks, and with economic development. More generally, the paper asks what have been the objectives of cultural policy in Alberta, what have been the main policy tools (e.g., grants, tax incentives, regulations), what have been the mechanisms of consultation (e.g., between the provincial government and stakeholder groups, and between government and the public), and how far Alberta's initiatives in this area can be said to have succeeded.

Widdowson, Frances and Howard, Albert

Aboriginal "Traditional Knowledge" and Canadian Public Policy: Ten Years of Listening to the Silence

In November 1996, our article "Traditional Knowledge Threatens Environmental Assessment" appeared in the journal *Policy Options*. This article criticized the incorporation of of aboriginal peoples' "traditional knowledge" into environmental assessment processes and public policy more generally, initiating a nation-wide debate that continues to this day. With the passage of ten years since the publication of this article, it is time to take stock of how our analysis has influenced public policy development; a critical review of the literature over the last ten years will show that the response to the serious questions raised has been minimal, largely relying on obfuscation and ad hominem comment. Despite the lack of evidence attesting to the utility of traditional knowledge in public policy, the enhancement of scientific research, or improving the circumstances of the native population, it continues to be promoted by governments, social scientists and aboriginal leaders. This is because the value of traditional knowledge lies not in its usefulness in improving policy development, but with its capacity to extract funding, and disguise the extent of aboriginal marginalization in Canada. Recognizing this circumstance will not only increase our awareness of the problems of advocacy in the disciplines associated with aboriginal policy development; it will also offer a widespread indictment of the imposition of postmodern relativism in the social sciences.

Widdowson, Frances

The Inherent Right to Unethical Governance

The development of aboriginal self-government in Canada has resulted in the documentation of a disproportionate number of instances of political corruption in native communities. These incidents generally have been explained as the result of the actions of a few "bad apples", or the systemic consequences of colonialist oppression by the Canadian state. A neglected area of analysis concerns the combination of tribal cultural characteristics with the requirements of much larger, complex and productive societies. Using a historical and materialist perspective, this cultural basis of corruption in aboriginal communities will be explored. It will be argued that aboriginal social organization was traditionally based on kinship reciprocity - a feature that continues to bring aboriginal "self-government" into conflict with the legal-rational authority of the modern nation-state. While nepotism is clearly "unethical" in the context of liberal democratic government, it is valued in aboriginal societies as "loyalty" to friends and relatives. It is this kinship loyalty, in fact, that constitutes one essential "difference" being nurtured by self-government policies. Such a circumstance has been obscured by the intrusion of political advocacy into studies of aboriginal communities. Because of the current political orientation towards supporting self-government in most studies of aboriginal peoples, political scientists who expose "unethical governance" in native communities are either ignored or subjected to accusations of racism, colonialism or "cultural insensitivity".

Winter, Stephen

The Uncertain Obligations of History

Compensatory claims against historical injustices face a series of criticisms. One common critique argues that the method for assessing the content of compensatory responsibility is epistemically deficient in cases where a lengthy period of time elapses between the wrongdoing and the claim. A description of an injury must include a plausible story about how current harms are attributable to the wrongful act in question. However in many cases, "[c]omputing the damages, after so many generations and interactions requires so much counterfactual arguing that the calculation of compensation is "weakened beyond usefulness" (Pierik, 2005, 3) Since it is impossible to assess the attributable current disadvantage, effectively, no injury obtains.

This paper argues that our conventional counterfactual method for ascertaining the content of compensatory responsibility has the resources to meet the epistemic challenge and that a clear understanding of this method reveals the epistemic challenge of compensatory indeterminacy as less problematic than often portrayed. The method by which this argument proceeds begins by analyzing the compensatory principles of a 'simple' case and then applying this normative structure to more difficult cases of historic injustice.

Wittenbrinck, Joerg

Promises and Perils of Policy Integration: Gender Mainstreaming and Environmental Policy Integration in Canada and Germany

Both gender equality and environmental protection have long been established as important goals by countries across the globe. Nonetheless, the extent to which states have actually and effectively integrated gender and environmental concerns across all government activity appears to be partial at best. This paper inquires into the sources of success and failure of environmental policy integration and gender mainstreaming, two strategies heavily promoted by the European Union and other national and international actors since the 1990s as key instruments in furthering gender equity and sustainable environmental governance. Gender mainstreaming and Environmental Policy Integration are aimed at transforming the policy process by increasing the awareness of effects on and concern for specific issue areas, namely gender and the environment, while remaining reconcilable with rational bureaucratic and state decision-making. As sets of institutional adjustments to the policy-process, I argue, they can represent means of democratization in advanced industrial societies and elsewhere in both procedural and substantive terms. Theoretically, the research locates policy process innovations at the intersection of state-society relations and multi-level governance. The paper is based on dissertation research conducted in two German Länder (Hessen and Sachsen-Anhalt) and two Canadian Provinces (Ontario and British Columbia) between June 2004 and February 2006. The research design allows for comparisons across country, issue area, and of a member of the EU with a non-member, while maintaining important controls. Drawing lessons from the larger dissertation research, I will discuss the cases of environmental integration in Ontario and gender mainstreaming in Sachsen-Anhalt in detail.

Wittenbrinck, Joerg

Moving Up or Selling Out? Explaining Feminists' Responses to Gender Mainstreaming in Canada and Germany

Gender mainstreaming has been hailed as a key policy instrument in furthering gender equality, by introducing a gender perspective into all areas of government decision-making. As a set of institutional adjustments to the policy-process, gender mainstreaming can represent a means of democratization in advanced industrial societies and elsewhere in both procedural and substantive terms. Many women's movements had, of course, advocated for such an approach since at least the early 1970s. Yet from the beginning, women's organizations had also been highly sceptical of the practical introduction of gender mainstreaming, especially as a strategy that was to be 'top-down' and internal to government machinery only. Variation in this scepticism toward the latest stage of gender equality policy can be traced back to the different ways in which women's movements have developed and institutionalized since the 1970s. The paper is based on dissertation research conducted in two German Länder (Hessen and Sachsen-Anhalt) and two Canadian Provinces (Ontario and British Columbia). By comparing the implementation in very different contexts – East and West Germany, Europe and North America – it becomes clear how the view that women's organizations and feminist activists hold on the topic of gender mainstreaming is highly dependent on differences and similarities in earlier rounds of engagement with the state and the way in which feminist positions have been institutionalized within the government machinery. Drawing on the wider dissertation research, including a comparison to environmental policy integration, the paper focuses primarily on British Columbia and Sachsen-Anhalt, both under progressive and conservative governments.

Wolfgram, Mark A.

Collective Memory and Regime Type: East and West German Reflections on the Holocaust

The growing literature on collective memory has occurred largely outside the discipline of political science (Olick 2003). This is in part explained by the uncertain relationship of the mainstream of the discipline toward qualitative methodology and the study of culture (Norton 2004). Collective memory studies look at the relationship between changing societal representations of the past and the exercise of political power. Political scientists should contribute more. I will draw upon an extensive body of research into over one-hundred and fifty films and television programs, over one-hundred newspaper articles and numerous public opinion polls as well as over three hundred individual interviews. This body of data, carefully sampled across time, provides a basis to evaluate the changing narratives about the Holocaust and the war in both Germanys. I used a highly inductive process of open coding content analysis following the guidelines of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). This research is already completed. This comparison permits a differentiation between how collective memories form in an authoritarian and a democratic society. I look at the interaction of four causal mechanisms with these two regime types: (1) generational turnover, (2) the ethnocentrism of death, (3) elite turnover, and (4) macro-micro level interactions. I will give special attention to comparing how the development of the Holocaust narrative differed between East and West Germany. While a pluralistic democracy certainly offered the possibility of a fuller confrontation with the past, this was not the case until the late 1970s. I explain why this was the case.

Wolinetz, Steven B.

Grumpy Politics: The Netherlands in Rejectionist Mode

News about Dutch politics rarely makes the front pages of foreign newspapers. In recent years, several events have shot it to the forefront: the assassination of protest party leader Pim Fortuyn; the killing of film-maker Theo van Gogh; drastic changes in immigration politics, and most recently, an overwhelming vote (63%) against ratification of the draft European Union Constitution. The paper tries to explain these events and place them in comparative context. The Netherlands is a consensus democracy in which political elites have been able to govern without extensive consultation with the public, whose support all too often has been taken for granted. Established political parties are weak on the ground and ineffective at what should be a primary task, linking citizens and government. The paper will argue that recent changes in the Netherlands reflect the ways in which consensus democracy has been practiced in the Netherlands. Accustomed to resolving problems through negotiations among political parties, or with organized interests, facilitated by information and analysis, political elites are less adept at mobilizing support or putting power behind political ideas or positions. Normal policy-making practices are slow and 'viscous' but work most of the time. Challenged or threatened, Dutch policy-makers react by trying to accommodate demands, incorporating groups where they can, or in the case of recent shocks, visibly demonstrating lack of support, politicians over-react, repositioning and aligning policies with what they take to be public opinion. This can lead to abrupt changes, as they have policies toward immigration and multiculturalism, and scrambles to reposition parties, political forces, and government positions toward the European Union.

Wood, Donna

Intergovernmental Policy Making Post Devolution: the Case of Welfare to Work in the United Kingdom

The ascent to power of Tony Blair's Labour party in the United Kingdom in 1997 resulted in major reforms to the British welfare state, including devolution to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and the introduction of a variety of 'New Deals' to move people from welfare to work. This paper examines the relationship between state welfare reform and territorial politics by considering the newly emerging intergovernmental relations system that is being put in place between Scotland and Westminster to manage welfare to work programs. These programs present an ideal case study to examine the interface between reserved (social security and employment) and devolved (vocational education, training, careers advice and economic development) state powers and how competence is being shared post devolution.

Using power dependence as an analytical framework and elite interviews and documents as evidence, the dynamics of the intergovernmental relationship is explored in detail, including the impact that this has on the governance of welfare to work programs in Scotland and in the United Kingdom more broadly. The UK and Scottish relationship with Europe in regard to the European Employment Strategy is also considered. This new UK experience with intergovernmental relations in welfare to work is then compared with Canada's experiences in managing the federation, and key social, political and institutional differences.

Woottens, George

Avoiding Blame? The Strategic Politics of the Harris Conservatives in Ontario

Between 1995 and 1997 the Progressive Conservative government of Michael (Mike) Harris implemented significant austerity measures to retrench public spending in Ontario. These measures involved imposing concentrated losses on a wide range of groups in Ontario society in the form of lower benefits, fewer services and new and higher user fees. Existing frameworks that analyse the politics of imposing policy losses advance two general claims. First, imposing concentrated losses is politically problematic because the expected mobilization of affected groups will damage the electoral prospects of the government. Second, the Conservatives would try to reconcile their unpopular policy preferences and their electoral ambitions by deploying blame avoidance strategies: the manipulation of policy procedures, public perceptions and policy payoffs to lower the political costs of their loss-imposing actions. The austerity measures authored by the Harris government were indeed highly controversial and unpopular. However, while the Conservatives' strategic behaviour appears to be consistent with the use of blame avoidance techniques, this paper argues that blame avoidance does not provide a compelling explanation of the Conservatives' strategic posture. This is due to three reasons. First, political reactions to the Conservatives' decisions suggest that, if the Conservatives were seeking to avoid blame, their efforts failed. Second, the Conservatives' responses to blame generating were not consistent with those of blame avoidance. Third, the Conservatives' attitudes toward political leadership, policy discretion and distributing gains and losses were more in line with credit claiming rather than avoiding blame. These outcomes raise questions as the types of strategies open to governments when imposing losses.

Wylie, Lana

Prestige and Canadian Foreign Policy

International Relations theory has difficulty accounting for states that act in ways that are contrary to their material interests. Despite what the major theories of International Relations (IR) would tell us to expect, these states make these choices because they are seeking more abstract goals. My previous research has demonstrated that prestige is one of those goals. Though Realists have recognized the role of prestige in international relations, they focus on the use of prestige by great powers to demonstrate the state's actual power and neglect the role of prestige in the foreign policy calculations of smaller states. Hans Morgenthau stated that prestige is used to demonstrate to the rest of the world the power one's own nation possesses. Dean Acheson, described prestige as 'the shadow cast by power.' My related research on Caribbean foreign policy reveals that in a number of cases Caribbean states have placed international prestige above economic or security goals. This paper examines the relevance of prestige for Canadian foreign policy. Initial research has revealed that foreign policies that correspond to the Canadian self-image as a good international citizen are reinforced by the drive for prestige. Interviews of policy makers and

analysis of text (policies, statements, speeches) are used to examine recent foreign policy decisions and determine the relative importance of prestige for Canadian policymakers. The focus on the role of prestige opens a neglected avenue of inquiry within IR and Political Science.

Young, Kevin

Social Capital and the Lockean Dilemma: A New Justification for Economic Redistribution

This paper seeks to introduce a new normative justification for economic redistribution by highlighting the unreciprocated contribution that social capital makes within the economy. Because social capital often makes a positive contribution to the formal capitalist economy, and because its contribution is not formally reciprocated, by definition some portion of all accumulated wealth in the economy contains an economic rent. While the economic contribution of social capital is formally acknowledged (e.g. within the economics discipline, within many state policies, within multilateral organizations), there lack formal processes to economically reciprocate for this contribution. Taxing this rent and redistributing it remains the only moral option out of this dilemma, even when considered under the strictest Lockean notion of rights and property. This paper suggests that, despite the calculation problems associated with establishing the economic utility of social capital and thus the rent to be taxed and redistributed, this justification for redistribution has important policy implications. With the increasing formal acknowledgement of the productive contribution of social capital, neoliberal critiques of economic redistribution begin to contradict the very Lockean notion of rights which is at the heart of such a normative tradition. If we acknowledge the contribution of social capital to the economy, not redistributing the rent that results from its contribution represents exploitation, even in the strict neoclassical, economic sense of the term. This paper concludes with some possible policy implications which follow from this analysis, as well as some potential implications for a number of contemporary social movements.

Young, Shaun

Exercising Political Power Reasonably

The philosophical-political project of liberalism was born out of a desire to protect individuals against the tyranny, chaos and misery generated by the arbitrary exercise of political power. For liberal political philosophers, the notion of reason(ableness) has provided a moral and legal standard for judging the acceptability and legitimacy of government behavior. Basically, if government directives are to constitute a legitimate obligation on citizens, they must treat all citizens in a “reasonable” manner. Arguably, such an approach achieves its zenith (to date) in the theories of “political” liberals, who typically assert that reason(ableness) must be the “final court of appeal” in relation to decisions concerning matters of public import—those that place demands upon all citizens of the polity. According to political liberals, only by adopting and maintaining a governance framework that assigns primacy to reasonableness is it possible to obtain and preserve the desired protection against the abuse of political power. However, it seems equally likely that efforts to secure the sought after protection against “abusive” behaviour will actually be undermined in a number of ways if reasonableness is employed as a benchmark for acceptable government behavior. The purpose of this essay is to identify a number of flaws that undermine the “reasonableness” paradigm promoted by political liberals (in particular) and comment on the potential options for rescuing it. The essay is part of a book-length study entitled Reasonableness in Liberal Political Philosophy that is to be published by Routledge.

Zaslove, Andrej

For the “People” in the Name of “Democracy”: populism, grassroots politics, and the radical right

Anti-party, “grassroots,” and populist political movements have emerged as important political actors in both established and new democracies. In Western Europe, in the last decade, it has been radical right populist parties that have successfully used a combination of populism and grassroots organization to mobilize often disenfranchised, frustrated, and non-aligned voters. This new wave of right-wing populism is in part a reaction to the “cartelization” of political parties, the separation of political parties from civil society, a convergence and demise of political ideologies (especially Christian democratic, social democratic, and communist ideologies), globalization, and a growing concern over immigration. However, equally as important have been the mobilization tactics of radical right populist parties. I will argue, using the Italian radical right populist party the Northern League as my case study, that success relies on several important components. Firstly, it is dependent upon the populism and the charisma of a leader who positions himself (or herself, but in most cases it has been men) as the common “man” against political and economic elites. This involves, a new mode of anti-political rhetoric and a new mode of political presentation; one that presents the leaders image as that of an anti-politician. And, secondly, but no less important, it also owes its success to well organized grassroots mobilization. In this manner, radical right populist parties have successfully mobilized anti-party sentiments, often, in turn, creating their own well organized and loyal political subcultures.

Zhang, Baohui

Presidential vs. Parliamentary Democracies: The Implication for Hong Kong's Democratization

In recent years scholars of democratic consolidation have debated about the relative merits of presidential and parliamentary systems for the design of new democracies. The general agreement is that the due to institutional conflicts, presidential system tends to be less stable politically. On the other hand, due to fusion of power, parliamentary system can avoid gridlocks and thus instability. Recent experiences from East Asia seems to prove this point. South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Indonesia all saw political crisis with their presidential systems.

Unique among former British colonies, Hong Kong has essentially adopted a presidential system with separated executive and legislative powers. This system is defined by the Basic Law that is signed between Britain and China. The system is already seeing

sustained conflicts between the Chief Executive and the Legislative Council. This problem will be further magnified by the inevitable democratization of both branches when they are directly elected, since both will claim to represent the people of Hong Kong. This paper studies if Hong Kong can still modify the current executive-legislative framework, since the Basic Law does allow Hong Kong people to exercise significant self-rule. It will examine the drawbacks of the current system and if it is politically feasible to move toward a parliamentary system. If not, the paper will explore other mechanism that can break potential executive-legislative impasses and thus avoid political crisis.

Zubcic, Stephanie

(Re)Constructing the Possibilities of Political Experience: Kant's Influence on Arendt's "Introduction into Politics"

My paper argues that commentators of Hannah Arendt's political legacy, while undeniably aware of her critique of political modernity, fail to fully appreciate the way in which her analysis seeks to make genuine political experiences possible. Narrowly focusing on her critical remarks, interpreters have read her too simplistically as espousing political skepticism. My intent is two-fold: first, to claim her reasons for criticizing political modernity are significant; and, second, to show how her analysis, specifically of Kant, optimistically guides and informs all possibilities of genuine political experience that mark her ethical political works. Carefully examining (i) Arendt's Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy, and (ii) developing her analysis of Kantian "enlarged mentality," *societas* (human community), and imagination, I advance (iii) Arendt's formulation of the problem of prejudice and bias in moral political judgments and show how her (re)construction of politics sets out a program for resolution. This final section is my response to the charge that Arendt's political deconstruction spells the debilitating end and impossibility of politics in modernity. I maintain that Arendt's deconstruction of political modernity serves not to end politics but to begin its re-construction. Following Jerome Kohn I argue that Arendt's "Introduction into Politics" spells not the demise of political activity but rather the initiated "leading into (intro-ducere) genuine political experiences" -- one that, because of the (re)constructive process itself, is cognizant of the meaning of political experiences and more fully aware of the dangerous prejudices and prejudgments one is capable of bring to such experiences.