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# **Association canadienne de science politique**

**Programme du congrès annuel de l'ACSP 2023**

**Territoire, lieu et pouvoir**

**Organisé à l'Université de York**

**30 mai au 1 juin, 2023**

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## **Données en temps réel**

Ce PDF contient le programme du congrès mis à jour

**au moment où vous le téléchargez.**

Les horaires et les lieux des séances sont susceptibles d'être modifiés.

# Day 1 - Session 1 (08:30am - 10:00am)

## A01(a) - The State of Social Policy in Canada: Part 1

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Rianne Mahon (Carleton University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Daniel Béland (McGill University)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Federalism in the new era of welfare state expansion:* Keith Banting (Queen's)

**Abstract:** Without seeming to notice, Canadians are living through the most significant expansion of social programs in the last half century. Much attention has been paid to the temporary federal benefits adopted in response to COVID. However, the expansion of permanent federal social programs has also been formidable. Major innovations include changes to the Canada Child Benefit and the Canada Pension Plan, the phase-in of universal childcare across the country, the adoption of a Canada Disability Benefit and the build-up of a Canadian Dental Care Plan. These innovations represent a bold assertion of federal leadership and, with the exception of CPP and childcare, the policy process has largely by-passed the provinces. This paper will analyze the implications for federalism. It will examine the incentives for federal reliance on income transfers in response to diverse social needs, and the response of provincial governments to federal activism. Among other cases, the paper will examine the expansion of the federal role in dental care.

*Civil society organizations: Pillars of social policy:* Rachel Laforest (Queen's)

**Abstract:** Civil society organizations are vital to social policy development and implementation. To analyze the social architecture, we need to incorporate community as a fourth pillar of the welfare diamond to understand the distribution of responsibilities for welfare provision amongst family, market, community, and state. Yet, analyzing the role of civil society organizations in welfare state studies has often been an afterthought (Annetts et al. 2009). Part of the challenge is that civil society organizations are deeply diverse and play various roles in the social policy arena. They are conduits for transmitting citizen interests and preferences into the policy arena. Through mobilization, they shape societal understandings of fairness, justice, and equality. Over the past decade, the rise of Black Lives Matter, Idle No More, and Occupy Movement have drawn attention to growing inequities in Canadian society. In addition, civil society organizations are increasingly intertwined in social policy delivery systems. Each province has its unique institutionalized interaction between state and society, which shapes and constrains how social policy is developed. For example, social economy organizations in Quebec play a pivotal role in how delivery systems are organized in child care and home care. Because of this diversity of roles, this paper will problematize how civil society organizations are structured and represented across provincial jurisdictions to showcase the impact it has in the social policy debates.

*Funding social policy in Canada:* Jacques Olivier (Université de Montréal), Antoine Genest-Grégoire (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** The book chapter analyzes the financing of social policy in Canada. We start by presenting the 'tax bargain' in Canada, by highlighting the role of the electoral system and of interest group representation in creating an equilibrium of relatively low tax and social spending with a high degree of tax progressivity. This is because the country funds social policy with low value added taxes and social security contributions, whose incidence is regressive or proportional, but uses heavily progressive income taxes. We then delve into inter-provincial differences and the dynamics generated by federalism. As a decentralized federation, tax rates differ markedly between provinces to reflect welfare state models. At the same time, vertical fiscal imbalance involves that provinces don't have the fiscal room to significantly reduce taxes, whereas the federal government can increase social spending without raising taxes or can reduce taxes without significantly retrenching social spending. The last section discusses the political dynamics incurred by public opinion about taxation. It shows that while recent increases in pension contributions have been politically easy to do, the recent economic crisis, Canada's relatively meager welfare state and the perceived crisis of health care generate low support for higher taxation. We illustrate our arguments with recent tax reforms made by the Harper and Trudeau governments and with recent public opinion surveys conducted in the country. Overall, this chapter contributes to our understanding of the political economy of the financing of social policy in the context of a decentralized federation.

*Social assistance in the Canadian provinces: The politics of neglect:* Alain Noël (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Social assistance programs in the Canadian provinces are notoriously ungenerous, leaving beneficiaries far below the poverty threshold. This situation reflects, of course, the residual, liberal nature of the Canadian welfare state, as well as the marginal political voice of persons living in poverty. It may also reflect the low political saliency of social assistance benefits. Unlike health care or day care, these benefits concern few citizens and they are rarely, if ever, mentioned in electoral campaigns. In recent years, in particular, the number of persons receiving social assistance has declined in every province, making the issue less salient than ever. Following Lødemel (1997) and Noël (2020), this paper documents this politics of neglect, to clarify, in particular, the relationship between social assistance rates and benefits. It suggests that when social assistance concerns fewer people, it tends to become less visible and even less generous.

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## A01(b) - The Far Right, Radical Right, and Extremism in Canada

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*The Geographical Distribution of Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and the Electoral Prospects of a Radical Right Party in Canada:* Salar Asadolahi (University of Toronto), Linda White (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** In the comparative context, Canada has been regarded as a country that is immune to the electoral breakthrough of anti-immigrant radical right parties (RRPs) at the national level. Support for this claim have come from a variety of arguments which make reference to factors such as the country's historical experience with high levels of immigration, an electorate that is largely supportive of immigration and of immigrants, and the country's points-based immigration system and official policy of multiculturalism which have been argued to have insulated the electoral sphere from the emergence and success of explicitly anti-immigrant parties. This paper contributes to this literature by focusing on the variable of geography and the territorial distribution of key electorates throughout the country. Specifically, it examines the extent to which anti-immigrant sentiment among the Canadian electorate is dispersed across the country's federal electoral ridings across all provinces and evaluates the implications of such a distribution for the electoral prospects of anti-immigrant parties. To do so, it draws on eight waves of the Canadian Elections Study between 2000-2021 to construct a measure of anti-immigrant nativist sentiment and examines the degree to which such sentiment is concentrated throughout both competitive and non-competitive ridings. Additionally, the paper provides an analysis of the influence of anti-immigrant sentiment on party support focusing specifically on the 2019 and 2021 elections given the participation of the People's Party of Canada (PPC), an anti-immigrant party that emerged in the country in 2018 but has yet to win a seat in national elections.

*Re-Evaluating the Canadian National Security Landscape: Gendered Leadership and Influence in Far-Right Movements:* Esli Chan (McGill University), Kelly Gordon (McGill University)

**Abstract:** In recent years, the surge in participation within far-right movements in Canada has given rise to heightened socio-political tensions and threats of violence, necessitating a re-evaluation of the state of national security. Notably, the infiltration of QAnon, a far-right political conspiracy movement, has taken root in Canada, led by a self-proclaimed "Queen of QAnon" and her devoted following of more than 60,000 members. Despite increasing scholarly leadership on the security implications of far-right movements, scant attention has been paid to the gendered nature of leadership in far-right movements, nor the implication of the Queen of QAnon movement to Canadian national security interests. This paper seeks to evaluate the gendered dynamics of leadership and influence in far-right movements, particularly through an in-depth study of the Queen of QAnon group. I examine three key factors related to this movement: (1) the nature and stated motivations, (2) how gender informs the conceptualization of leadership structure and operations, and (3) the underlying gender dynamics influencing motives. Employing a discursive analysis of the Queen of QAnon manifesto, complemented by text extractions from online group communications, the findings will be evaluated from a gender-based perspective using an extremism manifesto risk assessment framework to illuminate potential threats to national security. By centring gendered leadership and implications for far-right movements, this research enables a new conceptualization of Canadian national security and contribute to a more robust understanding of gender dynamics within far-right movements.

*Canada's fascist past and neo-fascist present: examining continuities in Canadian extremism:* Simon Marmura Brown (Queen's University), Wayne (supervisor) Cox (supervisor) (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the historic rise and fall of Canadian fascist movements from the 1930s to the present. It is inspired by the recent emergence of "neo-fascism" in Canada and elsewhere, epitomized by the recent rise of far-right political, social, and cultural activisms. Existing literature often categorizes, taxonomizes, or outlines the movements, activities, and memberships of contemporary extremist movements. Those that attempt to explain where these movements come from, what motivates them, or how to diminish their appeal often relegate or reduce their analyses to material factors. In this case "neo-fascism", like fascism previously, is explained as a consequence of capitalist crises. Existing explanations, then, are material rather than ideational in nature. This paper argues that the "fascistic" content of neo-fascism is ideological as well; it is also related to philosophic, ideological, or cultural currents which are similar to fascism in the past. To substantiate this argument, I first examine literature published by the Canadian Union of Fascists, the Canadian Nationalist Party, and the National Unity Party "fascist political organizations prominent in the 1930s" obtained from the National Archives which have not been examined or discussed since at least the 1990s. Subsequently, I examine publications by contemporary "neo-fascist" movements and moments represented by organizations like "Canada First", the True North Party, elements of the Peoples Party of Canada, and the Trucker Convoy. Ultimately, this paper examines the ideological bases of specific and historic forms of hate, intolerance, and violence in order to better understand and more effectively combat them.

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## A01(c) - Identity and Political Behaviour in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Mark Williamson (Toronto Metropolitan University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Dietlind Stolle (McGill University)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Diverging Narratives: The Salience and Semantics of Historical Figures across Canadian History Curricula:* Evelyne Brie (Western University), Gabriel Jarvis (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** Historical training in schools plays a pivotal role in shaping individual identities. This paper examines how diverging historical narratives across Canadian provinces might influence collective consciousness and inter-group relations in the country. We analyze textual data from all the pre-university Canadian history curricula implemented by provincial governments in 2023 (n=70,433 words). Employing diverse textual analysis methods, we evaluate the semantic content associated with all historical figures mentioned in the dataset. Preliminary findings indicate substantial inter-province disparities in the portrayal of different groups, when compared with baseline historical data collected from Wikipedia. Indeed, representatives of national groups (i.e. English-speakers, French-speakers and First Nations) are covered with markedly different semantics depending on the nature of their historical symbolism. Moreover, while women and immigrants are typically depicted in a positive light, with a focus on their respective accomplishments, discussions about First Nations concentrate predominantly on their group-level grievances. Outside of Quebec, we also observe a minimal coverage of francophones and of key figures from the French North-American regime. Overall, these results suggest that the marked differences in historical education observed among provinces mirror, and could potentially exacerbate, regional tensions within the country.

*Immigrants? Political Ideology and Party Identification Pre- and Post-migration:* Eline de Rooij (Simon Fraser University), Maxime Coulombe (Western University)

**Abstract:** This paper asks to what extent individuals' political ideology and party identification transfer from one country to another. Disagreement exists in the literature about whether political attitudes and behaviors are formed early in life and are resistant to change, or are highly adaptable in response to political experiences in a new context and as a migrant. We use data from the 2021 Canadian Election Survey and from our own survey data of recent immigrants to Canada, both of which include measures of self-assessed pre- and post-migration political ideology and party identification. We show how new Canadian residents report a greater preference for Canadian political parties to the left of the parties they preferred pre-migration. This finding is in line with the literature on immigrants' vote choice that shows a preference of parties on the left of the political spectrum among immigrants, but sharply contrasts with our second finding: new Canadian residents simultaneously report a shift to the ideological right post-migration. We discuss the implications of these findings for the literature.

*White Identity and Voting Behaviour in Westminster Democracies:* Feodor Snagovsky (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Across many Western liberal democracies, whiteness is becoming politicized, and politicians are increasingly employing the rhetoric of white identity and grievance for electoral advantage. Although American elites have successfully exploited white in-group identity, existing research has largely ignored how white identity affects voting behaviour outside the United States. The US-based literature finds that white respondents with a strong sense of attachment to their racial in-group prefer to be represented by white elected officials and by Republicans. This paper asks: does white identity also affect vote choice in other majority-white democracies? Using an original survey of voters in Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia, this paper examines the extent to which voters in those contexts prefer white elected officials and representatives from conservative parties. The results inform our understanding of how white identity can affect institutional outcomes in democracies outside the United States.

*Canadian Exceptionalism and Attitudes toward Racial Justice:* Mark Williamson (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** According to public opinion data, Canadians overwhelmingly believe that racism is less of an issue in their own country than it is in the United States. Yet racial disparities in socioeconomic indicators, as well as minorities' own reports of discrimination, are not as different across the two countries as popular perceptions would suggest. What explains this misperception? I argue that a national mythology promotes the idea that racism either does not exist or is significantly less prevalent in Canada, especially when compared against the United States. This sense of exceptionalism creates a significant, but understudied, barrier to educating Canadians about racial inequality and motivating their support for policies promoting racial justice. Drawing on an original survey, I develop a novel measure of Canadian exceptionalism on racial issues. I summarize the prevalence of these exceptionalist attitudes and clarify their relationship with political preferences, including support for police reform and affirmative action. I also test an informational intervention aimed at disrupting exceptionalism by drawing explicit comparisons between the history of anti-Black racism in Canada and the U.S.. Respondents are randomly assigned to a video and textual treatment that either (a) highlights Canada's little-known history of slavery, school segregation and racial discrimination or (b) celebrates Canada's official multiculturalism policy and its historic role as a safe haven for escaped slaves from America. The results of this experiment help unpack the puzzle of misperceptions of racism in Canada and inform efforts to better educate citizens about racial justice.

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## A01(d) - Author Meets Critics: Le Québec en mouvements. Continuité et renouvellement des pratique militantes.

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Pascale Dufour (Université de Montréal)

Laurence Bherer (Université de Montréal)

Geneviève Pagé (UQAM)

Alexia Renard (Université de Montréal)

Thomas Collombat (UQO)

**Abstract:** Écrit dans un style clair, accessible, cet ouvrage, paru en novembre 2023 aux Presses de l'Université de Montréal, brosse le portrait des principaux mouvements sociaux actifs au Québec ainsi que de pratiques et de groupes émergents. Dans une perspective aussi bien historique que « cartographique », il propose un panorama complet de différents secteurs qui ont marqué le Québec contemporain ? syndical, étudiant, féministe, de locataires, antiraciste, animaliste, communautaire, autochtone et environnemental, mais aussi de mouvements antiféministe ou d'extrême-droite. Traitant de contenus et de formes renouvelés d'activisme, en ligne ou individualisé, et de pratiques culturelles nouvelles, le livre rassemble les points de vue de différentes générations de chercheurs engagés. Ils et elles portent un regard élargi sur les acteurs incontournables que sont devenus les mouvements sociaux dans la société québécoise.

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## B01 - Comparative Climate Politics

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Imagining the Infinite Potentials for Climate Violence: From Ideas to Crimes:* Benedict Schriefers (Wilfrid Laurier University), Andrew Basso (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** New governance patterns that combat the effects of climate change have recently begun to institutionalize across many types of political systems. However, current atrocities studies literatures point to the potentials of climate violence, largely focusing on material challenges like resource scarcity, changing climatic zones, and weakened state authority as key variables leading to genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. Few of these literatures, however, examine a potential ideational cause of climate violence: infinite growth. This paper introduces and problematizes 'infinite growth' as a new ideology-based concept to help explain and predict the possible linkages of climate change and political violence. Infinite growth serves as the axiomatic basis on which individual satisfaction and socioeconomic health is measured. Past perpetrator regimes have conceptualized imagined resource scarcity as a motivator to incite and justify violence against out-group populations. These regimes employ ideological understandings of power projection to ensure infinite growth for in-group populations. Thus, violence serves as a tool to secure new imagined utopias predicated on the criminal destruction of targeted communities for the survival of others. This paper examines these past ideologies employed by numerous perpetrator regimes and projects this knowledge into the climate change scenario where resource scarcity could become material reality to predict the emergence of future destructive ideologies that promote atrocity crimes. Ultimately, this paper highlights the importance of ideational variables in the potential perpetration of climate violence in order to prevent future crimes.

*How parties' policy responsibility affects their exchanges with interest groups: comparing Switzerland and Canada:* Steven Eichenberger (Université de Genève)

**Abstract:** The relationship between interest groups and parties is most often conceptualized as a mutually beneficial exchange relationship. Interest groups seeking to influence public policy furnish parties with 'legislative subsidies' (expertise). Such exchanges might lead parties to set priorities or develop preferences that do not correspond to those of the party electorate. Parties thus have an interest in minimizing these risks. This in turn should have repercussions on interest group strategies. We hence suggest comparing interest groups' strategies in two political systems that differ in terms of policy responsibility: the Canadian Westminster system (clear policy responsibility) and the Swiss consensus system (obscured policy responsibility). When policy responsibility cannot be attributed clearly to a governing party, then parties (both in government and opposition) have less to manage the risks related to their exchanges with interest groups. We compare the strategies adopted by interest groups in Switzerland and Canada in the context of three policy issues (environment, immigration, health) treated in both polities. Through semi-structured interviews with interest group leaders, we assess the extent to which the party leadership constitutes a target in interest groups' lobbying. We expect Swiss interest groups to sidestep the party leadership and focus predominantly on MPs considered to be authoritative in the relevant domains. In contrast, Canadian interest groups focus on both the Prime Minister (leader of the opposition) as well on the (shadow) cabinet.

*Climate Migration: Public Opinion and Policymaking on a Novel Migration Driver:* Gabriel De Roche (University of California, San Diego), Tom K. Wong (University of California, San Diego)

**Abstract:** The connection between migration and climate change has received increased attention from scholars of human mobility in recent years, though few political scientists have studied this emerging phenomenon. Despite the potentially large migration impacts of climate change, we know little about how linking climate change and immigration might change both the public opinion and policymaking dynamics of immigration policy. Canonical political science models of immigration policymaking predict an expansionary bias with policymakers responsive to interest groups favouring expansion even in the face of public opinion that, on average, favours restriction though this prediction clearly fails in instances when immigration flows are highly salient for voters. This paper offers a novel theory of immigration policymaking on emerging migration drivers. In the climate case, we theorize that issue linkage (that is, linking the issues of climate change and migration) expands the winning coalition in favour of expansionary immigration policy both at the public opinion and interest group levels by including policies for safe and regular migration such as 'special humanitarian visas' for climate displaced people in the menu of pro-climate policy interventions. This paper tests our theoretical predictions with both experimental evidence of public opinion change in the United States and Canada and descriptive evidence of coalition-building at the interest group and legislator levels in advanced industrialized democracies. Our findings contribute to a growing literature on climate migration, as well as to our understanding of the dynamics of immigration policymaking in democracies.

*Climate action, energy transition and support for renewable: conceptual refinement:* Huong Le (University of Alberta), Lori Thorlakson (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Energy transition is one of the greatest technological, economic and social transformations that the world faces, necessitated by the threat of climate change. The world's ability to meet the Paris Agreement targets will depend, to a large extent, on our ability to decarbonize our energy systems, a process with deep economic and social implications, and one that is inherently political (Aklın and Urpelainen, 2013). While there is a great deal of research that seeks to explain support for (or opposition to) climate change action, decarbonisation and adoption of renewables, there is a fair degree of heterogeneity in how these outcomes are framed and defined. This matters both for theory development and for understanding the implications and limitations of empirical findings. This paper undertakes a conceptual and empirical review of the definition and operationalization of energy transition in the literature with the goal of identifying how and to what extent support for climate change action, support for energy transition and support for renewable energy are related, and how they are conceptually and empirically distinct. This refinement of the dependent variable will allow us to identify more precisely, and differentiate between, some of the political factors and processes that drive support or opposition, such as status threat, economic identity

and economic loss, efficacy and ideology.

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## K01 - Policy, Politics and Administration: Connecting the Dots

### Administration publique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**User-centered policy design: opportunities, benefits, and challenges of its application for social policy in Ontario:** Abigail Jaimes Zelaya (McMaster University), Maria Gintova (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Access to policymaking is typically limited and exclusive, seldom including stakeholder groups, particularly those with end-users who are marginalized individuals (Hutchinson and Stilianovic, 2021). Nevertheless, the voices of end-users are essential to creating effective, accurate, and targeted policies and services that truly consider the perspectives of those who are most impacted (Hutchinson and Stilianovic, 2021). User-centered design (UCD) is an approach to policy development that focuses on the needs of end-users and engages individuals directly impacted by government policies in identifying policy solutions. Some scholars emphasize its benefits for facilitating a collaborative and innovative approach to knowledge creation to inform policy (Lewis 2022; Peters and Fontaine 2022; Shaw and Suplee 2018). UCD is, however, not without its limits - such as effectively addressing systemic racism and the limited generalizability of findings from small design sessions. However, this can be addressed through working with collaborators with lived experience and anti-black racism expertise while including the voices of marginalized groups. This paper will, in the context of child welfare services in Ontario, examine how UCD can be employed, to improve outcomes for certain groups (i.e. Black youth, foster families, and service providers). This work will contribute to the limited scholarly discourse on UCD and its impacts on policymaking processes by discussing the implications of UCD. It aims to demonstrate UCDs' benefits and limitations not only in the context of child welfare services in Ontario but more broadly, for policy development and design involving marginalized populations.

**Politicization of government agencies in the Canadian federal bureaucracy:** Carey Doberstein (UBC)

**Abstract:** The proliferation of agencies and arms-length bodies in recent decades has provided opportunities for elected governments to reassert political control in an increasingly fragmented public service framework. Yet nearly all governments in Canada have created offices within the professional bureaucracy responsible for vetting all government appointments to such agencies and authorities to signal a regime of merit above all else. At this time we have little basis to make systematic claims about the autonomy and political independence of agencies in Canada. This study addresses this gap by drawing on the Government of Canada's Staffing and Non-partisanship Survey (SNPS) micro data from 2018 and 2021, which surveys all employees in 76 departments and agencies on a host of questions related political impartiality in the carrying out of government duties and hiring staff. Using various questions and responses from these surveys, we are able to assemble a set of answers to the following research question: do the agencies within the Government of Canada show evidence of two central claims pertaining to the virtues of arms-length agencies: that they are more politically-insulated and display more autonomy for staffing the organization? The data reveals that, after controlling for various relevant factors, those working in agencies are less likely than those in conventional departments to report their organizations act politically impartially in carrying out their duties and more likely to claim they feel pressure to hire particular candidates, though this is driven largely by particular types of agencies.

**Diversity as a Policy Resource: Policy Staff, Diversity, and Policy Analytical Capacity in the Canadian Federal Public Service:** Samuel Henderson (University of Toronto), Jonathan Craft (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Research on the distribution and composition of formal public sector policy staff and their relationship to policy analytical capacity (PAC) has largely overlooked the demographic diversity of formal policy staff and how this diversity can contribute to PAC. Drawing on the representative bureaucracy literature, this exploratory paper argues that the diversity of policy staff can directly contribute to PAC by providing government with a greater range of knowledge, skills, and perspectives that can be applied to policymaking activities, but also indirectly contribute to PAC by shaping the attitudes and behaviours of other policy staff. Using the Canadian federal public service as a case study, this paper then examines the distribution and composition of formal policy staff by gender, visible minority status, indigenous identity, and disability status to gain insights into the availability and management of this diversity-related PAC. The findings demonstrate that policy staff belonging to each of these four groups are largely well-represented across different ranks and functional classifications in the federal public service. But their distribution across departments varies widely, a fact often hidden by a focus on statistics focusing on the public service as a whole. This points toward a lack of diversity-related PAC in several ministerial departments, including the Department of Finance, and raises further questions about how diversity is managed in the federal public service.

**Seeking Competency in the Canadian Public Sector:** Kathy Brock (Queen's University), Andrea Migone (Toronto Metropolitan University), Amanda Clarke (Carleton)

**Abstract:** Public sector organizations in Canada face new pressures and opportunities, including the rise of Artificial Intelligence, reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, a more diverse population base and growing expectations for high quality digital service delivery alongside long-standing pressures, including fiscal constraints, demands for greater collaboration, and onerous accountability regimes, etc (Kruyen 2020). This study investigates the skills and knowledge public servants require to effectively navigate the key pressures and opportunities facing governments today (Savoie 2022). We review the literature on changing public sector competencies and trace the development of some of the more 'cutting edge' competencies (user research, service design, data science/AI literacy, and those related to reconciliation and EDI) to set up a series of anonymized surveys targeting public sector managers, with a view to identifying what these leaders believe are the key traditional and emerging competencies needed to succeed. This data provides valuable insight to support the design of government human resources strategies and university curricula and addresses the division in the literature over the appropriate mix of old and new competencies needed to meet the challenges of a more dynamic and diverse public policy environment (Caron et al. 2023; Skorkova 2016).



Caron, D. et al. 2023. "Critical Considerations for the Future of the Public Service." Policy Options.

Kruyen, P. 2020. Opening Up the Black Box of Civil Servants? Competencies. Public Management Review 22:1.

Savoie, D. 2022. Government. McGill-Queen's University Press.

Skorkova, Z. 2016. Competency Models in Public Sector. Procedia. 230.

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## **L01 - Race and Decolonization**

**Race, ethnicité, peuples autochtones et politique**

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** :

**Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :**

### **Participants**

Brydon Kramer (University of Victoria)

Jean-Paul Gagnon (University of Canberra)

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## **M01 - Workshop on Teaching the Everyday: Reflections on Teaching the Everyday**

### **Enseignement**

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Gabrielle Daoust (University of Northern BC)

**Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :**

### **Participants**

Gabrielle Daoust (University of Northern British Columbia)

Amanda Bittner (Memorial University)

Leigh Spanner (Mount St. Vincent)

Heather Smith (University of Northern B.C.)

Marshall Beier (McMaster University)

Liam-Midzain Gobin (Brock University)

Joanne Heritz (Brock University)

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## N01 - Parties, Institutions, and Gender Equality

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Gendered Party Strategies and Quotas:* Sebastian Vallejo Vera (University of Western Ontario), Diana Davila Gordillo (Lake Forest College)

**Abstract:** Despite significant advances, women's descriptive and substantive political representation lags behind men's. Parity remains an elusive goal. Quotas, often considered the silver bullet for parity, have been shown to be effective but with some limitations. There is a persistent gap between the number of candidates and the number of elected candidates. We argue that these findings highlight the power that party selectors can have on women's representation. Our paper addresses the role of party selectors and conceptualizes party strategy (i.e., the choices of selectors when they create party lists) as a crucial factor affecting (most of the time negatively) women's representation. We develop and test our theory using the case of Ecuador. We look into the interaction between the restrictions imposed by quotas and the perceived cost of placing women in favorable (electable) positions. Selectors look at certain candidates traits to construct party lists. We argue that, as quotas affect list construction selectors resort to preconceived notions of gender hierarchies, favoring low-status men over women of similar status. High-status women, however, will be placed in more favorable list positions, similar to high-status men. While gender quotas change the options available for selectors, they do not change their preconceived notions or strategies. As gender quotas laws become stricter, the value placed on high-status women to occupy favorable seats increases, for selectors do not want to lose that advantage. This benefit is not extended to low-status women, as they see fewer gains from change in the quota regime. We test our argument using original data on candidates from the Ecuadorian elections between 2002 and 2021. Overall, our work speaks to research examining the interaction between institutional set-ups and how individuals game the system to the detriment of greater parity and the spirit of gender quotas.

*Assessing Party-Directed Gendered Electoral Financing in Western Democracies:* Anna Johnson (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper is a comparative investigation into party-directed gendered electoral finance initiatives in France, Ireland and the Canadian province of New Brunswick. While studies of gender quotas are plentiful, few examine the specific incentives attached to these quotas. In 2017, The Province of New Brunswick amended its annual per-vote subsidy for political parties in an effort to encourage parties to increase the number of female candidates they nominate. This reform falls into a category of initiatives now referred to as party-directed gendered electoral financing (Murias et al., 2019), which tie the public funding of political parties to gender parity. Only 27 countries around the world have introduced such gendered electoral financing and most of these are newer or developing democracies. Before the reforms in New Brunswick, France and Ireland were two of the only advanced Western democracies to introduce such initiatives.

Yet, while France and Ireland use gendered electoral financing to supplement their formal candidate gender quotas in the form of financial penalties, New Brunswick has opted to forgo an official gender quota. Instead, the province offers parties greater per-vote funding based on the gender of the party's candidates (i.e. a vote for a woman is worth 1.5 times a vote of a man). These incentives should encourage parties not only to nominate more women, but also to nominate more women in winnable districts. This paper assesses the success of these two forms of party-directed gendered electoral financing. Preliminary findings suggest that financial penalties associated with formal quotas are more effective than financial incentives with no formal quotas.

*Evaluating Exogenous Factors on Gender Quota Efficacy:* Marcus Closen (University of Toronto), Linda White (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** What qualitative forces drive difference in the performance on gender quotas despite these quota systems being largely similar in the way they go about remedying the representation of women? Different cases also have different outcomes as they other measures for diversity. This paper examines divergent cases which have implemented similar quota types for the representation of women to examine divergent outcomes that appear statistically, that are better explained with qualitative methods such as process tracing to understand other forces acting within states that implement quotas. Using cases that have both implemented similar quota systems, this paper examines two divergent cases to illuminate additional qualitative factors that contribute to different levels of efficacy for quota systems.

*What's the Consensus on Women Candidates?: Women's Representation in Northern Canadian Politics:* Brooke Steinhauer (McGill University), Dietlind Stolle (McGill University), Chris Yurris (McGill University)

**Abstract:** In Canada, the notion that parties act as electoral gatekeepers for political candidates is well understood, especially when it comes to women. When parties are not actively recruiting women to run for politics, they are less likely to do so. Even at the municipal level, where parties are typically absent, we still see a gender gap in running for political office. But how important are political parties to the recruitment of women? The Canadian territories offer a unique opportunity to garner further insight into the role of political parties in the recruitment process, with provincial/territorial politics in the NWT and Nunavut following a consensus model of government. By contrasting the two territories to the Yukon's partisan territorial legislature where local parties are present, we are able to directly compare the impact that parties have on women's representation versus when they are absent. Our preliminary findings suggest that more women both run for office and win in the Yukon, where parties are present, further cementing the notion that parties are key actors in women's representation. Additionally, our analysis includes an overview of the territories' distinct histories of political development and demographic differences that have contributed to the opposing developments within their electoral frameworks. In doing so, we seek to fill in a major gap within the Canadian political science literature the lack of research addressing Northern politics, while also utilizing a new dataset covering Canadian territorial elections from 1974 to 2021.

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## Q01 - Trust and Elections I

### Practitioners

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** David Houle (Public secteur / Secteur public)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jérôme Couture (Université Laval)

**Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :**

***The Regional Dimensions of Institutional Trust in Canada ? An Analysis of Recent Public Opinion Research Commissioned by Elections Canada:*** Asif Hameed (Elections Canada)

**Abstract:** Arguably the primary structure for the articulation of interest in Canada, regionalism has effectively rendered the notion of a uniform national Canadian political culture impossible (Wesley and Wong, 2022; Leuprecht, 2003; Simeon, 1977) ? as such, understanding a vital democratic trend such as the retrenchment of political trust in Canada requires a consideration of the dynamics of region. Using data from Elections Canada?s 2019 and 2021 National Electors Studies, alongside multiple waves of the Agency?s Tracking Survey on Electoral Matters, the proposed project will assess the regional dimensions of various aspects of political, institutional, and generalized trust in Canada to make the case that while trust remains a significant national issue, its retrenchment across the country is hardly uniform in nature.

***Canadian Electors: Are They the Same People?:*** Vanessa Fernandez (Elections Canada), Conall Mac Cionnaith (Elections Canada), Jacques Ewoudou (Elections Canada)

**Abstract:** Available empirical evidence clearly suggests that the Canadian electorate is highly diverse in terms of socioeconomic attributes, electoral engagement, opinions, and behaviors related to federal elections and the federal electoral process. However, public opinion research typically takes a top-down, often unidimensional, approach to sub-group analyses, examining differences through pre-defined categories. This top-down approach may miss subtleties in both the diversity and similarity of the Canadian electorate. Using data from Elections Canada's National Electors Study (NES), this study examines the extent to which such observed diversity masks inherent similarities. Our motivation for this study comes from the fact that the diversity of the Canadian electorate is often construed as an indication of how dissimilar these same electors are. We propose to put to the test of data, the theory that notable similarities in electors' values and behaviours might hide behind the observed diversity of the electorate. We aim to statistically uncover and comparatively analyze the different latent classes that might inherently exist among Canadian electors, shedding light on key commonalities that may be masked by apparent differences among Canadian electors. These insights could be valuable from many vantage points to Elections Canada and could inform ongoing programmatic and policy efforts to foster electoral engagement amongst Canadian electors, especially new and future voters. Arguably, this research could prove relevant to Elections Canada's key conversations, efforts and activities targeted at electors. More generally, this study may be a useful guide for political scientists interested in uncovering unique emergent subpopulations in their own datasets.

***Painting a portrait of trust in Public Institutions Among Canadian Electors: A multidimensional approach using the 2021 National Electors Study:*** Conall Mac Cionnaith (Elections Canada), Vanessa Fernandez (Elections Canada), Jacques Ewoudou (Elections Canada)

**Abstract:** Trust in public institutions, hereafter referred to as institutional trust, is foundational to the perceived legitimacy of these institutions and is a barometer of public satisfaction with an institution?s performance. Unsurprisingly, being perceived as trustworthy by the public is important for public institutions. Consequently, researchers and decisionmakers have a renewed interest in the processes that generate institutional trust. However, according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2017), trust measured in a unidimensional manner is too simplistic to fully capture this complex construct. Any robust measure of institutional trust should simultaneously account for correlates of perceived institutional competence and values. Unidimensional measures may, therefore, not be very informative to decisionmakers aiming to foster institutional trust. To the best of our knowledge, no studies have yet implemented the OECD?s framework for measuring institutional trust multidimensionally in the Canadian setting. Therefore, this study seeks to create a multidimensional measure of trust in Elections Canada using the 44th National Elector Survey (2021). We will create a composite institutional trust score based on the public?s perception of Elections Canada?s competence (i.e., responsiveness and reliability) and values (i.e., integrity, openness, and fairness), capturing the OECD?s suggested sub-dimensions of institutional trust. This composite trust score allows us to identify subpopulations of Canadian electors based on institutional trust, demographics, opinions, and behaviors. By multidimensionally mapping out the Canadian electorate regarding institutional trust, this study will help inform ongoing policy and programmatic conversations, especially civic education efforts and outreach activities targeted at new and future electors.

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## Day 1 - Session 2 (10:15am - 11:45am)

### A02(a) - The State of Social Policy in Canada: Part 2

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Daniel Béland (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Alison Smith (University of Toronto)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

**Race and Racism in Canadian Social Policy:** Tari Ajadi (McGill), Debra Thompson (McGill), Nicole Bernhardt (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper traces when and how race and racism enter into Canadian social policy. Though racial differentiations and racial inequality are inexorable from Canadian institutional and social structures, Canada's key postwar era policy regimes have proceeded from an attachment to liberal universalism and a pretense of race-neutrality (Banting & Thompson, 2021). We begin by drawing together existing research on the racially-disparate outcomes of Canadian social policies to make explicit the salience of race in policy design, development, and implementation. We next consider the role of the human rights system and anti-discrimination policy in challenging racist practices, systems, and outcomes. Finally, we discuss the emergence of state anti-racism, with attention to federal and select provincial contexts (including British Columbia, Nova Scotia and Ontario), to explore how racism is framed/addressed by state actors. We scrutinize these initiatives to assess the prospects of a transformative change to entrenched racial inequities.

**Education policy (and politics) in Canada:** Jennifer Wallner (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Education is one of the longest and largest areas of state-led activity in social policy in Canada. Focusing on the settler-colonial state, the legacy of formal policies in the education arena pre-dates the formation of contemporary Canada itself in 1867, as colonial administrators in Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia had enacted legislation to support rudimentary schooling for the children of colonists. Today, the 13 elementary and secondary education arenas of the provinces and territories constituent the second largest area of spending, provide for the schooling of millions of Canadian students annually, and are also marked by new tides of politicization the type and tenor of which have not been seen for generations. This chapter proceeds as follows: historical background of the sector; a description of contemporary policy arrangements; and, finally, an examination of the evolution and transformation of the politicized debates in the field from the historical contests that centered on identity in terms of religion and language and the deployment of education for assimilation, into the 1960s-1990s, where more technocratic questions over labour politics and governance came into play, and now into the 2000s where new forms of identity politics are taking hold again.

**Social policy preferences in Canada ? a longitudinal scaling analysis:** Sophie Borwein (UBC), Donnelly Michael (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This chapter traces the development of attitudes toward social policy in Canada from the 1970s to the present. Combining a wide range of survey questions from multiple pollsters, we offer two new measures of support for redistributive policies. We show how dramatic changes in economic, social, and demographic contexts led to minor changes in attitudes in the aggregate. Then, using multilevel regression with post-stratification, we examine how the attitudes of various demographic and regional subgroups changed. We show that some of the cleavages that divided Canadians on social policy in the 1970s have disappeared, with others appearing to take their place. We also revisit common arguments about opinion leadership and thermostat opinion change, using our new measures to examine the conditions under which each is likely to take place.

**The End of Indigenous Self-Determination ? Why don't People Care about the Status of Indigenous Politics and Policy?:** Réal Carrière (University of Manitoba), Russ Diabo ()

**Abstract:** On the surface, Canadian Indigenous politics and policy seems supportive of Indigenous nationhood, sovereignty and self-determination; all the things that Indigenous people have fought for and advocated for over the past few decades. Yet, in analyzing recent scholarship and government policy, the underlying message shows much less progress. In fact, in many ways we are witnessing a return to the nadir of Canadian Indigenous politics, the White Paper, as the logic of the White Paper continue to dictate the direction of recent Canadian Indigenous politics and policy. To show this logic, we explore the recent and current government policy and research. We argue that current trends in Indigenous politics and policy signify the end of Indigenous self-determination and the completion of the settler-colonial project. From this lens, it will become clear that Indigenous politics and policy has been developed to undermine Indigenous sovereignty, and self-determination. Yet, this revelation should not come as a complete surprise, considering the scholarship and policy, so in concluding our paper we attempt to address why don't more people care about the status of Indigenous politics and policy?

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## A02(b) - Roundtable: The Nature and Role of Unwritten Constitutional Principles

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

Philippe Lagassé (Carleton University)

Emmett Macfarlane (University of Waterloo)

Andrew McDougall (University of Toronto)

Christa Scholtz (McGill University)

Minh Do (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** This roundtable will discuss and debate the nature and role of unwritten constitutional principles in Canada. Unwritten constitutional principles occupy a strange place in the Canadian constitution. On one hand, they underpin key aspects of Canadian constitutionalism, such as the rule of law, judicial independence, and the separation of powers. On the other hand, the Supreme Court has ruled that these unwritten principles cannot be used to overturn or countermand statutes that are in line with the written constitution. Unwritten constitutional principles, therefore, appear essential and foundational, yet less binding and determinative than the written constitution. It is also unclear how these principles interact and relate with the wider unwritten constitution, such as constitutional conventions. Indeed, questions remain about whether unwritten constitutional principles are best understood as a form of higher law or as a set of political rules, and what that implies for their interpretation, evolution, and standing. This roundtable will discuss these issues with the aim of providing greater clarity about unwritten constitutional principles.

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## A02(c) - Canadian Political Parties

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*Do Conventions Still Matter? A Functional Analysis of Party Conferences in Canada:* Rob Currie-Wood (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Party conferences (or ?conventions?) were once major sites for intraparty democracy in Canada. These assemblies brought together delegations from various membership groupings to make tough decisions about leadership (Perlin 1988; Courtney 1995). However, now that leadership selectorates have expanded to include all rank-and-file members (Cross et al. 2016), it remains unclear what, if any, functions are accomplished at conventions. Media accounts suggest that these forums are tightly scripted by central leadership, thus serving as ?infomercial[s] for the unconverted or undecided? (Proudfoot 2023). The implication is that central control restricts membership participation. Yet, efforts to direct proceedings also imply that conventions maintain some substantive powers and authority. This paper investigates these claims by systematically analyzing the Liberal, Conservative, and New Democratic party conferences held in 2023. Inductive analysis of governance documents (e.g., party constitutions, bylaws, and convention schedules) is used to identify and evaluate the formal tasks accomplished at conventions. Though exploratory in nature, the empirical analysis is guided by theories of intraparty democracy emphasizing the competitive and cooperative dynamics structuring the relationship between party elites and grassroots members (Carty 2002; Cross 2018).

*Doing All the Same Things: Common Practices in the Leadership Races of Canada's Political Parties:* Conor D. Columb (University of Waterloo), Anna Lennox Esselment (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** Political party leadership races are exciting events. For parties, a new leader could raise a party's profile and lead it to win more seats in the House of Commons, form government, and keep it in power. For candidates, becoming party leader means the opportunity to build the party, formulate policy visions, or become the prime minister. Of course, aspiring leaders must first win leadership races. This paper seeks to examine commonalities among those who win leadership races in Canada. Such commonalities include their standing in Parliament, public profile, debate style, and political marketing techniques. To find these commonalities, this paper analyses three leadership races in Canadian federal politics: the Liberal Party (2013), the Conservative Party (2017 and 2020), and the New Democratic Party (NDP) (2017). Relying primarily on secondary sources, it examines the structure and context of each race including the length, vote method, number of candidates running, total party membership, and the number of members who voted. Next, the paper will analyse the characteristics and strategies of the winners to identify common patterns, such as media profile (through a media scan), marketing techniques (through secondary accounts), debate style (content analysis of the debates), and public opinion polls. This study will identify leadership behaviours or traits that are shared among the winners, and that could have implications for how new candidates approach these leadership races in the future. Overall, this paper seeks to provide a thorough account of recent leadership trends in Canada's major federal parties and contextualise them comparatively.

*Hard and Fast Rules? Which leadership selection rule changes lead to changes in others?:* Audrey E. Brennan (Université Laval & Cevipol (ULB)), Marc André Bodet (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Canadian party scholars have extensively studied the evolution of party leadership selection rules (Courtney 1973, 1995; Cross, 1996; Cross & Blais, 2012a,b; Cross & Pilet, 2015; Pilet & Cross, 2014), few however, have focused on provincial parties (with the following exceptions Courtney, 1995; Cross, 1996; Montigny, 2012; Montigny & Tessier, 2017; Pruyers & Stewart, 2018; Stewart & Archer, 2000; Stewart & Carty, 1993; Stewart, 1997; Wesley & Loewen, 2013). Furthermore, while Canadian party scholars consider two types of leadership selection rules, who can vote and how they vote (Blake & Carty, 1995; Cross, 1996; Wesley & Lowen, 2014), we know very little about other types of rules, nor do we have up to date data allowing us to compare across Canadian parties, across provinces and over time. Using a collection of 168 political party documents covering the 2010-2023 period, I answer the following question: when parties do change a leadership selection rule, whether it be who can vote, how many signatures parties require of potential leadership candidates for nominations, how many other rules change at the same time? Similarly, which party documents are more likely to change among leadership selection rules and party constitutions? I look for similarities and differences among provinces, time, and political parties for all these questions.

*Big Tents, Shifting Stakes: The changing landscape of Canada's brokerage politics:* Clifton van der Linden (McMaster University), Alexander Shestopaloff (Queen Mary University of London), Alexander Beyer (McMaster University), John McAndrews (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** A defining feature of Canadian politics has long been the distinctive character of brokerage parties in which ostensible ideological commitments are softened if not sacrificed to secure a particular configuration of votes. The metaphorical stakes of Canada's ?big tent? parties, however, are not fixed. The configuration of ideas and interests to which parties attach themselves has shifted over time with implications for voter alignment.

This paper offers a novel empirical analysis of these changes over the last decade by leveraging data from Vote Compass, a voting advice application operated during the four Canadian federal elections held between 2011 and 2021. Between 1.6 and 2 million respondents were surveyed on a wide range of policy issues using Vote Compass during each election. Detailed policy positions of the parties contesting each election were also collected in order to calibrate the instrument.

We use these data to map the contours of each party in terms of the space it occupies in a spatial model of the Canadian ideological landscape. We then run this model across time to observe how said contours change, exploring not only how the shape of big tent parties transforms but also which segments of the electorate are included in and excluded from each tent as the stakes shift. The uniquely large sample size made available by the Vote Compass data permits us to examine in granular detail both the ideological and demographic constituencies that are enfranchised or disenfranchised in this process.





## A02(d) - Les attitudes envers l'immigration au Québec

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Catherine Xhardez (Université de Montréal)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Catherine Xhardez (Université de Montréal)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Au-delà de l'enjeu des niveaux: Attentes en matière d'intégration des immigrants au sein de la population québécoise:* Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia University), Audrey Gagnon (Université d'Oslo)

**Abstract:** Les modèles d'intégration nationaux signalent des attentes différentes en matière d'intégration des immigrants. De ce point de vue, les modèles interculturelles sont parfois présentés comme à mi-chemin entre les modèles multiculturalistes et républicains, encourageant l'accueil des immigrants tout en signalant la centralité de la culture majoritaire de la société d'accueil. Ces débats ont généralement lieu au niveau politique, et les chercheurs examinent rarement la manière dont ils se traduisent dans les perceptions des citoyens. Cet article propose de répondre à cette lacune en examinant les attentes populaires en matière d'intégration des immigrants au Québec. S'appuyant sur une enquête en ligne menée en 2019 auprès de 1 500 répondants non immigrants, l'article répond à deux questions : 1) quelles sont les attentes des Québécois (non immigrants) en matière d'intégration? et 2) leurs attentes sont-elles associées à des préférences en matière d'admission des immigrants?

*Le sentiment de menace identitaire au Québec:* Éric Bélanger (Université McGill), Jean-François Godbout (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** La question identitaire est revenue en force dans la vie politique québécoise depuis une quinzaine d'années, surtout en réaction aux statistiques montrant un déclin du français ainsi qu'à l'augmentation du nombre d'immigrants dans la province. Ces deux facteurs – langue et immigration – sont également interreliés, du moins en partie. Depuis quelques élections, ces débats semblent avoir mené à l'émergence d'une nouvelle dimension structurante des comportements électoraux au Québec, s'articulant principalement autour de la gestion de la diversité (Bélanger et Godbout 2022; Bélanger et al. 2022). Dans cet article, nous avançons que l'influence de cette dimension s'explique par la théorie de la menace de groupe. En effet, pour une majorité de Québécois, les évolutions récentes dans les domaines de la langue et de l'immigration paraissent témoigner d'une possible menace à la survie de leur groupe ethnoculturel. Nous utilisons les données de sondage de l'Étude électorale québécoise de 2022 pour accomplir deux choses. D'abord, déterminer avec plus de finesse qu'il ne l'a été possible jusqu'ici les contours de l'opinion publique concernant la menace de groupe au Québec. Ensuite, examiner le lien entre ce sentiment de menace identitaire et trois indicateurs du comportement électoral, à savoir la participation électorale, le choix électoral, et l'intention de vote référendaire.

*Parler français ou bien le parler? Le rôle de la langue et de l'accent dans la construction de l'identité québécoise et leurs effets sur les attitudes envers la diversité ethnoculturelle:* Haroun Aramis (Concordia University), Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Quelle place occupe la langue dans l'identité nationale québécoise? Depuis des siècles, la province francophone martèle l'importance de sa culture distincte au Canada et la langue en est sa manifestation la plus saillante, voire la plus fondamentale. Pour cette raison, les politiques publiques qui visent à défendre la langue sont bien établies dans le paysage politique québécois. Ceci dit, au-delà des politiques et discours publics, on en sait très peu sur l'importance qu'accordent les membres du groupe majoritaire à cette caractéristique dans la construction de leur identité québécoise. Et force est d'admettre qu'on en sait encore moins au sujet de l'accent québécois, bien qu'il soit un marqueur identitaire fort de la nation depuis la Révolution tranquille.

Cette étude examine les façons dont les Québécois tracent les frontières identitaires concernant la langue et l'accent. Nous évaluons ainsi si la langue et l'accent ont une importance similaire parmi les répondants. Nous vérifions également de quelle façon l'importance de la langue et de l'accent définit des attitudes d'exclusion ou d'inclusion envers la diversité ethnoculturelle. En somme, cette étude permettra de comprendre s'il est fondamental de s'intéresser à l'accent lorsque l'on étudie la langue dans l'étude de l'identité nationale, une approche jusqu'à présent très peu utilisée.

La recherche repose sur un sondage réalisé au Québec en ligne en 2022 auprès de 2 401 personnes du groupe majoritaire (non-membre d'une minorité visible ni autochtone, dont la langue maternelle est le français).

*Les accents étrangers et régionaux, un obstacle pour les candidats politiques au Québec??:* Philippe Chassé (Université de Montréal), Richard Nadeau (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Quoique le terme «?glottophobie?» demeure largement méconnu, le phénomène auquel il renvoie – la discrimination linguistique – est tout sauf marginal, notamment dans les pays francophones. Si un certain nombre de recherches ont répertorié les défis auxquels les Québécois qui ne s'expriment pas selon la norme «?standard?» font face au quotidien, aucune étude ne s'est penchée sur les obstacles que ceux-ci doivent surmonter lorsqu'ils décident de se porter candidats à une élection. Cet article s'intéresse au rôle que joue la langue dans la formation de l'image des personnalités politiques et examine quelles sont les attitudes des citoyens à l'égard de la manière dont les candidats souhaitant assumer des responsabilités à l'Assemblée nationale du Québec parlent. À l'aide d'une expérience intégrée à un sondage (n = 2000), il analyse les effets de l'accent (étranger ou régional) des candidats politiques sur les attitudes des électeurs. Des enregistrements audios de vingt secondes, correspondant à des conditions expérimentales différentes, seront attribués aléatoirement aux participants. Après avoir écouté l'enregistrement, les participants devront indiquer dans quelle mesure ils

pensent que le candidat est compétent et digne de confiance. Il leur sera également demandé d'estimer la probabilité qu'ils soutiennent ce candidat et d'indiquer les qualités personnelles qu'ils associent à cette personne. Les résultats obtenus donneront la possibilité d'évaluer si la discrimination linguistique est un obstacle qui contribue à la sous-représentation de certains groupes de citoyens, notamment les personnes qui sont issues de l'immigration et celles dont la langue maternelle n'est pas le français, au sein des institutions démocratiques québécoises.

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## B02 - Roundtable: Adopting and Adapting Power-Sharing Settlements

### Politique comparée

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Isabelle Côté (Memorial University)

Allison McCulloch (Brandon University)

Soeren Keil (University of Fribourg)

Neophytos Loizides (University of Warwick)

Siobhan Byrne (University of Alberta)

Réginas Ndayiragije (University of Antwerp)

Marie-Joëlle Zahar (Université de Montreal)

Kamaran Palani (Salahaddin University)

**Abstract:** The diplomatic history of the last 30 years is replete with broken-down peace processes where elite pacts have fallen apart due to their inability to secure sufficient support at the grassroots level. This is suggestive of a dual problem of adoption and adaptation, that is, the contention that because majorities and minorities will bring divergent institutional preferences to any negotiation on the contours of the state, they will be unable to reach an enduring institutional settlement in the first instance and will be unable to revise and reform such arrangements over time. Determining the sticking points between parties as well as the capacity of elites to negotiate agreements that can be convincingly communicated to the wider community is key to overcoming the ?adoption and adaption? problem.

This panel seeks to explore the conditions under which power-sharing comes to be seen an acceptable arrangement for resolving collective disputes, the role of domestic and international actors in the search for agreement, as well as the impact that citizens can have on the negotiation, design, and reform of power-sharing settlements. Particular attention will be devoted to three key elements:

? the process by which settlement are negotiated and agreed;

? the content of the agreement, particularly in relation to institutional design; and

? the process by which power-sharing reforms are discussed and negotiated, including the interaction among citizens and elites.

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## B02 - Migration and Citizenship

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*The Politics of Us and Them: A Comparative-Historical Analysis of Migration Politics in Canada, France, and Germany:* Friederike Alm (Goethe University Frankfurt am Main), Jens Borchert (Goethe University Frankfurt am Main)

**Abstract:** Canada, France, and Germany are among the ten most important immigration countries in the world today. In this paper, I present the insights of my finished PhD project in which I analyzed the politics of immigration, citizenship, and integration in Canada, France, and Germany since 1945. In this comparative-historical analysis (CHA), I investigated the question of how these three political fields interact in what I call 'immigration, integration, and citizenship politics- nexus' over time and what impact this has on the way these three paradigmatic country cases can be typologized today.

With this nexus as my new conceptual innovation, I contribute to the conversation on immigration country models, which emerged in the 1990s. While the models approach has been met with ample criticism, mainly regarding the static conception of the countries in those typologies, I argue that an analysis that takes the synergy of these three political fields into account (not only focusing on one of these three fields) will offer a more dynamic and comprehensive perspective on the evolution of each country's migration politics.

The approach of CHA allows me to draw on a vast set of primary and secondary sources, including a corpus of 43 in-depth expert interviews and an extensive study of the secondary academic literature. In my paper, I will present my research design, my research results on how the three countries' differences and similarities have evolved both across-case and across-time and lastly, what lessons can be drawn from my results for the models approach in comparative migration research.

*Diaspora Voting: A New Item on the 'Menu of Manipulation'?:* Nathan Allen (St. Francis Xavier University), Elizabeth Wellman (University of Memphis)

**Abstract:** Since 1990, over 100 countries have extended voting rights to their citizens abroad. Although diaspora voting can be argued as a mechanism for increased inclusion, the potential for governments to employ diaspora voting as a form of electoral manipulation is both theoretically feasible and empirically evident. Drawing on Schedler's classic 'Menu of Manipulation?' (2003), this article explores how choices in the organization and implementation of voting abroad can serve as new strategies for violating democratic norms. We identify numerous points of potential manipulation along the 'chain of democratic choice?' at both individual and institutional levels. We also look beyond country of origin policies to consider how country of residence can also manipulate both the range of voting options offered to citizens abroad as well as the formation of preferences. Cases of diaspora voting manipulation, including Italy, Ghana, and Russia, illuminate the diversity of emerging tactics. Our study demonstrates how transnational voting is now a new item on the menu of election fraud.

*The Right to Leave the Territory of a State:* Willem Maas (York University)

**Abstract:** Most scholarship on migration considers immigration, entry to state territory. Much less discussed is emigration, let alone (particularly since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War) the idea that states might attempt to block or regulate exit from their territory. Though Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights enshrines a human right to leave any country 'specifying that 'Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own?' many states do in fact restrict or regulate the right to exit. This paper considers various types of regulation of exit, including by democratic countries. It is a largely conceptual and policy-oriented piece, drawing inspiration from articles appearing in a special issue of the journal International Migration on the topic of regulation of exit, and advancing some normative arguments about how to better protect the human right to leave any country, illustrated by empirical examples mostly from developed democracies.

*Migration and Citizenship Laws: The Arab Uprisings in Comparative Perspective:* Ahmed Khattab (Georgetown University), Marc Howard (Georgetown University)

**Abstract:** The Arab Uprisings had a profound impact on the domestic politics of affected states as well as regional politics. Most studies choose to focus on how these major protest movements impacted regime durability and democratization prospects, or how they transformed into civil conflict that created or protracted existing refugee crises. This paper aims to explore how these critical events affected policies governing the flow of peoples; how did the uprisings affect migration laws? How did they impact nationality and citizenship laws? In this paper, I argue that uprising outcomes are associated with migration, nationality, and citizenship policy changes, and specifically as they pertain to emigrant and extraterritorial citizen rights and responsibilities as codified in law. States where uprisings toppled incumbents or brought an overhaul of the regime also saw significant changes to their migration, nationality, and citizenship policies with broad impact. In states where regimes survived major protest, migration and nationality laws as well as legal amendments and decrees were tactfully instrumentalized to bolster regime support without changing the nature of the state-emigrant relationship. The paper employs a comparative case analysis of four states, where incumbents either lost power or survived, that experienced a sustained upheaval in the early wave of the Arab uprisings 'namely Bahrain, Egypt, Syria, and Tunisia. The paper seeks to unpack how mass protests produce institutional effects transcending the spatial boundaries of the state.

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## E02 - Local Election Campaigns: Resources, Rights, and Candidate Advantage

### Politique locale et urbaine

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Salomé Vallette (INRS-Urbanisation)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Anne Mévellec (University of Ottawa)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Does money buy votes? Campaign finance effects and resource allocation in local elections:* Zack Taylor (University of Western Ontario), Martin Horak (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** Electoral and campaign finance reforms are believed to improve the competitiveness of elections and the accessibility of the electoral process; however, the interaction between electoral institutions and competitiveness in municipal elections remains understudied. We analyze election results and campaign finance disclosures for all candidates in the 2022 BC municipal elections (n = 2,158). We explore this further through campaign-time survey responses by BC municipal election candidates (n = 566). We find that most candidates do not agree with the statement that the candidate who raises the most money will win elections. This intuition is consistent with the finding that there is no systematic relationship between expenditure per elector and vote share received, even when controlling for incumbency, and that few candidates raise and spend up to the maximum amount allowed. We also find that capital-poor candidates substitute labour-intensive activities for capital-intensive ones, although this is conditional on district size and density, political experience, incumbency, and the depth of candidates' personal networks. In sum, these analyses highlight the limits of campaign finance reform as a means of increasing local electoral competitiveness.

*Do women candidates work harder than men to gather support in municipal elections?:* Sandra Breux (INRS-Urbanisation), Zack Taylor (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** In Canada, although women are still under-represented at municipal level, we know that when they run for office, they have as much chance of winning as men. However, to the best of our knowledge, few studies have documented how they campaign, and more specifically how they gather support (financial, volunteer, etc.) for their campaigns. While there is evidence that the networks of female candidates differ from those of male candidates, and that political experience is likely to play a part in the nature and amount of support gathered, little information exists on the amounts raised and support obtained by women, and how they differ from those of men. Moreover, no one has systematically measured this across a large number of candidates. The analysis will examine campaign finance disclosures for all candidates in the 2022 BC municipal elections (n = 2,158) and, in addition, survey responses by the same universe of candidates (n = 566). We will show how these differ by gender by comparing the amounts and types of support that candidates plan to assemble for their campaigns, as revealed in a candidate survey, to what they actually raised, as revealed in public campaign finance disclosures, and controlling for profession, educational attainment, and political experience. This analysis will open the door to a broader reflection on being a candidate and the possible obstacles that arise depending on the candidate's gender and experience in politics.

*Situating the Municipal Franchise in Canada: An Empirical and Normative Analysis:* Kristin Good (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Five Canadian provinces (BC, SK, MB, ON and QC) are among few jurisdictions in liberal democracies where a property franchise exists at the local level. Property franchises constitute anomalies within the context of the historical evolution of Western democracies where property franchises were progressively eliminated. The Money and Local Democracy Project survey suggests that there are deep divisions in support for a property franchise in Canada suggesting that a clear rejection of the democratic legitimacy of property-based voting could be premature. Although this anomaly is mentioned in contemporary debates about extending the franchise to non-citizen residents in Canada, the nature and democratic significance of these local property franchises have been left largely unexplored. This paper's primary goals are twofold: First, it describes the nature of variation in Canada's provincial property franchise regimes through an examination of provincial municipal elections laws, situating them in comparative international perspective. Second, the paper evaluates the regimes using theories of democracy and democratic citizenship, critically exploring the case for property voting. More broadly, the paper aims to open a debate about the boundaries of local democratic citizenship at the municipal level.

*Experience and resources in municipal elections: Comparing Council and Mayoral candidates:* Martin Horak (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** There is anecdotal evidence that mayoral and council campaigns in Canada's municipalities are different from each other in terms of candidate characteristics and the resources and tools that candidates use, but these differences have not been explored systematically. Drawing on survey responses from 1204 non-incumbent candidates for office in the 2022 Ontario and BC municipal elections, this paper uses a series of models to test the following hypotheses: 1. Mayoral candidates, on average, have more prior political experience than council candidates; 2. Council candidates are, on average, more strongly embedded in community associational networks than mayoral candidates; 3. Mayoral campaigns are more spending-intensive than council campaigns (when controlling for the population of the electoral district); 4. Council campaigns are more volunteer-intensive than mayoral campaigns (when controlling for the population of the electoral district); 5. Mayoral campaigns rely more heavily on mediated campaign tools (websites, paid advertising, etc) than council campaigns; 6. The differences between mayoral and council candidates are greater in ward-based electoral systems than in at-large systems. The analysis will help us to understand whether and how running for mayor is different from running for a council position, and how electoral systems may shape these differences.

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## K02 - Policy and Social Services' Delivery

### Administration publique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*Science ou émotions ? Le rôle de l'incertitude dans la formulation des politiques publiques durant la pandémie de COVID-19:* Antoine Lemor (Université de Montréal), Eric Montpetit (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** En situation de crise, le principe des politiques publiques fondées sur les preuves (EBPM) i.e., la traduction des preuves scientifiques en politiques publiques peut être réalisable, notamment car certaines barrières qui séparent les scientifiques des décideurs sont levées face à la nécessité d'agir de manière éclairée. Dans cette étude, nous examinons de manière critique l'application de l'EBPM pendant la pandémie de COVID-19, mettant en lumière sa mise en œuvre contre-intuitive, voire irrationnelle, dans des conditions de crise. Dans un contexte d'incertitude élevée, il est impossible que les politiques publiques soient uniquement basées sur des preuves scientifiques. Pour cette raison, elles sont également susceptibles de résulter de réactions cognitives et émotionnelles. En utilisant des techniques innovantes de Traitement Automatique du Langage Naturel (TALN), notre étude explore cette interaction en mesurant les sentiments d'incertitude et de négativité des décideurs, ainsi que le niveau de preuve. Notre étude montre que, de manière contre-intuitive, bien que le niveau de preuve ait exercé une influence sur les politiques sanitaires, celui-ci a davantage été déterminant dans l'assouplissement de mesures sévères plutôt que dans leur mise en œuvre. À l'inverse, les sentiments d'incertitude des décideurs amplifiés par la nature évolutive du virus a conduit à des sentiments négatifs et à l'adoption de politiques sévères. En d'autres termes, durant la pandémie, la sévérité des politiques publiques semble avoir davantage dépendu de ce que nous ne savions pas, que de ce que nous savions. L'augmentation du niveau de preuve s'est plutôt traduite par un sentiment de réconfort, guidant les ajustements des mesures vers moins de sévérité. Cela semble irrationnel du point de vue de l'EBPM, car la mise en œuvre des politiques publiques dépend moins du niveau de preuve que de l'incertitude et des sentiments négatifs. Bien que nos résultats montrent qu'une crise concrétise le principe de l'EBPM, cette étude souligne la relation nuancée entre preuve et politique, en particulier en contexte de crise, et appelle à une réévaluation du rôle de la science dans l'élaboration des politiques, compte tenu de la fragilité potentielle des preuves dans des situations inédites. Elle contribue également à la proposition d'un cadre méthodologique innovant basé sur le TALN, permettant de mesurer le sentiment d'incertitude rarement opérationnalisé dans les études de politique publique.

*Examining Coordinated Service Delivery Challenges in Child Welfare in Ontario: Employing End-User Perspectives for Policy Design and Development?:* Abigail Jaimes Zelaya (McMaster), Maria Gintova (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Coordinated service delivery is a model aimed at providing holistic client-centered care (Halsall et al. 2019). This model is yet to be realized in the child welfare sector in Ontario, where a lack of service coordination among service providers forces individuals and families to navigate existing services on their own. Though existing literature offers important insights on challenges with coordinated service delivery, analysis involving perspectives of those receiving services is rare and does not fully account for the needs and lived experience of marginalized communities, specifically Black communities. At the same time, Black children and youth are overrepresented at every stage of the child welfare system in Ontario from initial investigation to placement in out-of-home care (Antwi-Boasiako et al. 2022; Bonnie and Facey 2022).

This paper aims to explore opportunities and solutions to enable coordinated service delivery in the child welfare in Ontario. By bringing voices of Black youth, families, and services providers in Black communities into this research, we will underscore the necessity to engage under-represented populations in policy design and development to ensure that proposed solutions meet their needs. Therefore, we will fill in the gap in existing scholarship by focusing not solely on barriers and opportunities in coordinated service delivery but also on policy changes and implementation considerations developed based on the perspectives of Black youth, families, and services providers in Black communities.

*Démystifier le faible investissement des dépenses de santé publique au Québec:* Emna Ben Jelili (École de santé publique de l'Université de Montréal), Olivier Jacques (École de santé publique de l'Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Plusieurs études démontrent que les programmes de santé publique contribuent à prévenir la mortalité, améliorent la qualité de vie et réduisent les coûts des soins de santé sur le court et long terme (Dyakova et al. 2017 ; Masters et al. 2017). Pourtant, le peu de ressources allouées à la santé publique suggèrent que les décideurs politiques n'adhèrent pas aux impératifs de prévention (Rechel 2019; Guyon et al. 2017). En effet, le portrait des dépenses de santé dans les provinces canadiennes suggère un sous-financement inquiétant des investissements en prévention (Jacques et al. 2023). Selon les données de l'Institut Canadien d'Informations sur la Santé, le Québec est la province qui enregistre la part la plus faible des dépenses en prévention tant en dollars par habitant qu'en proportion des budgets alloués à la santé entre 1975 et 2018. Le retard du Québec sur les autres provinces se confirme même en ajustant l'écart entre la mesure des budgets provinciaux et la mesure de l'ICIS (Ammi et al. 2021). Une analyse qualitative préliminaire permet pourtant de constater que le Québec affichait, au début des années 90, une réelle volonté politique d'accorder une place importante à la prévention au niveau du financement et de l'organisation du système de santé. Toutefois, les nombreuses réformes structurelles et restrictions budgétaires dirigées de manière disproportionnée vers les services régionaux de santé publique ont progressivement démantelée cette orientation politique (Fiset Laniel et al 2020; Gmeinder et al. 2017). Or, les autres provinces ont augmenté leurs investissements en santé préventive au début des années 2000. Pour comprendre davantage le portrait des dépenses de prévention dans les provinces canadiennes nous nous interrogeons sur : qu'est-ce qui explique le faible niveau d'investissement du Québec en matière de santé publique? Quelles composantes politiques ou économiques permettraient d'expliquer qu'une juridiction investisse en prévention?

Dans un premier temps, en analysant les cadres budgétaires des quatre grandes provinces canadiennes, nous cherchons à déterminer s'il existe une disparité dans la manière de mesurer la dépense en santé publique. Sur cette base, nous chercherons, dans un deuxième temps à mieux comprendre les facteurs politiques et organisationnels qui expliquent le faible niveau d'investissements en santé publique au Québec. En tant que politique invisible

orientée vers le long terme qui ne jouit pas d'un appui social, la santé publique a tendance à ne pas être priorisée par les gouvernements par rapport à d'autres dépenses publiques (Jacques et Noël 2022). Nous explorerons l'hypothèse voulant que la compétition entre le portefeuille de la santé publique et les autres portefeuilles soit plus forte au Québec qu'ailleurs. Le Québec est la seule province intégrant la santé et les services sociaux dans le même ministère et il est plausible que cette intégration crée une compétition entre les enveloppes budgétaires qui nuise aux budgets de santé publique. Par ailleurs, la centralisation du réseau de la santé québécois depuis 2000 accentue la compétition budgétaire, puisque la santé publique doit compétitionner avec une panoplie d'autres missions importantes au sein des CISSS.

***The Third Sector entering the Era of Artificial Intelligence: A longitudinal study of early adoption in Canadian registered charities.***: Gboyega Ojo (Carleton University), Callie Mathieson (Carleton University), Paloma Raggo (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The recent introduction of ChatGPT in 2022 has brought artificial intelligence (AI) to the forefront, sparking discussions and creating opportunities in various sectors. While governments have heavily invested in digital governance, the nonprofit sector has largely been on its own to adapt and adopt new technologies. Our team at Charity Insights Canada Project sought to understand the perspectives within Canadian nonprofits by conducting surveys among approximately 1000 registered charities across Canada.

There are mixed feelings about AI; some individuals are concerned about the biases present in these technologies, fearing that certain groups may be marginalized. On the flip side, this new "AI era" is perceived as an opportunity for growth and advancement, yet it is imperative to address knowledge gaps about digital tools like ChatGPT and understand the current state of data literacy in the Third Sector.

In this paper, we share insights from two surveys conducted six months apart with a panel of 1000 registered charities across Canada, beginning right after ChatGPT's initial launch. Our data show that initially, the sector displayed a lack of understanding and a high level of skepticism regarding the potential benefits of AI for their operations. The most significant concern was about job obsolescence and whether organizations could adapt quickly to the required skills. Half a year later, the outlook had started to change. There was a noticeable shift towards a more positive view of AI, yet there was also a stark realization that many organizations were not prepared to fully integrate these technologies.

To interpret these changes, we applied the Diffusion of Innovation (DOI) Theory by E.M. Rogers, focusing on how the Third Sector adapts to technological innovation. We also examined different types of organizations based on size, age, and location to discern whether their reactions to AI varied at the initial stages of adoption.

Our findings lay the groundwork for understanding the early adoption phases of AI in the Third Sector that could inform public policy in how to best support this technological transition. We plan to conduct two additional rounds of surveys in 2024 to continue tracking these trends. This paper is the first phase of a research agenda that aims to compare public servants' adoption of AI in their work and understand its impact on both public and private organizations.

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## **L02 - Roundtable: Roundtable on "Making Space for Indigenous Feminism" (Joyce Green, ed.)**

**Race, ethnicité, peuples autochtones et politique**

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Ryan Crosschild (University of Calgary)

**Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :**

### **Participants**

Gina Starblanket (University of Victoria)

Eva Jewell (Toronto Metropolitan University)

Kelly Aguirre (University of Victoria)

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## M02 - Interactive Session on Teaching Large Classes

### Enseignement

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Heather Smith (University of Northern BC)

David Hornsby (Carleton)

Mark Boyer (University of Connecticut)

**Abstract:** Large classes are an often derided as a learning spaces void of little value or where few pedagogical options exist. This workshop seeks to consider research-informed strategies that offer ways to foster student engagement whilst recognizing the practicalities of managing such spaces. Through the chance to share, engage and learn from each other, the workshop will focus on a range of pedagogical and assessment strategies available and that have been shown to make large classes better for student learning and for teaching.

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## **N02 - Roundtable: Restoring the Circle: Metis Women and Two-Spirit Voices in Politics**

**Femmes, genre et politique**

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :**

### **Participants**

Laura Forsythe (University of Winnipeg)

Lucy Fowler (University of Manitoba)

Angie Tucker (University of Calgary)

Jennifer Adese (University of Toronto)

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## P02 - Posters Session 1

Présentation visuelle

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

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## Q02 - Trust and Elections II

### Practitioners

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Civic engagement and trust in elections among Youth in Canada:* Olivia Kamgain (Elections Canada), Graham Laurie (Elections Canada)

**Abstract:** A general decline in voter turnout in Canadian elections has been observed over the past decades, with young electors displaying the lowest levels of participation compared to older electors. Literature shows a link between political trust and electoral participation (Smets and Van Ham, 2013). Studies focusing on the formation of trusting and mistrusting attitudes toward public institutions, including the police, the media and government institutions have demonstrated the role of experience of interacting with these institutions in shaping these attitudes (Ash et al, 2021; Ellison et al, 2020; Chevalier 2019), suggesting that one type of experience relevant to political trust is civic engagement (Gabriel, 2017). This paper explores the relationship between trust toward public institutions and electoral experiences based on levels of civic engagement, political socialization and reported voter participation in recent Canadian federal general elections, with a focus on youth. It relies on data from National Electors Study (NES) as well as the Canadian Election Study (CES). This paper aims to contribute to the recent theoretical literature that is concerned with building a type of trust that is conducive to positive democratic outcomes, and that conceives trust as a relational attitude that is responsive to being shaped by information and experiences (Lenard 2012; Norris, 2022). The results presented describe trust toward public institutions and the electoral process among youth aged 18 to 34, and a multivariate regression analysis shows the effect of experiences related to civic engagement on trust in public institutions and toward the electoral process.

*Democratic Socialization and Institutional trust among New Canadian electors:* Pantea Behroozi (Elections Canada)

**Abstract:** The legitimacy of public institutions matters for building inclusive and peaceful societies. While levels of trust in institutions vary significantly across countries, opinion surveys suggest that there has been a decline in recent decades. The existing empirical literature offers limited insight into how pre-immigration experiences affect building trust in democratic institutions. With a rapid change in the country of origin of immigrants who moved to Canada in last decades (Hou. Fand Picot G 2016), how do new Canadian electors build trust in new host governments and institutions? Cultural theorists argue that trust starts early in life and is less likely to change later on. However, institutionalists see trust as a byproduct of a rational assessment of delivered services or their lack thereof (Almond and Verba 1963, Inglehart 1990; Waldron-Moore 1999). This longitudinal analysis examines the extent to which the country of origin of naturalized citizens determines the level of institutional trust. Using Elections Canada's 2021 and 2021 National Electors Study (NES) and the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) index of the quality of democratic regimes, this study will focus on political trust among naturalized Canadian electors, as opposed to their Canadian-born counterparts.

*Can we make cyber elections secure and accessible? Evaluating experiences with online voting systems:* Nicole Goodman (Brock University)

**Abstract:** Online voting is one of several election technologies that are digitally transforming Canada's sub-national elections. Online ballots can make voting more accessible and convenient for electors (Hall, 2015) especially in uncertain times (i.e., during COVID-19, the wildfires in NWT). However, the security of the voting mode is often called into question (Benaloh et al., 2014) especially given the uptick in technical incidents in recent years (Goodman et al., forthcoming). The traditional online voting systems predominantly used in Canada offer relatively weak security but have the benefit of being user friendly and accessible. While more advanced systems are available, when variations are implemented, uptake by voters is extremely limited (Goodman et al., 2023). Drawing upon survey data, eye-tracking, and biometrics such as heart rate and respiration rate this experimental study compares electors' experiences using (1) a more secure and (2) a less secure online voting system in a laboratory setting. The study goal is to evaluate the extent to which electors perceive more and less secure online voting systems as user friendly and accessible. Comparing survey data obtained before and after trialing the different voting systems in combination with physiological data allows us to evaluate whether respondents' perceptions about their experience with the system matches their physiology and what this means for the usability of online voting systems. For example, someone may say that they perceive the system to be easy but their eye-tracking patterns indicate otherwise. Likewise, a respondent may report they feel the system is challenging but their biomarkers indicate that they struggled with one specific aspect. The paper presents a new perspective on voter experiences in the digital age and makes concrete suggestions regarding how digital voting can be both accessible and secure to promote the integrity of elections.

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**Day 1 - Session 3 (Lunch) [KEYNOTE (open event) - DANIEL BÅ%LAND: NO CAN POLS; PUBLIC ADMIN; COMP POLS SESSIONS IN THIS TIMESLOT] (12:00pm - 01:30pm)**

**Day 1 - Session 3 (Lunch) Student Caucus Meeting (12:00pm - 01:30pm)**

**Day 1 - Session 3 (Lunch) Business and Committee Meetings (12:00pm - 01:30pm)**

**Day 1 - Session 4 (01:45pm - 03:15pm)**

**A04(a) - Author Meets Critics: What Women Represent: The Impact of Women in Parliament**

**Politique canadienne**

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :**

Erica Rayment (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Political equity advocates and academics often argue that we must elect more women, but what difference does it make if we do? *What Women Represent* shows that women can and do influence the issues raised and the decisions made in parliamentary debate and decision-making. Using a new framework for thinking about what it means for legislators to represent women and drawing on a database that encompasses five decades of debate in the House of Commons, Erica Rayment investigates which members of parliament represent women and what issues they address. She then examines the role women parliamentarians played in two instances where governments threatened to curtail previous gender equality gains: the Mulroney government's attempted recriminalization of abortion and the Harper government's plans to cut funding and weaken the mandate of Status of Women Canada. Rayment's analysis decisively shows that parliamentary presence matters for the representation of women's interests; women MPs, regardless of party, are more likely to act for women and play a critical role when the rights of women are at stake. *What Women Represent* is the first large-scale analysis of the substantive representation of women in Canadian politics, adding depth and nuance to our understanding of issues of gender in parliamentary institutions.

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## A04(b) - Multiculturalism and Immigration Policy

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

*Who Raises Multiculturalism and Immigration on the Political Agenda? Evidence from Canadian News Media and Parliamentary Debates, 1988-2022:* Catherine Moez (University of Toronto), Randy Besco (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Multiculturalism and immigration are seen as relatively unpoliticized in Canada, with even more radical challenger parties (Reform Party, People's Party of Canada) making only coded critiques. Yet, there has been public debate and variation in media attention on these issues, especially in the early 1990s and since 2015. Who is raising the salience of these issues? Are political parties setting the agenda, or responding to events and media coverage? We use a quantitative text analysis of Canadian news media articles and House of Commons debates, from the 1980s to present, to investigate how the salience of multicultural and immigration issues changed over the 1990s. We then apply Granger causality tests to assess who led the conversation: Parliament or newspapers? Within these sources, are politicians, newspaper opinion writers, or other public figures at the centre of the discussion?

*Coordination without harmonization: Immigration bureaucrats and the safe country principle in Canada:* Geoffrey Cameron (McMaster University), Kiran Banerjee (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** The Canada-US Safe Third Country Agreement (STCA) is intended to coordinate asylum policy between the two countries. Scholarship on the treaty typically focuses on the Agreement as a product of joint concerns about border security following the attacks of September 11, 2001. However, this paper traces the genesis of the agreement back to the first introduction of the safe country principle in 1986. It examines the repeated efforts by Canadian bureaucrats to introduce this principle into Canadian immigration management and how this shaped the eventual emergence of the STCA as a bilateral framework for asylum coordination.

The Canadian bureaucrats who sought an asylum treaty between Canada and the United States were trying to respond to two imperatives: international refugee law and migration system integrity. The former imperative prevented Canada from acting unilaterally to impose restrictions on the arrival of refugee claimants traveling via the United States – the country of transit for the majority claimants. The latter created pressure to prevent the arrival of refugee claimants whose claims could exceed the institutional capacity of the newly created Immigration and Refugee Board.

Situating and analyzing the origins of the STCA within the Canadian bureaucracy helps to explain how Canada's efforts at asylum coordination compare to similar efforts that emerged concurrently in Europe. Despite employing similar policy language to EU agreements, the STCA is not intended to harmonize asylum policy with the United States. Rather, it is a coordination instrument designed to protect migration system integrity without violating international refugee law.

*The End of Ethnic Enclaves? A Closer Look at Stephen Harper's Immigration Selection Policy:* Blair Cullen (Wilfrid Laurier University), Dr. Sean Doherty (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Stephen Harper's immigration policy has been examined from a number of perspectives (Paquet 2018). As part of this analysis, the focus has been on different segments of Harper's selection policy; the decline in admissions from the family reunification and refugee classes, the shifting percentage of immigrants arriving through economic categories. Some scholars have looked at the different categories of entry in concert but few scholars have looked at the geographic implications of this approach. Upon closer examination, there is a case to be made Harper's altering of Canada's selection policies produced a re-orientation in the paths of immigrant settlement, away from ethnic enclaves in and around first-tier cities and to non-traditional settlement areas. While the literature has identified this trend, most attribute its motivation to a desire for a more equitable distribution of immigrants. This paper challenges this notion, arguing other motivations were at work, primarily, the Harper government's opposition to ethnic enclaves. By decreasing the number of newcomers entering Canada via the refugee and family reunification streams while drastically increasing the size of the Provincial Nominee Program, the Harper government limited entry to the immigration categories most likely to end up in ethnic enclaves, thereby reducing their growth. This paper expands understanding of the Harper government's immigration policy by linking two disparate parts, selection policy and the government's rhetoric on ethnic enclaves, of the Harper government's approach to immigration.

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## A04(c) - Party Systems, Voting, and Electoral Strategies

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

*Split Decision: Federal and Provincial Elections in Ontario, 1997-2022:* Matthew Taylor (Université de Montréal), Ruth Dassonneville (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** On the night of his re-election victory in June of 2022, Ontario Premier Doug Ford made a particular point of thanking voters who had cast [their] last ballot for the federal Liberals? (Ford 2022). Ford's gratitude towards federal Liberals reflects a curious element of the past three decades of federal and provincial elections in Ontario, alternation between the Liberals and Conservatives. The Ontario electorate has exhibited a pattern of electing one party federally only to elect the other in the subsequent provincial campaign. This pattern is puzzling as Ontario's party system is rather similar to its federal counterpart. If the parties are so similar at both levels, why do Ontario elections exhibit such alternation between parties in subsequent elections? This paper explores this phenomenon with a view towards examining the factors that drive this alternation. Specifically, I examine if this alternation can be attributed to either voters choosing different parties at different levels or by differential turnout between federal and provincial elections. Leveraging the fact that Ontario ridings have been identical both federally and provincially since 1996, this research employs ecological inference to examine vote flows in each riding between subsequent federal and provincial elections from 1997 and 2022. In so doing, this paper will explore the dynamics of Ontario voting behaviour and the patterns of alternation between federal and provincial politics.

*Local Partisans, National Politics: How Provincial Party Systems Impact Federal Vote Choice in Canada:* Mackenzie Lockhart (Yale University), Alex Rivard (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** How do local party affiliations impact politics at the national level? With the Liberal Party all but vanished from provincial politics outside of Atlantic Canada, how can we expect new provincial identities and alignments to impact federal politics? Unlike in many other democracies, the party systems at the federal and provincial levels in Canada often diverge leading Canadians to develop partisan attachments that differ across levels of government. If voters see these provincial partisan attachments as an in-group, their provincial loyalties might impact their federal vote intentions. This allows us to better understand the basis for party attachments and if they are group based, issue based, or identity based. Combining survey evidence from the Canadian Election Study with historical data on the party systems at the provincial level in Canada, we examine what happens when a voters' local partisan attachment is at odds with their federal attachment. Based on this, we hope to explore how local party dynamics might influence national politics in Canada and beyond.

*Party Systems in the Provinces: Characterizing Competition and Change:* Shanaya Vanhooren (University of Western Ontario), Zack Taylor (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** Since the 1980s, very limited attention has been paid to provincial party systems (Wesley, 2007). While there are broad descriptions of provincial party system dynamics (e.g., Stewart et al., 2016), there have been few attempts in recent years to systematically map these dynamics over time and compare across provinces (for an exception, see Wesley & Buckley, 2021). Yet, many provincial party systems have undergone significant changes in the postwar period, such as the emergence of the Saskatchewan Party, the revitalization of the British Columbia Liberal Party and the first NDP governments in Alberta, Ontario and Nova Scotia. Provincial party systems are also distinct from the federal party system, often featuring electorally successful third parties and the decline of the Liberals and Conservatives as major contenders. In this paper, I use scaling techniques to analyze a recently assembled dataset of provincial party election platforms from 1945 to 2020 that are coded for different policy issues using natural language processing techniques. I will characterize the style of party competition that exists in each province, as well as how it has changed over time. This paper contributes to the literature on provincial party systems and Canadian political development.

*Optimizing Electoral Strategies in Quebec's Multiparty System: A Machine Learning Approach to Assessing Party Growth Potential:* Hubert Cadieux (Université Laval), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval), Catherine Ouellet (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** How can the potential for electoral growth of political parties in multiparty systems be operationalized? This article investigates the room to maneuver that political parties in Quebec have across ideological spectrums to optimize their electoral strategies within a multiparty system and therefore estimate their potential for growth. It narrows its focus to the issue-specific segment of the funnel of causality, as it is postulated that the potential for growth is at play within this block. This postulate is grounded in the theory that information sources are fragmented in today's media landscape and that issue saliency is heterogeneous across various socio-demographic publics. Building on this postulate, the article employs exclusive survey data and an innovative continuous measure of voting intention, the RCI, to undertake combinatorial optimization using machine learning techniques. This method will output the ideal sets of party positions that could maximize their electoral support, providing a data-driven foundation for strategic party positioning within Quebec's multiparty system. This article contributes to the study of public opinion and political marketing by producing a nuanced measure of parties' potential performances by using innovative methods.

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## A04(d) - Roundtable: Mainstreaming Critical Theory in Canadian Politics Graduate Education

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Dennis Pilon (York University)

Megan Aiken (University of Alberta)

Bruce Mckenna (University of Quebec at Montreal)

Joy Schnittker (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** As a practice, the study of Canadian politics draws from multiple research traditions, utilizing a variety of methods and theoretical approaches. But graduate education in the study of Canadian politics at Canadian universities appears to be more narrow, focusing most extensively on a positivist tradition of social science that privileges a narrowly defined form of empiricism rooted in quantitative methods. This roundtable brings together faculty and graduate students to address how to bridge this gap and more effectively mainstream the critical theory and methods that a considerable group of Canadian political scientists are already using so that graduate students have exposure to a fuller range of options in pursuing their studies and research.

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## B04 - The Far Right in Canada and Beyond: From Ideas to Actions ? Session 1

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Katherine Kondor (The Norwegian Center for Holocaust and Minority Studies)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Efe Peker (University of Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Yannick Veilleux-Lepage (Royal Military College of Canada)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Beyond the Usual Suspects: A Qualitative Exploration of Conspiracist Belief Among Quebecers:* Audrey Gagnon (University of Oslo)

**Abstract:** Scholarly efforts to understand adherence to conspiracy theories have grown significantly in recent years, focusing primarily on the socio-psychological factors associated with conspiratorial beliefs or on the conspiracy theories promoted by (far-right) activists. However, we still know relatively little about the mainstreaming of conspiracy theories: Where do individuals from the general public encounter conspiracy theories? How do they make sense of conspiracy theories? What influences adherence to these theories? Answering such questions is crucial to better understand how fringe ideas become part of the mainstream, challenging epistemic hierarchies and worldviews. Drawing on semi-structured interviews conducted with ?ordinary people? living in Quebec (N=25), this study investigates how individuals make sense of conspiracy theories, and the processes influencing their adherence or rejection. Results highlight a significant lack of trust in governments among some Quebecers, ranging from the perception that governments are corrupt and self-interested to the adherence to the conspiracy theory that governments are controlled by a group of powerful and malevolent economic elites (mainly Jews) working in the shadows to control the global population. Interviewees endorsing such conspiracy theory do not trust the mainstream media or political institutions. They consume far-right influencers online and prefer to express their opinions by taking part in protest actions rather than voting.

*Populism in Canada: Elite Rhetoric and the 2022 Freedom Convoy:* Danielle Bonohos (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper uses a dictionary approach to computer-assisted text-analysis in an attempt to answer whether there was a spillover of far-right rhetoric from the grassroots Freedom Convoy protest into elite-level discourse in the House of Commons debate record. I use two dictionaries, first, a populist dictionary taken from researchers in the European context, and second, a dictionary created by analyzing the speeches of Freedom Convoy leaders. I find that while there are some indications that this rhetoric did impact the speeches of Conservative Party leadership candidates, these results are not statistically significant and could be clarified with further research on the topic.

*The Normalization of Post-Fascism: New Right?s Terminology in Contemporary Political Discourse:* Julián Castro-Rea (University of Alberta), Alexandra Ballos (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** The New Right (NR, originally created in 1968 in France as Nouvelle Droite) is an ideological corpus that repackages right-wing, conservative ideologies by cleansing them from the components that became unsavory after WWII (antisemitism, racial supremacism, extreme nationalism, glorification of violence, etc.) The new ideological framework incorporated or borrowed fresh terms to encapsulate its key ideas; such as metapolitics, agonism, globalism, gender ideology, pluriverse, etc. While for a long time these terms remained obscure, confined to the small circle of followers of the NR, half a century later they are commonly used in political conversation in academia, the media, online and by mainstream politicians.

This paper will track the frequency of usage of key NR concepts online and the context where they are employed. We will attempt to demonstrate that these terms are acting as a gateway for the normalization of the NR worldview, and they are frequently blended with conspiracy theories that push this ideology further to the right. In order to do that, we will pursue a qualitative, summative content analysis which will aim to identify the key themes in the discourse of specific academics, media personalities and politicians and compare them with the key themes found in NR theory; as represented in the writings of Julius Evola, Alain de Benoist, Aleksandr Dugin and Guillaume Faye. We will analyze the frequency of identified words and alternative terms with similar contexts. This would allow for us to identify and connect key NR concepts to the same rhetoric used by contemporary right-wing actors. We will also measure the NR normalization through a quantitative method, trying to determine the extent to which the NR is presently winning the cultural battle for ideas over liberalism and the left.

*Provincial Rights 2.0: Resurgent Populism and the Threat to Canadian Federalism:* Robert Schertzer (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the recent rise in ?provincial rights? discourse in Canada. This rise is exemplified by Alberta?s and Saskatchewan?s recent legislation that asserts provincial rights and autonomy within the federation. Analysts to date have largely focused on the constitutional dimensions of these acts. Here, I turn to consider their political foundations. I argue that to understand the content and implications of these actions we need to situate them within a long history of provincial rights movements and (prairie) populism in Canada ? but also a contemporary moment of (far-right) populism shaping politics in liberal democracies. To do so, in this paper, I trace the political development of provincial rights and populist politics in Canada, while also examining how the leaders and supporters of these acts draw on both historically embed ideas about provincial rights and more contemporary populist frames. Taking this perspective helps illuminate the implications of these movements, notably: questioning Canada?s purported status as an exception to rising populism in the liberal democracies of the West; showing the power of these ideas to shape politics; and, drawing attention to how the combination of provincial rights and populist frames threatens national unity in a diverse federation like Canada.



## B04 - Migrant Workers, Informal Economies, Immigration

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

**Leading Reform: State Executive Power and Foreign Labor Policy in Japan:** Konrad Kalicki (National University of Singapore)

**Abstract:** Once established, admission policies for economically indispensable but stigmatized low-status foreign workers become woven into the core processes of policy formation. Over time, these policies interlock under governing authorities and newly emerged vested interests, making it difficult for states to fundamentally change a policy's direction. Given this propensity toward the status quo, how can democratic states initiate substantial reforms in deeply ingrained foreign labor policies? Shifting the scholarly focus beyond Western democracies, this paper delves into the political dynamics shaping contentious admission policies for low-skilled labor migrants in Japan's leading industrialized democracy. It underscores the pivotal role of state executive powers in brokering entrenched interests, steering away from the existing policy framework. Utilizing extensive interviews with Japanese policymakers, the paper demonstrates how the unforeseen and controversial shift in Japan's three-decade-old policy that occurred in 2018 was enabled by the gradual consolidation of the prime minister's office within the Japanese state's institutional structure at the expense of bureaucratic politics, with the centralization of policymaking reaching its culmination under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in the context of his 'Abenomics' agenda. These findings offer broader insights into the development of understudied labor importation regimes in democratic East Asia, which has become increasingly reliant on foreign migrant workers.

**Marginalization, Informal Work, and the State in the Global South: Evidence from 14 Cities in Africa and Asia:** Graeme Young (University of Glasgow)

**Abstract:** Informal work is a dominant feature of urban economies in the Global South. As it has gained prominence on the global public policy agenda, with local and national governments and international institutions seeking to incorporate it into development efforts, the need to develop a critical political economy approach to informality has become increasingly acute. While research has begun to explore the central role of the state in producing and sustaining economic activity outside of its official legal, regulatory, and/or taxation structures, significant data gaps remain that prevent a fully nuanced picture of the forms of inequalities and marginalization that define informality from emerging. This paper seeks to address this problem by presenting evidence from a major survey and focus groups conducted in 14 cities in Bangladesh, China, India, the Philippines, Rwanda, South Africa, and Tanzania, taking advantage of a unique and original dataset to draw comparative insights into the dynamics of informal economies while tying these to different national and local political economy arrangements. In doing so, it highlights how informal economic activity is shaped by questions of state power and patterns of economic exclusion and exploitation that vary across contexts but nevertheless have important common characteristics. This paper therefore presents an empirically grounded conceptual framework on the relationship between informal economies and the state, and explores the extent to which this can inform a comparative political economy of cities in the Global South that places at its heart traditional questions about labour, capital accumulation, and political institutions.

**State Policy toward Philippine Migrant Workers: A Typological Framework:** Erik Kuhonta (McGill University), Kazue Takamura (McGill University)

**Abstract:** How do labor-exporting states address the conditions of their migrant workers? Do such states seek to actively support their workers abroad? Or are they unable to redress the dire conditions of their laborers?

This paper addresses these questions through an in-depth case study of the politics and policy of one of the largest labor-exporting nations in the world, the Philippines. Its central premise is that labor-exporting states show much variation in behavior toward migrant workers: some bureaucrats assiduously work with migrant workers; other bureaucrats evince minimal interest; while executive leaders sometimes respond rapidly to a crisis and other times, simply express vacuous, rhetorical support. We therefore seek to make more nuanced the range of actions that such a state pursues when confronted with the needs of their migrant workers.

We examine variation of Philippine state behavior by providing a typology of state action and decision-making. We look at four types of action that range across a spectrum from control of migrant workers to support of workers: (1) disciplinary, (2) regulatory, (3) rhetorical, and (4) responsive. By disciplinary, we are concerned with behavior that moulds, coerces, or punishes individuals, often going beyond the dictates of law. By regulatory, we refer to action that seeks to bring individuals in line with stipulated laws. By rhetorical, we are interested in action that addresses the interests of migrants, but remains on a largely discursive level. By responsive, we emphasize policy that seeks to systematically address and ameliorate the concerns or grievances of individuals.

**Regionalization of Immigration Policy in Small-Town Quebec:** Kathryn Barber (York University)

**Abstract:** Quebec is unique amongst Canadian provinces because it is the only region that directly selects certain streams of migrants (economic and humanitarian) resulting in a unique immigration infrastructure. While the major urban centres of Quebec (Montreal and Quebec City) continue to host the largest number of newcomers, the regionalization of immigration to smaller centers has increasingly become a priority for the Quebec Ministry of Immigration, Francisation and Integration (MIFI). In particular, the Ministerial Plan on the Regionalization of Immigration was introduced to promote international and secondary migration to smaller centers as a means to supplement labour gaps and coordinate government and civil society action. This presentation empirically examines government and civil society infrastructure put in place in two small centers to attract and facilitate the integration of newcomers to the community using an examination of statistical data, a regional and municipal policy review and interviews with policymakers and community-service providers.

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## E04 - Education Politics and Policy in Canada

### Politique locale et urbaine

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Elliot Chi-Kuen Fung (University of Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jack Lucas (University of Calgary)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jonathan Montpetit (CBC)

***What history, for what nation? The narrative framework of French- and English-language history curricula in Ontario from a comparative perspective:*** Stéphanie Chouinard (Royal Military College), Jennifer Wallner (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Public education plays an essential role in a state's nation-building aspirations. Through common courses and programs, schools help forge and transmit shared narratives of the past, build a collective understanding of the present and establish a common vision of the future. This challenge presents itself differently in multinational states, however, where several national communities, while not necessarily sharing a common understanding of the past, nevertheless strive to coexist within a common state structure. In Canada, a polynational federation, differences have already been observed in the history curricula of the ten provinces - and in particular in that of Quebec, a predominantly French-speaking province where the Canadian and Quebec history course has become the site of a power struggle between federalist and subsequent separatist governments (Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid 2014; Déry 2018; Moreau and Smith 2019). But very few authors have focused on the distinctions found in the programs taught to students in majority (Anglophone) and minority (Francophone) schools (Wallner and Chouinard 2023), including accredited by the same province.

***Shared Rule and Self-Rule in School Governance: Building a Policy Index School Board Autonomy and Local Responsiveness:*** Jim Farney (University of Regina)

**Abstract:** Much recent work on school or parental choice in Canada (Asadolahi et al 2022a; Farney and Banack 2023; Bosetti and Gereluk 2016) has focussed on how policy regimes create opportunity structures for parents to choose between public and various forms of private education. But, there are both good theoretical reasons (Asadolahi et al 2023b) and practical ones (see Ontario's debates over curricular streaming or the status of French Immersion education) to believe that the key context of parental choice is that which occurs within the public system. This paper will propose a policy index measuring the autonomy of local public school boards with the goal of assessing their changing ability to respond to dynamic pressures for choice from parents and other stakeholders in locally sensitive ways.

***The ABC's of School Governance:*** Rachel Laforest (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** The role of School Boards and of school boards trustees is one of the most understudied areas in political science. As provincial governments have centralized financial matters and put more limits on governance areas for school board trustees, many have put in question the relevance of conducting elections for education, particularly considering the low turn-out of voters (Piscitelli and Perrella, 2022). This paper will provide a first count analysis of the role of trustees and school boards in the management of citizenship rights. It will discuss the many ways School Boards are protecting minority interest in organizational. Ultimately, it will argue that education systems are important spaces of active citizenship. They do more than just provide educational services; they are vital pillars in the construction of the French community in minority settings.

***A LERT Alert? Localized Emergency Remote Teaching and the Methodological Challenge of School Board Secrecy:*** Michael Murphy (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** The COVID-19 pandemic disrupted learning at a massive scale, with institutions at all levels of learning pivoting rapidly to online and remote platforms on an emergency basis. While the scope was unprecedented, earlier research on responses to Hurricane Katrina in the United States and SARS in Hong Kong reveals that COVID-19 was not the first crisis that led to the implementation of online learning tools. Since the lifting of lockdown measures, localized emergencies have led to time-limited pivots to online learning platforms, most notably in the K-12 education sector in Ontario, which faced staffing pressures, severe winter weather, and labour actions through the 2021-22 and 2022-23 school years. While these cases are known anecdotally, there has been no systematic research on this practice or its implications for educational institutions in other jurisdictions and at other levels. This project draws on interview data, systematic literature review, and digital ethnographic methods to discuss the impact of localized emergency remote teaching (LERT) policies in Ontario school boards from a governance perspective. However, the project also recognizes the methodological barriers that researchers often encounter when developing school board governance research. Drawing on emergent debates on methodological strategies for navigating secrecy in security studies, this presentation considers how critical methods can help overcome the school board secrecy challenge. As such, the alerts raised around the LERT study serve as a secondary opportunity for reflection on methodology and governance.

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## F04 - Innovations in the Study of Immigrants? Integration in Quebec

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Rupinder Liddar (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Eline de Rooij (Simon Fraser University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Allison Harell (UQAM)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

***Being (un)comfortable to participate, here and there: Assessing the impact of premigration repression on postmigration political participation:***  
Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia University), Valérie-Anne Mahéo (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the impact of premigration experiences with political repression on immigrants' propensity to participate in politics. While existing studies point to lower levels of participation among immigrants from repressive regimes, they present limitations in assessing the scope of that effect. One limitation concerns whether immigrants' lower participation really reflects a reluctance to participate in politics, or rather a reluctance to disclose their political engagement. Moreover, existing studies attribute the same experiences and the same effect of repression for all immigrants originating from the same country, while it is possible that immigrants' repressive experiences and the related trauma that accompanies them vary across individuals. This study proposes a new approach. Instead of examining immigrants' reported participation, we examine immigrants' reported level of (dis)comfort in participating politically in the host society. This approach allows us to capture a potential variation in the imprint of political repression among recent immigrants of the same country of origin, by asking them to recall their level of comfort in participating in political activities when they were in their origin country. This approach allows us to examine how levels of (dis)comfort vary across countries of origin, as well as among immigrants of the same origin country, and how their level of (dis)comfort with being politically active in their country of origin relates to their likelihood of being politically active in their host society. We examine this question using a survey of 2000 recent immigrants in the province of Quebec.

***Immigrating as Family: A Study of Children's Influence on Parents? Integration:*** Valérie-Anne Mahéo (Université Laval), Anne Imouza (McGill University)

**Abstract:** This study examines family dynamics and the role of children in the context of resettlement and integration in a new country. While previous studies have focused on individuals within the family, either examining parents' integration or children's integration processes (Beauregard et al. 2014; Bornstein et al. 2006; Juang et Syed 2019), we focus on the interactions between parents and children, and examine family dynamics in the process of resettlement in a new country. Additionally, most of the literature examines how immigrant children are affected by their new context, by schools and teachers, and their parents, and only few studies consider that children can play an active role in the integration process of their family (Bloemrad et Trost 2008; Wong et Tseng 2008; García-Sánchez 2010). Our study considers the agency of children in their family's integration process and examines the different ways children or adolescents may influence their parents, such as through language brokerage (Garcia-Sanchez 2010; Oznobishin et Kurman 2018), information brokerage (Carlos 2021), or parentification - taking on adult responsibilities - (Valenzuela 2014). We capitalize on a new panel survey of recent immigrants and non-immigrants, including numerous parents, to present: how family dynamics in immigrant families may be distinct from dynamics in non-immigrant families, and how immigrant children may influence their parents' integration process within the household.

***Contacts with Government and Political Support Among Recent Immigrants in Quebec: A Relationship Modulated by Premigration Experiences?:*** Valérie-Anne Mahéo (Université Laval), Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia University), Thomas Gareau-Paquette (McGill University)

**Abstract:** This study addresses an important question: How does the State facilitate or hinder immigrants' political integration? We specifically examine the role of contacts with governmental services in fostering or depressing political trust and attachment to the host country. Service provision constitutes a large proportion of what governments do, and as Mettler and Soss (2004) have argued, "Government policies can play a crucial role in shaping the things publics believe and want, the way citizens view themselves and others, and how they understand and act toward the political system" (55). In this study, we focus on the first few years of immigrants' lives in the host country, which is a context in which they are more likely to interact frequently with governmental services as they settle in a new country. Drawing on a survey of 1,900 recent immigrants in Quebec, the paper explores the quality of immigrants' contact with governmental services, and how these experiences are associated with levels of political trust, as well as feelings of attachment to their new host community. Furthermore, we pay attention to immigrants' pre-migration experiences to investigate whether past political experiences in the home country condition the effects of current interactions with the host government on social and political attitudes.

***Participating in Integration Activities and Participating in Quebec Society: A Study of Integration Programs and their Policy Feedback Effects:***  
Valérie-Anne Mahéo (Université Laval), Thomas Gareau-Paquette (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Challenges surrounding the integration of recent immigrants have been at the forefront of public discourse in the province of Quebec, particularly in the context of its peculiar integration model and policies within North America. One way that the Quebec government, as other governments in developed democracies, tries to facilitate immigrants' integration is through the offer of public services and integration programs. While these programs are said to have positive effects on immigrants' integration (Ager and Strang 2008; Koikkalainen 2020; Lidén and Nyhlén 2021), issues of self-selection into program participation have limited our assessment of the causal impact of these public programs on immigrants' societal participation. Grounded in the policy feedback theory, which posits that public policies and program use can shape individuals' attitudes and behaviours (Mettler and Soss 2004; Pierson

1993), this study addresses a critical gap in the literature by examining the causal relationship between participation in integration activities and their societal integration in Quebec. Leveraging a unique dataset of more than 1900 recent immigrants in Quebec, we focus on immigrants' involvement in integration activities (which aim to enhance language skills, encourage cultural understanding, support job market integration, and foster a sense of belonging) and examine who takes part in these activities. In addition, we use a two-step propensity score matching approach to adjust for selection bias and potential confounding factors, and to estimate more precisely the impacts of activity participation on immigrants' civic and political engagement.

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## M04 - Roundtable: A New Approach to Political Science Graduate Education: The EDITS Model

### Enseignement

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Jonathan Malloy (Carleton University)

Jonathan Malloy (Carleton University)

Loleen Berdahl (Saskatchewan)

Lisa Young (Calgary)

**Abstract:** Have you ever wondered if your graduate program could be better? In this roundtable, Lisa Young (Calgary), Loleen Berdahl (Saskatchewan), and Jonathan Malloy (Carleton) present a new model for Arts graduate education, as detailed in their book *For the Public Good: Reimagining Arts Graduate Programs in Canadian Universities* (University of Alberta Press). All graduate program directors/chairs, graduate supervisors, and graduate students are invited to attend to consider their graduate programs through the ?EDITS? model (Efficient; Deliberate; Inclusive; Talent-Developing; Student Focused) presented in the book. Participants will leave with concrete ideas for how to improve their graduate programs.

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## N04 - Reproductive Justice I

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

*Political Contestation and Rights Revision: Addressing Reproductive Injustice:* Candace Johnson (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** The field of birth is part of a reproductive borderland that contains a vast range of political and social contestations. In Canada, these contestations extend in many directions and cover topics such as ?medicalization? of pregnancy and childbirth, overconsumption of medical intervention, idealization of normal birth (creating a ?normal birth culture? (Reproductive Health Work Group, 2018: 15)), reproductive choice (including abortion), and informed consent. These examples rely on conceptions of individual autonomy and agency for their realization in practice. Other topics, such as birth alerts (the practice whereby child protective services notifies hospital authorities when a ?high risk? maternal or reproductive subject is about to give birth) and involuntary sterilization, can be located in the shadowy areas of the borderlands and operationalize conceptions of reproductive justice. In this paper I will explore these contestations in order to demonstrate that reproductive borderlands are not just fraught political and policy spaces, but often polarized in terms of their rights orientations. The WHO (2018) recommends that birth care take a ?holistic, human rights approach,? which suggests the integration of possessive, individual rights and reproductive justice approaches. However, state actors tend to focus on the former and avoid the latter, likely because reproductive justice frameworks demand attention to the (political) complexities of structural violence. In addition to the empirical examination of contestations, I will provide a theoretical rebuilding of reproductive rights and justice approaches as a way to further draw attention to problematic areas and contradictions, but also to present a more coherent theory for addressing reproductive injustice.

*Transformative care or underpaid labor? Doula work within Canada?s deepening ?care crisis?:* Stephanie Paterson (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Doulas are privately-paid caregivers who offer holistic support to clients during pregnancy and childbirth and have become increasingly popular due to their proven ability to enhance the quality of birther?s experiences. Further, doulas have assumed an activist role, bringing attention to the inadequate and inequitable care that birthers receive in current care systems. This study recognizes the value and importance of doula care and activism but critically examines the emergence of doulas within the increasingly constrained conditions of care in Canada. Although many scholars have emphasized the positive and transformative possibilities of doula care (e.g., Basile 2019) there is a lesser focus on the difficulties that doulas face as informal workers who perform highly devalued caring labor. Drawing on a social reproduction feminism (SRF) lens, this study examines what can be learned by situating the growth of the doula industry within existing analyses of the social relations of oppression and exploitation that determine the value and conditions of care. First, SRF theorizes how the capitalist state offloads responsibility for the expanse of caring, emotional, relational, and domestic labors that ?social reproduction? includes, onto low paid workers or unpaid citizens. Second, SRF is attentive to the ongoing restructuring of the care economy based on these dynamics, with care work being increasingly performed by gendered, racialized, and/or migrant workers under worsening conditions. By reexamining doula care within these broader dynamics, this study seeks to better understand the unique positioning and social organization of doulas within a deepening care crisis.

*The Womb: A Site of Domination and Resistance in the Pre-emancipation British Caribbean:* Collin Xia (York University), Gabrielle Slowey (York University)

**Abstract:** Beginning in the 1780s, British Caribbean plantocracies faced the looming threat of slave trade abolition which would end the flow of enslaved African labour to Caribbean plantation colonies. An enslaved woman?s function as the source of blackness and legal slave status made their wombs essential to a future without readily available slave imports. Narratives centring the intensifying colonial domination of enslaved women?s wombs highlight abolitionists and slave owners? deployment of enslaved women?s reproductive labour in slave-breeding programs to produce a self-sustaining source of labour. This narrative neglects the agency enslaved women exerted in exacting control over their sexuality, marriage status, pregnancies, childbirth experience, and child-rearing process that jeopardised the institution of slavery in ?gynecological revolt.? This essay privileges the feminized, unarmed, sexual, bodily defiance of enslaved women within the greater, often masculinized Caribbean slavery scholarship to argue that the womb was a site of intensifying colonial domination in the Age of Abolition but more significantly a site of women?s revolutionary struggle against slavery.

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## N04 - Political Participation, Legislatures, and Feminism

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

**Cultural Sources of Gender Gaps: Confucian Meritocracy Reduces Gender Inequalities in Political Participation:** Baowen Liang (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** East Asian women's political participation has not kept pace with the region's economic development. This discrepancy is often attributed to the influence of Confucian culture, which emphasizes hierarchy, order, and obedience. However, this study seeks to add nuance to this perspective by highlighting how certain elements of Confucianism, such as meritocracy, may actually empower modern-day East Asian women. The research focuses on the Chinese context, particularly the historically significant Confucian-based meritocratic institution known as the civil examination system (keju). The primary hypothesis examined in this study is that historical meritocratic legacies can have a lasting impact on contemporary behavior, specifically by reducing the gender gap in political participation in local village elections. To test this hypothesis, data from historical archives and the China General Social Survey are utilized, and it is found that there is a negative correlation between the performance of a prefecture's ancestors in the keju exams and the gender gap in village election turnout among present-day respondents. This suggests that the legacy of meritocracy might contribute to bridging the gender gap in political participation among East Asian women.

**Beyond Backlash: Theorizing the Intersection of Feminism and Conservatism in Canada:** Kelly Gordon (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Susan Faludi's popularization of the concept of "political backlash" in 1991 marked a pivotal moment in contemporary theorizations of political struggle and resistance. Since, backlash has been applied to analyze a wide range of political contexts, including race relations, religious conservatism, judicial decision-making, LGBTQ rights, and immigration.

This paper contends that while the concept of backlash is broadly employed to analyze various forms of politics, it holds particular significance in the stories that feminists tell about conservatism. As Thomas (2008) argues, backlash has become "a centrally important concept for analyzing women's current political status and future opportunities." Indeed, over the last three decades, the "conservatism as backlash" narrative has become a dominant paradigm within feminist theories and academic research, theorizing conservatism as a form of political resistance aimed at women and feminism.

The paper explores the prevalence of the feminist "conservatism as backlash" narrative in two parts. The first section draws on a systematic analysis of feminist scholarship published on Canadian conservatism since 2006 to highlight the narrative's hegemonic influence in discussions about feminism's interaction with Canadian conservatism. The second part argues that while framing conservatism as backlash offers valuable insights, backlash theory often falls short because it cannot account for non-backlash manifestations of conservatism. Backlash theories often depict conservatism and feminism as opposing ideologies, neglecting their interdependent capacity to shape each other's ideological and political trajectories. This limitation underscores the need for a more nuanced understanding of conservatism's multifaceted and interconnected nature, particularly in its relationship with feminism.

**Narrowing the Gender Gap in Expert Opinion Research: Supporting Women in Politics to Participate in Interviews and Surveys:** Alex Marland (Acadia University), Jeni Armstrong (Carleton University), Alexandra Dobrowolsky (Saint Mary's University), Émilie Foster (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** What can scholars do to increase response rates among women in politics who are invited to share their views and experiences via in-depth interviews and expert opinion surveys? Women have longstanding experience in political movements of various kinds, and more women than ever are elected to legislatures and hold senior roles in political and government offices, but they typically remain cautious when invited to participate in expert opinion research. This paper advances methodological thinking about why women working in the political realm are often less likely than men to engage with this branch of research and considers the ways that researchers can tailor recruitment efforts to narrow the gender gap. We begin by summarizing the barriers that women, including racially diverse women, in professional settings confront when they are invited for a research interview or to complete a questionnaire, which may be related to barriers for their engagement in politics generally. Next, we glean insights from studies on the latter, and review literature about best practices for recruiting diverse women in research studies. We then present findings from in-depth interviews with approximately 24 Canadian women (including 8-12 racialized women and a half-dozen Francophone women) with experience as an election candidate, campaign manager, party official, parliamentarian, political strategist or consultant, community activist and/or political staff. We outline the particular circumstances that they face in politics that encumber their participation and identify best practices for conducting expert opinion surveys and in-depth interviews with them. The paper offers timely insights about collecting data from politicians and political operatives in a tempestuous environment where they guard against comments going viral; where staff gatekeepers increasingly insulate politicians; where political marketing is pervasive yet secretive; where partisans on the political right can be hostile towards universities and colleges; and where online information about researchers can influence participation rates. Many of the findings can be applied to other workplaces and disciplines.

**Gender and Legislative Committees in Africa: A Study of Rwanda and South Africa:** Saaka Sulemana Saaka (University of Calgary), Susan Franceschet (University of Calgary), Abiba Yayah (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Legislative committee assignments are multifaceted, influenced by determinants such as prevailing gender dynamics and the prestige of the committee. Drawing on insights from the existing literature on legislatures, we formulate and test two hypotheses on the credentials and patterns of assigning members of parliament to committees in Rwanda and South Africa. Using an original dataset comprising 1,286 committee members across two consecutive legislative sessions between 2010 and 2023, we find that despite being equally educated and professionally qualified as their male counterparts, women are disproportionately assigned to low-prestige committees. This paper contributes to our understanding of how work in legislative committees is influenced by gender roles, suggesting deeply rooted societal norms.

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## **Q04 - Workshop: Political Science Theories and Practice I / Atelier: Théories et pratiques de la science politique I**

### **Practitioners**

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Jérôme Couture (Université Laval)

### **Participants**

David Houle (Public sector / Secteur public - federal)

Émilie Foster (Carleton University)

Eve Bourgeois (Ouranos)

Jean-Phillipe Gauvin (Public sector / Secteur public - provincial)

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# Day 1 - Session 5 (03:30pm - 05:00pm)

## A05(a) - The State of Social Policy in Canada: Part 3

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Alison Smith (University of Toronto)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Rianne Mahon (Carleton University)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Gender and social policy in Canada:* Ann Porter (York)

**Abstract:** This chapter develops the concept of gendered social policy regimes to examine how views, goals, actors and policy with respect to gender has shifted over time. Key aspects of a gendered social policy regime include gender norms, the role of the household/family in social provisioning, the legal framework including discriminatory practices, entitlements and equality provisions, the interaction of race, Indigeneity and citizenship status with gender, and the involvement of key actors such as the women's movement. Four gendered social policy regimes are discussed: 1) Maternal feminists, mothers' allowances and the early twentieth century welfare state; 2) Post-World War II welfare state, the male breadwinner model, the second wave of the women's movement and demands for equal rights; 3) Neoliberalism, the erosion and intensification of gender and the fragmentation of social policy actors; 4) the pandemic and onwards: implications and possibilities for gender and social policy.

*Canada as an international social policy actor:* Laura Macdonald (Carleton)

**Abstract:** Traditional social policy literature tends to analyse social policy and welfare state regimes as bounded by nation state borders and tends to conform to conventional methodological nationalism. Nevertheless, in practice, international organizations and transnational epistemic communities contribute actively to the formulation of ideas and practices regarding social policies. This chapter will examine some of the ways in which Canada participates in the development of these ideas and practices at the international scale, as well as how those international and transnational influences shape domestic policies in Canada. This review will examine the role Canada has played in the development of international social policy norms, such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the World Bank and the International Labour Organization, and will also discuss Canada's role in developing and promoting the idea of Feminist Foreign Policy and its implications for global social policy.

*Probing the interface between migration and social policy in Canada:* Christina Gabriel (Carleton)

**Abstract:** Over the last 20 years, successive governments have worked to restructure and manage Canada's migration regime. The starting point of this paper is to examine the interaction between an increasingly decentralized Canadian migration regime and access to welfare state programs. Migration policy has been mobilized to address demographic challenges, meet the demands of the labour market, and speak to concerns about welfare chauvinism. It is against this canvas that the familiar distinctions between temporary/permanent, non-citizen/citizen that have been used to govern access to social protection and membership in a national community are increasingly blurring. The massive expansion of the temporary worker program, emergence of two step immigration, and the restructuring of the family class are all implicated within this blurring. Additionally, provinces and private actors are playing larger roles. Drawing on a range of primary materials including government reports, official statements, speeches and IRCC documents as well as resources produced by civil society groups, this paper will map these changes and the increasingly diffuse nature of immigration policy making. In doing so, the paper will examine the impact of the changes on access to social benefits and services. These developments, it is argued, pose broader issues about the nature of citizenship, membership and social solidarity in Canada.

*Social Policy Retrenchment and Restructuring:* Peter Graefe (McMaster)

**Abstract:** This paper considers the retrenchment and restructuring of the Canadian social policy since the early 1980s. Accounts of these processes in Canada largely mirror those in the comparative literature, especially those focussed on liberal welfare states, albeit with greater emphasis on intergovernmental dynamics. An initial emphasis on the stealthy retrenchment of the core programs and funding mechanisms associated with the post-war welfare state was transformed into an analysis of restructuring by assessing the building out of new neoliberal social policies in the late 1990s. By the 2000s, these approaches were joined by analyses standing outside the neoliberal teleology, and thus able to see the influence of non-neoliberal ideas in shaping inclusive liberal social investments in new social policy fields. After the 2008 financial crisis, the centre of gravity of analysis returned to understanding how social policy restructuring related to sustaining the neoliberal model, through austerity, new modalities of privatization and financialization. This nevertheless stands in some tension with recent extensions of social policies in domains such as child care, mental health and dental care. In general, attempts at periodizing social policy change seem to have become less central in Canadian social policy analyses, as the social democratic imaginary has given way to newer analytic traditions.

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## A05(b) - Roundtable: Party Leaders and the Media

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

Shannon Proudfoot (Globe and Mail)

Jonathan Pedneault (Green Party of Canada)

Thomas Mulcair (Université de Montréal)

Fourth participant to be determined TBA (TBA)

**Abstract:** In this lively and interactive session, Canadian practitioners in journalism and party politics will share their views and stories about how the news media and party leaders interact in an increasingly turbulent political world. Questions from the audience will be encouraged.

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## A05(c) - Lobbying in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

**Opportunities and Influence: Women's representation and advocacy in the Canadian Senate:** Erica Rayment (University of Calgary), Elizabeth McCallion (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The Canadian Senate is a promising venue for the substantive representation of women and other politically marginalized groups (Rayment and McCallion 2023). Weak norms of party discipline and the absence of electoral pressures mean that senators have greater latitude than MPs to act on behalf of surrogate constituencies, such as women. Though these groups do not formally elect representatives, they nonetheless stake representative claims in the political sphere. Recent changes to the Senate appointment process have further reduced partisanship in the Senate, thus increasing senators' latitude to advocate for surrogate groups. But to what extent do women's advocacy groups leverage the Senate's increasing capacity for the substantive representation of women? Are women's advocates using the Senate as a venue in which to advance their policy goals? A recent analysis of contact records maintained by the Lobbying Commissioner showed that overall, lobbying directed at the Senate increased following changes to the Senate appointment process (Bridgman 2020). Drilling down into this larger scale analysis, we examine the lobbying efforts of women's organizations and advocates before and after changes to the Senate appointment process to determine whether and to what extent extra-parliamentary women's organizations take full advantage of the Senate's representational role. This work contributes to the literature on women's representation in legislative contexts, especially as it regards avenues for women's groups to seek policy change. It opens the door for future research on the efficacy of women's groups' advocacy in the Senate.

**Of Intermediaries and Guns: Lobbying in Canadian Military Procurement:** Bryan Evans (Toronto Metropolitan University), Howlett Alexander (University of Canada West), David Chen (University of Toronto), Howlett Michael (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** Military procurement represents both a strategically and financially critical step in modern states involving tens of billions of dollars in investment over decades of development and delivery, draw large amounts of public attention and are generally predicated on complex industrial and investment agreements along with needing to satisfy tactical and strategic requirements in a complex set of relations among multiple actors. Yet, defense procurement lacks an in-depth analysis of its lobbying dimension. We utilize the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada's lobbying registrar dataset maintained to glimpse a general overview of how the major players in the sector operate: we find a high level of concentration in both the number of top lobbyists and the federal organizations lobbied. We also find a sharp difference between more politically-oriented and industry lobbyists in terms of their referents.

**A parliamentary story: Interest group lobbyists' interactions with MPs and political staff in Canada:** Maxime Boucher (University of Ottawa), Alex Marland (Acadia University)

**Abstract:** The pace of political power shifting from rank and file parliamentarians to the leader's circle has been intensifying in Canada as a growing number of political staff are integrated into government and caucus business. The increasing influence of staff and waning clout of backbench Members of Parliament invites questions about parliamentary democracy and accountability. In this paper, we test the theory of centralization by asking: do lobbyists engage with political staff more than MPs? Our analysis shows how meetings with lobbyists are distributed between political personnel and diverse categories of MPs, including backbenchers, ministers, and opposition parties. We use algorithms built within the 'Lobbying and Democratic Governance in Canada' research project, which facilitate the standardization and cross-examination of political and text data coming from different sources, such as the list of legislative status and roles of Canadian MPs, found on the website of the Parliament of Canada, and data on lobbying communications gathered from the Federal Lobbyists registry. Computational methods were used to track and compare the volume of communications (2010-2022) between different categories of interest group lobbyists, MPs, and political staff. This paper contributes to knowledge about how organized interests access power in Canada's parliamentary system of government and to what extent they communicate with political staff versus elected officials.

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## A05(d) - Language and Language Policy

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

***Bridging the Gap: Bilingualism and the End of the Two Solitudes:*** Philippe Chassé (Université de Montréal and Sciences Po Paris), Richard Nadeau (Université de Montréal), Matthew Taylor (Université de Montréal), Ruth Dassonneville (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** First coined by novelist Hugh MacLennan, the expression "two solitudes" is frequently used to describe the cultural divide between Canada's two main linguistic groups: Anglophones and Francophones. Research demonstrates that English- and French-speaking Canadians differ in a wide range of behaviours including their political preferences, their vision of the Canadian federation, and their national identity. In this article, we ask whether individual bilingualism is associated with a decrease in the attitudinal differences between English- and French-speaking Canadians. Primarily, we attempt to determine if knowledge of the French language is related to an increase in the responsiveness of English-speaking citizens (the majority language group in Canada) towards issues that typically preoccupy French-speaking Canadians. Using survey data collected in the summer of 2023 (n = 1596), we investigate the extent to which the attitudes of Anglophones who speak French converge with the attitudes of Francophones when compared to Anglophones with no knowledge of the French language. We are particularly interested in Anglophones' attitudes towards the future and protection of French in Canada, official bilingualism, and Quebecers. These reflect topics on which the Canadian population is generally divided along linguistic lines. Our analyses suggest that knowledge of French as a second language is strongly linked to the political preferences of Canadian citizens. These results highlight the relevance of considering the different languages that people speak and not just their mother tongue to understand their political attitudes.

***Official Language Governance: Ideological Analysis through Hybrid Anglophone and Francophone Traditions:*** Timothy van den Brink (Simon Fraser University), Rémi Léger (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** This project compares five official language action plans and roadmaps developed by the Canadian federal government between 2003 and 2023. We understand these as policy instruments which articulate how the government intends to respect its constitutional and legislative obligations vis-à-vis the two official languages. They include a vision statement, policy priorities, specific projects, and funding commitments. Two of these were elaborated by Conservative governments (2008-2013 & 2013-2018), whereas three were put forward by Liberal governments (2003-2008, 2018-2023 & 2023-2028). Our analysis identifies the ideological markers that guide and frame each policy instrument. We investigate the relationship between the government and the governed, shifts in the usage of key concepts between documents, and the roles of community-based organizations and provincial governments in the conception and execution of these policy goals. Our analysis innovates in its use of theory, combining works on policy instruments from French/Francophone political sociology and the morphological approach to the study of ideologies from Anglo-American political thought. By combining these two approaches, this project offers greater conceptual clarification of political ideologies and their effects on official languages governance in Canada. We feel our project is a perfect fit for CPSA 2024's approach on method innovation as we provide new insights into the role of political ideas and ideologies in language policy.

***Le déclin de la langue française au Québec : une perspective citoyenne:*** Jean-François Daoust (Université de Sherbrooke), Thomas Gareau-Paquette (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Au Québec, l'usage du français, particulièrement dans le contexte domestique, est en recul (Statistiques Canada 2022). Cette évolution s'accompagne d'un sentiment croissant que le français n'est plus aussi dominant et qu'il perd du terrain dans l'espace public. Bien que l'ampleur du recul du français diffère selon les indicateurs et périodes sélectionnés, il est indéniable que la place du français en tant que langue commune fait face à des défis reliés notamment à la situation minoritaire du Québec en Amérique du Nord. Cette situation est lourde de sens pour la vie politique québécoise et soulève plusieurs questions. Quelle est l'opinion publique sur cet enjeu? Est-ce que les québécois et les québécoises sont inquiets de ce déclin, ou plutôt indifférents? Nous connaissons l'avis des élites (e.g., élu-es), mais la perspective citoyenne reste méconnue.

Dans cette recherche, nous brossons en premier lieu un portrait détaillé du sentiment d'inquiétude par rapport au déclin de la langue française au Québec. Nous examinons ensuite les déterminants de ces attitudes (i.e., qui est plus susceptible d'être inquiet ou non), en se concentrant sur des clivages sociodémographiques, mais aussi politiques. Enfin, nous nous penchons sur les conséquences politiques de cette inquiétude en analysant l'impact de ce sentiment sur les comportements électoraux grâce aux données des Études électorales québécoises et canadiennes (Mahéo et al. 2023; (Stephenson et al. 2022).

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## A05(e) - Gender, Parental Status, and Policy in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

**Strategies to Reproduce Societies: Comparing Social Reproduction Policy Regimes in Quebec and Ontario:** Emma Willert (York University), Dennis Pilon (York University)

**Abstract:** The proposed paper asks to what degree the demographic challenge of falling birth rates in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec have been addressed at the policy level by increasing immigration. There is strong economic utility in having a large and growing population, and the policy making process is consequently heavily invested in the components of demographic growth or change. This analysis uses a feminist political economy approach to social reproduction, as population management strategies are inherently gendered phenomena, tying closely to women's reproductive choices and patterns. I posit that increased levels of immigration are often utilized as a social reproduction strategy to avoid the high costs associated with socially reproducing the population internally. This paper seeks to demonstrate that high levels of immigration can be seen as an attractive neoliberal population strategy intended to bypass the high costs associated with domestic social reproduction in favour of importing the human capital and labour of immigrants whose social reproduction costs were incurred by their country of origin. This cross-provincial case study seeks to explore and provide deeper context to demographic management strategies at the subnational level. It utilizes Canada's constitutional framework that allows each province to address their population concerns independently from one another, as well as the fact that there is significant regional variation, to make a unique comparison of an increasingly common population management strategy across the developed world. Tracking government reactions to demographic change offers valuable insight into possible future public policy strategies that may be deployed.

**A Defense of Decentralization: Federal Program Opt-out and Parental Leave in Quebec:** Emma Willert (York University), Dennis Pilon (York University)

**Abstract:** Many feminist political economists identify the decentralization of Canada as a defining negative feature of the neoliberal age, leading to inequality in service provision and entitlement for women across the country. They argue a strong centralized government as opposed to a piecemeal, decentralized approach is superior to achieve equity and redistributive goals. However, I suggest feminists should view the federalist system as providing elastic opportunities for policy change. While centralization can lend itself to radical political projects and change that can be quickly and universally applied at a national scale, this can equally be used to dismantle progressive and feminist policy. Decentralization may serve an insulating function in jurisdictions where there is a strong remaining support base for feminist policy. Indeed, decentralization has provided an avenue for progressive policy when feminist economic goals are vulnerable to attack or erosion at other levels of government. To illustrate this I draw upon the implementation of parental leave policy in Canada. In contrast to the federal Employment Insurance program, Quebec's Parental Insurance Plan offers more generous benefits and lower qualifying thresholds which produces demonstrably beneficial effects for women and families. It is thus critical to consider social and temporal factors that inform how feminist advocates navigate Canada's federalist system that is, whether power at the federal or provincial levels creates the most fruitful ground for reformist social policy. I suggest that, to secure minority rights and entitlements, a politically diverse set of jurisdictions might prove a more productive realm for feminist advocates.

**Family Homelessness in Canada: Exploring the Connection Between Gender and Negative Policy Feedback:** Lori Oliver (Queen's University), Margaret Little (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** This study considers the relationship between policy and politics to understand the barriers to addressing the increased prevalence of family homelessness in Canada. A timeline of events from 1960-2020 is constructed with data gathered from Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation archived reports, news articles published in Canadian major dailies, federal Hansard debates, and interviews with activists and shelter workers. The results illustrate that family homelessness was previously understood in relation to welfare state spending but is now understood more narrowly in relation to temporary displacement as a result of family violence. I argue that the shift in how family homelessness is framed stems from negative policy feedback. Adding a gendered lens to Jacobs and Weaver (2015), I show that self-undermining feedback effects within social housing policy and the overrepresentation of low-income female-headed families in social housing units combine to create political disincentives to broad recognition of family homelessness in policy contexts.

**Rent Burdened in Canada: A Comparison of Federal - Provincial Government Policy Responses to the Needs of Elderly Women and Lone Female Headed Households:** Carol-Anne Hudson (McMaster University), Peter Graefe (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** There is no more urgent, no more immediate topic of concern for many Canadians than the issue of affordable housing. However, affordability is experienced unevenly (Tranjan, 2023). Among low- and moderate-income renters in the private market, elderly women and lone female headed households are especially burdened and are at the highest risk of falling into homelessness (Homeless Hub, 2019). The proposed study compares and contrasts federal and provincial government rent supplement policies along the principles of portable, stackable, targeted, accessible, and affordable. From the perspective of policy success, the study asks: With a focus on rent supplements and women, how well are governments meeting the criteria for highly successful social policymaking? What is and isn't working? What lessons can be learned? What actions need to be taken to ensure policy success?

Drawing on Linquist et al (2022) criteria for achieving policy success in Canada, preliminary findings suggest that rent supplement policies fail to achieve highly valued social outcomes, do not have a broad base of public or political support for the achievements and the associated processes and costs; and do not manage to sustain this performance for a considerable period of time in the face of changing circumstances (p.5). Failure can be attributed to what Jensen et al (2019) have termed a dehistoricized understanding of difference and inequality where key actors differed over how to account historically for the



origins and perpetuation of inequality as the point of departure for policymaking (p.137).

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## B05 - The Far Right in Canada and Beyond: From Ideas to Actions ? Session 2

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Audrey Gagnon (University of Oslo)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Yannick Veilleux-Lepage (Royal Military College of Canada)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Efe Peker (University of Ottawa)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

**Acting Like Men: Performing Masculinities and the Legacies of National Socialism in the European Extreme Right:** Katherine Kondor (The Norwegian Center for Holocaust and Minority Studies)

**Abstract:** While largely homogeneous in their attitudes, contemporary cultures of the extreme right throughout Europe vary depending on historical, cultural, and political differences across national contexts. This is especially the case with presentations of masculinity, health, and fitness, with variation evident across Europe often due to differing legacies of the far right and National Socialism. These differences in ideas and motivations can lead to a variety of salient differences in what actions extreme right organizations take to express their masculinities. Using the cases of Germany and Hungary, this paper argues that differences in the legacies of historical National Socialism are evident in their influence on contemporary attitudes towards masculinity, and hence on how extreme right organizations perform masculinities. To explore this idea, this study examines the Telegram channels of several German and Hungarian extreme right organisations, to get an unfiltered view of how the organizations present their cultures. This paper suggests that the legacies of National Socialism do indeed play a part in how the contemporary extreme right interpret masculinities and the roles of men, and may influence the actions of various organizations.

**The Evolution of Cultural Practices in the Manosphere: Aspirational Masculinity, Self-Help, and Eugenic Reasoning Over Twenty Years (2001-2021):** Jade Hutchinson (Macquarie University and the University of Groningen), Bharath Ganesh (Amsterdam University), Kenton Bell (University of Wollongong)

**Abstract:** The rise of the manosphere online is a significant threat to the security of women and gender equality in contemporary democracies. Research has focused on its subcultural trolling practices, its homologies with reactionary white identity movements by blaming the marginalization of men on feminists and The Left, as well as local constructions of masculinities. Continuing this research, we use computational methods to understand the manosphere at scale and in its evolution over time, seeking to the evolution of ideal, aspirational constructions of masculinity (and related concepts like fatherhood) in the manosphere; the production of self-help knowledge; the construction and deployment of eugenic reasoning in manospheric discourse. Drawing on a dataset of 44 million posts across 12 forums covering 2001-2021, we develop a distant reading technique to understand the evolution of masculinity and manosphere culture across a wide spectrum of misogynistic subcultures and across a wide range of topics from anti-feminism, extreme misogyny, fatherhood, exercise, and diet. Using dynamic topic modelling and word embedding (two natural language processing or NLP techniques), we analyse the evolution of the cultural schemas, practices, and debates that took place in the manosphere online in the past two decades.

**Hate, Extremism, and Terrorism in the Canadian Prairies:** Michael King (The Organization for the Prevention of Violence), Michele St-Amant (The Organization for the Prevention of Violence)

**Abstract:** This presentation will reveal the results of a project funded by Public Safety Canada to map the landscape of violent extremism and targeted violence in the Prairies. Since 2017, the Organization for the Prevention of Violence (OPV) has been researching and tracking the rise of violent extremism and targeted violence in Alberta. This research revealed a growing threat fueled by right-wing and anti-government grievances, with law enforcement repeatedly raising the latter as an emerging but poorly understood threat. While the OPV suspects this trend is also occurring in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, research is needed to ascertain the nature and scope of this threat in the Prairie provinces. To address this gap, the OPV is using similar methodologies from our research on Alberta to map the landscape of violent extremism and targeted violence in the Prairies. These include analysis of media reports and academic work on extremist events, semi-structured interviews with local stakeholders, experts, and police, as well as political and intelligence officials. Preliminary research has identified a host of diverse violent extremist actors in both provinces. In Manitoba, these actors have primarily adopted xenophobic and anti-authority ideologies. Similar ideologies have motivated actors in Saskatchewan, including some with links to the accelerationist group Diagonol. Conspiracy theories have continued to spread across the Prairies, leading to at least one QAnon-linked murder in Saskatchewan, and both provinces have experienced hate incidents directed toward the 2SLGBTQI+, Indigenous, Jewish, Muslim, and Asian communities.

**Printing Terror: The Symbolic Appeal of 3D Manufacturing Technologies Amongst REMVE Actors:** Yannick Veilleux-Lepage (Royal Military College of Canada)

**Abstract:** On October 9, 2019, a gunman attempted to kill worshippers at a synagogue in Halle, Germany, crossing a new threshold: it was the first time a terrorist had perpetrated a deadly attack using a crafted firearms in combination with 3D printing technology. This presentation investigates the intersection between additive manufacturing technology, online forums, and Extreme Right political thought, in order to better understand (1) the aspirations of online extremist groups around their approach to 3D printing, (2) how might these groups consider incorporating 3D printing into their long-term political aspirations, and lastly (3), whether their understanding of additive manufacturing lines up with what is currently feasible with existing commercial.

This research project employs a mixed-method approach, combining a digital ethnographical survey of extreme right forums, interviews with First and Second Amendment activists; and industry experts. This research demonstrates that 3D printing technologies hold a particular symbolic appeal for extremists on multiple fronts. For one, the ability to manufacture weapons and other illicit items in a decentralized manner aligns with anti-government and anti-institutional ideologies, circumventing traditional regulations and controls. Secondly, the technology embodies a form of empowerment, allowing extremists to create tools that are otherwise restricted or monitored. Lastly, the very act of using 3D printing serves as a statement against established systems, reinforcing extremist narratives about self-reliance and resistance to authority.

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## B05 - Fieldwork, Ethics, and Concepts

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*Crossing Borders, Thinking Borders: Knowledge Production in and from the (Post)Colony:* Tka Pinnock (York University)

**Abstract:** Caribbean feminist scholarship reminds us of the importance of a host of ethical concerns in conducting research in (post)colonial settings, specifically, that our research must be concerned with which lives our work construct, how we undertake that construction and for what and whose purpose (DeShong and Kempadoo, 2021). In these ways, knowledge production is an ongoing intellectual and political project for Caribbean/feminist scholars across a range of disciplines, with resonance for those who study politics. Aligned with the CPSA conference theme, drawing on my fieldnotes reflecting on participant observation and open-ended interviews with craft vendors in Jamaica, this paper offers critical commentary on ethnographic practice in postcolonial contexts and what it means for knowledge production in the discipline [of political science], particularly in the field of comparative politics where qualitative research techniques take center stage (Mahoney, 2007). Grounded in a conception of ethnography as an exploration and crossing of borders (Pachirat, 2018), I pursue the following three themes: first, the "ethnographic self" as border traveller [and crosser], and its generative potential in knowledge production. As Shehata (2013) claims the researcher's "ethnographic self" is a conduit of research. Secondly, I explore the theme of conducting research in and producing knowledge about the (post)colony as a diasporic subject. Thirdly, borrowing from Mignolo's "border thinking" (2000), I delve into knowledge production from the (post)colony and its implications for disciplinary boundaries. In dialogue with broader scholarship in critical methodologies, I pursue these themes to argue that a decolonial ethnographic practice may allow political scientists deeper insight into central concepts of interest, and a rethink of the roles of power, language and ethics in qualitative research.

*Digital fieldworks: making a virtue out of necessity or building a well-thought-out and legitimate methodology?:* Manon Laurent (Collège de France)

**Abstract:** For around ten years, I have been carrying out a "patchwork survey" (Watanabe, Varma and Günel, 2020) on the political and educational strategies of Chinese urban middle-class parents. Mixing in situ and online empirical field sessions, I immersed myself in the real and virtual world of parents in China. Although the online sessions were often imposed by external constraints (financial, temporal, family or regulatory), they made it possible to explore virtual spaces invested daily by parents and to enrich the understanding of the competitive environment and solidarity networks that support parental practices. This article questions whether digital fieldwork is first and foremost making a virtue out of necessity when external conditions force the scholar to cancel on-site fieldwork or whether it can be considered a well-thought-out methodological design from the start. I argue that digital fieldwork can be a legitimate methodological design and has the power to renew the analysis on any research object; however conducting digital fieldwork requires prior conditions. In this article, I draw lessons from my personal experiences conducting digital fieldworks on parenting practices in China and from exchanges with students and scholars. Conducting digital fieldwork should not be the prerogative of young and inexperienced scholars who lack the resources to conduct on-site fieldwork. Scholars often need prior on-site experience to make the best out of data collected online. This is especially true in areal studies, when scholars study national contexts far from their own personal environment. To conclude, I call for senior scholars in political science to produce and teach stronger methodological and ethical protocol to conduct digital fieldwork.

*Is that Enough for You? The Poverty of Exaggerated Concepts in Political Science:* Phil Triadafilopoulos (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper takes issue with concept exaggeration in political science, through a critique of "wicked" and (worse still) "super-wicked problems" and "superdiversity." I argue that all three concepts are essentially redundant, reflecting a tendency in political science to adopt or invent concepts for the sake of performative innovation. In practical terms, the paper synthesizes the many powerful critiques of these concepts and in so doing (and, let it be said, in full awareness of the irony of doing so), develops a definition/theory of exaggerated concepts which highlights their similarities, explains why they succeed, and offers arguments against their use.

*Fieldwork Closure and Failure: Engaging with Family Politics, the Street and the State in Algeria:* Hiba Zerrougui (McGill University), Juan Wang (McGill University)

**Abstract:** As I embarked on my fieldwork in Algeria to study authoritarian governance in contexts where protests were common occurrence, I was not surprised that despite my preparation, I encountered intimidation and violence. What took me aback was my inability and later, my unwillingness to overcome, circumvent, or endure these challenges despite my preparation. At first, I understood my experience as a failure. I, a Canadian-Algerian researcher fluent in both French and Algerian dialect, with ties with several local communities, sensitized to the context of my "native" country, was unable to "adapt" and resolve what I experienced as a series of insurmountable situations. With time, I attempted to theorize this discomfort and my refusal to work around it. I found that the literature aiming at making fieldwork practices safer for researchers is perpetuating problematic assumptions. In this paper, I draw lessons from my field experiences, notably the need to theorize systematically how positionality, private/family life, and emotional labor matter for knowledge production. These altered my relationship with the field, made me question my assumed individuality as a researcher, and blurred the lines between private and professional contexts, as well as between what was individual and a collective endeavor. Instead of finding ways to overcome or push back against barriers, I opted for a reflexive review of my own assumptions about what fieldwork in Algeria should look like, what constitutes valid sources of knowledge, and legitimate spaces for data collection. In doing so, I embraced research ethics centered around "care" and "refusal."

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## E05 - Local Democratic Institutions and Representation

### Politique locale et urbaine

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

***The Participatory Outcomes of Participatory Budgeting: A Comparative Study of American and Canadian Cities:*** Raluca Gabriela Pavel (Loyola University Chicago), Olga Avdeyeva (Loyola University Chicago)

**Abstract:** One of the assumptions in the broader Participatory Budgeting (PB) literature is that this process could lead to higher levels of participation. Drawing upon the principles of participatory and deliberative democracy, which suggest that democratic engagement educates and mobilizes citizens, this research explores the relationship between PB and voter turnout. Very few studies have investigated this question in the context of PB and the results coming out are mixed, mostly because the focus has been on a very limited number of cities. Therefore, my study adopts a comprehensive comparative approach across various cities in the United States and Canada. Using city council district-level data spanning from 2000 to 2023, a difference-in-difference model is applied to observe the post-PB implementation effects. Preliminary findings indicate that the impact of PB on voter turnout may not be robust, primarily because of the way PB is implemented. This study sets the stage for further investigation into the nuances of PB's influence on broader political engagement. A forthcoming chapter will delve into an in-depth case study analysis to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between PB and voter turnout.

***The emergence of a municipal political party: the case of the Rassemblement des Citoyens et des Citoyennes de Montréal (RCM)/Montreal Citizen's Movement (MCM):*** Sandra Breux (INRS)

**Abstract:** In Canada, analyses of municipal political parties are still few and far between. The few existing studies are mostly descriptive, relatively old and often focused on party personalities. To the best of our knowledge, few studies have carried out a detailed analysis of the political dynamics at work, and in a longitudinal manner. Based on the creation of an electoral database dating back to the 1960s, the testimony of former party members (n=48) and the party's archives, we will highlight the political conditions that led to the emergence of the Rassemblement des Citoyens et des Citoyennes de Montréal (RCM)/Montreal Citizen's Movement (MCM). The choice of this party is explained by its longevity (1974-2001), by the fact that some of its members and founders are still alive, but also by its similarities, at least in appearance, with contemporary formations. The changing institutional framework of the time, the desire to hold on to power, Drapeau's electoral domination and the nature of his party all contributed to the establishment of a monopolistic regime that paved the way for the emergence of a third party under specific social and economic conditions. This analysis offers several avenues of reflection for refining a typology of municipal political parties, but also for demonstrating that some of these municipal formations share many similarities with political parties at higher levels of government.

***Towards a Theory of Local Party Systems in Canada:*** Katelynn Kowalchuk (University of British Columbia), Carey Doberstein (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** Research on the emergence, stability, and evolution of party systems is abundant within the political science discipline, spanning various electoral systems, regime types, and regions. Despite the wealth of literature on the emergence of national party systems, and a blossoming literature on local party systems abroad, there remains a lack of theorization about the emergence of local party systems in Canada. Though Canada maintains fewer partisan cities than the United States or Europe, major centres such as Vancouver and Montréal have allowed parties to operate in local elections (either officially or unofficially) for decades. This paper will aim to bring the discipline towards a theory of local party systems in Canada through an analysis of the applicability of current theories of national-level and local-level party systems to this context. While much of this literature is international in scope, many works focus on local party systems in federal states, implicating their potential utility for a theory of local party systems in Canada. Ultimately, I suggest that no present theory of local party system emergence can be applied directly to the Canadian context, prompting the opportunity for novel theorization. I conclude with a number of considerations for a theory of local party systems in Canada, drawing from both the national-level and local-level literatures.

***Municipal Political Representation and Housing Affordability:*** Alexandre Rivard (University of Calgary), Jack Lucas (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Housing affordability has become a pressing issue in communities across Canada, and municipal governments play a critical role in shaping the character and quantity of housing supply available in local communities. At present, however, we know little about the extent to which municipal politicians are equipped to represent their constituents' preferences on housing supply and housing affordability. In this paper, we combine a nationally representative survey of Canadians with a survey of mayors and councillors in municipalities across Canada to explore (a) the extent to which politicians align with their constituents in their housing policy attitudes and (b) the extent to which politicians accurately perceive constituents' preferences with regards to housing supply. We conclude with a comparison of politicians' representational performance on housing policy to their performance in other areas of municipal public policy.

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## M05 - Workshop on Teaching the Everyday: Diversifying the Discipline

### Enseignement

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Katherine Boothe (McMaster University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Nathan Andrews (McMaster University)

Griselda Asamoah-Gyadu (McMaster University)

Beyza Kizeltepe (McMaster University)

Szu-Yun Hsu (McMaster University)

Karen Murray (York University)

Fikir Haile (Queen's University)

Badriyya Yusuf (Queen's University)

Janique Du Bois (Université of Ottawa)

Akayla Kandiah (McMaster University)

Ulas Tastekin (McMaster University)

Rebecca Major (University of Windsor)

**Abstract:** Diversifying course syllabi has been identified as one of the key initiatives to anti-racism and decolonizing higher education (Sawer and Curtin 2016; Andrews 2020). Approaches range from incorporating authors from underrepresented groups to including topics that are systematically marginalized due to structural bias and dominant forms of knowledge production. In the discipline of political science, scholars have also pointed out discipline-specific issues such as lack of multicultural perspectives and absence of voice from Indigenous communities and Global South (Nath, 2011; Mantz 2019; Andrews, 2022; Wallace 2022).

Several universities in Canada and abroad have highlighted syllabus redesign as a key component of diversifying the academy, and have carried out plans to promote more diverse and inclusive curricula. This roundtable will bring together scholars engaged in this work in Canadian political science departments to discuss methods, opportunities, and challenges associated with facilitating change and advancing more inclusive course designs.

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## N05 - Reproductive Justice II

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*Reproductive (In)Justice? Vulnerabilization and the Persistent Undermining of Midwifery Practice in Ontario, Canada:* Iris Bradford (Concordia University), Lindsay Larios (University of Manitoba), Stephanie Paterson (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Historically and currently, the advancement of the midwifery profession has been linked with the broader advancement of reproductive equity and autonomy for birth givers (e.g., Daviss 2006). Moreover, scholars and advocates highlight the possibilities of midwifery's client-centered, holistic approach to care for addressing the disproportionate obstetric violence and poor birthing outcomes experienced by racialized, Indigenous, gendered, and otherwise marginalized groups (Finestone and Stirbys 2018; Burton and Ariss 2014; Rigaud 2021). This study examines the current limits and possibilities of midwifery's emancipatory claims in Ontario, Canada. The integration and self-regulation of Ontario midwives in 1994 has been celebrated as one of the most advanced and beneficial models for midwifery internationally, and is often used as a paradigmatic case for the sociological study of midwifery (e.g., Bourgeault 2006; MacDonald 2007). However, scholars and advocates have highlighted the contradictions of Ontario midwives' inclusion into dominant health institutions where their care, value, and expertise has been persistently undermined by successive governments and their continued subordination to biomedical expertise (Spring 2020). Using the lens of 'vulnerabilization?', we explore the effects produced by the systemic undermining of midwifery care, not only for midwives, but also for racialized and Indigenous communities, and undocumented migrants and those with precarious status. We argue that these challenges, including the pay equity/human rights dispute, the closure of a midwifery education program, and limited access to care, reflect and perpetuate the systemic marginalization of not only midwives, but entire communities. Though midwifery remains tied to its transformative promises, these ongoing struggles demonstrate the difficulty in simply maintaining midwifery's current workforce, scope, and reach, let alone expanding access to groups that especially benefit from a midwifery approach to care.

*Canadian Surrogacy as the Struggle to Maintain the Legal Framework of Altruism:* Alexandria Hammond (McGill University), Stephanie Paterson (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Surrogacy is increasingly prevalent, particularly in Canada where federal law criminalizes commercial surrogacy but permits unpaid or 'altruistic' arrangements. In Canada's altruistic model, surrogates cannot legally profit but may be reimbursed for surrogacy-related expenses such as maternity clothing, groceries, and transportation costs. While paying surrogates is criminally prohibited, paying surrogacy agents, lawyers, and for-profit fertility clinics remains legal as does the participation of Canadians in commercial surrogacy abroad. Drawing upon a discourse analysis of legal and policy documents and popular media sources including newspapers, a documentary, and the websites of surrogacy agencies, this paper tracks how normative ideologies of reproduction and motherhood struggle to reconcile or at least displace the potentially problematic politics of commercial third parties profiting off the altruistic exchange of others. This, I argue, ultimately maintains Canada's legal framework of altruism, and makes thinking of representations of paid and unpaid surrogacy together a necessary task in understanding how commercial third parties and the law combine to naturalize a contested process of family-building and foreclose critique. The paper contributes an explicit focus on the discourses at play in surrogate politics in the Canadian context and speaks to broader political questions about how forms of reproductive labour become desirable to people in their everyday lives. My findings also offer original empirical insights about the public and private resources that make Canada's model of altruistic surrogacy possible and reveal routes for rethinking it in these terms.

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## **Q05 - Workshop: Political Science Theories and Practice II / Atelier: Théories et pratiques de la science politique II**

### **Practitioners**

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : David Houle (Public secteur / Secteur public - federal)

### **Participants**

Jérôme Couture (Université Laval)

Philippe Roseberry (Innovation, Science et Développement Économique Canada)

Maude Marquis-Bissonnette (ENAP)

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## Day 1 - Presidential Address (05:00pm - 06:00pm)

## Day 1 - Departmental Reception (06:00pm - 08:00pm)

## Day 1 - CPSA Women`s Caucus Social (TBA) (08:00pm - 10:00pm)

## Day 2 - Session 1 (08:30am - 10:00am)

### A09(a) - Parliament I

#### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Cabinet By Numbers: Understanding Canadian Federal Cabinet Governance Trends using an Original Data Set:* J.P. Lewis (University of New Brunswick)

**Abstract:** Using an original data set (1867-2023) this paper examines trends in Canadian federal cabinet governance with a focus on representation, portfolio tenure and cabinet membership. The central research question for the paper is how do appointment and tenure trends in Canadian federal cabinet reflect our understanding of Canadian federal cabinet process and structure? The widely read modern literature on Canadian federal cabinet (Bakvis 1991, Savoie 1999, White 2005) focuses on qualitative, anecdotal and interview data without much attention to longitudinal data. The last examination of Canadian federal cabinet with a strong focus on longitudinal data was Bill Matheson's 1976 book *The Prime Minister and Cabinet* which considered multiple cabinet governance trends with appointment and tenure data. The findings will contribute to our understanding of such cabinet governance dynamics as substantive representation, collegial cabinet and marginalization of ministers. While the cabinet hiring and firing prerogatives of prime ministers have been discussed in the past a deep analysis with historical data can build on work on interpretations of individual ministerial responsibility, collective cabinet responsibility and meaningful cabinet membership.

*The Conventional Canadian Confidence Relationship: Flexibility, Contested Interpretations, and Executive Dominance:* Elsa Piersig (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The confidence relationship is at the core of parliamentary democracy and links cabinets to parliaments throughout the parliamentary term, from government formation to termination and dissolution. Yet, despite its central role, comparative and case-specific literature on accountability in parliamentary democracies tends to study each link (investiture, confidence, and non-confidence votes, and dissolution rules) separately rather than conceptualize them as a set of rules structuring executive-legislative relations. My dissertation brings together the entire confidence relationship in a comparative study covering 28 established European and Anglosphere parliamentary democracies. In this paper, I explore the Canadian confidence relationship and why its rules were adopted, what was expected of them, its current incarnation, and Canada's experience with it since its adoption. Compared to most of the other 28 cases, the Canadian confidence relationship is one of the few remaining traditional confidence relationships and relies heavily on convention and provides significant scope for ambiguity, all of which lead to contesting interpretations that challenge the original expectations. This paper demonstrates how it contributes to the executive's dominance over parliament while still providing the House of Commons with greater parliamentary selectoral power within the confidence relationship than some other parliamentary systems.

*Legislative Influence of House of Commons Committees:* Jocelyn McGrandle (Columbia College)

**Abstract:** In 1978, Paul G. Thomas wrote an article studying the influence of Standing Committees on government legislation. He found that "while the legislative process is variable, the influence of committees upon government legislation has remained limited to the details of policy rather than its substance" (Thomas 1978: 683). Since then, very little work has been done to further the study of House of Commons committees in Canada (Stilborn 2014; Brodie 2018). Indeed, parliamentary committees are rarely discussed as effective arbiters in the parliamentary process. Despite this, anecdotal evidence, particularly media attention on committee procedures during potential political scandals such as the recent SNC- Lavalin and We Charity examples, indicates that committees are important sources of influence in the Canadian political system. This paper seeks to revisit Thomas' question in the contemporary era by examining House of Commons standing and legislative committee amendments to government bills from 2004-2019. Amendments are coded in three degrees of substantiveness: typographical, clarificatory, and substantive. This study concludes that committees are, in fact, a source of systematic, substantive influence on government legislation (albeit more so in minority government situations than majority). Committees thus deserve more attention in studies of the Canadian parliamentary system.

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## A09(b) - Political Communication in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**Mapping Canadian Leaders' Use of YouTube:** Tamara A. Small (University of Guelph), Andrew J.A. Mattan (Carleton University), Aidan Harris (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** YouTube, the online video sharing social media platform, was established almost two decades ago in 2005. Worldwide, YouTube is a very popular social media. In Canada, it ranks as the second most used social media site after Facebook (CIRA, 2023); just over seventy percent of Canadians use YouTube regularly (Dixon 2022). Attention on YouTube within Canadian politics grew recently with Pierre Poilievre. For instance, his 2020 YouTube video, "Here is the clip the CBC didn't want you to see," has garnered nearly 4.5 million views to date. During his bid for the leadership of the Conservative Party, Poilievre made extensive use of YouTube videos in order to by-pass the traditional media and speak directly to its base (Harris, 2023). Despite this, YouTube is understudied in political science, and academic attention to it is disproportionate to its influence in general society compared to Twitter (Jansen and Small, 2020; Munger and Phillips, 2022). It is worth noting that while YouTube is understudied, some Canadian scholars have examined political uses of online video on other platforms (Lalancette, Drouin, and Lemarier-Saulnier, 2014; Lalancette and Tourigny-Koné, 2017). Given this gap, this paper seeks to map the use of YouTube by party leaders in Canada. Taking up Gerring's (2012) call for "mere description" in political science research, this paper will address three questions: to what extent do leaders use YouTube? What is the nature of the videos posted? And what factors (e.g., type, length, party) impact their viewership? Through the creation of a typology of leadership YouTube videos, we seek to make a theoretical contribution to this understudied area of digital politics.

**Setting the Agenda in Canadian Leaders' Debates:** Spencer McKay (University of British Columbia), Jacob Robbins-Kanter (Bishop's University)

**Abstract:** Debate organizers enjoy considerable power to set the agenda for debates because the topics and questions that structure leaders' debates constrain the capacity of leaders to set the agenda. The chosen topics and questions do not merely influence the content of the debate itself, but also indirectly shape the post-debate discussions in the broader public sphere. In this paper, we examine the topics and questions that have appeared in all Canadian leaders' debates from 2008 to 2021. First, we investigate the extent to which debate agendas reflect substantive policy issues. Second, we investigate whether the topics have changed over time in a way that reflects increased demands for inclusion. In particular, have issues related to women, LGBTQ persons, Indigenous peoples become more common? Third, we examine the extent to which debate agendas reflect broad public concerns.

**Harper and Trudeau's Prime Ministerial Communication Styles in Retrospect 2006-2023: Executive Leadership Closing Down Democratic Two-Way Communication:** Peter Ryan (Mount Royal University)

**Abstract:** This paper analyzes how the leadership and communication styles of Prime Ministers Stephen Harper and Justin Trudeau differ in terms of their overall strategies and tactics in a retrospective of their tenures from 2006 to 2023. Bernier, Brownsey and Howlett's *Executive Styles in Canada* (2005) described the spectrum of executive styles from leader-centered to a decentralized team-based approaches for governing from the political centre of power. Consistently, Donald Savoie's work as a dominant theoretical source has also focused on the centralizing of the levers of power in the PMO, as developed in his *Governing from the Centre* (1999) through to his *Government* (2022), where he presents several means by which prime ministers have retained power, while limiting democratic input from citizens. Leaders have several options to shut down media contact via centralized control of government and partisan channels, whether through strategic technology use like Harper's Message Event Proposals (MEPs) or his limited 24/7 online partisan videos, during the pre-app era of permanent campaign tactics, or in contrast, Trudeau's open uses of town halls and social media dominance to circumnavigate the media to directly communicate with citizens. The PMO's communication strategies are evaluated in this paper to identify how leadership styles from the center have limited democratic input over the past two decades; to do so, Grunig and Hunt's (1984) four models of public relations that describe various management and organizational practices are used to categorize the PMO online channels, speeches and news releases, to present opportunities for opening government to public engagement that is less partisan and polarized. Overall, both prime ministers later in their careers chose communication styles that have limited media and public input, during times of lower voter support in the polls.

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## A09(c) - Politique(s) de l'immigration au Québec

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia University)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Les médias écrits et l'immigration au Québec, 1990-2020:* Mireille Paquet (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Les recherches sur la politisation de l'immigration soulignent le rôle joué par les médias dans l'amplification de ce phénomène, tant en ce qui touche à l'attention portée à l'immigration mais aussi quant à la diffusion de messages polarisant. Qu'en est-il au Québec, alors que la province vit des débats de société très intense autour de la diversité et de l'immigration depuis 2006. Cette communication explore comment la couverture de l'immigration dans la presse écrite du Québec a évolué dans le temps et si le traitement médiatique de l'immigration est devenu plus polarisé avec le temps. À l'aide d'une base de données regroupant tous les articles portant sur l'immigration publiés par les principaux journaux de la province depuis 1990 (La Presse, le Devoir, le Journal de Montréal, le Journal de Québec, le Soleil, la Tribune, le Droit, le Nouvelliste et la Voix de l'Est), cette présentation fait un portrait quantitatif et qualitatif de cette couverture.

*Exploration du lien entre immigration et déclin du français au Québec (1968-2022):* François Rocher (Université d'Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Pour qui s'intéresse aux débats entourant l'immigration au Québec, le lien entre une augmentation de la population née à l'étranger et le déclin du français semble une évidence. Cette communication adopte une perspective historique remontant aux travaux de la Commission d'enquête sur la situation de la langue française et sur les droits linguistiques au Québec (1968-1972, commission Gendron) jusqu'à l'adoption de la Loi sur la langue officielle et commune du Québec, le français (loi 96) en 2022. Les enjeux linguistiques ont aussi été abordés à d'autres moments clés, notamment lors de l'adoption de la Charte de la langue française (1977), des États généraux sur la situation et l'avenir de la langue française au Québec (2000-2001, commission Larose) et de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles (2007-2008, commission Bouchard-Taylor). L'analyse tient aussi compte de la manière dont l'immigration a été abordée lors des élections provinciales depuis 1970. L'objectif est de montrer que ce lien entre immigration et déclin du français est, somme toute, relativement récent dans le débat public. Il s'agit de déterminer dans quels termes il s'exprime, par quels acteurs sociaux et politiques il est mis de l'avant, et quels sont les indicateurs utilisés pour établir ce lien. Plus généralement, nous allons montrer que l'instrumentalisation du thème du « déclin du français », et sa critique par d'autres acteurs, s'inscrit dans les tensions associées au virage identitaire pris par les tenants d'un nationalisme dit conservateur et renvoie à des enjeux plus larges que ceux associés à la langue.

*Fédéralisme et politiques d'immigration au Québec:* Catherine Xhardez (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Dans de nombreux États fédéraux, les entités fédérées gèrent désormais un large éventail de questions liées à l'immigration, allant de la sélection des immigrants à leur intégration, en passant par le contrôle et la citoyenneté. Cependant, il existe des théories et données contradictoires quant à l'étendue de l'autonomie et de l'implication des entités fédérées dans les politiques d'immigration. Cette communication se concentre sur les provinces canadiennes, en mettant l'accent sur le Québec, afin d'étudier le rôle et le pouvoir des entités fédérées dans l'élaboration des politiques d'immigration. Deux questions cruciales sont posées : (1) quelles dimensions de la politique d'immigration une entité fédérée peut-elle gérer, et (2) dans quelle mesure peut-elle prendre des décisions contraignantes et s'impliquer activement dans l'élaboration des politiques ?

Pour répondre à ces questions, je développe un cadre multidimensionnel qui distingue cinq dimensions clés de la politique d'immigration : la sélection des immigrants, leur accueil, l'accès à la citoyenneté, l'application des lois, ainsi que la mobilité interne. Ensuite, j'analyse l'autonomie politique et l'implication des entités fédérées (provinces), en m'appuyant sur des données originales provenant de l'analyse de documents législatifs, d'accords gouvernementaux, d'évaluations de programmes et de débats parlementaires.

Les résultats mettent en évidence le rôle singulier du Québec, qui se distingue par sa plus grande autonomie et son implication significative dans le domaine de l'immigration. Cependant, d'autres provinces et territoires canadiens ont également gagné en autonomie et se sont impliqués dans divers aspects des politiques d'immigration. Cette communication appuie l'importance d'une reconnaissance et étude accrue des pouvoirs et de l'action des entités fédérées dans les politiques d'immigration des États fédéraux.

*Les experts de la bureaucratie de la migration : l'industrie migratoire et le recrutement des travailleurs migrants guatémaltèques au Québec:* Mylène Coderre (Université d'Ottawa)

**Abstract:** La migration de travail temporaire au Québec est régie par un ensemble complexe de règles et procédures difficiles à naviguer pour les travailleurs migrants et les employeurs. Ceci nourrit une demande pour les services d'intermédiaires privés (consultants, agences de recrutement) spécialisés dans le domaine de la migration. S'appuyant sur une recherche qualitative menée entre 2019 et 2022 auprès d'agriculteurs, agences de recrutement et travailleurs migrants guatémaltèques, cette présentation explorera les liens entre l'hyperréglementation de la migration temporaire et la croissance d'une industrie migratoire. D'abord, elle abordera comment les intermédiaires privés parviennent à légitimer et accroître leurs activités en mobilisant leur connaissance des règles de la migration à des fins lucratives. Ceci provoque un gonflement des coûts de la migration que doivent assumer les employeurs et les travailleurs migrants. Ensuite, elle expliquera qu'en tant qu'experts de la bureaucratie de la migration, ils garantissent l'adhésion et la conformité des employeurs et des travailleurs migrants avec les cadres réglementaires et contribuent ainsi à leur effectivité et pérennité. Ainsi, tout en

accroissant leur présence dans la gestion de la migration temporaire, les intermédiaires participent aussi à consolider le pouvoir de l'État de contrôler, surveiller et gérer la mobilité des travailleurs migrants.

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## A09(d) - Gender and Rights in Canada over Time

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Unraveling Social Movement Clout: Anti-Abortion Impact in Canada's Provinces since the 1980s:* Sylvia Bashevkin (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Among the first granular comparisons of anti-feminist impact in units of a federal system, this paper examines how interests opposed to reproductive choice shaped policy in four Canadian provinces where violent incidents followed a landmark high court decision. It builds directly on two conceptual streams in social movement research, resource mobilization and political process, by probing the extent to which campaigns to limit abortion access depended on human agency (notably the entrepreneurial leadership of specific individuals) versus structural factors (namely the presence of a favourable climate of opinion). Consistent with findings from outside Canada, the study finds anti-choice policies were most pronounced in provinces with relatively strong traditionalist values such that those jurisdictions provided more welcoming environments for anti-choice efforts than areas with high levels of secularism. Individual actors, however, appeared crucial to provincial decision-making in that nimble, creative and institutionally well-connected activists compounded whatever advantage a particular climate of opinion offered their movement. The study considers implications of these results and proposes directions for further research.

*Paths to Suffrage: Female Franchise Extension in Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1912-17:* Gerard Boychuk (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** The paper reconsiders the conventional wisdom that the paths to female franchise extension in Alberta and Saskatchewan closely paralleled each other (Cleverdon, 1950) and the related claim that the extension of the franchise to females in Alberta (and Manitoba) largely predetermined its advent in Saskatchewan. Rather, using new archival evidence, the paper argues that the trajectory of suffrage extension in Alberta, the first province in which the governing party explicitly committed to suffrage, was largely the result of demands by the United Farmers of Alberta in order to maximize the political weight of agrarian interests in Alberta politics. This path to suffrage was significantly distinct from that of Saskatchewan where the governing Liberals themselves, in response to internal party tensions relating to the issue of prohibition, generated the final push for suffrage.

*Whose Rights? Two Decades of Parental Rights Talk in the Media:* Nancy Hills (University of Waterloo), Emmett Macfarlane (University of Waterloo), Eleanor McGrath (University of Waterloo), Alana Cattapan (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** The phrase "parental rights" is not new in Canada and its popularity seems to emerge in waves. The term has recently seen prominence in the media as school boards and legislatures adapt to or contest updated human rights codes calling for respect for gender identity (e.g., using preferred pronouns, gender-inclusive washrooms). The re-emergence of parental rights rhetoric raises questions about how children's rights are factored into relevant decision making. While children's rights are covered by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, there is no comparable statute for parents' rights.

This study investigates the context of "rights talk" as it pertains to "parents' rights" and "children's rights." It uses Google Trends data to identify seven months over the past 20 years where searches for "parental rights" have reached at least 50% of peak searching. Then, drawing on news articles from national outlets mentioning "parental rights" from those months, we will code them using an inductive approach. This study catalogues the context in which parents' rights are used over the past two decades and whether the discussion includes children's rights as well. It contributes to ongoing rights talk scholarship and illuminates how the concept of "rights" is employed under particular circumstances to advance certain agendas or to push back against waves of change.

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## B09 - Ideology and Patterns of Mobilization

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Muhammad Bilal Shakir (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Rose Chabot (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Francesco Cavatorta (Laval University)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Explaining Islam's Electoral Disadvantage: The Social and Electoral Mobilization of Islamist Parties in Pakistan (1947-2023):* Muhammad Bilal Shakir (McGill University)

**Abstract:** What explains the electoral underperformance of some ideologically committed political parties with outsized social influence and policy sway relative to their electoral performance versus others? This paper finds that such 'de-aligned mobilization' can be depicted along the dimension of 'structural fragmentation,' which captures a party's structural constraints in its operations that prevent it from achieving mass electoral success. It encompasses the constraints imposed by the social structure, principally religious cleavages, that impinge on an Islamist party's agency to reorient its electoral strategy by changing its party positions and creating new cleavages more favourable to it electorally. Using the case of Islamist parties in Pakistan, a country of 220 million people, the paper emphasizes that fragmentation from religious cleavages impinges on the Islamist electoral vote and is crucial to explaining the de-aligned mobilization of Islamist parties in Pakistan. Moreover, I hypothesize that the electoral system and rules can be a confounder in explaining the variation between structural fragmentation and social and electoral mobilization. These confounders shape mobilization by influencing vote fragmentation, particularly for Islamist parties with extensive social networks. I use government and local newspaper reports from the 1940s onwards, 11 months of fieldwork data encompassing 60 semi-structured interviews at the elite level and two focus groups at the non-elite level, ethnographic insights, and the most comprehensive novel dataset on electoral outcomes of Islamist parties in Pakistan to buttress my claims.

*'We are Feminists but First, we Belong to the Community': Popular Feminisms against Gender-Based Violence and Dilemmas of Collective Action in Argentina:* Rose Chabot (McGill University)

**Abstract:** For the past three decades, Argentina has witnessed the expansion of popular women's movements mobilized for the most marginalized sectors of society to gain access to basic goods and services. Simultaneously, feminist movements that explicitly challenge traditional gender norms and patriarchal institutions have grown massively. Unfolding in the context of the 'Left Turn', these new alliances between lower-sector women's movements and historically middle-class feminist movements has been labeled by Graciela Di Marco (2010) as 'the feminist people' ('el pueblo feminista'); a nodal point for rethinking subjected groups' belonging in a collective, radical democratic project. The growing ties between these movements and the coalitions they have formed surrounding violence against women and abortion in the recent years'involved putting in tension the boundaries of their political community, as well as negotiating the targeted 'problems' and 'solutions' guiding their demands towards the state. How do women and women's organizations from popular sectors navigate the constraints imposed by their sociopolitical environment as they engage in feminist struggles? Focusing on women's non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that work on gender-based violence and femicide, this paper relies on in-depth interviews and extensive fieldwork in three Argentine provinces conducted between 2020 and 2022. This paper puts forth that popular-sector women's organizations navigate the dilemmas of collective action by engaging strategically in the 'politics of belonging' to secure policy and social gains from different communities.

*'Ethnonationalism for Them, Multinationality for Us': The Rise of International Radical Right Rhetoric in Russia's Domestic Official Discourse.:* Andrey Davydov (McGill University)

**Abstract:** To domestic audiences, the Russian government projects two seemingly contradictory stances on ethnic nationalism. The regime supports radical right anti-immigrant, Islamophobic, and anti-BLM stances for Western European and North American contexts. At the same time, it pursues a moderate image on immigration and ethnic diversity at home. It punishes open ethnic nationalism, stresses that Russia is a 'multinational country', avoids open domestic anti-immigration rhetoric, and bans radical right parties. The official rhetoric is consistent across contexts on other radical right topics such as anti-feminism or homophobia, but not on topics related to ethnicity. To measure and demonstrate the gradual adoption of pro-ethnonationalist narratives and terms by the regime, the paper uses computational text analysis on over 4000 transcripts of four important political shows over a period of six years. Political talk shows are a crucial tool used by the regime in Russia to disseminate its stances. They are highly reflective of the messages it wishes to broadcast (Sharafutdinova 2021). This analysis serves as the first stage of a project that seeks to explore the effects of the regime's inconsistent rhetoric on the different ideological strands of the Russian opposition, ranging from social democrats to the extreme right. The second stage, based on interviews with activists, will examine if this rhetoric demobilises the opposition by making it less hostile to the regime and fragments it by making activists more hostile to other ideological strands of the opposition.

*Protesting as Everyday Life: Making Sense of Ordinary People's Engagement with the Street in Bouteflika's Algeria (1999-2019):* Hiba Zerrougui (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Depictions of ordinary people protesting have been romanticized and demonized in Algeria. The 'popular' is defended, in a republic that, for many, owns its independence not to an elite but to ordinary people who took to the street in 1960. Algerian people also confronted their armies' tanks in

1988, paving the way to constitutional changes. In 2019, popular protests ultimately ended President Bouteflika's tenure. Ordinary people, when they massively mobilize, can upset deeply rooted oppressive systems. These same Algerians have been disciplined to doubt their own power. Described as unrest, protests have been used as a justification for regime's repressive measures. Protests are the subject of 'catastrophizing' policies; state warns that any 'unrest' will lead to chaos. When ordinary people take to the streets, with few notable exceptions, they become crowds: undisciplined, unpredictable, emotional? Scholarship depicted contestation with a similar pessimistic lens: as a history of near misses, an anomic cry against contempt (hogra); a reflection of civil society's difficulties to generate meaningful change; or a sign that the regime can outwit the street. Since the hiraq, there has been an attempt to rethink this. This paper interrogates the meaning given to ordinary people's involvement in contestation. Based on an analysis of accounts of 2937 protests (1999-2019), I find that everyday life is a semiotic framework that make sense of contestation that would otherwise be dismissed as expressions of rent-seeking; anomie; or inchoates democratization attempts. Protesting as everyday life brings seemingly distinct contestation into a singular intelligible political phenomenon.

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## **B09 - Borders and Boundaries, Geography and Politics**

**Politique comparée**

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** :

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## E09 - Housing and Homelessness

### Politique locale et urbaine

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**Older Adult Tenant Precarity and Aging Policy in Québec: Contextualizing Aging-in-place and Age-friendly Policy to an Urban Housing Crisis:** Meghan Joy (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Québec has a policy goal for older adults to age-in-place, securely and healthfully, in their existing homes and communities. This goal is supposed to be realized through the policy Un Québec pour tous les âges (Gouvernement du Québec, 2018) as well as through the province's policy and financial support for age-friendly cities in its municipalities. Despite this, older adults aged 65+ residing in private rental in cities in Québec are experiencing various forms of socio-territorial exclusion and marginalization related to residential precarity in an urban housing market increasingly subject to speculation and gentrification. Moreover, while Québec introduced article 1959.1 to its Civil Code to protect renters 70+ who are low income from eviction, research suggests that some owners use psychological abuse to circumvent the law and force the departure of aging tenants (Simard, 2019). This paper consists of a policy analysis on aging-in-place policy in Québec as well as age-friendly policy in several cities experiencing housing speculation (Montréal, Longueuil, Saint-Jérôme) to examine how they frame and address the housing needs and struggles of older adults. This information is crossed with an analysis on housing policy in Québec and in the above cities to examine how they frame and address the needs of older adults. The findings suggest that age-friendly policy is decontextualized to the political economy and institutional complexities of housing in cities and that housing policy is not age-friendly. The paper concludes with recommendations to align aging and housing policy to the needs of older adult renters in cities.

**Who cares about housing? Understanding housing as a salient issue in Canada:** Marc-Antoine Rancourt (University of Toronto), Alison Smith (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Recent public opinion polls show that Canadians rank affordable housing as a top issue facing the country. Most Canadian respondents are claiming their own cost of living has increased this past year, and that they need to limit their spending budget on food, transportation, and debt payments. Many have also given up on ever owning a house. The literature shows that the cost and quality of one's housing are among the most important factors influencing the quality of life, and some posit that housing only becomes a federal priority in Canada when it affects middle-class/homeowner interests. As of recently, housing is once again on the federal government's policy agenda. This brings us to wonder, is that because the issue is salient again for the middle-class and homeowners? Also, in years when housing is less salient, for whom is it salient? We look at data from before and after housing became very important to Canadians, notably due to the economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, to answer these questions. Few studies have investigated this puzzle, especially in Canada. Drawing from the 2019 and 2021 editions of the Canadian Election Study, we inquire into the determinants of the importance of housing as an issue in Canada. Using logistic regression analysis, we show what explains the saliency of housing as an issue for Canadian respondents and how it differs by year. We then discuss the findings in light of the literature on the subject.

**Indigenous Visions of Making Home in Niagara:** Joanne Heritz (Brock University), Liam Midzain-Gobin (Brock University)

**Abstract:** Homelessness, income, and employment factors place Indigenous Peoples as the most vulnerable demographic to secure safe and affordable housing in Canada. In 2021, Niagara's Point-in-Time-Count indicated 665 people were experiencing homelessness, and just over 22 per cent identified as Indigenous, yet they comprise less than three per cent of Niagara's population (Niagara 2021). Indigenous Peoples also face housing affordability challenges disproportionately in Canada. Indigenous household income is 25% lower at \$54,800 compared to \$70,332 for non-Indigenous and unemployment is 25% higher at 12.7 per cent compared to 7.7% (Randle et al. 2021; Thurston & Randle 2022).

This paper provides an overview of past and current efforts of Niagara's Indigenous community at sharing their housing visions. Past efforts include an analysis of documents shared by the Indigenous community regarding their vision of community safety and wellbeing and their input in regional consultation documents. Current efforts include a community-driven project that is developing an alternative vision of living together in Niagara rooted in Indigenous Knowledge. The vision centres and develops the concept of making-home, using a story-based approach. It offers the urban Indigenous community in the Niagara Region a resource to deliver their own analysis of the issues, and their vision for solutions, to housing policy makers in the Niagara Region.

**Municipal Pathways to Sanctioned Encampments in Canada and the United States:** Laura Pin (Wilfrid Laurier University), Nathan Ermeta (Wilfrid Laurier University), Abishane Suthakaran (Wilfrid Laurier University), Nathan Barnett (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Homeless encampments are temporary outdoor accommodations for individuals and groups that have been established often without permission on public property or privately-owned land (Office of the Federal Housing Advocate, 2023). While encampments are not intended to be permanent, they have become indefinite, because of a severe shortage of affordable housing, supportive housing, and limitations of the emergency shelter system. Encampments intersect with municipal land regulation, frequently in contravention local bylaws regulating the use of public space, particularly neo-vagrancy laws limiting loitering, the erection of shelters, and the use of public spaces overnight. Encampments on private lands, even with permission of the landowner, often conflict with municipal bylaws concerning zoning, land use, and housing standards as well. Yet some municipalities have worked with community organizations to develop pathways towards the legalization or sanctioning of encampments under specific circumstances. Drawing on a series of semi-structured interviews with support staff and municipal officials in select jurisdictions in Canada and the United States, this paper explores municipal pathways to the development of sanctioned encampment sites. Working through Herring's 2014 framework of spatial regulatory approaches to encampments - contested, tolerated, accommodated and co-opted - we assess how the administrative strategies through which municipalities regulate encampments impact five aspects of sanctioned encampment operations: governance, community, security, amenities and funding.



## M09 - Workshop on Teaching the Everyday: Innovative Assignments and Everyday

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Gabrielle Daoust (University of Northern B.C.)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Gabrielle Daoust (University of Northern B.C.)

*Dear Students: Reading, Writing, and Teaching the Everyday through Letter-Writing:* Miranda Leibel (University of Lethbridge)

**Abstract:** This paper reflects on an assignment that involved a series of letters that the class wrote to one another over the course of the semester. It was inspired by a student in the early days of the pandemic (and the very early days of my teaching career), who had expressed a heartbreaking sentiment that forced me to reckon with the limitations of my pedagogical assessment tools. The student shared with me the frustration of learning about all of the ways that the world is not what we want it to be? only to write a paper that only I would ever read. Through the collaborative and intimate practice of letter-writing, the class shared feelings of political despair that we all found difficult to articulate and respond to. We thought through our course readings together, but?more importantly? we thought through our everyday lives together. Lives that included overwatering plants; spending whole days in bed; trying to live a ?normal? life even as our campus was polarized by a speaker invited to give a talk on ?woke? culture and academic freedom. I contend that the sustained intellectual engagement throughout the course was not incidental, but a reflection of the possibilities? and perhaps necessities? of making space for everyday life. The everyday is always manifesting itself in our classrooms. It may take the form of disengaged or apathetic learners, or, if attended to as part of our pedagogical orientations, it might also open avenues for generative and collaborative learning.

*?We pass them every day?: Monuments as a Human Rights Teaching Tool:* Kristi Kenyon (University of Winnipeg), Saad Khan (University of Winnipeg)

**Abstract:** Like many Canadian cities, Winnipeg?s urban space is punctuated by monuments that impress a particular narrative on the landscape. In July 2021, in the wake of the discovery of unmarked graves on the grounds of the Kamloops Indian Residential School, a prominent statue of Queen Victoria was toppled. This event ?brought home? the larger debate of monuments and representation to many in Winnipeg. To connect the content of a course on Human Rights in Canada to students? every day experience of navigating the city, we developed a central monument-based assignment scaffolded by resources, guest lectures and an experiential ?do it yourself? field trip. In the assignment students were tasked with identifying and visiting a local monument. They were asked to conduct a visual analysis of the monument (including description, location, portrayal, interpretive materials), to examine the ways in which the monument told or obscured a human rights story, and to identify who was represented and who was missing in this account. Over 2 years and 7 course sections we assessed this activity through surveys at the beginning and end of term finding that the assignment changed students? perception of their urban environment and resulted in an improved self-assessment of analytical skills.

*Teaching the everyday through 'Canadian' fiction:* Alison Smith (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Canadian politics in Canada has often been taught with a strong emphasis on institutions, including federalism, the Constitution, limitations on local governments, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. These these institutional and structural realities of Canadian politics are of great importance to students? understanding of the political world around them, but it can be challenging to relate them to their daily lives. An effective, exciting, innovative approach I have tried in recent years has been using fiction to teach students about Canadian politics, especially failures of the welfare state in Canada. Novels that I assign include "This House is Not A Home" by Katlia, "Scarborough" by Catherine Hernandez, "Brother" by David Chariandy, "Ragged Company" by Richard Wagamese and "Five Little Indians" by Michelle Good. These novels bring the everyday realities of life in Canada to light in a way that I am unable to through lectures.

In the assignments, I ask students to relate the books to content from our classes, and explain what they learned from the book. Many students share that they identified directly with a main character. Others did not directly relate but gained a powerful inside look into the life of another, whose ?everyday? is very different from their own. When assigned early in the semester, I find this assignment elevates the quality of future classes, as students will discuss failures in the healthcare system by talking about the experiences of Francis from ?Brother?; about the importance of local involvement in policy by referencing Ms Hina from ?Scarborough?; and will recall the role of housing policy as a tool of colonization by referencing Ko?s story from ?This House is Not A Home.? I believe this assignment has allowed students to practice using their own voice and to gain insight into ways that Canadian politics has shaped ?the everyday? of people across Canada.

*The Unexpected Role of the Everyday: Lessons from Integrating Community-Based Policy Research with Experiential Learning Practices:* Elizabeth Schwartz (Memorial University)

**Abstract:** In this paper I explore the process and outcomes of a recent pilot project in which senior undergraduate and Masters students designed, conducted, and presented research on the current housing crisis to support the work of a community partner: Municipalities NL (MNL), Newfoundland and Labrador?s municipal association. In Fall 2023, I decided to experiment with a new approach to teaching local politics. Municipal Connections was conceived as a way to use experiential learning pedagogy to connect research expertise at Memorial University with NL municipalities and municipal sector organizations.

Municipal Connections didn?t start out as a project to centre the voices of students and their lived experiences, but that?s what it quickly became. Although MNL staff presented a broad research question about the role of municipalities in addressing the ongoing housing crisis, students had leeway to tailor their projects to suit their own priorities and expertise. We had expected that most teams would focus on the many legal, fiscal and social constraints municipalities face, but instead many students chose topics that reflected their diverse perspectives and highlighted their own experiences.

This course was not supposed to be about teaching the everyday. It was supposed to be a means of using my position at the university to harness the under-recognized research capacity of undergraduate and graduate students to benefit community partners as they address current challenges. But as it turns out, municipalities' current challenges are students' everyday struggles. For the student researchers, this class project was not a way to explore interesting intellectual puzzles. Rather, it empowered them to recognize and articulate the injustices they face in their own lives. And as a result, they taught me, the course instructor, that community is not necessarily or perhaps ever outside of our everyday experience.

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## **N09 - Roundtable: Parent Politics and Trans Youth: Contesting the Anti-Gender Ideology Movement**

### **Femmes, genre et politique**

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Kimberley Manning (Concordia University)

### **Participants**

Annie Pullen Sansfaçon (Université de Montréal)

j wallace skelton (University of Regina)

Nyasha Hillary Chibaya (Université de Montréal)

Francesco MacAllister-Caruso (Concordia University)

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## Q09 - Table ronde: Regards croisés sur les enjeux éthiques en recherche-action

### Practitioners

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** David Houle (Public secteur / Secteur public - federal)

Jeanne Plisson (Centre de prévention de la radicalisation menant à la violence)

Lucile Dartois (Centre de prévention de la radicalisation menant à la violence)

Gabriella Djerrahian, Ph.D. (Coordonnatrice de la recherche & Coordonnatrice de l'échange international des pratiques, Service de)

**Abstract:** La recherche-action soulève des enjeux éthiques particuliers du fait qu'il s'agit souvent de recherches menées à l'extérieur du contexte universitaire, avec des ressources moindres et différentes, et auprès de populations concernées par divers facteurs de vulnérabilités (personnes détenues, auteurs de violence, personnes radicalisées).

La communauté scientifique qui interagit avec ces milieux doit souvent jongler avec plusieurs responsabilités et rôles. La pratique s'opère fréquemment dans des contextes multidimensionnels, joignant les offres de services et la recherche. Les échanges qui en découlent sont donc inscrits dans des relations de pouvoir multidirectionnelles. Aussi, la recherche-action nous confronte à des défis émotionnels, intellectuels et relationnels qui ont des implications éthiques importantes.

Cette table ronde est une opportunité pour échanger sur diverses questions avec des praticiens-nes et des chercheur-es du milieu communautaire :

- ? Comment arrimer les relations entre les chercheur-es, les praticien-nes et les groupes étudiés, lorsque des émotions comme l'inconfort, l'irritation ou la peur peuvent être ressenties ?
  - ? Comment articuler la collaboration entre les praticiens-nes et les chercheur-es, tout en assurant le bien-être des personnes concernées par la recherche et des bénéficiaires des services ?
  - ? Comment appréhender la fatigue de compassion dans des contextes de recherches difficiles ?
  - ? Quels sont les défis posés par différentes positionnalités ? être une femme, une personne racisée ou membre de la communauté LGBTQ+, par exemple ? et comment y répondre ?
  - ? Comment établir et maintenir un lien de confiance avec les participant-es ?
  - ? Comment assurer la sécurité des équipes dans ces contextes d'interaction ?
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# Day 2 - Session 2 [KEYNOTE (open event) - TERRI GIVENS: NO REIPP; COMP POLS; POL THEORY SESSIONS IN THIS TIMESLOT] (10:15am - 11:45am)

## A11(a) - Parliament II

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*Debating the Voting Age: how Canadian Legislators Grapple with the Federal Voting Age:* Valere Gaspard (University of Ottawa), Luc Turgeon (co-supervisor) (University of Ottawa), Benjamin Ferland (co-supervisor) (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Legislators play a crucial role in deciding on the legal voting age in their countries. And yet, we know too little about how they frame support or opposition to changing the voting age. This paper uses frame analysis to explore the arguments made by Canadian parliamentarians to support or oppose changes to its federal voting age. This paper poses a two-part research question: ?what frames are being used to support or oppose changing the voting age from 18 to 16?? and ?have these arguments changed from the ones Canada used to lower the voting age from 21 to 18 in the early 1970s?? I find that a majority of arguments being used by parliamentarians to support or oppose changes to the federal voting age are not consistent with the ones used prior to the 1970 reform, demonstrating the criteria that parliamentarians believe are important for lowering the voting age have changed.

*Class Dismissed? Measuring the Representation of Class within Canadian Legislatures from 1993-2021:* Louise Cockram (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** This paper explores descriptive and substantive representation within Canadian legislatures based on class. The literature on diversity within Canadian legislatures has long focused on descriptive and substantive representation based on gender (Trimble et al, 2013; Tremblay, 1998). However, there remains a gap when it comes to measuring class within Canadian legislatures. This lack of consideration regarding the class background of legislators in Canada is puzzling, especially given the increasing wealth disparities (Campbell, 2020) and the negative democratic consequences of wealth inequality (Hay, 2007).

My paper compares the pre-election career backgrounds of Members of Parliament (MPs) and members of provincial assemblies from 1993 to 2021 against class dynamics within the Canadian population at large during the same period. From 2008 to 2019, the two most common pre-election career backgrounds among MPs at the federal level in Canada were business and law (Johnson et al, 2021), with few MPs arriving in the House from manual or service occupations. In my paper, I expand this analysis to incorporate provincial legislators. The inclusion of provincial legislators in this study is important as provinces have jurisdiction over government services such as healthcare and education. Both of these policy areas have important implications for all Canadians, but especially those who are working-class and who earn low incomes.

Campbell, B. (2020, December 6). Canada?s fiscal update falls short in facing climate change and income inequality. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/canadas-fiscal-update-falls-short-in-facing-climate-change-and-income-inequality-150995>.

Hay, C. (2007). *Why We Hate Politics*. Polity Press.

Johnson, A., Tolley, E., Thomas, M., & Bodet, M. A. (2021). A New Dataset on the Demographics of Canadian Federal Election Candidates. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 54(3), 717-725.

Trimble, L., Arscott, J., & Tremblay, M. (2013). *Stalled the representation of women in Canadian governments*. UBC Press.

Tremblay, M. (1998). Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behaviour in Canada?s 35th Parliament. *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue Canadienne de Science Politique*, 31(3), 435-465.

*I Just Gotta Be Me: Authenticity and Parliamentary (Private) Secretaries:* Anna Esselment (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** Message discipline among elected representatives is well documented. Going off script, throwing out a wayward remark, or veering away from approved policy lines can be calamitous for a politician and their party. But as voters crave more authenticity from their representatives, does a practice of politics that tightly embraces disciplined communications undermine one?s own sense of being their true selves? This paper seeks to understand whether communications control affects an MP?s authenticity. ?Authenticity? attempts to capture a series of characteristics such as consistency, conviction, sincerity, openness, and ?realness? in elected representatives. Do politicians feel like their ?true selves? when wedded to speaking points? Does this affect how they are able to fulfill their representative role? Parliamentary secretaries (Canada) and parliamentary private secretaries (UK) are the subjects of interest. While government backbenchers are expected stand with their party when casting votes in the House, they are freer to voice differing opinions from the governments because their primary job (similar to members on the opposition benches), is to hold the government to account. Cabinet members, by contrast, are bound by cabinet solidarity. Parliamentary secretaries in both systems are unique subjects because they are quasi-members of the political executive. This puts them in an interesting position in terms of message discipline and their representative role, and we suspect may feel the most constrained in terms of being their authentic selves. Semi-structured interviews with current and former parliamentary (private) secretaries in both jurisdictions will reveal whether authenticity is sidelined in these roles.

## A11(b) - Populism in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*Understanding the Determinants of Populist Attitudes : The Case of Canada:* Félix Lévesque (McGill University), Éric Bélanger (McGill University)

**Abstract:** While research on populism has traditionally focused on the populist political supply-side, there has been a growing body of research devoted to the populist demand-side in recent years. These studies have primarily investigated populist attitudes on an individual level to explain voting for populist parties. However, we still know very little about the determinants of these populist attitudes. This study seeks to fill this gap by testing a set of so-called objective and subjective sociological explanatory factors in the Canadian context. Canada has long been seen as one of the last strongholds resisting the populist tide that has swept Western democracies since the beginning of the 21st century. Many, however, contend that this is no longer the case, which makes the nation an especially intriguing case study for research on populist attitudes. This research mobilizes data from the 2021 Canadian Election Study and tests the various hypotheses using multivariate regression. Results indicate that populist attitudes are significantly better explained by subjective sociological factors, referring to individuals' subjective evaluations of society, than by their objective position within society. Additionally, this study offers a longitudinal analysis showing the growth of populist attitudes in Canada over the last twenty years.

*Populism and Antagonistic Political Views in Canada:* Joanie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke), Dominic Duval (UQAM), Katryne Villeneuve-Siconnelly (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** In this paper, we identify Canadian citizens who subscribe to populist ideas and study their perceptions of outgroups in their sociopolitical context. This is done using two batteries of questions found in the 2019 and 2021 Canadian Election Studies that target core principles of the main dimensions of populism. More specifically, these batteries allow us to identify Canadian voters who adhere to what the literature labels "Anti-elite sentiment" and those who prefer "Authoritative Leadership." After identifying voters who subscribe to these ideas, we first describe their general political profiles across the typical range of political behaviour variables. We then take a closer look at outgroup attitudes. Antagonistic political views, that is perceiving politics through the "us versus them" lens, have important consequences and it is of the utmost importance to better understand these dynamics.

*The Effect of Populism on Trust in Government and the Public Service in Canada:* Jared Wesley (University of Alberta), Brendan Boyd (MacEwan University)

**Abstract:** Denigrating the public service has been a key feature of populists movements that seek to prioritize the individual and "common people" over elites and governments. While initially, it seemed like Canada might be an outlier in not having populist movements break into its mainstream politics, recent leadership victories by conservative politicians and the trucker convoy protests in winter 2022 have revealed the popularity of messages like "getting rid of the gatekeepers" among the Canadian public. At the provincial level, premiers like Doug Ford in Ontario, Danielle Smith in Alberta and Francois Legault in Quebec have established populist brands that have led to electoral success. Despite these developments, we do not know whether and how populism is driving overall public trust in government and the public sector. We use survey data of the Canadian public from 2021 to determine the relative influence of populist attitudes on the public's confidence in different types of public servants and different orders of government. We compare these effects to those exerted by party identification, region, age, education, democratic satisfaction, news consumption habits, and others. Our preliminary findings suggest that, even when controlling for those other factors, populist attitudes remain the strongest determinants of public trust in government at all levels. This leads us to an important discussion of the impact of populist movements on the stability, legitimacy, and performance of governments and public servants.

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## A11(c) - Electoral and Policy Cleavages in Canada: Evidence from Large-Scale Historical Public Opinion Datasets

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant (Queen's University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Eric Merkley (University of Toronto)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

**Vote Intention in Canadian Politics: A New Consolidated Dataset, 1945-Present:** Tyler Romualdi (Western University), Jack Lucas (University of Calgary), Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant (Queen's University), David Armstrong (Western University)

**Abstract:** This paper introduces the Canadian Vote Intention Dataset, a consolidated database of public opinion surveys from Gallup, Canadian Election Study, and Environics data series (N>600,000) from 1945 to the present. The database contains vote intention variables as well as a suite of relevant demographic variables, including age, gender, religion, language, education, community size, province, and region. We describe dataset construction and coding, outline the custom annual weights we have constructed, and demonstrate the utility of the dataset in new analyses of the long-term evolution of gender, education, and religion gaps in Canadian party support.

**Urban-Rural Policy Disagreement in Canada:** Sophie Borwein (Simon Fraser University), Jack Lucas (University of Calgary), Tyler Romualdi (Western University), Zack Taylor (Western University)

**Abstract:** Abstract: As post-war urbanization has led to dramatic demographic, economic, and cultural differences between urban and rural places in Canada and other countries, scholarship has expressed normative concerns about the so-called 'urban-rural divide.' This work has often focused on geographically patterned policy disagreement; in other words, to the extent that urban-rural differences create a need for new forms of representation or institutional reform, these needs are a priority because urban-rural differences reflect distinct 'and, in some cases, largely dissimilar' policy preferences. However, we know little about urban-rural attitudinal differences outside of a few specific policy domains, such as immigration, along with a very general understanding that urban places tend to be more ideologically progressive than rural places. In this paper, we use over-time Canadian Election Study data on policy attitudes across many policy issues (N>100,000), combined with a new measure of district urbanity for all Canadian federal electoral districts, to systematically examine the character and timing of urban-rural policy disagreement in Canada. We show that the emergence of urban-rural policy divides has been an important component of urban-rural electoral divides in recent Canadian politics and differ profoundly across policy domains.

**The Changing Demography of the Canadian Party System:** Richard Johnston (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** This paper revisits and extends some of the historical reconstructions in Johnston (2017). Where the focus in that book was on ethnoreligious foundations of the Liberal vote and union membership for the CCF-NDP vote, this paper will take a more systemic look and will place more emphasis on class and education. Although 20th century patterns are interesting in their own right, they also contain the seeds of changes in this century. Analyses will employ a combination of Gallup data from 1945 to the early 1990s (at which point the data quality plummeted) and CES data (N ~ 120,000) from 1965 to the present, with the overlap helping to splice the series. Gallup data (N ~ 430,000) were furnished by the UBC data library. Data quality issues will be addressed as they crop up.

**Canada's Increasing Class-Based Voting Disparities:** Matthew Polacko (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Political participation has declined across established democracies over the past few decades. This has been accompanied by an increase in voting disparities along class lines. In contrast to most advanced democracies, class voting has largely been neglected in Canada. Using the entire series of the Canadian Election Study (1965-2021), I examine the extent to which the voter turnout gap in Canada has changed over time by age, class, education, and income. I find that major class-based participatory inequalities exist in Canada, and these inequalities have worsened over time. The magnitude of the turnout gap between lower and higher socio-economic status (SES) individuals has mainly been driven by the demobilization of lower-SES individuals. The findings contribute to our understanding of how economic inequalities spill over into political inequalities and show that rising inequality in turnout propensity between politically relevant cleavages, represents a deterioration of democratic representation.

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## A11(d) - Canadian Political Science and Access to Information Mechanisms

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Caroline Dunton (University of Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Caroline Dunton (University of Ottawa)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Exploring the extraterritorial dimensions of Canada's anti-smuggling policy through access to information requests:* Corey Robinson (University of Glasgow)

**Abstract:** This paper employs access to information requests with Canadian federal agencies to gain insight into the extraterritorial dimensions of Canada's anti-smuggling policy, which are often hidden from public scrutiny. Examining the Strengthening the Transregional Action and Responses Against the Smuggling of Migrants (STARSOM), funded by the Government of Canada and developed and delivered by the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, this two-year (2021-2023) project aims to counter migrant smuggling routes in South Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean, destined for North America. Using critical discourse analysis of access to information requests, this paper examines the 'live archive' (Walby and Larsen 2011) of anti-smuggling discourse, in order to gain a deeper understanding of how governmental actors frame and rationalise extraterritorial efforts to combat migrant smuggling, which often ensnare asylum-seekers in the indiscriminate crossfire of pre-emptive migration controls. The analysis of the live archive of anti-smuggling discourse contributes to the expanding scholarship on secrecy and methods in critical security studies aimed at opening up the black box of migration control while troubling conventional binaries of transparency and opacity.

*Using ATIPs to Study Government:* Liam Midzain-Gobin (Brock University)

**Abstract:** To study government decision-making, access to government records can provide critical access to information. While interviews offer insight into the thinking of important officials, they can also be restrictive: officials may not desire to or be in a position to speak with researchers, memories are almost never perfect, or, it may indeed be difficult to determine who exactly should be spoken to. Documents, while also imperfect, nevertheless can fill in gaps left by interviews. They can also be useful in developing interview questionnaires and participant lists, and confirming information relayed by participants.

Government records, however, are not always easily accessible. Though the federal and provincial governments have pledged to support open data initiatives, this can oftentimes mean that datasets are made publicly available while records on policy development are not. Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) requests are one solution to gathering relevant documents. ATIPs are not necessarily a straightforward solution, though: governments across Canada regularly miss legislated deadlines for delivering the information, or refuse requests outright. Researchers also may not be clear on what they are entitled to request, how to make the request, and recourse available to them. As such, this methodological paper offers advice on using ATIPs to capture government decision-making. Using the author's experiences with using ATIPs on one project into the Indigenous Peoples Survey as a case study, the paper provides an overview of the requests made, the available avenues and barriers faced, and how to triangulate between multiple departments to collect documents.

*Access to Information Requests and The Study of Asylum Policy and Politics:* Sule Tomkinson (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** How do liberal democracies respond to large-scale and irregular arrivals of people seeking asylum? This has been an important concern over the past few decades, gaining even more prominence following what is referred to as the European refugee or migrant 'crisis'. In this paper, I argue that analyzing internal government records released under access to information legislation can provide new and unique insights into answering this question. While refugee law scholars have examined ATI requests to expose disparities in asylum recognition rates, there is limited research that uses these requests to examine asylum policy and politics. To address this gap, I conducted a content analysis of ATI records received from departments and agencies involved in the governance of irregular border crossers in Canada between 2017 and 2020, namely Public Safety Canada, Canada Border Services Agency, Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship, and Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. My analysis highlights the methods employed by policy officials to manage both asylum seekers and officials, including labeling and deterring asylum seekers, as well as intensifying the management and monitoring of the asylum decision-making process. With its attention to the everyday functioning of public organizations during a 'crisis' situation, this paper offers a critical examination of how liberal democracies grapple with the complexities and dilemmas posed by large-scale displacement.

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## E11 - Authors Meet Extremely Enthusiastic Celebrants: New Books in Municipal Elections and Representation

### Politique locale et urbaine

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Sophie Borwein (University of British Columbia)

**Joint Session / Séance conjointe :** Political behaviour/sociology

Nicole Goodman (Brock University)

Jack Lucas (University of Calgary)

Laura Stephenson (Western University)

**Abstract:** In this panel, the authors of several new books in the area of municipal elections and representation will offer a brief overview of their books, including data sources, research questions, and major findings. The book authors and editors will then discuss next steps for research on municipal elections and representation in Canada.

Nicole Goodman, Helen Hayes, R. Michael McGregor, Scott Pruysers, and Zac Spicer. *Voting Online: Technology and Democracy in Municipal Elections* (McGill-Queen's University Press)

Jack Lucas, *Ideology in Canadian Municipal Politics* (University of Toronto Press)

R. Michael McGregor and Laura Stephenson, eds. *Political Engagement in Canadian City Elections* (McGill-Queen's University Press).

### Participants

Helen Hayes (McGill University)

Scott Pruysers (Dalhousie University)

Zac Spicer (York University)

R. Michael McGregor (Toronto Metropolitan University)

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## F11 - Panel 1 of the Biennial Workshop on Elections, Parties, and Public Opinion in Québec Politics (2nd edition) - Minorities in Quebec Politics: Public Opinion and Vote Choice

Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Jean-François Daoust (Université de Sherbrooke & Université of Edinburgh)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Alexandre Rivard (SFU)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*On the same page? Black voters in Canada and the United Kingdom: A comparative study with African Americans*:: Nadjim Fréchet (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** American political science literature shows that African Americans form one of the most consistent voting blocs in Western democracies. If elite mobilization and a common historical background can explain African Americans' political behavior, it is less clear for Black voters in Canada or the United Kingdom. Many political cleavages, like language or regionality (Quebec vs Rest of Canada) in Canada or class in the United Kingdom, could potentially foster political division among Black voters in these countries. With data from the Canadian and British Election Studies, this article evaluates whether the prominent political cleavages in Canada and the United Kingdom divide Black voters into different political blocs. This article also compares Canadian and British black voters to African Americans with data from the American Election Study.

*The Queer Voter*: Joanie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke), Lé Bonneau (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** We know very little about the electoral behaviour and public opinion of LGBTQ+ citizens (Gidengil, 2022), even though the share of the Canadian population who identify as a sexual minority is growing. Few but insightful work examined the relationship between self-identifying as an LGBTQ+ voter and public opinion, but they have mostly paid attention to gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals (Guntermann & Beauvais, 2022; Perrella, Brown and Kay, 2012, 2019). While data constraints have been a major barrier, we should strive to move beyond this focus and seek to further understand sexual minorities. This approach is in line with the scholarship on gender and politics, which has begun to unpack the influence of various gender identities on public opinion (e.g., Albaugh et al., 2023).

Our goal is to deepen our understanding of the diversity of the LGBTQ+ electorate by paying attention to citizens who identify as Queer, a group that has received scant attention in the study of public opinion. More precisely, we examine Queer Canadians' ideological placement as well as social, economic, partisanship, and democratic attitudes. We do so by leveraging data from eight federal and provincial election studies across Canada. Our findings underline heterogeneity among sexual minorities in terms of public opinion and, most importantly, the distinctiveness of the queer voters in Canada and Québec. We argue that our results are important for the study of the public opinion-representation nexus as well as Canadian and Québec electoral politics.

*Clivages identitaires au Québec? Un regard sur les variations régionales, générationnelles et ethnoлингuistiques*: Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia), Luc Turgeon (uOttawa)

**Abstract:** Quelles sont les caractéristiques qui font d'un individu un « vrai » Québécois? Les marqueurs de l'identification nationale sont un concept qui a été utilisé largement dans la recherche en sciences sociales. Le concept est utile non seulement afin d'identifier les frontières qui délimitent qui se situent à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du groupe national dans l'imaginaire collectif, mais aussi pour comprendre la relation qu'un groupe national entretient avec l'immigration et la diversité ethnoculturelle. Dans cette étude, nous reprenons le concept pour étudier le cas québécois qui serait marqué par la montée d'un nationalisme dit « identitaire » depuis quelques années.

Cette étude examine les façons dont les Québécois tracent les frontières de l'identité québécoise et les implications de ces frontières pour les attitudes envers l'immigration et la diversité ethnoculturelle. Plus précisément, l'étude cherche à vérifier l'existence de clivages au sein de la population québécoise, suivant des variations ethnoлингuistiques, générationnelles ou régionales. Nous vérifions si le tracé des frontières ainsi que les ramifications attitudinales varient au sein des groupes mentionnés plus haut. Nous cherchons ainsi à comprendre les lignes plus consensuelles et celles plus clivantes dans la construction de l'identité québécoise.

L'étude repose sur un sondage réalisé au Québec en ligne en 2020 auprès de 5633 membres du groupe majoritaire (non-immigrants, blancs et dont la langue maternelle est le français), 852 anglophones et 1010 néo-Québécois.

*L'électeur immigrant au Canada et au Québec*: Mélyann Guévremont (Université de Sherbrooke), Jean-François Daoust (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** Les personnes nées à l'extérieur du pays sont de plus en plus nombreuses au Canada et forment une composante du corps électoral qui est en augmentation continue depuis plusieurs décennies. La littérature en science politique se concentre surtout à mieux comprendre l'effet de l'immigration sur la vie politique et en particulier les attitudes envers l'immigration. Dans cet article, nous nous concentrons plutôt sur les personnes nées à l'extérieur du pays et leur comportement électoral, qui est appelé à devenir de plus en plus important, tant pour des raisons normatives (e.g., représentation démocratique) que stratégiques (e.g., mieux comprendre les positions et les stratégies des partis politiques). Pour ce faire, nous utilisons les données des Études électorales canadiennes de 2019 et 2021.

Nos analyses procèdent en deux temps. Premièrement, nous répliquons le constat traditionnel voulant que le Parti libéral du Canada bénéficie substantiellement du vote des personnes immigrantes. Deuxièmement, nous intégrons la région du monde où les personnes sont nées en utilisant huit catégories : l'Europe de l'Ouest, France, l'Europe de l'Est, l'Europe du Sud, le monde anglo-saxon (États-Unis, Royaume-Uni, Irlande, Australie, Nouvelle-Zélande), l'Afrique, l'Asie et l'Amérique latine. Cette analyse plus fine du choix électoral des personnes immigrantes permet de brosser un portrait plus précis puisqu'il y a énormément d'hétérogénéité à travers l'origine de ces personnes nées à l'étranger. Nous répliquons nos analyses au Québec et au Canada, en comparant systématiquement les différences. Nos résultats informent la littérature normative en science politique touchant à la représentation démocratique.

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## Q11 - Media and Political Communication

### Practitioners

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jérôme Couture (Université Laval)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** David Houle (Public sector)

**The Niche Appeal: Political Endorsements of Cryptocurrency as a Strategic Demonstration of Issue Ownership:** Anwar Sheluchin (McMaster University), Clifton van der Linden (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Why do Canadian politicians publicly endorse cryptocurrency, despite its status as a niche issue with relatively low public support? This paper argues that the recent phenomenon of high-profile politicians embracing cryptocurrency is done to assert issue ownership and establish themselves as forward-thinking leaders in the digital age, even when such endorsements might not align with prevailing public sentiment. Through an in-depth analysis of political discourse, media coverage, and public opinion data, the paper aims to unravel the motivations and implications of this strategic behaviour within the Canadian political landscape. I combine content analysis of political speeches and social media interactions with public opinion data from two Vote Compass post-election surveys conducted in Ontario (n= 18,925) and Alberta (n= 8,446) to demonstrate the discrepancies between public attitudes toward cryptocurrency and political endorsements of the issue. This paper offers new insights into the strategic dynamics of issue ownership within Canadian politics, ultimately enriching our comprehension of how niche issues like cryptocurrency are integrated into political discourse.

**Leadership numérique en contexte d'acceptabilité sociale : étude de huit cas québécois:** Carol-Ann Rouillard (Université de Sherbrooke), Mireille Lalancette (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières), Stéphanie Yates (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** Cette contribution vise à caractériser le leadership numérique en contexte de projets soulevant des enjeux d'acceptabilité sociale, notion centrale en contexte de développement de projets qui sont susceptibles d'engendrer des impacts économiques, sociaux et environnementaux (Yates et Arbour, 2016).

En plus d'offrir des possibilités d'action supplémentaires, les réseaux sociaux numériques sont associés à une transformation des relations entre les différentes parties prenantes des cas soulevant des enjeux d'acceptabilité sociale. D'un côté, des personnalités reconnues qui prennent publiquement la parole dans l'espace public traditionnel (Yates et Arbour, 2019) profitent de l'espace offert par ces plateformes pour s'exprimer. D'un autre côté, il est démontré que ces plateformes peuvent faciliter l'accès et l'influence de groupes d'intérêts auprès de la classe politique et médiatique (Beyers, 2008; Johansson et Scaramuzzino, 2019).

La recherche repose sur l'étude de huit cas (Yin, 2013) qui se sont déroulés au Québec entre 2011 et 2020. L'analyse repose sur l'étude de données numériques (Facebook et Twitter) d'une vingtaine de groupes ayant occupé l'espace numérique ainsi que des entretiens auprès de personnes impliquées dans la gestion des réseaux sociaux numériques de ces groupes (n=16).

Les résultats préliminaires démontrent que le niveau de professionnalisation des groupes est susceptible d'influencer la façon dont le leadership s'exerce en ligne. Les groupes plus institutionnalisés adoptent des pratiques numériques qui s'apparentent au leadership associé aux mouvements sociaux (Poell et al., 2016), alors que les groupes moins institutionnalisés, voire créés uniquement en réaction à un cas, adoptent des pratiques qui s'apparentent davantage au leadership connecté (Bennett et Segerberg, 2012).

### Références

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- Poell, T., Rasha, A., Bernhard, R., Robbert, W. et Zack, L. (2016). Protest Leadership in the Age of Social Media. *Information, Communication & Society*, 19(7), 994-1014.
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- Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case Study Research. Design and Methods* (5e éd.). Sage.

**La saillance médiatique à l'ère du numérique: scoping review et entrevues:** Adrien Cloutier (Université Laval), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval), Jérémie Drouin (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** À l'ère numérique, il est de plus en plus complexe pour les citoyens d'évaluer l'importance d'une information ou d'un événement médiatisé. Les médias n'ont jamais été aussi fragmentés et l'actualité aussi instantanée (Chadwick, 2014). Les principaux sites Web médiatiques canadiens présentent en moyenne de 7 à 10 titres différents chaque jour, en mettant chaque fois l'accent sur leur caractère incontournable. Cette cacophonie médiatique invite à une réflexion renouvelée sur ce qui est important et ce qui ne l'est pas.

L'objectif de cet article est double. Il vise d'abord à conceptualiser la théorie de la saillance médiatique à l'ère du numérique. Cette théorie suppose que certaines nouvelles sont considérées et présentées par les médias comme plus importantes que d'autres. La méthodologie de la revue de portée est utilisée afin de délimiter les contours de cette littérature scientifique, d'identifier les définitions, les contributions et les lacunes (Joanna Briggs Institute, 2014). Des entrevues avec des journalistes et membres des médias viennent combler des limites à la littérature actuelle, relevée par le scoping review.

Cet article présente ensuite une base de données unique, construite à l'aide d'un algorithme qui collecte et entrepose en continu les Unes de 13 grands médias au Canada depuis septembre 2019 (n > 90 000). Cette base de données est utilisée pour étudier de manière exhaustive les Unes publiés pendant la campagne électorale canadienne de 2021. De nombreux indicateurs de saillance résultent de l'analyse textuelle des Unes. Cet article innove par une toute nouvelle mesure de saillance cumulant trois de ces indicateurs : la durée de vie des Unes, le ton de la couverture et son intensité. Surtout, il permet un exercice de traitement comparatif de la couverture des nouvelles électorales saillantes par une gamme de médias, dans différentes provinces canadiennes. Enfin, il contribue à une lumière empirique sur les méthodologies pour mettre en évidence les événements clés d'une campagne électorale et à la compréhension de la nouvelle théorie de la saillance médiatique.

*Provincial Prejudices? A Comparative Analysis of Quebec, Ontario, and Alberta's Media Coverage:* Alexandre Bouillon (Université Laval), Flavie Lachance (Université Laval), Evelyne Brie (Western University), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** The perception of unfair treatment of Quebec by certain Canadian media outlets is a recurring theme in Quebec's political and media discourse. This hypothesis contrasts with the prevailing scholarly literature that portrays the Canadian media system as objective and information-centric (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). From this contradiction arises the research question of this paper: does Quebec receive a different media treatment compared to Ontario and Alberta?

To address this question, the literature on media coverage between states will be mobilized with a special focus on inter-regional framing and agenda setting. This paper will perform a comparative media analysis by examining the coverage of Quebec, Ontario, and Alberta in the newspapers of these three provinces. The selected sources for Quebec are: Le Journal de Montréal, The Montreal Gazette, Le Devoir, La Presse; for Ontario: The Toronto Star, The Toronto Sun, The Hamilton Spectator, The Ottawa Citizen; for Alberta: Calgary Herald, Edmonton Journal. Articles covering the period from November 1, 2013, to November 1, 2023, have been collected for the study. Our approach combines tone analysis with topic modeling to identify dominant themes, thereby elucidating the potential biases and focal points in provincial media narratives.

This article aims to contribute to the literature on inter-regional media coverage within a state using the Canadian case. It also offers a comparative view by triangulating the case studies.

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## Day 2 - Session 3 (Lunch) (12:00pm - 01:30pm)

### B12 - Voters, Parties, and Elections

#### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

***Racial Identity and Attitudes among the North American White Working Class:*** Lewis Krashinsky (Princeton University), Chris Achen (Princeton University)

**Abstract:** Across the American Midwest, white working-class voters have shifted their electoral support to Donald Trump and the Republican Party. However, directly to the north, white working-class voters across Ontario have remained much more supportive of left-wing parties. To what extent is this comparative divergence in electoral behaviour traceable to differences in white racial identity and racial attitudes? This paper utilizes a mixed-methods approach to investigate this question. It analyzes interview evidence from selected case studies in Windsor, Ontario and Macomb County, Michigan; original survey data; and an original conjoint experiment. This paper has several major findings. First, experimental evidence shows that non-white political candidates receive a greater electoral penalty from American white working-class voters. Second, white racial identity and racial resentment have a strong, positive association with right-wing voting in both countries, but the magnitude of this effect is larger for American white working-class voters. Third, qualitative evidence suggests that racial attitudes and racial divisions are more salient in Macomb County relative to Windsor. Finally, while these results are driven in part by the differing actions of right-wing political elites, they also evidently reflect attitudinal differences in the populations. This paper concludes that Canadian scholarship must pay closer attention to how racial attitudes and identity affect voting behaviour.

***Forecasting in New Democracies: Vote Intention Polling and Vote Expectation Polling in Central America:*** Brian Thompson Collart (Université Laval), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Previous research demonstrates citizens can predict election outcomes with success. However, the bulk of research on citizen election forecasting covers only those elections occurring in advanced democracies. This study examines the accuracy of citizen election forecasting in Central America, a previously unstudied region by researchers. Since 1984, the CID Gallup firm has fielded surveys in Central America containing citizen forecasting items. These items ask citizens in Central American countries to predict the next president of their country. In this paper, we compare the performance of two types of election forecasting models in Central America: Vote intention polling and vote expectation polling. We evaluate each model along two measures of accuracy. We expect vote expectation polling in Central America to compare favourably to vote intention polling.

***The Rural-Urban Cleavage in US Presidential and Congressional Elections: Stability and Change:*** Valentin Pautonnier (Université de Montréal), Ruth Dassonneville (Université de Montréal), Richard Nadeau (Université de Montréal), Michael Lewis Beck (University of Iowa)

**Abstract:** Voting behavior in US elections seems increasingly characterized by an important rural urban divide in voting behavior, with rural voters supporting the Republican Party and urban voters preferring to vote for the Democratic Party. While we are rapidly gaining insights into the sources of this divide, with much work seeking to better understand why rural voters turn to the Republican Party, we know less about the uniqueness of this divide, both from a longitudinal perspective and in contrast to other important divides in US politics. In this research note, we contextualize the rural-urban cleavage in two important ways. First, we show that the rural-urban cleavage was exceptionally large in 2016 and 2020, both for Presidential but also Congressional elections. Second, we show that even in those elections for which the rural-urban divide is very stark, the strength of the rural-urban cleavage is only a fraction of that of the race and religious cleavages in US politics. Third, a text analysis of debates and platforms shows that Republicans did not need to make a specific appeal to rurality to increase their advantage in rural areas.

***Where Has Voting Behavior Nationalized? Evidence from Election Results and Surveys in Eleven Countries:*** Daniel Hopkins (University of Pennsylvania), Frederik Hjorth (University of Copenhagen), Gall Sigler (University of Pennsylvania)

**Abstract:** In recent decades, U.S. voting behavior has nationalized: subnational vote choices increasingly reflect national allegiances. Such nationalization can undermine political accountability, with particular consequences in decentralized/federalist countries. But to understand nationalization's causes, it is critical to study multiple democracies. We link subnational and national election returns in ten European and American democracies with varying centralization. We then develop a novel nationalization measure based on correlations in party support across governmental levels. In most countries, cross-level nationalization has been steady for decades, often at high levels. The nationalization of American voting behavior has reached comparably high levels, meaning that America is no longer an outlier. Coupled with thirteen surveys in nine overlapping countries, these findings challenge monocausal explanations of nationalization, including those emphasizing changing media markets. However, lower subnational authority, broadband penetration, less fragmented party systems, and contemporaneous elections are tentatively associated with heightened nationalization, often within countries.

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## B12 - Xenophobia, Displacement, Race, and Class

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

***Racial Orders in Canadian Political Development:*** Anika Ganness (University of Toronto), Linda White (University of Toronto), Tari Ajadi (McGill University)

**Abstract:** In this paper, we respond to King and Smith's (2005) article to theorize about the development and maintenance of racial institutional orders in Canada. While race is rarely discussed in Canadian politics (cf. Thompson, 2008; Nath, 2011; Bernhardt and Pin, 2018; Ajadi, 2023), we argue that ideas about race are institutionalized in structures impacting the ability of state and non-state actors to exercise governing power. We differ from King and Smith (2005), however, in understanding the development of national institutions through Canada's distinct colonial history, immigration regime and multicultural policy alongside multilevel governance at the provincial and municipal levels. We opt to interrogate the development of provincial and municipal institutions like child welfare and policing to demonstrate how the contours of racial projects are influenced by concepts of nationhood based on white supremacy.

Unlike the American context, Canada's racial orders exist in what we call asymmetric contestation, with one order external to the state and advocating for its transformation. The first racial order can be traced to Canada's political development under British colonial rule and is entrenched within formal state institutions. The second racial order exists externally to formal state institutions and includes community organizations, social movements, and other actors who aim to dismantle racial hierarchies of the Inequality racial order to assert an Equality Racial Order. Contestation by actors from the Inequality order drives the state to innovate towards equality in the interest of decreasing dissent, legitimizing state institutions, and maintaining state authority.

***The Xenophobic Wave: Ideology and Social Movement Theory in White Power Terrorism:*** Alon Burstein (University of California, Irvine), Donal Gill (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** The rise in xenophobic terror attacks across the democratic world since Anders Behring Breivik committed a politically motivated massacre on the island of Utoya in July 2011 constitutes a vital development in the ongoing waves of terrorism (Auger 2020). We make the case in this paper that this new wave is best understood as a loose transnational social movement rooted in the ideology of white power. This conclusion is reached through close analysis of the key texts of perpetrators of these attacks through the methodological paradigm of social movement theory, unpacking core ideological continuities as well as noting relevant points of divergence. Social movement theory offers a rigorous analytical framework that facilitates the plasticity necessary to accommodate the way both actors resembling self-activated lone wolves and members of semi-organized hierarchical and disciplined collectives constitute a wave of terror. Given the social movement methodological paradigm utilized in this research, the ideological core of the movement is of particular interest. Our research locates ideological commonalities across a diffuse cross-section of cases that offer diversity across geographical, temporal and (ostensibly) motivational dimensions. We root the ongoing wave of terror specifically in the white power social movement, furthering the case that this is meaningfully distinct from white supremacy and white nationalism despite obvious points of historical and ideological overlap. The white power movement is a cohesive but not necessarily coherent suite of ideas that most notably fuse around 1) an often pessimistic or ambivalent (rather than triumphalist) disposition toward the fate of the white race 2) belief in the imminence of racial extinction and 3) commitment to a transnational borderless white nation. Ultimately, we argue that an ideologically engaged understanding of this particular social movement is the framework through which the interconnected nature of the contemporary wave of xenophobic terrorism is revealed.

***Destroy Them Gradually: Displacement As Atrocity:*** Andrew Basso (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** All the most widely acknowledged twentieth-century atrocities incorporated displacement as a key element of the processes of destruction. Perpetrators of mass atrocities have used displacement to transfer victims to killing sites or extermination camps, transfer victims to sites of forced labour and attrition, ethnically homogenize regions by displacing victims out of their homes and lands, and destroy populations. This paper focusses on the last problem: why perpetrators of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes use forced displacement as a process to destroy populations in whole or in part. This paper outlines the main conceptual and theoretical core of Displacement Atrocity (DA) crimes, situates this destructive practice in international law, and provides forward-looking analyses on the structural possibilities for climate violence based on insights from comparative historical analyses of previous instances of DA crimes. As a method of atrocity perpetration, DA crimes refer to the unique fusion of forced displacement and systematic deprivation of vital daily needs (food, water, clothing, shelter, and medical care) to create potent killing systems. Annihilatory forced displacement has for too long remained a hidden destructive process even though DA crimes have been perpetrated on every major inhabited continent across space and time, posing a ubiquitous problem for prevention and punishment regimes. This paper begins to illuminate these types of violent processes and brings some measure of justice for crimes of the past through discourse about what was done, why, and how to understand pathways to specific forms of political violence.

***Descriptive Representation of Class and its Influence on Party Policies: Evidence from Canada and the United Kingdom:*** Thomas Rafie (Université de Montréal), Ruth Dassonneville (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Extensive research has demonstrated that descriptive representation matters. Groups often share common interests and elected officials that are part of these groups can wield their power to advance their group's interests. While most representation studies are about women and ethnic minorities, fewer have inquired into the descriptive representation of economic groups. This paper tries to remediate this by asking two questions: how has descriptive representation of class changed, and how are these changes in representation connected to party policy? First, I use former occupation of Canadian MPs to analyze trends in the representation of class since the Second World War. Second, I combine these trends with data from the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) to establish a link between the proportion of working-class MPs and party policy. Descriptive results show that in Canada, the working class

used to have some amount of representation among MPs, but that this representation has largely faded. Furthermore, regression results show that these changes have affected Canadian parties by making them adopt more right-wing policies. Implications from these results add to the debate on the importance of the representation of economic groups. Additionally, further work will add data from the United Kingdom, which will allow for comparison between systems and discussion of mechanisms that explain similarities or differences in the results.

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## **N12 - Roundtable: The University and Gender Based Violence: Failures and Fixes**

**Femmes, genre et politique**

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Jessica Merolli (Sheridan College)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Michelle Caplan (University of Western Ontario)

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## N12 - Homonationalism, Sports, and Culture

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

**Counter-Mapping Homonationalism: Geo-visualizing Transnational Transgender Civil Society:** sasha skaidra (University of Alberta), Nicholas Langdon (Western University)

**Abstract:** In 2016, the UN Human Rights Council (UNHCR) established the Independent Expert on Protection Against Violence and Discrimination based on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI). Current International Sociological Literature presents this development as primarily driven by the Global North, overgeneralizing the South as homophobic. The association of LGBT politics with Western hegemony compounds the "cartographic gaze" wherein state borders depend on solely linear demarcations to determine legitimate claims to territory. As feminist geographer Doreen Massey observes, power is imagined geometrically and topographically, reducing complex spatial interactions to dots on a map. We utilize a counter-mapping technique using Geographic Information Systems to intervene on current homonationalist narratives and state-centric cartography, which erases the work of local and transnational 2SLGBTQI+ civil society. We will present a counter-map that visualizes how transnational transgender civil societies from 1975 onward were instrumental in both shaping and resisting the current international legal infrastructure surrounding LGBT rights. The geospatial data draws on records from the University of Victoria's Transgender Archives and international NGO submissions to the SOGI expert. The final output will be a counter-map of how such a transnational transgender civil society is subsumed by SOGI 2016's international jurisdictional concepts.

**The political uses of homonationalism:** Valérie Lapointe (University of Edinburgh), Luc Turgeon (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Since the conceptualization of homonationalism (Puar, 2007), social scientists have deepened their interest regarding the substantial presence of sexual diversity (and gender plurality) in the construction of a national ideal in contemporary societies. Initially analyzed through the prism of the American sexual exceptionalism post-2001 and the way it has shaped its relationship with the East, this concept has now been extended beyond the United States, as it has been studied and applied in a variety of political contexts. Surprisingly, homonationalism has been theorized mainly by disciplines that devote little of their research to contemporary nationalisms, as if they weren't necessarily connected. Why? What can we learn from the literature on homonationalism? What is the political use of homonationalism if thought outside of the traditional conceptions of nationalism? Is it possible to identify broad trends based on these political uses? Through an analysis of more than one hundred scientific articles, our paper proposes to categorize the political use of homonationalism from the literature. In doing so, we hope to gain a better understanding of the theoretical and empirical purpose of this concept, in addition to facilitating a dialogue between research on contemporary nationalisms and homonationalism in the field of political studies.

**Team Pride: Can Pro Sports Events Influence LGBTQ+ Attitudes?:** Noah Vanderhoeven (Western University (The University of Western Ontario))

**Abstract:** Sport is an important social institution, with its own set of norms and values that govern how power is accessed and wielded (Lecours, 2005). Sport operates on many levels within countries and across the world, gaining new meanings as it is experienced in varied historical, political, and social contexts (Bloom and Willard, 2002). Following and being a fan of sport teams also creates strong psychological connections that can create feelings of inclusion that in turn can boost self-esteem and social identity (Jacobson, 1979). Given that, sport teams and players have the opportunity to support causes, both charitable and political, that impact their communities. Increasingly, professional teams have been engaging in campaigns and events related to pride and LGBTQ+ visibility and rights, yet little scholarly attention has been paid to these efforts. This is despite the social norms guiding what social causes sport teams engage with undergoing a change from a narrow focus on military and law enforcement to more inclusive causes like Pride. I hypothesize that sports teams engaging with a new social movement in the LGBTQ+ community will increase connection to the team in question in the case of left-leaning individuals and decrease connection in right-leaning individuals. This paper uses a survey experiment to evaluate these hypotheses using average treatment effects. I will randomly assign events that are either: a Pride themed event or a military appreciation event being held by a local sports team that is provided by the survey respondent and piped into the question they receive.

**Anti-SOGI Protest Discourse at the Seoul Queer Culture Festival:** Gabrielle LaFortune (University of Ottawa), Emily Wills (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** This study examines written discourse from the 2022 counter-protest to the Seoul Queer Culture Festival. Taking 147 instances of counter-protest discourse (including pamphlets, banners and signs, among others), I analyze both the organizations present at the counter-protest and, using Political Discourse Analysis (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012), the argumentation they use in their anti-SOGI discourse in order to answer the questions: who protests at the Seoul Queer Culture Festival and on what basis? This includes considerations of how attendees characterize SOGI minorities and their influence on the country, but also what solutions they propose, and who they direct their messaging to. Some prior research has been conducted that examines anti-SOGI views across time in Korea (e.g., Bong 2008, Chen 2020, Ha 2020, Hwang 2020, Kim 2020) and others have examined religious arguments in Korea against homosexuals (Kim 2016), religious justifications for anti-homosexuality and their evolution over time (Lee 2021), and how Korean Christians look to the US for an understanding of the outcomes of SOGI rights (Yi et al. 2017). Additionally, Han (2021) has shown that even liberals demonstrate a tendency to put off SOGI rights for political reasons. However, this research fills a gap, by examining a variety of groups at a single event (rather than pre-emptively focusing on religious organizations, conservatives, or liberals) and considering their arguments holistically, including not only their characterization of SOGI minorities and their influence on, for example, health and national security, but also contestation over, for example, definitions of human rights.

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## P12 - Posters Session 2

Présentation visuelle

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

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## Day 2 - Session 3 (Lunch) Business and Committee Meetings (12:00pm - 01:30pm)

## Day 2 - Session 3 (Lunch) Women Caucus Meeting (12:00pm - 01:30pm)

## Day 2 - Session 4 [KEYNOTE (open event) - FLORENCE/SAMUEL: NO CAN POLS; WOMEN, G & POLS; LAW & PP SESSIONS IN THIS TIMESLOT] (01:45pm - 03:15pm)

### B13 - New Perspectives on the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

Politique comparée

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Oxana Shevel (Tufts University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Oxana Shevel (Tufts University)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Explaining Varying Military Support to Ukraine:* Justin Massie, (UQAM)

**Abstract:** The war in Ukraine has fostered a renewed sense of common purpose and solidarity in the West. It has also exposed deep-seated divisions regarding the provision of military support to Ukraine. While some states commit high levels of military support, hardening their defense and deterrence posture against Russia, others continue to seek out diplomatic compromise and provide token support to Kyiv. This paper examines why and how states conflict in terms of their foreign policy towards Ukraine and Russia using an integrated framework of incentives and constraints. It offers a qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) of 38 democracies to uncover causal paths leading towards the provision of military support to Ukraine. The conditions of high defense spending, economic incentives, and geographic proximity feature prominently in each of the resulting paths. The analysis further reveals the Baltic states and Poland as the most typical military supporters while Canada deviates from our framework. Moreover, it highlights the need for further theory-building to explain why some Balkan states like Croatia and Montenegro as well as Czechia and the United Kingdom provide significant military support to Ukraine.

*Domestic and International Faultlines in Support for Ukraine:* Dietlind Stolle (McGill University), Maria Popova (McGill University)

**Abstract:** The Russian invasion of Ukraine has caused a seemingly high level of unity amongst Europeans in support of Ukraine. However, after 2.5 years of relentless war, what inter- and intra-country fault-lines in public opinion across and within 16 EU countries and the UK regarding support for Ukraine do we see? For example, is support following the left-and right cleavage? How does Ukraine support relate to views on and relations with Russia? How do Europeans see the end of the war and any future relationships with Russia? To answer these questions, we use a multiple wave comparative design from the EU-YouGov survey conducted at 5 times throughout 2022-2024. Frontrunners of Ukraine support are geographically close to Russia and located in both Western and Eastern Europe (though not exclusively), whereas laggards are some countries of Eastern and Southern Europe with a history of Russian ties during the Cold War. Yet within countries, Ukraine support does not follow a simple pre-determined ideological pattern of the left and right. Most countries with lower overall support for Ukraine display a higher level of polarization between supporters of the incumbent versus the opposition party; our design lets us uncover these changes depending on elections and governmental change. Understanding these fault-lines is important for insights on current and future levels of Ukraine aid across Europe and overall European solidarity in a case of a military attack.

*Shapes Belief in Misinformation: A Study Among Multilingual Speakers in Ukraine:* Aaron Erlich (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Scholarship has identified key determinants of people's belief in misinformation, but our knowledge predominantly comes from English-language misinformation in the United States. However, in the global media environment, multilingual citizens often consume media in more than one language. To this end, we ask how the language in which misinformation is consumed affects belief in misinformation in multilingual media environments. We suggest that language may pass on specific cues that may affect how bilinguals evaluate misinformation in their less preferred language. In a ten-week survey experiment with bilingual adults in Ukraine, we plan to measure if subjects who are asked to evaluate misinformation in their less-preferred language are less likely to believe it.

*Friends and Foes: European Public Opinion of Major Powers:* Chendi Wang (University of Amsterdam), Alex Moise (EUI)

**Abstract:** The Russian invasion of Ukraine has pushed Europe into a new phase where both the political elites and the public start to rethink its geopolitical future. Which major powers can be trusted? And which are the potential threats in the long run? European governments might have a more or less unified stance regarding Russian regional territorial incursions and China's increasing assertiveness on the global stage. It is less clear whether the European public has similar beliefs in which powers to trust and which pose long-term threats. And it is equally unclear what factors influence these opinions. This paper aims to examine European public opinion of major powers, namely the US, Russia and China, in the context of the current Russian invasion. Utilising an original panel survey in France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Finland and Portugal, we first describe public opinion on trust in and perceived threat

from major powers at the national level. Second, we identify the factors that influence public opinion on these issues at the individual level. Four sets of factors have been emphasised: threat perception of the current Russian invasion, democratic support and authoritarian attitudes, their conceptualisation of what the EU stands for, and ideology.

*?Judicial and anticorruption reform and Ukraine?s path to EU accession?: Maria Popova (McGill University)*

**Abstract:** When Ukraine received EU candidate status in June 2022, the EU identified seven conditions that Ukraine needs to meet to open accession negotiations and five out of them focus on judicial and anticorruption reform. While Ukraine has been working on both reforms since 2014 and has put in place an extensive, new institutional architecture, the 2022 full-scale Russian invasion has put conflicting pressures on the process. On the one hand, the existential threat to the state?s survival and the focus on resistance might make fighting corruption and enhancing the rule of law second order issues and thus weaken institutional capacity, elite political will, and society?s focus and reduce the chances of reform implementation. Anticorruption and judicial reform civil society organizations are losing human capital to the war. The inflow of military and financial aid might pour fuel onto the corruption fire and strengthen, rather than weaken incentives to maintain corruption networks. The national security vs. transparency trade-off in an existential war makes it harder to adopt some anticorruption best practices. On the other hand, the existential threat of the war has greatly expanded societal consensus on the desirability of Euroatlantic integration and thus both Ukrainian political elites and society at large have a strong incentive to meet the conditionality criteria. The paper will take stock of the steps taken over the past year and draw lessons about the effectiveness of EU conditionality.

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## B13 - Constitutions, Conflicts, and Language

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

***Uncertainty in Canada's Independence Referendums: Past Issues and Future Solutions?***: Sabrina Sotiriu (University of Ottawa), Andre Lecours (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** There are various types of uncertainty that domestic politics and economics deal with on any given year, and this only gets heightened during more stressful times such as independence referendums. My paper zeroes in on how the various forms of uncertainty (political, electoral etc) contributed, or were manipulated, in the 1995 independence referendum in Quebec. I first break down some theoretical understandings of uncertainty both in comparative politics as well as in other political sub-fields.

Substantively, I look specifically at the questions around the ballot box question and its relationship with the semantics of sovereignty constructed in this context. I also focus on the use of cultural and non-cultural markers in leaders' discourse during the 1995 referendum campaign and how they may have contributed to electoral uncertainty for voters (causal inferences are impossible to establish so later from said campaign). Finally, I analyze how the federal institutional setting, and constitutional silence contributed to fostering uncertainty between the two orders of government (federal and provincial), how this played out in leaders' speeches, and how, unlike in Scotland two decades later, there was no negotiated agreement on the rules of the referendum process.

My methodology is qualitative discourse analysis of key leaders' speeches, and my conclusion is that uncertainty can be very easily amplified for political purposes (also known as a political golden goose, or a Pandora's Box), as Quebec has showed in its 1995 independence referendum. This should be carefully taken into account from as many angles as possible, to ensure a minimal-only level of uncertainty present in future iterations so that a clear vote, with a clear question, and a clear majority will be the minimal legally-mandated goal posts that will ensure a legitimate, valid, and democratically acceptable conclusion on both sides. (292 words)

***Pretzel Politics: The Gordian Knot of Chile's Missed Opportunity to Replace the 1980 Constitution***: Nibaldo Galleguillos (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Description: On 17 December 2023 Chileans will vote to approve or reject a new political constitution. This is the second plebiscite in two years to attempt to replace the 1980 constitution enacted by the military regime. The document now before voters contrasts with the constitutional draft rejected in 2022. The paper compares three documents: the 1980 constitution; the rejected 2022 draft, and the 2023 document. It examines political representation and participation in the drafting of these documents: from no popular representation and controlled participation (1980 document), to extensive participation and representation (2020-2022: 150 popularly elected members to the constitutional assembly, gender parity, and 17 indigenous representatives); to limited representation in 2023: (committee of 24 experts prepared the draft) and reduced participation in the constitutional council (50 elected members, with just one indigenous representative).

The paper addresses these questions: (a) what explains the electorate's swings, from wanting a constitution (2019), to rejecting a progressive one (2022), and likely rejecting the current conservative draft (2023)?

(b) Do two strikingly different constitutions (2022, 2023) reflect irreconcilable ideological differences between Left and Right? Has a moderate alternative all but disappeared in Chilean politics?

(c) Will the failure to approve a new constitution lead to a return to the social mobilization that ignited the demands for a new document in 2019, and the accompanying violence from protesters and government's repressive apparatuses?

(d) If the new draft were to be rejected in December 2023, can that be interpreted as the legitimization of the undemocratic 1980 constitution?

***When Ideals and Ideas Exclude: Revisiting the French Republics' Language Policies and Their Consequences for the Concept of the French Nation***: Marat Akopian (Shepherd University)

**Abstract:** The paper offers a critical examination of one of the most influential concepts in the studies of nationalism and ethnicity, namely the idea that there are two distinct types of nationalism and nation - individualistic, culture-blind, inclusive, civic nationalism where the membership in the body politic is conditioned by one's attachment to liberal values and political institutions, and collectivist, exclusive, ethnic form of nationalism where the membership in the nation is contingent on one's ancestry and language. My co-author (Dr. Regina Akopian) and I seek to challenge this argument by closer examination of one of the more prominent cases in this scholarship. The case of France and civic and yet collectivist French national identity (manifested, among other things, in the state policy of linguistic assimilation) has always been "explained" as a peculiarly French pre-occupation with language as "une affaire d'état." Our examination produces a more nuanced picture with a clearly contrasting policies of successive post-1789 republican governments' ideologically-motivated preoccupation with the language and speech of their citizens and those of the Old Regime which sought to establish the pre-eminence of the King's French in the courts and political discourse while being largely indifferent to the speech of its "humbler subjects." For our case study, we borrow the sociolinguistic concept of 'language planning' and draw on a variety of classical and contemporary scholarly works on French language and nation in the fields of history, historical sociology, literary and Catholic studies, and sociolinguistics.

***Inter-Ethnic Parties in Consociational Democracies: Northern Ireland and the Alliance Party***: Owen Wong (Queen's University), John McGarry (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Consociationalism has fostered peace in deeply divided societies. Despite its potential to transform societies ridden with ethnic conflict, it is criticized for privileging ethnicity at the expense of non-ethnic or inter-ethnic parties. While critics maintain that transformative inter-ethnic parties cannot



succeed in consociational democracies, the recent success of Northern Ireland's inter-ethnic Alliance Party (APNI) contradicts these claims. Under what conditions can inter-ethnic parties succeed in rigid consociations?

While scholars are beginning to theorize about these inter-ethnic parties, they have not adequately addressed when and why they gain and lose support. Using Northern Ireland, in the context of Brexit, this paper presents three factors that allow inter-ethnic parties to succeed. Using process tracing and congruence testing, this paper advances a theory that both challenges conventional understandings of consociationalism and explains the relative success and failure of inter-ethnic parties in other consociational regimes. Specifically, it assesses the relative merit of permissive institutional mechanisms, weakening ethnic identity, and ethnic tribune dysfunction. By analyzing the factors under which inter-ethnic parties succeed in consociational democracies, this paper highlights weaknesses in conventional criticisms of power sharing. It also helps to develop traditional theories of consociationalism that do not predict inter-ethnic parties in multiethnic or pluri-national societies. Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the conflict in the Middle East highlights the importance of understanding peace processes. Beyond its academic contribution, this paper highlights the practical benefits of consociationalism as a conflict-regulating tool.

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## E13 - What is ?public? about public transportation? (Part 1)

### Politique locale et urbaine

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Patricia Wood (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Theresa Enright (University of Toronto)

*Public, Private, or Common Transportation?:* Theresa Enright (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Transit networks are objects of intense political contestation and are key terrains of struggle in cities around the world. Essential to contemporary urbanization, transit networks are a strategic link in the interrelated crises of urban poverty, social reproduction, security, racism, democracy and climate. In this paper, I consider transit as a critical infrastructure of oppression and resistance and as a key platform for political and social change. Drawing on transit-oriented mobilizations in several cities, I trace how practices of commoning transit are striving to organize mobility in resistance to state apparatuses of violence, domination, exclusion, and exploitation. Building on this, I question the political and practical utility of private, public, and common forms of organizing and governing mobility.

*Free Public Transit for Youth Experiencing Homelessness: Breaking Barriers to Access and Impacts on Social Exclusion:* Noah A. Kelly (McGill University)

**Abstract:** For people experiencing homelessness, transportation poverty significantly contributes to experiences of social exclusion (Murphy, 2019), criminalization (Douglas, 2011), and barriers to accessing support services needed to break cycles of homelessness (Scott et al., 2020). Among youth, early intervention is essential in preventing recurring and chronic homelessness (Chamberlain & Mackenzie, 1998; Chamberlain & Johnson, 2008). Ensuring access to essential services by breaking mobility barriers is thus a key aspect of preventing chronic homelessness among youth. This paper explores the impact of a three-month free public transit intervention on housing security, access to support services, education, safety, criminalization, and physical health among 36 youth experiencing homelessness in Toronto. Additionally, the impact of increased mobility on mental health and feelings of social inclusion were observed. Methods: We utilize a mixed-methods approach, using pre and post-intervention focus groups, a longitudinal survey, and comparing pre-intervention travel diaries to geospatial data gathered from participant transit cards. Findings: Pre-intervention, transportation poverty was experienced by all participants. The severity of transportation poverty was dictated by structural factors, including participant transience and financial security, transportation supports offered at each shelter, ease of fare evasion, and experiences of physical and psychic safety on transit. During and after the intervention, improvements in social inclusion, employment, financial security, mental health, physical health, and access to health services were observed. Secure access to mobility elicited feelings of self-determination and social citizenship among participants, shifting feelings of belonging, long-term planning, and inspired ontologies of hope.

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*Views and Values of Elected Officials on Transportation Equity:* Orly Linovski (University of Manitoba)

**Abstract:** Arguably, the distribution of transportation benefits is mediated through elected officials, who are instrumental in framing the goals and priorities of these investments (Hay & Trinder, 1991; Taylor, Kim, & Gahbauer, 2009). Despite this, scholars note that as a field rooted in a technical-rational model, research on transportation often treats politicians and policymakers as ?exogenous to the decision-making process?, rather than seeking to understand the complexity of political contexts, power, and legitimacy (Marsden & Reardon, 2017, p. 245). With little research that specifically assesses whether and how politicians value equity in transportation policies, it is difficult to see how transportation processes can become more just. This research addresses these gaps by examining how local elected officials view and understand transportation equity, and the implications of this for equitable outcomes and practices.

This research used a mixed-method approach, drawing on a national survey (n = 165) and in-depth interviews (n = 38) with councillors and mayors to better understand (1) their values related to transportation equity and (2) how they view equity-seeking groups and communities. Our findings show that elected officials have divergent values related to transportation equity, with little concurrence in how equity-deserving communities are identified and what types of barriers they face. Critically, we find little support among elected officials for policies that prioritize structurally disadvantaged communities, rather

than provide benefits to the greatest number of people. These findings point to the need for foundational discussions about normative values for both elected officials and transportation professionals.

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## F13 - Panel 2 of the Biennial Workshop on Elections, Parties, and Public Opinion in Québec Politics (2nd edition) - Comparing Quebec within Canada

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Alexandre Rivard (SFU)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Catherine Ouellet (Université de Montréal)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

**Class Background and Candidate Identities: Comparing Ontario and Québec:** Daniel Westlake (University of Saskatchewan), Jacob Robbins-Kanter (Bishop's University)

**Abstract:** Local candidates seeking to run a personalized campaign (e.g. Cross et al. 2020) and build affinity with target voters may highlight particular aspects of their identities in campaign communications. One such aspect that candidates may choose to reference is their class background, for example, by describing themselves as middle- or working-class. Candidates also frequently mention their educational background or occupation to provide more subtle cues to voters and indicate a shared status, interests, or values. This paper compares the presentation of class identity among political candidates in recent Ontario and Québec elections. The two provinces offer an opportunity to compare how key variables such as party affiliation, riding demographics, and other factors including union density, affect candidate self-presentation. We code a collection of candidate biographies from 2022 local campaign websites collected in order to examine how class background is referenced by major party candidates. We further compare biographical information with data on candidate characteristics sourced from news reports and social media. This allows us to determine which elements of class identity Ontario and Quebec candidates choose to highlight, downplay, or embellish in their campaign biographies

**Histoires nationales : Une analyse textuelle des programmes d'enseignement de l'histoire dans les provinces canadiennes:** Evelyne Brie (Western University), Gabriel Jarvis (UQAM)

**Abstract:** La formation historique scolaire joue un rôle essentiel dans la formation des identités individuelles. Cet article examine les narratifs historiques provinciaux au Canada comme vecteurs d'influence de la conscience collective et des relations entre les groupes. Les données textuelles mobilisées proviennent de l'ensemble des programmes d'histoire canadiens pré-universitaires implémentés par les gouvernements provinciaux en 2023 (n=70 433 mots). À l'aide de méthodes d'analyse textuelle, nous examinons les différences interprovinciales dans l'importance et le contenu sémantique associés aux périodes et aux événements historiques au sein des provinces. Les résultats suggèrent que, dans l'ensemble, les programmes d'études mettent l'accent de façon disproportionnée sur les événements entourant l'autonomisation du Canada (1867-1931), et accordent peu d'intérêt à la période précédant la conquête britannique de l'Amérique du Nord (surtout à l'extérieur du Québec). De plus, les programmes scolaires mettent en évidence les contributions des Premières nations et des immigrants au Canada dans des proportions beaucoup plus importantes, et avec un vocabulaire sémantique plus positif, que les contributions des femmes et des francophones. D'importantes variations sont observables entre les provinces, avec la proximité géographique des événements étant positivement corrélée avec leur importance relative dans la formation historique. Dans l'ensemble, ces résultats suggèrent que les différences significatives dans la formation historique observées entre les provinces reflètent - et renforcent potentiellement - les tensions régionales au pays.

**Talking Politics: Language, Identity, and Candidate Assessment in Quebec and Canadian Politics:** Gabrielle Péloquin-Skulski (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Alejandro Flores (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Joseph R. Loffredo (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Samuel Baltz (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

**Abstract:** In the dynamic landscape of Canadian and Quebec politics, language is an important political and social cleavage. Prior research suggests meaningful differences in the views of Canadian anglophones and francophones on the economy, national identity, immigration and culture (Brie and Ouellet 2020; Dassonneville, Fréchet and Liang 2023; Gidengil et al. 2012). Given these cleavages and Canada's rich linguistic diversity, language proficiency is believed to be critical in citizens' evaluations of politicians and their voting preferences, significantly impacting party leadership selections and campaign strategies. However, there remain important gaps in the study of electoral politics in Canada: to what extent do Canadian voters prioritize language proficiency relative to other attributes in evaluating political candidates? And how do linguistic and regional factors influence the impact of language in candidate assessments? Drawing on social identity theory which posits that self-categorizations play a fundamental role in social relations, we delve into how linguistic proficiencies function as core attitudinal guides, influencing perceptions of group membership and the boundaries that distinguish communities. We use vignette and conjoint experimental designs to assess how a candidate's ability to speak French, English or both official languages influence evaluations of potential Members of Parliament in Québec and the rest of Canada. Our research sheds light on the intricate interplay between language and regional context in Canadian politics, but also enriches our understanding of how individuals' social identity influences their preferences and expectations in the realm of politics.

**La marque libérale mise à mal : regards croisés sur le Québec et les provinces de l'Ouest:** Félix Mathieu (University of Winnipeg)

**Abstract:** Si la marque libérale performe toujours relativement bien sur la scène fédérale, elle est de plus en plus mise à mal dans plusieurs arènes provinciales : c'est assurément le cas dans les provinces de l'Ouest canadien (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta et Colombie-Britannique), et ce l'est aussi, dans une moindre mesure, au Québec. Même si le contexte varie d'une province à l'autre, les formations libérales semblent avoir de la difficulté à

s'affirmer au sein de la joute partisane où elles s'inscrivent, prises entre des formations qu'on reconnaît plus facilement à leur droite ainsi qu'à leur gauche de l'échiquier politique. Dans cette communication, je vais d'abord m'intéresser à ce phénomène dans son ensemble, puis je mettrai l'accent sur le cas québécois, où le Comité de consultation et de réflexion sur la relance du Parti libéral du Québec a récemment publié le document S'affirmer, rassembler, prospérer. Un projet libéral pour tous les Québécois. Il s'agira, d'une part, d'interpréter l'évolution de la vision du PLQ en matière de fédéralisme dans le sillage des autres politiques constitutionnelles qu'il s'est données depuis le référendum de 1995, puis de réfléchir au potentiel comme aux limites de ce discours pour redynamiser la marque libérale.

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## M13 - Reading and Writing in Political Science

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : David Hornsby (Carleton University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : David Hornsby (Carleton University)

*The 'Reading Choice' Model: Student Voice, Jigsaw Activities, and Course Content in a Condensed Term:* Michael Murphy (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Preparing to teach a senior seminar in Fall 2023, I recognized that the coincidence of university holidays and observances meant that my Monday-morning course would have two fewer instructional days than typical. My problem-solving began with a teacher-centric question (how will I cover all the content I want to cover?) that quickly gave way to a student-centric solution—the 'reading choice' model. Instead of the standard model of assigning all readings to all students, I polled students on which readings they wanted to read out of a pair. Roughly half of the class would read each of the paired readings, and each class session would begin with a jigsaw activity where students would meet with their co-readers before small group discussions where students would teach their reading to colleagues who read the other reading. This paper draws on instructor reflection, student survey, and content analysis of written work to assess how the 'reading choice' model worked, what improvements might be made, and how prepared students were to use non-assigned readings in their written work. Although the specific course context for this pedagogical experiment was a course on political theory and Canadian politics, the pressure to 'fit' content into a course structure has broad applicability across reading-based disciplines.

*Embedded Writing Initiatives for 1st year Political Science Students: Some Preliminary Reflections:* Julian Campisi (University of Toronto-Scarborough), Nicole Bernhardt (University of Toronto-Scarborough)

**Abstract:** This paper draws on our experiences as Political Science professors teaching first-year students at the University of Toronto-Scarborough. These students largely reflect the racial, ethnic and economic diversity of the broader Scarborough community. Within this context, we examine how the scholarly writing expectations set within our courses can be better connected with these students' lived experiences. Employing an understanding of community-based learning that emphasizes praxis as 'happening in as well as outside of the classroom' (Dean et al., 2019), we consider how to meaningfully provide students with embedded in-course supports. Many instructors are familiar with the academic struggles and writing difficulties that many early-year students encounter in a complex and demanding environment of large numbers of students. Given the competition for limited financial resources, key partnerships between individual departments and specialized writing instruction can help to fill the gap in academic writing capabilities and support first-year students in the classroom directly.

From the instructor perspective, this presentation will describe a recent pilot project in two sections of Introduction to Political Science courses (~200 students each) drawing on collaboration between professors, teaching assistants, writing instructors, and the Centre for Teaching and Learning. The embedded writing initiative focused on inclusive access and sharing expertise to support student learning outcomes. We aim to provide preliminary reflections on different strategies for, and impact of, embedding writing instruction in large scale classes; suggest the importance of course specific TA-training; and discuss ideas for collaborative successes among course instructors and writing support, centres for teaching and learning, TA training, academic advising, and building more equitable and accessible classrooms. We maintain that a strong emphasis on writing supports is essential in bridging the gap between established University norms and community-engaged learning.

*Performative Reading as a Teaching Tool in Political Science:* Spyridon Kotsovilis (University of Toronto Mississauga)

**Abstract:** Pedagogy literature (Fink, Bradbury and De Maio, Bean, Cohen and Cohen, Kolb et al.) suggests that engagement, collaborative work and experiential learning can significantly increase student learning experience. This paper presents an innovative, peer-to-peer experiential teaching technique applied in an upper-year undergraduate International Relations course at the University of Toronto Mississauga involving the use of a virtual class performative reading of an ancient Greek tragedy on the impact of war on women to engage the students, animate the topic, and providing a memorable learning experience. Following a brief literature review, it describes the exercise in detail—from the set-up, to preparations, to the event itself, its linking to learning outcomes and its impact and implications. Specifically, the paper details how class members worked together for two months towards the in-class performative reading of Euripides' anti-war ancient Greek tragedy—Trojan Women. Inspired by drama projects that use ancient plays to address contemporary-yet universal themes (Doerries, Theater of War) and The Trojan Women with Syrian refugee actors in the U.K. (Beesley), the class welcomed an award-winning director of the 2019 Scottish theater production of Trojan Women and her associate, a Syrian refugee who adapted the ancient play to the Syrian conflict, to work remotely with students towards exploring the play, its focus on women and conflict, and its modern-day implications. Students formed teams and rehearsed towards a special remote-class event where they read out selected excerpts from the original and its modern Syrian war adaptation. This process involved expert coaching and critical exposure to first-hand accounts of the devastating conflict in Syria. In addition, it induced students to work together towards common learning objectives, as they explored and empathized with the characters of the play and their present-day resonance both for the performative reading and their own work for the course. The paper concludes by arguing that employing drama for educative purposes can be a valuable teaching tool and discussing future steps, including (i) the staging of an in-person performance of Trojan Women on campus, and (ii) embedding drama-related activities into other courses.

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## Day 2 - Session 5 (03:30pm - 05:00pm)

### A14(a) - Identity and Self-Presentation in Canadian Elections

#### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

***Ethnoracial Identity and Candidate Self-Presentation in Canadian Provincial Elections:*** Daniel Westlake (University of Saskatchewan), Jacob Robbins-Kanter (Bishop's University)

**Abstract:** Local campaigns offer candidates a chance to emphasize shared characteristics and to build a common affinity with voters. A substantial amount of research examines whether voters from ethnoracial minority groups are more likely to vote for candidates who share such an identity (e.g. Besco, 2019), and the way that the media covers ethnoracialized candidates (Tolley, 2016). But how do candidates choose to present their own ethnic and racial identities to voters? Drawing on local candidate biographies from the 2022 Ontario and Quebec provincial elections, this paper examines the way that four contextual factors shape candidate self-presentation of ethnoracial identity. These include demographic composition of the riding, competitiveness of the riding, party affiliation, and the distinct discourses surrounding ethnoracial and religious identity between Ontario and Quebec (for the last of these see Turgeon et al., 2019). In doing so, this paper provides important insight not only into descriptive representation of ethnoracial minority candidates, but also when candidates from such backgrounds highlight (or downplay) their identities when campaigning. Our initial findings suggest that riding demographics and party affiliation matter most for whether a candidate emphasizes a non-European ethnoracial identity. We find little effects for riding competitiveness and, surprisingly, minimal differences by province.

***Indigenous Political Empowerment in Provincial Elections: An Analysis of the Affinity Model of Engagement and Voting across Canada:*** Karen Bird (McMaster University), Nicholas Hinsperger (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** The proposed paper examines Indigenous voting behavior in recent provincial elections across Canada. Measuring Indigenous voter behaviour in provincial or federal elections is inherently problematic, as many Indigenous people resist such involvement, viewing it as an indirect acknowledgment of settler-colonial authority over their lands and communities. However, it is evident that a significant number of Indigenous people do participate in elections, and the growing presence of Indigenous candidates in the political arena signals a shifting landscape. For instance, the historic election of Wab Kinew as Manitoba's (and Canada's) first-ever First Nations premier in October 2023 underscores the potential for provinces to become crucial platforms for Indigenous voter empowerment.

Our paper aims to make several substantial contributions to understanding Indigenous political engagement in the context of provincial elections. First, we provide a comprehensive analysis of the representation of Indigenous candidates and elected members across 10 provincial legislatures. Our methodology relies on a web-based analysis of candidate self-disclosure and well-informed observer accounts for the past two elections in each province. Second, replicating work by Dabin et al. (2018) on federal elections, we conduct a comparative analysis of Indigenous voter turnout in provincial elections, drawing on an original dataset that matches aggregate turnout data with census tract information on Indigenous population share. Third, we test the affinity-engagement hypothesis that Indigenous turnout in provincial elections is linked to the presence of Indigenous candidates. Lastly, we use our dataset to examine the affinity-voting hypothesis, which suggests that political parties fielding Indigenous candidate should receive a higher share of vote in Indigenous constituencies, compared to parties that do not.

In sum, this paper aspires to provide better understanding of Indigenous political engagement in provincial elections across Canada. Our findings will contribute valuable insights to the ongoing discourse surrounding Indigenous rights, representation, and participation in the electoral process, and advance the pursuit of a more inclusive and equitable political landscape.

***Won't Be Silenced: Identity in the Campaign Communications of Indigenous Candidates in the 2021 Canadian Election:*** Angelia Wagner (University of Alberta), Mireille Lalancette (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières), Joanna Everitt (University of New Brunswick), Karen Bird (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Notions of the ideal politician as a white, heterosexual man are deeply entrenched in Canadian politics. Racialized politicians are thus careful about discussing their race or race-related issues in their campaign communications to avoid negative media and voter assessments (Lalancette et al. 2023; Wagner et al., 2023). But the rise of Indigenous nationalism in the late 1960s and subsequent movements such as Idle No More raises questions about whether Indigenous candidates are equally reluctant to discuss identity on the campaign trail. Identity has long been central to Indigenous activism, with considerable efforts placed on cultural and linguistic resurgence. A growing number of Indigenous candidates are also seeking federal office, yet little is known about the political communication strategies of these candidates. This paper addresses this gap by asking the following question: How and why do Indigenous candidates deploy identity in their campaign communications? To answer this question, we conducted a discourse analysis of the Twitter and Instagram accounts of select Indigenous candidates during the 2021 Canadian election. We also draw upon interviews with six Indigenous candidates about their communication strategies. Preliminary findings indicate that Indigenous candidates avidly deployed Indigenous imagery, issues, and languages when addressing voters on social media. This behaviour is in contrast to other minority politicians in Canada, who tend to downplay their racial identities on Twitter and in online biographies. An analysis of the interview data is expected to determine why Indigenous candidates feel more comfortable in highlighting their identity during the campaign.

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## A14(b) - Political Staff in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*Who Wants to Work in Canadian Politics?:* Lewis Krashinsky (Princeton University), Chris Achen (Princeton University), Blake Lee-Whiting (University of Toronto), William Roelofs (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Labelled 'the kids in short pants', or 'the barbarians at the gates', much of what Canadian scholarship does exist on political staffers is uniformly negative. Staffers are said to undermine the work of the civil service and contribute to politicization and policy centralization in Canadian democracy (Aucoin 2008; Craft 2016; Ivison 2012; Savoie 1999). Other work has pushed back on this picture, arguing that political staffers are often more talented than they are given credit for and can enhance the policymaking capacity of government (Brodie 2012; Wilson 2015). However, one crucial question that has not been posed is why do people want to work in these jobs in the first place? Knowing the base motivations for entering a job can speak volumes on how individuals approach that role, as well as the values and perspectives that they bring on a day-to-day basis. To answer this question, without relying on post-hoc justifications from those currently working in politics, we leverage data on a most likely group of future political staffers: university students in a political science class. Using a mixed-methods approach, we develop a typology for why or why not people have an interest in working as a political staffer in Canada. We conclude that the overwhelming majority of those who want to become staffers are motivated by a sense of serving the public good, while those who do not want to work in politics are motivated primarily by self-interest.

*Who imposes party discipline? The case for party whips as human resource managers and political staff as enforcers:* Alex Marland (Acadia University)

**Abstract:** The urgency of message discipline in party politics and the expansion of administrative office responsibilities has changed the conventional role of party whips. Political staff in the leader's office have a growing role in dishing out rewards and punishments that encourage good behaviour and party cohesion, while party whips spend more time on the human resources management of dealing with diverse people, policies and legalities in a busy workplace that is increasingly under scrutiny. This study draws on a series of interviews with party whips and with political staff across Canada to make the case that whips are increasingly HR managers and staff increasingly play the role of enforcer. The study adds new interpretations of party discipline in a political environment where communications unity is paramount and where growing numbers of unelected staff hold sway over elected officials.

*The Xs and Os of Local Digital Campaigning: Evidence From Party Staffers During the 2021 Canadian Federal Election:* Andrew Mattan (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Over the past quarter-century, evolving digital technologies have altered the ways in which political content is both disseminated and consumed (Small et al., 2014). Of these new technologies, social media such as X (formerly, Twitter) have been noted for changing the dynamics of campaigning (Vergeer et al. 2011). Since then, most parties and politicians have sought to establish a social media presence. Despite the ubiquity of these new digital tools, there is little research to date examining how social media are impacting the dynamics of local party campaigns in Canada or otherwise. Much of the current literature tends to explore the use of social media by parties and/or party leaders (Small, 2014; Larsson, 2016; Rahat & Zamir, 2018). This limits findings, as leaders and parties although important represent a small proportion of the hundreds of actors that participate in an election campaign. To fill this gap in the literature, this paper will examine the political use of social media at the local level of Canadian parties during the 2021 federal election. More specifically, it will conduct a series of interviews with national and local campaign staffers to address three questions: what strategy is behind local social media usage (e.g., who is emphasized: the leader, party, or the local candidate), how important is social media use to the overall campaign, and what impact does it have on party organisation? Indeed, this study aims to make a theoretical contribution in the areas of digital politics, personalism, and party organisation.

*Constituency Service (Staff's Version): Investigating the Role of MPs' Staff in Representation:* Meagan Cloutier (University of Calgary), Melanee Thomas (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** In Mr. Smith Goes to Ottawa, Docherty (1997) focuses on the representative nature of constituency work, finding that Members of Parliament (MPs) conduct constituency work because it is satisfying to help individual constituents and their communities. Today, MPs' staff overwhelmingly provide this constituency service. How does this affect how we understand representation?

Drawing from surveys of MPs and their staff, I document how staff play a crucial role in service delivery, providing an important and nuanced update to explanations of representation in Canadian politics (Docherty 1997; Koop, Bastedo, and Blidook 2018). While most MPs agree that helping constituents is an important part of their job, they also acknowledge their need for staff support, and that it is quicker for their staff to help constituents. Staff choose which interactions are important for the MP to know about, and MPs trust their staff's discretion assessing when they should be informed, implying that staff, not MPs, are doing the substantive action of political representation.

My study shows that constituency staff are primarily women and are often those dealing with the public, who can be frustrated. I explore the gendered dynamics of these interactions as crucial insights about who contributes to the representative process, arguing that equity must be considered in order to adequately assess the quality of representation in Canadian politics. I argue that when staff's labour is omitted from these conversations about Canadian political institutions, it reproduces gendered assumptions about what counts as valued labour for representation (cf. Forestal and Philips 2020).

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## A14(c) - Roundtable: Qualitative Research on Contemporary Francophone Migration to/in/from Canada: A Roundtable on Methodology, Social Class, Religion and Race

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

Amélie Barras (York University)

Jennifer Selby (Memorial University of NL)

Antoine Mazot-Oudin (Concordia University)

Chedly Belkhodja (Concordia University)

Amin Moghadam (Toronto Metropolitan University)

Jérémie Molho (Toronto Metropolitan University)

Shirin Shahrokni (York University, Glendon)

**Abstract:** This panel puts into conversation a small boom of scholarship ? four independent research projects conducted by Barras and Selby, Belkhodja and Mazot-Oudin, Moghadam and Molho, and Sharokni - that examines French and Francophone migrants to Canada. Over the last two decades, there has been a significant increase in the migration of individuals of French nationality to Canada (they are the ninth largest group of immigrants in Canada, and the first group in Quebec (Statistics Canada 2016)), and of Francophones more generally. This growth is partially the result of immigration policies at the provincial and federal levels that seek to encourage Francophone migration.

We ask: (1) How have we grappled with Francophone migration methodologically and theoretically? (2) How has immigration policy facilitated this immigration, and do these agreements differentiate French immigrants from other Francophones? (3) How do these immigrants conceptualize their location of arrival, Canada, and more particularly Ontario and Québec? (4) Are they impacting political debates in their locations of settlement? (5) Does social media impact their immigration journeys? And (6), what does the current situation tell us about ?(in)visible? mobility in Canada?

This panel will grapple with these questions and engage in a broader shared discussion of how/whether Francophone immigration produces an essentialist image of Canada, as a peaceful, and non-settler-colonial land of opportunities. In short, we will aim to consider the ways in which privilege might be sustained and (re)produced through Francophone immigration, both in policy and through people.

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## A14(d) - Partisanship and Polarization in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*Polarization and Social Media Usage in Canada:* Rafael Campos-Gottardo (McGill University), Simon Kiss (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Social media is routinely invoked in public discourse as a culprit in higher levels of political and affective polarization. These increased levels of polarization have led to increasing calls for the regulation of some social media websites and implicated them in increasing levels of instability (Napoli 2019). However, the social scientific literature is much more sanguine (Tucker et al. 2018), implicating elite polarization and increasingly partisan news instead. Moreover, most of these studies were conducted in the United States with limited evidence indicating whether this relationship also exists in Canada (Kubin and Von Sikorski 2021). Therefore, this paper examines the relationship between self-reported social media consumption, online news consumption and both types of political polarization in Ontario. Data are drawn from the 2018 Ontario Provincial Election Survey, commissioned by the Laurier Institute for The Study Of Public Opinion And Policy. Measures of affective and policy polarization are drawn from Wagner (2021) and Polacko (2022). Consistent with Dubois and Blank's (2018) findings on echo chambers, the results show that the impact of social media usage on polarization is fully mediated by political interest, whereby individuals who are more interested in politics seek out online news sources more readily than individuals who are less interested in politics. These individuals are also more polarized. These findings indicate that despite the conventional wisdom that consuming news from social media increases political polarization, this relationship does not seem to hold in the Ontario context.

*Public Attitudes Towards Immigration in Canada: Decreased Support and Increased Political Polarization:* Mehdi Mohamadian (BC Health), Mohsen Javdani (Simon Fraser University), Maxime Heroux-Legault (UBC-Okanagan)

**Abstract:** We use Canadian Election Studies surveys from 1988 to 2019 to investigate the evolution and determinants of attitudes towards immigration. We find that while there was a consistent and significant decline in anti-immigrant sentiments until mid-2000s, in 2008 this trend shifted to a steady increase in relatively more negative attitudes towards immigration. We use a rich set of individual, provincial, and local variables to understand factors that shape these attitudes. While we find that economic factors have some impact on attitudes towards immigration, our results suggest that sociopsychological issues rooted in identity, culture, ethnicity, and political ideology play a significantly more important role. We also document a growing divide in attitudes towards immigration by political party identification which started to emerge in 2006. Our relative importance analysis suggests that among different factors studied, party identification is the most important in explaining variations in attitudes since 2006.

*Density, partisanship, and polarization: Multi-scale electoral patterns in Canada 2000-2021:* Benjamin Forest (McGill University), Christopher Yurris (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Scholars have observed an increasingly strong relationship between population density and partisan support in the United States, with Democratic support coming from higher-density urban counties and Republican support from lower-density rural ones. We analyze the density-partisan relationship in Canada with an original data set consisting of election returns by polling division for the eight Federal elections between 2000 and 2021. The large number of polling divisions in Canada (over 50,000) permit analyses from the micro-scale of the precinct (200-500 people) to the level of districts (up to about 100,000 people). In addition to the fine geographic detail provided by these data, Canada's multi-party system permits a more systematic, nuanced analysis than the American case. The preliminary results show that the centre-left Liberal Party follows a pattern similar to the Democratic Party in the U.S., but other Canadian parties do not display strong density-partisan relationships.

*Angry? Upset? You are not my co-partisan!:* Blake Lee-Whiting (University of Toronto), Peter Loewen (University of Toronto), Thomas Bergeron (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Partisan identities shape our everyday lives and how we perceive strangers, influencing various measures of polarization and inter-group relations. Considering the effects of polarization, how do people in Canada sort strangers politically? Drawing from findings in psychology, we argue that people politically categorize strangers by linking partisan identity to faces. To test this theory, we conducted four studies with 1,199 respondents in Canada using faces randomly drawn from the Chicago face database. In Study 1, we find that faces which display negative emotions are more likely to be categorized as out-partisan, and faces with positive emotions as in-party. Study 2 replicates these results but asks respondents to assign faces as supporters of Canadian party leaders, rather than Canadian parties. Study 3 demonstrates that these biases also influence the categorization of fictional political candidates into Canadian political parties. Study 4 indicates that the valence of emotions shown by faces shape perceived electoral success, but not personal electoral support. These findings shed light on the processes through which individuals form political perceptions of strangers, and the intricate ways in which partisan identity influences social interactions.

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## B14 - Author Meets Critic: Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States

### Politique comparée

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : Please put in same room as "New Perspectives" #69

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Frederic Merand (Universite de Montreal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Juliet Johnson (McGill)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Dominique Arel (University of Ottawa)

Maria Popova (McGill University)

Oxana Shevel (Tufts University)

**Abstract:** "Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Divergent States" (Polity Press 2024) explains how over the last thirty years Russia and Ukraine diverged politically ending up on a catastrophic collision course. Russia slid back into authoritarianism and imperialism, while Ukraine consolidated a competitive political system and pro-European identity. As Ukraine built a democratic nation-state, Russia refused to accept it and came to see it as an anti-Russian project. After political pressure and economic levers proved ineffective and even counterproductive, Putin went to war to force Ukraine back into the fold of the Russian world. Ukraine resisted, determined to pursue European integration as a sovereign state. These irreconcilable goals, rather than geopolitical wrangling between Russia and the West over NATO expansion, are essential to understanding Russia's war on Ukraine.

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## B14 - Comparative Populism

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*Is there a (universal) right-wing populist voter?:* Kofi Arhin (The University of Ottawa), Daniel Stockemer (The University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** In this article, we compare the voter profile of Trump, Erdogan and Bolsonaro voters to decipher if there is a prototypical right-wing populist voter. Through original survey research in the US, Brazil and Turkey with 1000 participants in each country conducted in October 2021, we find that the classical voter for any of the three presidents is distinct with the exception that voters of all three populists are socially conservative. Trump voters tend to be ethnically driven, and reject minorities. For Bolsonaro voters, social conservatism and their increased age are their main features. Finally, the Erdogan voter is culturally motivated rather than ethnically motivated and younger.

*Immigration, vaccines, and fighting for the people: Comparing radical right election discourses online in Canada and France:* Maria Finnsdottir (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** While France has long had an active radical right political scene, the entrance of the radical right into parliamentary politics in Canada is very recent. Bernier's Peoples Party of Canada only ran in federal elections for the first time in 2019. Following the 2021 election, while the party still held no seats in Parliament, their vote share had increased to 7%. In France, the 2022 elections witnessed the emergence of a new radical right party, one trying to outflank Marine Le Pen's Rassemblement National from the right: Zémour's Reconquête. Both parties have been incredibly active online, making effective use of social media to spread their message and recruit followers. In this paper, I employ a computational keyword analysis of tweets by candidates of both parties in the most recent legislative elections. Using these methods, I identify the common topics of online speech in both contexts, allowing for a comparison of issue salience and rhetoric for the fringe parties of the radical right in Canada and France.

*Building Up the Backlash. Right-wing Populism and Indigenous peoples in the Southern Cone:* Lucas Savino (Huron University College)

**Abstract:** This paper focuses on a comparative study that addresses the tensions between the formal recognition of Indigenous rights, its limitations under "neoliberal multiculturalism," and the re-emergence of right-wing populism in the Americas. With a focus on extractivist-based projects for economic growth, the study looks into the cases of Brazil under Bolsonaro (2019 - 2022), Argentina under Macri (2015 - 2019), and Bolivia under Áñez (2019 - 2020) and seeks to understand the ways in which Indigenous rights and politics became a matter of national politics. The argument presented here is that right-wing populism builds on the tensions and contradictions created in the previous phase of neoliberal multiculturalism whereby no significant state support for Indigenous self-determination and autonomy has resulted from the policies of the previous two decades.

*Populism and Authoritarianism: Where I End and You Begin:* Dolunay Bulut (University of Arizona)

**Abstract:** What is populism? Is it categorically dangerous? As the concept oscillates between an emancipatory image of a pure people and a growing specter of authoritarianism, it's difficult to pinpoint one absolute meaning. How, then, can we interpret Syriza, Freedom Party, FIDESZ, AKP, Likud, Podemos, and the Trump-led Republican Party, among countless others, under the same category of populism? When we associate a myriad of anti-democratic phenomena with the same term, populism obscures more than it illuminates the actual threat to the future of democratic politics, that is, the emergence of resilient autocracies at the semi-periphery of the Euro-Atlantic, liberal democratic core. This paper argues that resilient autocracies are those who appeal to the populist toolkit not as an instrument of competition to wield power, but as an instrument of consolidation and solidification of power, where it becomes a dangerous ruling technique. Once in power, where does populism end and authoritarianism begin? This paper grapples with these questions through the cases of Hungary (FIDESZ) and Turkey (AKP) to demonstrate the nuances of populism and offer an analytical categorization of this multifaceted phenomenon based on 1) its position vis-à-vis the modern political (hegemonic liberal) power configuration; 2) its way of cooperating and/or collaborating with other actors in the liberal democratic parameter space, both horizontally (inter-state relations) and vertically (between the state and liberal international law and institutions).

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## E14 - What is ?public? about public transportation? (Part 2)

### Politique locale et urbaine

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Theresa Enright (University of Toronto)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Patricia Burke Wood (York University)

*The politics of transportation as public space: Infrastructural citizenship on the Mumbai metro and local trains:* Patricia Wood (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper considers the political significance of the many differences between the experience of taking the metro and the suburban commuter trains (more commonly referred to as the ?local trains?) in Mumbai, India. There are several critical differences between the two urban rail systems in their cost, social and physical accessibility, activities in the stations and vehicles, the presence of economic activity and advertising, HVAC (heating, ventilation and air conditioning) systems, the way the vehicles interact with the city when they are in motion, and the presence of animals. Based on intensive participant observation field research from January to April 2023, the paper examines how the different design, architecture, and social life of the two forms of transportation infrastructure produce riders differently as physical bodies and as political subjects, and specifically as citizens of a democracy. I analyse these differences drawing on theoretical frames from scholarship in infrastructural citizenship and democracy with emphasis on everyday practice and whether spaces are emancipatory as well as inclusive. For the purposes of emphasizing the distinctions, I propose that the metro system produces alienated and disciplined political subjects, and the local trains system produces grounded, embedded, emancipated, self-governing political subjects. The consequences of these distinctions for democratic practice in the city are significant.

*Mobility justice in public transit hierarchies: Low-income experiences of the paradox of ?Rapid-Transit?:* Emmett McDougall (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** Across North America, mid-size cities are integrating rapid transit projects to encourage development and recapture middle and upper-income groups as choice transit users. They sell the newness and desirability of rapid transit, driving investment and densification in areas along the line. However, little consideration is given to original captive users, who are traditionally lower-income community members that rely on public transit to move around the city. We conducted semi-structured interviews with (20) low-income individuals and (22) key stakeholders in the region of Waterloo, a mid-sized municipality in Southern Ontario, CA. We use this region as a case study because of its newly operationalized Light Rail Transit (LRT) line, constructed despite an already strong bus network. Our research thus centers the low-income perspective to understand the extent to which ?new? means ?better? and for whom. Harnessing a mobility justice lens, we find that shifting transit infrastructure has deeply impacted the low-income travel experience. The LRT has fundamentally shifted the transit system, causing confusion for residents who face new barriers navigating the city. This is paired with a cultural shift, as low-income individuals shared experiences of hostility and isolation when riding the LRT as the social experience of riding the train is fundamentally different. Harnessing a mobility justice lens, we consider how to reconceptualize transit plans that center a nested approach to justice. Ultimately, our work further supports the growing body of mobility justice literature that argues transit investment is contributing to power regimes on different scales.

*The inclusion of a care(ing) and justice lens in public transit discourse and practice: a literature review:* Khairunnabila Prayitno (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** The objective of the proposed paper is to investigate the extent to which the lens of care and justice is incorporated in public transit discourse and practice. The questions I address include: (a) how are concepts of justice and care addressed in current public transit literatures? and (b) In what ways can the concepts of care and justice be included within public transit discourse and practice that considers the mobility of newcomer immigrant women? The incorporation of a justice and care lens in the domain of public transit allows for the expansion of mobile imaginaries (i.e. assumptions of mobile subjects, and whose mobilities we tend to enable) to include narratives of those who have been left out in the past. Current literature on the evaluation of public transit policy and plans are dominantly framed within the realm of equity, or based on equitable distribution of the benefits and costs of transport investment and policy (distributive justice). Justice-oriented approaches, that are more transformative in nature, aligning with conceptions of justice as outlined in mobility justice and spatial justice theories, as well as wider environmental justice movements, are limited within the literature. Practitioners also tend to have a difficult time navigating through understanding how to do ?equity? work. Moreover, the application of a care lens, as a concept and in the realm of care work, in the domain of public transit is even less explored. Through a review of current public transit literatures, the paper identifies pathways of incorporating the concepts of care and justice within public transit discourse and practice.

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## F14 - Panel 3 of the Biennial Workshop on Elections, Parties, and Public Opinion in Québec Politics (2nd edition) - Elections, public opinion and parties in Quebec politics

Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Jean-François Daoust (Université de Sherbrooke & Université of Edinburgh)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : André Blais (Université de Montréal)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Les préférences des Québécois envers la redistribution : l'exception canadienne:* Axel Déry (University of Western Ontario), Olivier Jacques (Université de Montréal), Shannon Dinan (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Est-ce que le modèle québécois de politiques sociales reflète une opinion publique plus favorable aux services publics et à la redistribution de la richesse? Pour répondre à cette question, nous utilisons trois séries de sondages portant sur deux questions centrales dans l'étude comparée des préférences des citoyens à l'État-providence : l'appui à la redistribution du revenu (mesuré de 1986 à 2021) et les préférences quant à la taille des services publics (mesurées de 2019 à 2023). Dans ces trois sondages, nous observons un appui significativement plus élevé envers la redistribution et les services publics chez les répondants québécois que parmi les répondants des autres provinces, bien que les répondants des provinces de l'Atlantique affichent aussi un appui élevé, mais pas statistiquement significatif. Nous observons également une moins grande polarisation entre les riches et les pauvres et entre les électeurs de gauche et de droite au Québec sur ces questions, alors que les électeurs conservateurs sont significativement moins en faveur d'un État plus grand et les citoyens plus aisés sont significativement moins en faveur de la redistribution hors du Québec.

*Benefits and Ressentiment: Support for Quebec Independence, 10 Years Later:* Alexandre Rivard (Simon Fraser University), Benjamin Ferland (Université d'Ottawa), Marc André Bodet (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** The emergence and success of the Coalition Avenir Québec presents an interesting moment in Québec's electoral politics. It appears that the salience of the Québec sovereignty movement has been decreasing in the contemporary era, at least in comparison to its watershed moments in the early 1990s (Daoust and Gareau-Paquette, 2023; LeDuc, 1977; Meadwell and Martin, 1996; Mendelsohn, 2002, 2003; Nadeau et al., 1999). Yet support for the independence project persists (Bélanger et al., 2022; Blanchet and Medeiros, 2019; Dufresne et al., 2019). The paper addresses this conundrum in mobilizing two theoretical traditions that have been central for explaining support for Quebec independence: i.e., the rational choice and socio-psychological models (Mendelsohn 2003). The former stresses the cost and benefits associated with sovereignty while the latter highlights the role of resentment and grievances toward the federal system for explaining voters' behaviors. Based on two surveys fielded in 2013 and 2023, we examine whether those approaches are still fundamental for understanding support for independence and how their influence might have shifted in the last decade. Our recent survey also allowed us to consider new factors such as populism and immigration that might have become more significant lately. Finally, we also designed a survey experiment to measure the contemporary constitutional preferences of the modern Québec voter and disentangle preference for independence, changes to Canada's constitutional order, and the status quo.

*Testing Multiple Measures of Identity in Substate Nations: A Quebec-Based Experiment:* Elissa Berwick (McGill University), Éric Bélanger (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Quantitative studies of national identity in multinational states are often built on shaky ground. Historically popular subjective measurements of multinational identity such as the Linz-Moreno scale are increasingly contested, while newer alternatives are either poorly understood or vulnerable to the same limitations. There is also substantial evidence that the survey questions typically used to measure subjective identity are not always capturing what researchers truly intend to measure, and that their meaning varies across national and even sub-national settings. In some contexts, researchers can leverage objective markers of belonging such as language, yet variation in how individuals choose to identify and what identity means to them complicate inferences that rely on such measures. In order to clearly understand what different questions regarding national identity are actually capturing, this paper compares different proposed measures in an experimental framework. Quebec-based study participants are assigned to different close-ended, quantitative measures of national identity, followed up by open-ended questions asking them to explain their national identity in their own words. The validity of the various measurement strategies is then assessed by observing differences in the degree of association between the closed-end responses and the topics raised in the open-ended explanations, as well as through correlations with other attitudes scholars anticipate ought to be associated with national identity.

*Stéréotypes et perceptions: Mesurer la validité des jugements politiques basés sur le style de vie:* Catherine Ouellet (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Les individus tirent souvent des conclusions sur autrui à partir d'informations statiques fondées l'apparence, tels que les traits du visage ou encore l'attrait physique. La recherche suggère par ailleurs que ces jugements surviennent rapidement et spontanément. Les humains sont-ils également capables de détecter les préférences politiques sur la base de l'apparence? L'article suivant examine, dans le contexte québécois, dans quelle mesure des caractéristiques liées au style de vie influencent les jugements de tout un chacun sur l'affiliation politique d'autrui et, surtout, la validité de ces jugements (ou préjugés). Une analyse conjointe permet de mesurer le poids de caractéristiques liées au style de vie sur la formation des jugements politiques. Ces résultats sont ensuite contrastés à un vaste ensemble de données (n = 64 745), permettant de mesurer la validité de ces jugements, et de distinguer les caractéristiques qui permettent une inférence valide de celles qui induisent les gens en erreur. Les résultats suggèrent que certaines caractéristiques liées au style de vie, comme le type de voiture ou les activités de loisirs, sont clairement associées à différents partis politiques, du moins dans l'esprit des gens.

Les résultats suggèrent également que, malgré les effets potentiellement néfastes des jugements basés sur l'apparence, les individus sont généralement assez doués pour inférer les préférences politiques d'autrui à partir du style de vie. Cette étude contribue à un agenda de recherche bourgeonnant sur la relation entre le style de vie et les préférences politiques et, plus généralement, éclaire sur la valeur diagnostique des inférences politiques fondées sur l'apparence. Des implications théoriques et pratiques sont également discutées.

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**J14 - Workshop on Research Security -test**

**Politique provinciale et territoriale au Canada et au-delà**

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** :

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## M14 - Roundtable: How and Why to Peer Review in Academia

### Enseignement

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Isabelle Cote (Memorial University)

Isabelle Cote (Memorial University)

Christina Clark-Kazak (University of Ottawa)

Megan Bradley (McGill University)

Alison McCulloch (Brandon University)

Janique Dubois (Université d'Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Peer-reviewing is one of those things academics are just expected to know how to do; yet, so few receive any training on it and some may even question why we do it in the first place. How to provide constructive feedback that helps elevate the work of the author, while avoiding to become the dreaded grumpy 'reviewer #2'? Why should you spend hours providing detailed feedback on a complete stranger's manuscript? This bilingual roundtable, gathering editors/editors-in-chief of prominent academic journals on Canadian politics, Migration and Ethnic Politics, will provide concrete insights and examples of how to peer-review well, while highlighting the role and importance of the review process in shaping knowledge production through the publication process. Emergent and established scholars welcome!

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## N14 - Gender Based Violence and Secrecy

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*Et Tu, Brute? Self-Induced Extreme Intoxication and Gender-Based Violence:* Caroline Dick (The University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** On June 23, 2022, Bill C-28 received royal assent, despite having been introduced in the House of Commons only 6 days earlier. In the wake of the Supreme Court's decision in *R. v. Brown* and after more than two decades of championing the rights of women to protect them from gender-based violence, Parliament relented and recognized self-induced extreme intoxication as a defence to violent crimes - with one caveat. The defence would not be available to individuals who became extremely intoxicated in a negligent manner. Less than one year later, the Senate's Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs issued a report on the new legislation, criticizing the consultation process used to enact the expedited legislation and questioning the balance struck between the rights of the accused and those of female victims. This paper pursues two avenues of inquiry. The first involves an examination of the jurisprudence in which extreme intoxication has been offered as a defence. In what kinds of cases has the new defence been raised? Has extreme intoxication been advanced in cases involving gender-based violence? How have Canadian courts drawn the boundary between negligent and non-negligent extreme intoxication? The second line of inquiry takes up the Committee's call to review the legislation. Should self-induced extreme intoxication be recognized as a legal defence? If yes, is there a legislative approach that would provide a more equitable balance between the rights of both the accused and victims of gender-based violence?

*Gendering Secrecy:* Elspeth Van Veeren (University of Bristol)

**Abstract:** This paper asks the classic feminist question, "where are the women?" with respect to secrecy and its politics? Secrecy studies has emerged as a vibrant inter-disciplinary field of study yet to date, this work has had very little to say on the role of gender and sexuality in connection with secrecy's power and its generative effects. At the same time, women across cultures and the feminine continue to be reproduced as suspicious subjects paradoxically charged with keeping secrets but also unable to keep them. Gender-based violence is also replete with examples of secrecy used as a tool of domination and emancipation: from secrecy around the use of homes for unwed mothers to the #metoo movement, from suspicions around trans women to the latest developments in abortion politics. Through bringing secrecy studies into conversation with feminist literatures, and exploring a number of cases, this paper will argue that secrecy is gendered in that women keep different secrets, keep secrets differently, and are gendered differently through and with secrecy.

*Mapping Out Trends in Virtual Violence Against Women Politicians on TikTok Through Gendered Disinformation:* Brooke Steinhauer (McGill University), Dietlind Stolle (McGill University)

**Abstract:** When it comes to being a political figure, the cost of engaging in politics has always been greater for women than men. Now, as concerns pertaining to violence against women in politics emerge globally, the price has never seemed higher. However, since the political realm has shifted into the digital world, female politicians and activists are faced with a new form of violence: virtual violence. Though scholars have begun to explore this topic, the spread of gendered disinformation that typically accompanies violence against women online has remained unaddressed. The goal of this study is to better understand what virtual violence and gendered disinformation look like online and how much of it is being circulated. To do this, preliminary data was collected from the social media platform TikTok - a platform that has recently become known for both spreading misinformation and as a tool for political communication. Content was scraped from the app, including creator posts, hashtags, searches, and user comments, in order to perform a cross-sectional content analysis, focusing on material pertaining to women political figures and flagging any inaccurate or misleading information. By highlighting topics such as gendered stereotypes, hyper-sexualization, and attempts to undermine women's credibility, an analysis of these themes across intersectional groups aids in determining what kind of virtual violence and gendered disinformation women politicians are subject to online. This study will set the stage for further analysis comparing how virtual violence differs for women politicians in comparison to men and what we can do to combat it.

*How do Canadian Political Parties Respond to Allegations of Sexual Violence: To Sanction or Not to Sanction?:* Claire Mountford (16cim1@queensu.ca), Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Sexual violence in politics is a pervasive and unfortunately increasingly relevant issue, particularly as it pertains to women's comfort in politics. Political parties are important, though unelected, institutions, largely driven by self-interest and re-election aspirations, making their role in holding politicians to account in cases of sexual violence complicated, though pivotal. How and why do parties' responses vary when their candidates face allegations of sexual violence? To answer this question, I created an original dataset made up of all instances of sexual violence committed by Canadian provincial, territorial, and federal politicians that was reported on in newspapers. Quantitative analysis of this dataset provides insight into the frequency of party responses to sexual violence allegations (i.e. choosing to sanction or not), as well as the significant variation in frequency of allegations and sanctioning amongst different parties. Additionally, wisdom from violence against women in politics (VAWIP) literature is applied to Canadian politics to support this research on the role parties have played in accountability for sexual violence. This research contributes to literature on Canadian politics, political parties, and gender and politics. The relevance of this research extends past academia - the #MeToo Movement has demonstrated that sexual violence is all too prevalent in many facets in society. Close examination of institutional responses to sexual violence reveals broader themes of what is deemed acceptable and unacceptable. This communicates to politicians and the public how parties view survivors and the issue of sexual violence broadly, improving this response will have widespread implications for the comfortability of women in politics, and standards of institutional responses to sexual violence.

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## N14 - GBA+ in Policy Analysis I

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

**Envisioning a Feminist Disability Justice Approach towards Medical Assistance in Dying: A Critique of the Expansion of Canada's MAID Legislation:** Dani Magsumbol (York University), Siobhan Saravanamuttu (York University), Cynthia Spring (York University)

**Abstract:** Feminist disability (Garland-Thomson, 2002) and feminist-of-colour disability (Schalk & Kim, 2020) theorists have offered critiques of the mainstream reproductive rights paradigm. This politic remains steadfastly pro-abortion, building off the reproductive justice movement, while seeking to challenge the eugenicist roots and contemporary ableism of many aspects of reproductive healthcare (Piepmeier, 2013; Jarman, 2015). We propose that there is much to learn from these perspectives regarding Canada's Medical Assistance-in-Dying (MAID) legislation. Disabled activists and community members have called attention to the eugenicist nature of MAID and the various expansions to eligibility leading to the inclusion of disabled people without a terminal diagnosis in 2021 via Bill C-7 and people with psychiatric diagnoses in 2024 via Bill C-34.

Drawing on the groundwork laid by feminist-of-colour disability theory and conceptions of desirability to critique neoliberal imaginations of choice, this paper offers an analysis of mainstream policy paradigms around MAID, in addition to the proposed extension of MAID to folks with mental illness in March 2024. We make the argument that a feminist disability justice approach towards MAID is an explicit decentering of the ideology of choice ? understood in this analysis as a neoliberal, capitalist ideology that conceals the treatment of particular groups of people as expendable ? and put forward an alternative course of action. This proposed model would call for continued access to MAID alongside ensuring universal access to adequate social and economic resources to support those who are outside the constructed bounds of desirability.

Supervisors: Prof. Ethel Tungohan (tungohan@yorku.ca), Prof. Karen Muray (murrayk@yorku.ca), Prof. Leah Vosko (lvosko@yorku.ca)

**Mourn, Organize, Change, Hope: Anti-Violence Activism, Carceral Feminism, and Federal Canadian Public Policy:** Bailey Gerrits (St Francis Xavier University)

**Abstract:** This paper is a part of a larger project investigating the applicability of the critique of carceral feminism ? that feminist ideas and actors in favour of increased punishment, policing, and imprisonment have successfully influenced the state to revise its anti-violence policies to focus on carceral systems ? to Canada. The critique of carceral feminism has been debated in Canada and applied by some; however, the empirical evidence is limited. What is clear is that carceral responses to gender-based violence in Canada are predominant. The role of feminists/feminism is unclear. In existing gender and politics scholarship in Canada, feminist ideas and actors are often associated with demanding that the federal government take gender-based violence seriously and stop degendering the issue. Yet, carceral responses to gender-based violence in Canada are the mainstay and feminist ideas and actors may have actively or been coopted to contribute to this system. This paper draws on primary and secondary materials and interviews to critically process trace key anti-violence federal policies and initiatives from the 1970s to present. Relying on empirical analysis, the paper challenges the tendency in feminist scholarship to underestimate the effect of anti-violence and feminist advocacy on policy change. It also contributes to understanding the entrenchment of policing and imprisonment as the predominant means of addressing gender-based violence in Canada and it contributes to debates about the role feminist actors play in shaping Canadian public policy.

**Gender Based Analysis Plus and the National Housing Strategy: Dedicated Funds for Gender Neutral Policies:** Lori Oliver (Queen's University), Margaret Little (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** This study critically examines how Gender Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) operates within Canada's National Housing Strategy (NHS). In recognition that women and girls disproportionately experience housing insecurity, the NHS includes a goal of dedicating 25 percent of funds to this key demographic. Progress reports released by the Government of Canada indicate that the goal is being surpassed. However, federal Access to Information and Privacy requests along with interviews with both frontline service providers and lone mothers with lived experience of homelessness illustrate that this GBA+ related commitment is having only minor policy impacts. Despite having a gender-specific funding goal, the vast majority of NHS policies are gender neutral. There is a basic assumption embedded in the NHS that any housing intervention will be of benefit to women and girls given their disproportionate housing need. In reality, many lone mothers continue to struggle to access appropriate housing support. For the NHS to have a meaningful impact on the housing outcomes for women and girls, GBA+ must be more expansively deployed.

**Creating a Child Care Oasis: Ensuring Equitable Expansion into Canada's Child Care Deserts:** Kenya Thompson (York University), Leah Vosko (York University)

**Abstract:** In 2021, the Canada-wide Early Learning and Child Care Plan (CWELCC) was launched?an unprecedented federal investment in early learning and child care promising a universal, publicly-funded, non-profit system at a daily cost of \$10 for families nationwide?and, notably, a marked shift from the previous majority for-profit provision of child care in Canada. Since signing onto associated bilateral funding agreements, provinces and territories have begun implementing the plan and responding to increased demand of families for affordable care. Though several provinces and territories (as of November 2023) credit themselves as meeting fee reduction targets, many have struggled to create new child care spaces, thus compounding the issue of increased need. Families are only able to enjoy the \$10 per day policy if they are able to access a space?and in many child care deserts nationwide, where at least three children compete for one space, many cannot. This inability to meet the urgent demand provides opportunity for corporate providers to fill the gaps with for-profit solutions and poorer quality care. Critically examining the CWELCC through the lens of child care deserts not only highlights the enduring inability of private market actors to ensure equitable expansion to all families who need it, but the importance of creating a public system of child

care as part of a robust social policy framework. This paper will consider what equitable service expansion into child care deserts might look like, arguing for the integration of child care into public planning in jurisdictions across Canada.

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## Q14 - Addressing Climate Change: International and Domestic Perspectives

### Practitioners

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jérôme Couture (Université Laval)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** David Houle (Public sector)

**Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :**

*The Online Climate Policy Crisis: Misinformation and Disinformation in the Digital Age:* Andrew Heffernan (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** While climate change must be countered through effective mitigation and adaptation approaches at the global, national, and local levels, implementing effective policies to do so can only be accomplished through buy in by a critical mass of citizens. However, we know that to-date this remains a challenging prospect to accomplish both in the Global North and Global South. While countries in both regions face many different challenges in doing so, there are also a number of shared roadblocks to attaining popular support for effective environmental governance. Beyond the types of challenges themselves, various states both experience their impacts asymmetrically, while simultaneously being equipped with different tools for treating them. As democracy is not a binary category of government but instead a multi-dimensional spectrum along which states are constantly struggling, it becomes pivotal to develop policies that deal with modern challenges while taking advantage of new technologies and techniques.

This paper aims to analyze the type of digital tools that exist which channel the types of information and misinformation that contributes to informing increasing numbers of people. How these information flows are managed and leveraged is pivotal for effectively governing in general, and specifically for environmental and climate governance. Climate change is both the quintessential global issue, while also one that has seen the most polarization in recent years. As such, understanding the way broader global politics manifest through tools like social media and resultantly impact policymaking becomes integral to effectively fighting the climate crisis.

*The Arctic, Climate Change, and Environmental Diplomacy in the Study of Canadian Foreign Policy:* Wilfrid Greaves (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** In this article, we examine linkages between three prominent concepts in post-Cold War foreign and security policy in Canada: the Arctic; climate change, and environmental diplomacy. In particular, we examine how each is conceptually connected to the others, and to the broader frames of foreign policy and security. To do this, we undertook a quantitative analysis of the prevalence of articles on these topics in six academic journals since 1989. Our findings indicate that, contrary to their relative prominence in Canadian foreign policy practice during this time, the Arctic, climate change, and environmental diplomacy are all marginal to scholarship on Canadian foreign and security policy. Moreover, the linkages among these three concepts are more limited than an empirical understanding of their connections to Canadian foreign policy practice would suggest. We outline the methodology of our literature review for Arctic, climate change, and environmental diplomacy within Canadian foreign and security scholarship, present our findings, and discuss their significance for our understanding of these topics and for the broader field of Canadian foreign policy studies.

*Reframing Climate Change as a Public Health Problem: Insights from an Experimental Survey in Canada After the 2023 Wildfire Season:* Alizee Pillod (Université de Montréal), Erick Lachapelle (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Climate change represents a major threat to public health in Canada and elsewhere. Since the late 2000s, a growing number of public health professionals across the country have pushed for a greater attention to the health dimension of the problem. This article explores the reasons why the economic and environmental frames have continued to dominate climate conversations even after the emergence of a public health frame which is thought to be less polarizing. While several studies have already demonstrated the effectiveness of such a frame in Canada, I hypothesize that the recent record-breaking and devastating wildfires and the air toxicity that followed in 2023 have possibly created the necessary conditions for a frame replacement. Indeed, a large body of literature on agenda-setting shows that the occurrence of critical events can drastically modify people's mindset and, therefore, lead to a change of a problem's definition. To verify this hypothesis, I will conduct an experimental survey exploring Canadian's reactions to the public health frame in the aftermath of the wildfire season. I will measure (1) prior consideration of the link between climate change and health compared to the link between climate change and the economy, (2) affective assessment of climate health impacts compared to climate economic impacts, (3) unprompted knowledge of climate health impacts compared to climate economic impacts, and (4) the level of trust in public health professionals compared to economists. The findings will then be compared to those of the studies conducted prior to the event in question.

*Multilevel Climate Governance: Assessing Citizen Perspectives on Governmental Responsibility:* Jérémy Gilbert (Université Laval), Alexandre Gajevic Sayegh (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Climate action is undertaken by various players across multiple levels of government. While federal and provincial governments often take the lead in climate policy, municipalities possess the tools to make significant contributions and play a key role in enabling businesses and citizens to participate. This article examines climate responsibility as perceived by citizens. Drawing on data from a survey (n = 1500) conducted in Canada in 2022, which explored perceptions of climate change and actions, it scrutinizes the perceived responsibilities of government levels and citizens themselves. The findings reveal that citizens are deeply concerned about the impacts of climate change and are eager to see societal changes. However, they tend to assign greater responsibility for climate action to the higher tiers of government. The article posits that cities can be pivotal by equipping citizens who are ready to engage with the necessary tools. This study distinctively contributes to the discourse on climate action by highlighting the discrepancy between the responsibilities that citizens perceive and their readiness to take action. Previous research has often centered on federal and provincial roles; this study

shifts the focus to the municipal role and citizen empowerment, underscoring the importance of an integrated, multilevel governance approach for effectively mobilizing civic engagement.

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## Day 3 - Session 1 (08:30am - 10:00am)

### A16(a) - Assessing Pledge and Mandate Fulfillment: Trudeau's Liberal Minority Governments in Comparative Perspective (Panel 1 of 4: The Contexts)

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Promettre sans compter? Démêler les 913 promesses des gouvernements minoritaires de Justin Trudeau:* Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (University of Toronto), Hubert Cadieux (Université Laval), Benjamin Carignan (Université Laval), Jérémie Drouin (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Dès son premier mandat, le gouvernement de Justin Trudeau a pris l'habitude de promettre beaucoup. Les auteurs du précédent ouvrage Bilan du gouvernement libéral de Justin Trudeau notaient ainsi que pas moins de 353 promesses avaient été formulées par le Parti libéral du Canada lors de la campagne de 2015. Il était alors possible d'imaginer que ce chiffre, jusqu'alors inégalé, représentait les ambitions d'un parti d'opposition qui promettait beaucoup en vue d'un premier mandat. Toutefois, comme l'indique le titre de ce chapitre, pas moins de 913 promesses ont été promises pour ces deuxième et troisième mandats consécutifs du Parti libéral du Canada. En particulier, le mandat qui tire présentement à sa fin au moment de la rédaction a de nouveau vu un nombre record de promesses être formulées : pas moins de 570 ont été formulées dans la plateforme libérale de 2021.

Le gouvernement Trudeau promet-t-il sans compter? Afin de répondre à cette question complexe, cette communication analysera le nombre de promesses formulées par domaine de politique publique pour chacun des mandats minoritaires; elle comparera ensuite la réalisation des promesses à celles de gouvernements canadiens précédents, et comparera aussi l'évolution de la réalisation des promesses au courant de ces mandats à celle ayant eu lieu pour les gouvernements minoritaires dirigés par Pauline Marois au Québec (2012-2014) et Blaine Higgs au Nouveau-Brunswick (2018-2020). Enfin, elle fournira des pistes d'explication quant au bilan de réalisation/non-réalisation de promesses des deux gouvernements minoritaires.

*Justin Trudeau ou l'art (perdu) de gouverner pendant deux mandats minoritaires:* Frédéric Boily (Université de l'Alberta), Timothy van den Brink (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** Dans cette communication, il s'agira de brosser un tableau de l'évolution des deux mandats minoritaires de Justin Trudeau en mettant en lumière les dynamiques qui permettent de comprendre comment les voies ensoleillées ont laissé place à des nuages qui ont assombri la fortune électorale de son gouvernement. Nous verrons en effet qu'il s'est produit, pendant ces deux mandats, une détérioration du climat politique sous la forme d'une exacerbation des passions politiques qui n'est pas étrangère à la pandémie et qui a culminé avec le « convoi de la liberté » en février 2022. Nous examinerons comment le gouvernement libéral est parvenu à naviguer à travers deux gouvernements minoritaires, notamment en examinant l'entente entre les libéraux et les néo-démocrates, laquelle ne semble pas avoir amélioré la fortune électorale du parti. Cet examen du contexte se terminera avec une appréciation de l'art de gouverner de Justin Trudeau lors de son mandat qui a commencé en 2021. Lors de ce mandat, nous verrons que la détérioration du climat politique s'est poursuivie, notamment les relations avec les gouvernements des provinces des Prairies alors que la perception des Canadiens envers les travaux de la Chambre des communes est plus négative que par le passé. L'ensemble de cette démarche interprétative permettra de constater que le gouvernement mené par Justin Trudeau semble désorienté par l'arrivée d'un nouveau chef conservateur qui représente un défi inédit et qu'il se trouve en panne d'inspiration sur le plan programmatique.

*Le bilan de Justin Trudeau en caricatures : reflet humoristique des « deux solitudes »?* Emmanuel Choquette (Université de Sherbrooke), Blaise Doré-Caillouette (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** Cette étude porte un regard sur le traitement humoristique des deux derniers mandats du premier ministre Justin Trudeau à travers l'analyse de caricatures publiées depuis le 22 octobre 2019, date concordant avec le début du second mandat du gouvernement libéral. On a ainsi analysé plus de 140 caricatures provenant des plus importants quotidiens francophones et anglophones au Canada. Du côté francophone, on s'est concentré sur la presse québécoise à savoir, le Journal de Montréal (et le Journal de Québec), La Presse, Le Devoir et les publications des Coopératives de l'information (essentiellement Le Soleil et Le Droit). De côté anglophone, on a considéré les quotidiens « hors-Québec », notamment le journal national (le National Post) puis les publications les plus populaires basées en Ontario, soient le Globe and Mail, le Toronto Star, le Toronto Sun (pour fin de comparaison avec le format du Journal de Montréal). La question centrale de cette recherche se divise en deux temps : 1) De façon générale, quels grands thèmes sont principalement abordés dans les caricatures analysées entourant les deux mandats du premier ministre Trudeau? 2) Quels sont les différences et les lieux communs de ces traitements humoristiques selon qu'ils proviennent de la presse francophone ou anglophone? Cette étude met également en lumière plusieurs aspects fondamentaux de l'analyse de contenu médiatique, dans un contexte de publication humoristique en particulier, notamment les types de cadrages et les représentations effectués à travers les référents visuels et textuels mobilisés dans les caricatures.

*Communication et marketing politique, promesses concernant les géants du Web:* Catherine Ouellet (Université de Montréal), Cassandra Gervasi (Université de Montréal), Alexandra Sirmalis (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Le marketing politique est devenu un instrument central dans l'arsenal stratégique des partis contemporains, et l'ascension puis le maintien au pouvoir du Parti libéral du Canada sous Justin Trudeau ne font pas exception à cette règle. Ce chapitre vise à analyser l'usage du marketing politique par

le Parti libéral lors des gouvernements minoritaires successifs de Trudeau, en mettant en lumière comment cette approche a influencé et été influencée par le contexte politique fluctuant entre 2019 et 2024. Nous explorons la manière dont les stratégies de marketing ont été adaptées pour naviguer à travers des défis tels que la polarisation politique, la pandémie de COVID-19, la crise climatique ainsi que des tensions géopolitiques accrues. S'appuyant sur les données du Polimètre Trudeau, ce chapitre offre une analyse critique de la façon dont diverses stratégies propres au marketing politique ont été mobilisées par le Parti libéral, en nous interrogeant sur la nature transactionnelle ou transformative de la relation entre le parti et l'électorat. L'analyse se concentre sur les campagnes publicitaires, la communication gouvernementale et la gestion de l'image publique de Justin Trudeau, et considère également l'impact du pacte libéral-NPD sur l'élaboration et l'exécution des politiques. Ce chapitre offre ainsi une perspective critique sur le rôle du marketing dans la formation de la politique publique sous Trudeau, interrogeant sa contribution à la gouvernance en tant que « livreur de promesses » ou « dépositaire du bien public ».

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## A16(b) - Candidate Diversity in Canadian Politics

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**Gender, Sector, and Electoral Pipelines:** Dawn Moffat McMaster (University of Calgary), Melanee Thomas (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** How does sector employment (private, public, and nonprofit) interact with gender to structure Canadian candidate pipelines?

Electoral pipelines, or the process by which a person runs for public office, are notoriously leaky for women in Canada. Occupation has been studied from both supply and demand perspectives in candidate emergence (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995; Lawless, 2012; Bernhard et al, 2021) and vote choice (Mechtel, 2014; Campbell and Cowley, 2014; Coffé and Theiss-Morse, 2016; Crowder-Meyer et al, 2019). Existing work focuses on individual occupations, but sector employment offers a generalizable missing link that explains gendered electoral pipelines.

Employment by sector is measurably gendered in Canada: men are overrepresented in the private sector and women overwhelmingly so in the nonprofit sector. Preliminary evidence using a unique measure to capture sector employment shows that these employment patterns are replicated and even exacerbated in the electoral pipeline. Women are less likely than men to work in the private sector, and the few women in the private sector are even less likely to be candidates for public office. In contrast, the proportion of Canadian women working in nonprofits and the proportion of women candidates with nonprofit experience are roughly equivalent. This suggests that the private sector pipeline (and to a lesser extent, the public sector pipeline) leaks more for women than does the nonprofit. To explain this finding, I theorize the role of sector employment and gender in the acquisition of policy knowledge, politically relevant skills, and networks that contribute to deeply gendered electoral pipelines.

**Why Aren't LGBTQ+ Candidates Winning When They Run? Evidence from Canada:** Quinn Albaugh (Queen's University), Elizabeth Baisley (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** In recent years, several countries—including Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States—have experienced substantial increases in LGBTQ+ candidates (or “rainbow waves”). In Canada, the number of LGBTQ+ candidates has increased in recent Canadian elections, but the proportion of LGBTQ+ candidates winning their races has decreased over the same time period. Why aren't LGBTQ+ candidates winning when they run? We examine several possible explanations, including voter bias, district competitiveness (whether parties nominate LGBTQ+ candidates as “sacrificial lambs” in unwinnable districts), and other candidate- and district-level factors. We use an original dataset of candidates for the five largest parties in Canadian elections from 2015-2021. We decompose the gap in winning local races across non-LGBTQ+ and LGBTQ+ candidates. Our results speak to the growing literature on LGBTQ+ candidates and descriptive representation.

**Candidate Diversity in Federal and Quebec Parties: 2021-2022:** Benjamin Forest (McGill University)

**Abstract:** This study analyzes the diversity of candidates in the 2021 Federal and the 2022 Quebec elections. There are substantial differences in proportions of both women and racialized minorities among parties, but these two dimensions of diversity show different partisan patterns. While diversity patterns generally fall along ideological (left-right) lines for federal parties, the patterns for Quebec parties are more complex and suggest that cultural-identity issues play a significant role in candidate selection. Using an original data set of party, candidate, and district characteristics for each election, and multivariate analysis, the paper extends earlier work by including smaller parties that did not win seats, and dimensions of diversity beyond gender and racialized identities, such as nativity/immigration status.

**Are Women Candidates Less Likely to Win? An Analysis of Canadian Federal Elections, 2004-2019:** Michael Wigginton (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The underrepresentation of women in Canadian federal politics is an obvious fact, with only 31% of seats in the House of Commons currently being held by women. The majority of scholarship attributes this deficit to women less often being nominated as (viable) candidates by major parties, and prior research in the Canadian context has suggested that women candidates in Canada get the same number of votes as do men. In this paper, I revisit these past findings by analysing the electoral success of major party candidates in the 2004-2019 general elections. I find that, even when controlling for a party's past performance in the district, women candidates have only a 22% chance of being elected, compared to 24% for men — in other words, that women are less likely to win election a similarly positioned man would be. While substantively small, this statistically significant difference in performance suggests that discrimination at the ballot box continues to be a barrier to women's equitable representation.

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## A16(c) - Misinformation in Canadian Politics

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*?We Didn't Start the Fire, It Was Always Burning?: Wildfires, Misinformation Ecosystems and Political Consequences in Canada:* Thomas Bergeron (University of Toronto), Peter Loewen (University of Toronto), Danielle Bohonos (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Compared to past years, more Canadians directly live with the consequences of wildfires to varying degrees. Many people have had to evacuate their homes due to the direct threat of fire, whereas, for others, wildfire smoke drastically decreased air quality. We fielded two surveys during wildfire season: one during the 2023 Alberta provincial election (N=948) and another to a general sample of Canadians (N=4,808). We examine how Canadians engaged with the news cycle about wildfires and how they responded to misinformation related to wildfires and politics more generally. We propose that climate skepticism may be an important driver of attitudes towards wildfires. First, we observe that the media diet differs among climate believers and skeptics. The lack of trust of climate skeptics in traditional media shapes this difference: they are significantly less likely to trust traditional media than climate believers. Second, we examine how false information about the wildfires (i.e., climate activists started the fire), integrates individuals' political misinformation belief system (e.g., Donald Trump won the 2020 election or the 15-minute city). Our preliminary analyses show that misinformation about the wildfires integrated individuals' belief systems in a way that is consistent with prior attitudes. This is especially true for climate skeptics. We also aim to study how people structure their various false beliefs and how they influence their political behaviours. Overall, this research studies how people structure their false attitudes by examining the integration of a new issue in their belief system and whether it influences their behaviours.

*The New Greatest Challenge of our Generation: Governing Climate Change Information, Misinformation, and Disinformation on Social Media:* Andrew Heffernan (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Climate change is the quintessential global challenge, while also perhaps the issues that has seen the most polarization in recent years. As such, understanding the way broader global politics manifest through tools like social media and resultantly impact policymaking becomes integral to effectively fighting the climate crisis. While climate change must be countered through effective mitigation and adaptation approaches at the global, national, and local levels, implementing effective policies to do so can only be accomplished through buy in by a critical mass of citizens. However, misinformation efforts have increasingly been targeted at issues that fall along partisan lines and climate change has been a particularly polarizing issue. While we know that online misinformation has become almost ubiquitous, its specific impacts on policymaking are less well known. Research in this paper shows that efforts to misinform and disinform the public are both becoming increasingly prevalent and effective. Such efforts are in turn leading to negative outcomes in relation to the ability of the Canadian government to sustain support for climate policies that are integral to realizing targets outlined in the Paris Agreement. The paper argues that the polarisation that is being stoked by misinformation campaigns on social media are the most serious threat to fighting climate change. Furthermore, it argued that new policies and approaches for policy development and implementation will be required to match the alacrity of the proliferating online flows of misinformation and disinformation.

*When journalism is turned off: Evaluating the (disinformation) consequences of the meta news ban in Canada:* Aengus Bridgman (McGill University)

**Abstract:** A commonly understood counter to mis- and disinformation spread on digital media is the availability of reliable information from high-quality journalist news sources. These journalistic news sources are said to play a role in prebunking and debunking false or misleading information. However, in August 2023, Meta began to limit the visibility of news content for Canadian users on two of the platforms most commonly used for political information gathering in Canada: Facebook and Instagram. In this paper, we evaluate two possible consequences of the removal of journalist-produced content on the overall Canadian information ecosystem. We ask: 1) does the overall information quality on political discussions on the meta platforms decrease? And 2) is this shift in information quality associated with a decreased volume of activity on meta platforms and (a corresponding) increase in volume on other social media. To respond to these questions, we collected a large-scale multi-platform dataset of Canadian political content from Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok. Our initial evaluation indicates a significant drop-off in external linking on Meta platforms which has resulted in a more insular and less informed conversation. We also observe a small rise in linking to known disinformation-disseminating websites who were unaffected by the ban. We do not witness any increase in political activity on platforms that continue to allow linking, suggesting that citizens are simply accepting a lower volume of news exposure. The reduced availability of journalism in social media spaces is likely to contribute to a less informed citizenry and a less-responsive democracy.

*Understanding Provincial Variations in Vaccine Hesitancy in Canadian Provinces: The Role of Trust in Provincial Premiers and Misinformation:* Guila Cohen (McGill University), Felix Laliberté (Université de Montréal), Mathieu Pelletier-Dumas (Université de Montréal), Dietlind Stolle (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Our project aims to identify the factors contributing to vaccine hesitancy in Canadian provinces, including the political and provincial sources. Preliminary findings indicate that trust in provincial premiers can reduce vaccine hesitancy in some provinces but not in others, suggesting that variation at the provincial level should be further explored. Thus, our study seeks to understand the regional disparities in vaccine hesitancy and why trust in premiers exerts varying influences on this hesitancy. We believe that a premier's vaccine position and misinformation are the missing pieces of this puzzle. Our research draws on a representative Canada-wide COVID-19 panel survey that spanned twelve waves from April 2020 to April 2022, with 1623 respondents in the final wave. We hypothesize a positive relationship between conservative identity and vaccine hesitancy and expect vaccine hesitancy levels to be higher in provinces with vaccine-hesitant premiers. Furthermore, we hypothesize that respondents will be more trusting of premiers with whom they share ideological and political alignment. Finally, we expect the premier's vaccine position will moderate the relationship between premier trust, misinformation, and vaccine hesitancy, with distinct effects in pro- and anti-vaccine premier scenarios.

We will use various quantitative methods, such as regression and longitudinal analyses, to address these questions. This research will provide valuable insights into the complex dynamics of vaccine hesitancy in Canada, shedding light on the factors that drive hesitancy in different provincial contexts. It will also inform strategies to address and mitigate this critical public health issue.

Keywords: COVID-19, vaccine hesitancy, premier trust, misinformation, political alignment, Canada.

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## A16(d) - Une convergence des luttes? Le complotisme au c?ur de l?écosystème réactionnaire de droite

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : David Morin (Université de Sherbrooke, Chaire UNESCO en prévention de la radicalisation et de l'extrémisme violents)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Mathieu Colin (Université de Sherbrooke, Chaire UNESCO en prévention de la radicalisation et de l'extrémisme violents)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Sylvain Bédard (Université de Sherbrooke, Chaire UNESCO en prévention de la radicalisation et de l'extrémisme violents)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

**Désinformation, théories du complot et enjeux de sécurité publique et nationale:** David Morin (Université de Sherbrooke, Chaire UNESCO en prévention de la radicalisation et de l'extrémisme violen)

**Abstract:** Les théories du complot (TC) et la désinformation peuvent avoir des conséquences néfastes en alimentant une perte de confiance dans les institutions, en renforçant la polarisation sociale et en favorisant l'émergence de comportements antisociaux, ce qui peut conduire à l'adoption de comportements plus extrémistes. On observe également une augmentation des crimes et incidents haineux, de l'extrémisme violent et des manifestations violentes, phénomènes qui ont des répercussions graves sur la sécurité nationale et la société dans son ensemble.

L'extrémisme violent en tant que tactique métapolitique visant à la domination culturelle et la prise de pouvoir, tout en utilisant la désinformation comme outil, peut conduire à des coups d'État constitutionnels plutôt qu'à des insurrections violentes. Cette subversion de la démocratie peut être favorisée par la confusion entre les idées conservatrices légitimes et les points de vue extrémistes antidémocratiques. Bien que les facteurs de protection du Canada réduisent la probabilité d'une telle évolution, le pays n'est pas immunisé contre de telles menaces, en particulier avec l'émergence de la polarisation politique croissante et de la désinformation dans l'espace public.

La corrélation entre la désinformation et la violence souligne la nécessité d'aborder ces problématiques de manière globale, tout en préservant les principes fondamentaux de la démocratie. Ainsi, il est essentiel de mettre en place des mesures efficaces pour lutter contre ces phénomènes tout en préservant les droits fondamentaux et en promouvant un dialogue constructif au sein de la société.

**Déni climatique et désinformation, quelle conceptualisation pour quelles pistes d'action ?:** Marie-Eve Carignan (Université de Sherbrooke, Chaire UNESCO en prévention de la radicalisation et de l'extrémisme violen)

**Abstract:** Bien que la désinformation suscite une littérature croissante (Cea et Palomo, 2021), et soulève son lot de critiques, sa conceptualisation est souvent incomplète dans la littérature scientifique (Kapantai et al., 2021). La théorie implicite dominante découle du modèle de déficit informationnel vise à diffuser l'information fiable afin de contrer la désinformation (voir par exemple Van der Linden et al., 2017 ; Maertens et al., 2020).

Or, il a été démontré que la connaissance scientifique est paradoxalement susceptible d'alimenter les polarisations politiques (Kahan et al., 2012). Ce n'est donc pas la méconnaissance que l'on cherche d'abord à combattre, mais plutôt les attitudes et les motivations qui nuisent à la délibération politique et risquent de mener à une forme d'extrémisme.

Des auteurs proposent en ce sens de remplacer la notion de fausseté par celle de tromperie (Karlov et Fisher, 2013), ce qui permet d'y inclure des informations vraies énoncées dans un contexte qui les rend trompeuses (Fallis, 2015). C'est alors la capacité de résistance à la propagande politique pouvant mener à la radicalisation qui est en cause plutôt que la correction d'informations fausses.

Cette analyse s'applique très bien au cas des changements climatiques, où connaissances et méconnaissances scientifiques et résistance politique s'entremêlent et font qu'une stratégie de réponse essentiellement axée sur la correction de l'information risque de demeurer incomplète. Cette conceptualisation ouvre vers de nombreuses pistes d'interventions communicationnelles fondées sur la notion de dialogue dont il s'agira ici d'esquisser brièvement le socle commun.

**Gloire à Vindex : complotisme, accélérationnisme et extrémisme dans l'Ordre des Neuf Angles:** Mathieu Colin (Université de Sherbrooke, Chaire UNESCO en prévention de la radicalisation et de l'extrémisme violen)

**Abstract:** Dans un contexte de visibilité accrue des groupes d'extrême droite accélérationniste dans les dernières années, notamment au Canada (Comité permanent de la sécurité publique et nationale, 2022), et d'inscription de plusieurs groupes comme Atomwaffen Division ou The Base comme entités terroristes (Gouvernement du Canada 2023), certains demeurent complexes et mystérieux. C'est le cas de l'Ordre des Neuf Angles (Order of Nine Angles, parfois abrégé ONA ou O9A). Les rares études à son sujet (Goodrick-Clarke 2002, Kaplan 2002, Senholt 2009 et 2013, Monette 2013, Koch 2021) ont tenté de comprendre comment ce groupe a pu articuler des idéologies aussi diverses que le satanisme « traditionnel » le national-socialisme et même l'islamisme radical (Koch 2023), par le biais de son supposé fondateur, David Myatt. Plus récemment, l'ONA s'est retrouvé au c?ur d'affaires légales médiatisées, notamment celui d'Ethan Melzer, un jeune soldat accusé d'avoir fait parvenir du matériel classifié au groupe dans le but de déclencher une attaque terroriste sur son unité militaire (US v. Ethan Melzer 2022). Cette communication vise à comprendre comment l'ONA articuler diverses théories du complot en créant notamment des « ponts narratifs » entre extrême droite et djihadisme (Koch 2023), et en participant par le biais du conspirationnisme au développement d'hybridations idéologiques favorisant le potentiel de radicalisation et la coordination d'acteurs de différents milieux extrémistes.

**De la méfiance à la défiance, les sources ordinaires de l'extrémisme au Canada:** Sylvain Bédard (Université de Sherbrooke, Chaire UNESCO en

prévention de la radicalisation et de l'extrémisme violent)

**Abstract:** Au travers le foisonnement d'études psychosociales concernant l'adhésion au conspirationnisme, on risque de perdre de vue le caractère foncièrement politique de la pensée conspirationniste. À partir des données de deux sondages menés par notre équipe, nous nous proposons une interprétation du conspirationnisme centrée sur le rejet de l'autorité politique et de la méfiance à l'égard des élites.

En tant qu'expression radicale d'un doute sur la véracité du sens commun et des discours des élites, la conspirationnisme peut-être associé à une méfiance exacerbée envers les institutions, qui peut éventuellement mener à un extrémisme politique de nature insurrectionnelle.

Il ressort de nos données enquête que le niveau de confiance envers les institutions est lié à l'adhésion à la pensée conspirationniste. Nous pourrions décrire l'association d'autres variables de l'étude avec cette confiance, dont l'appui aux mesures sanitaires. Nous sommes aussi en mesure de relater l'impact déclaré de la pandémie sur ces niveaux de confiance, et ce pour différentes sous-populations.

On établira finalement un lien avec la sympathie à l'égard de la violence qui recèle le potentiel extrémiste, voire insurrectionnel, de la pensée conspirationniste. Nous pourrions contraster ces données avec des études d'autres pays afin de décrire les dynamiques internationales en la matière.

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## B16 - Multilevel Governance, Policy, and Participation

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

#### *Innovation in Korea and Sweden: Policies and Pathways:* Shirley Anne Scharf (SHIRLEY ANNE SCHARF)

**Abstract:** Canadian innovation policy has stood as a continuing challenge throughout the twenty-first century (Scharf 2022, unpublished <https://ruor.uottawa.ca/handle/10393/43951?mode=full>). In contrast, the Republic of Korea and Sweden have been able to launch, and generally sustain, successful innovation growth dynamics. The research question to be pursued is how have public policies in Korea and Sweden fed into the innovation success found in these economies? The theoretical framework is the Development Network State (DNS) (Block and Keller 2011; Mazzucato 2015, 2018). There has been very little application of the DNS in a comparative context; nor has there been DNS work on Korea and Sweden. This paper would make an original contribution to the field.

Four dimensions in the paper will be examined:

- why a DNS approach is a unique lens for this comparative study;
- a comparison of Korean and Swedish innovation policy with respect to mission consistency and policy durability;
- a comparison with respect to targeted resourcing of innovation;
- a comparison with respect to access to venture capital.

Methodologically, the paper will study the 2000 to 2023 time period, reaching across key crisis points (the Great Recession, the pandemic) and how these countries have weathered these. It will examine government documents, legislation enacted, expert studies, relevant academic literature, as well as a range of standard OECD innovation indicators. The paper will also make an original contribution in that it will include not just traditional information and communications industries but also Artificial Intelligence, moving beyond what are now more dated renditions of 'high-tech'.

#### *More Participation, More Trust in Institutions? Insights from the EU-led Conference on the Future of Europe:* Daniela Heimpel (Centre Marc Bloch)

**Abstract:** This paper focuses on the impact of participation in European Citizens' Panels (ECPs) on the relationship between the citizens involved and the EU institutions. The ECPs are deliberative experiments that took place for the first time at the EU level as part of the Conference on the Future of Europe (CoFoE) 2021-2022. Each involved 200 randomly selected citizens from all Member States who were asked to develop recommendations for the EU institutions on broad topics related to the future of Europe. As stated in the Joint Declaration (2021), the idea was to include citizens' perspectives in policy-making and to build trust and support for the EU project, thus bringing EU institutions and citizens closer together. This paper looks at how the CoFoE has helped to strengthen this relationship for citizens who have been directly involved in an ECP. As we know from previous research, participation in such deliberative and participatory processes can indeed lead to increased trust in institutions (Grönlund et al., 2010). However, we also know that the opposite can happen, if citizens experience the process in a negative way or feel that their participation was meaningless (Halvorsen, 2003; Talpin and Monnoyer-Smith, 2013). This paper analyzes the impact of participation in the CoFoE on the way citizens perceive their relationship with the EU institutions. How has this experience affected their trust in the EU institutions? And how can we explain these changes? It builds on the experiences of citizen participants and draws on 25 qualitative interviews with citizens involved.

#### *Implementation of EU Data Protection Instruments: Compliance and Discretion at the Subnational Level:* Matthieu Niederhauser (University of Lausanne), Martino Maggetti (University of Lausanne)

**Abstract:** The subnational implementation of international instruments in federal states is an under-explored process. Subnational entities regularly enjoy a degree of sovereignty, which raises questions such as whether and how international instruments are implemented at the subnational level. This paper aims to observe how international instruments are legally implemented in subnational legislations and implemented in practice. To structure our analysis, we ask four questions: 1. What is the level of legal and practical compliance with international law at the subnational level? 2. To what extent do subnational entities customize the implementation of international law? 3. What discretion do civil servants enjoy in the legal and practical implementation of international law? 4. How does such discretion influence compliance? To explore these questions, we analyse the implementation of EU data protection law in Switzerland, where we expect a high level of compliance and little discretion by subnational civil servants. We carried out an in-depth documents analysis and 28 interviews with national and subnational actors involved in the regulation of data protection in Switzerland. The findings from the research highlight a low degree of legal and practical compliance with EU data protection law, contrary to our expectations. The paper identifies factors behind this lack of compliance, such as delays in legal implementation, lack of expertise and of financial resources. We also test two competitive models (principal-agent and stewardship) to explain civil servants' discretion in implementation. We find that the stewardship model is better equipped to explain civil servants' discretion, meaning that they identify with the norms and values of the instruments and work toward their implementation. The study concludes with a discussion on two separate issues: our understanding of the relation between discretion and compliance, and the gap between ambitious international instruments and the realities of the ground.

#### *National Orphan Drug Policy Development in Canada: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations as a Barrier to International Policy Transfer:* Samuel Henderson (University of Toronto), Jonathan Craft (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper investigates why Canada has not adopted a national orphan drug policy (NODP). Following the lead of the American Orphan Drug Act, most developed countries have adopted NODPs to facilitate the approval of orphan drugs, or drugs for rare diseases and disorders. Yet, Canada remains one of few developed countries without one. This paper argues that the spread of NODPs constitutes a case of policy transfer through the mechanism of policy learning, with Canada serving as a negative case where a policy has been considered but never adopted. Using 20 semi-structured interviews and primary document analysis, this paper finds that policymaking has been plagued by issues of problem definition and policy design as

policyholders and experts have long debated the nature of the problem of orphan drug inaccessibility and how best to address it. A lack of a formal venue for information sharing and collaboration, inconsistent leadership from the federal government, and a lack of reciprocal norms of cooperation in Canadian pharmaceutical policy have hindered the collaboration and consensus-building necessary to overcome these challenges, preventing policy transfer from occurring. The findings provide important insights into how negative cases of policy transfer emerge and the role federalism and intergovernmental relations can play in shaping this process. They also emphasize the importance of norms of cooperation for intergovernmental policymaking and the need to develop these norms with stakeholders outside of government.

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## B16 - Political Leaders, Power, and Presentation

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Picture-perfect: On the relationship between party leader visibility and voting during party leader elections:* Clint Claessen (University of Basel), Stefanie Bailer (University of Basel), Maxime Walder (University of Geneva)

**Abstract:** Party leaders feature prominently on social media. As figureheads of their party, they are often depicted by their political party and party members. While the literature extensively covers social media strategy and campaign narratives, the actual visual appearance of party leaders in images is still under-explored. This paper seeks to fill this gap by arguing that party leader appearance is an indicator of internal political capital by providing analyses of all Instagram images from Canadian, German and British MPs posted during party leader elections from July 2019 to October 2022. We use a face verification classifier that measures how often party leaders are depicted on MPs' social media and hypothesize that party leader appearance is driven by intra-party support, especially during party leader (de)selections. Our preliminary results reveal a strong relationship between visual party leader appearance and party leader selection outcomes. We contribute to literature on party leader selection in general, and on the relationship between internal political capital and personalized politics specifically.

*Can't get no Satisfaction: Investigating the Effects of Electoral Integrity on Political Elites? Levels of Satisfaction with Democracy:* Valere Gaspard (University of Ottawa), Benjamin Ferland (co-supervisor) (University of Ottawa), Benjamin Ferland (co-author) (University of Ottawa), Luc Turgeon (co-supervisor) (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** While the literature on citizens' satisfaction with democracy (SWD) covers studies about how levels of citizens' SWD is affected by their desired candidate or party winning or losing an election, representation and policy congruence, the quality of their government, and the electoral design of their system, the next step in understanding the concept of SWD is from the perspective of political elites. Political elites are major actors in democratic states that can influence the policy-positions and views of citizens, yet little research has been done to assess elites' levels of SWD. To address this gap in the current scholarship, this study examines how electoral integrity and electoral management bodies (EMBs) influence elites' satisfaction with democracy? In particular, we expect electoral integrity to foster democratic satisfaction among elites, but this effect to be stronger among loser candidates than winners. We also expect that democratic satisfaction will be higher for elections with centralized or non-partisan EMBs, more than those with decentralized or partisan EMBs. We investigate this question in mobilizing Modules 2 (2013-2018) and 3 (2019-2024) of the Comparative Candidates Survey ? an international project that surveys candidates running in national parliamentary elections in 20 countries ? to measure elites' democratic satisfaction, data from the Perception of Electoral Integrity datasets to evaluate electoral integrity, and data from the Electoral Management Survey to evaluate different characteristics and practices of 49 electoral management bodies. Our research will contribute to the literature examining satisfaction with democracy and political elites' attitudes and behavior in democratic countries.

*Turning Lemons into Lemonade: Positive Skills Development in Political Management:* Simon Vodrey (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Recognizing that political management is a type of management where there is a dearth of traditional human resources (HR) practices, training, and scholarly research, I examine how political management practitioners must foster the ability to do more with less and be more flexible than their corporate management counterparts. I also draw attention to the speed at which political management must be conducted, due in part to ever-quickening news cycles and the challenges posed by that speed for political practitioners.

With that in mind, I ask the following research question: What advantages does the fluid style of management among political management practitioners create for skills development? To answer this research question, I use elite in-depth interviews with fourteen Canadian and American commercial marketers, political marketers, political strategists, political consultants, public opinion researchers, lobbyists, and political staffers. Answering that research question reveals two themes that can be painted as beneficial for the skills development of political management professionals: The first is the better management of speed which can be seen as being more prolific in political management personnel than in corporate management personnel. The second is that corporate management personnel could take lessons from political management personnel's tendency to operate with lower levels of risk aversion.

*The Power of Prime Ministers around the World: Expert Survey Results:* Alex Marland (Acadia University), Eoin O'Malley (Dublin City University), Gala Palavicini Jauregui (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** How much power do prime ministers have? How does this power vary between individual officeholders, and across countries over time? In Fall 2023, we invited scholars in 22 countries with expertise in executive-level politics and parliamentary politics to participate in an online survey to assess the power held by PMs from 2000 to 2021 in their country of expertise, including the freedom to form a cabinet, exercise constitutional prerogatives, and implement preferred policies. This paper is a detailed account of the methodology and early findings, which are compared with those in a previous article (O'Malley 2007) to see how prime ministerial power has evolved since the 1990s, including new contexts such as changes in the gender composition of executive governance. The results identify trends of prime ministerial power across countries and across history within each country, and can be used to test theories within political science.

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## E16 - Studies of Local Political Elites: Elected Officials and Senior Staff

### Politique locale et urbaine

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*The Declining Tenure of Alberta's Chief Administrative Officers:* Kate Graham (Huron University College / Western University), Jesse Helmer (Huron University College)

**Abstract:** This paper presents the findings of a study on the role and tenure of chief administrative officers (CAOs) in Alberta municipalities, pursued as part of the University of Calgary's Future of Local Government Series. Using a mixed-methods approach that blends qualitative and quantitative analysis, this paper presents several important findings:

? The average tenure of a CAO in Alberta is now well under the length of one term of council. CAO tenure is generally shorter in smaller municipalities. More concerning, the average length of tenure has been in a steady state of decline for the past two decades.

? The number of CAO transitions, including acting and interim roles, has been increasing in all types of municipalities ? in some types of municipalities, double or triple the rate of CAO transitions in earlier time periods.

? Shorter CAO tenures and higher rates of turnover mean more costly transitions: dollars spent on recruitments or severance packages; significant organizational disruption; and, importantly, a reduced opportunity for CAOs to reach peak performance in their roles.

? Current and past CAOs identify the increasingly tenuous political dynamics as a leading driver in role dissatisfaction and as a top consideration in decisions to join or depart from a municipality.

The success of CAOs, collectively, is an important indicator of the health of the municipal public service in Alberta. This paper presents the findings of this study, and raises larger theoretical questions about the politicization and the changing context for local public administrators.

*How Local Politicians Navigate Interests and Institutions Responsible for Land Use: The Case of Vancouver's Langara Golf Course:* Kael Kropp (McGill University), Daniel Béland (McGill University; Director, McGill Institute for the Study of Canada)

**Abstract:** How do local politicians navigate competing interests and institutions responsible for land use? With the growth of urban populations and development in major Canadian cities, local governments face increasing challenges in regulating public space and balancing competing visions for land use. However, limited research probes the factors influencing local politicians' decisions, especially in the context of municipal recreational sites. This paper investigates the case of Vancouver's Langara Golf Course: a 114-acre city-owned facility generating debates among local politicians and the public regarding alternative land uses. Employing a mixed-methods approach, this study combines in-depth interviews with five local politicians and comments from 30 local politicians during the 2018-2020 deliberation period. Qualitative and quantitative content analyses identify five factors influencing local politicians' decisions regarding municipal golf course land use: (1) partisan affiliation, (2) equity considerations, (3) environmental factors, (4) economic benefits, and (5) governance institutions and systems stabilizing municipal golf courses. The findings emphasize the influence of partisan affiliation and underscore the role of Vancouver's at-large electoral system in constraining the exploration of alternative land use options for sites like Langara Golf Course. This paper introduces a framework for understanding local politicians' land use decisions, comprising systemic considerations that include municipal golf courses in broader parks and recreation planning, as well as localized approaches that prioritize site-specific factors and community needs. By situating golf courses within urban governance and public administration research, this paper constitutes an early effort to understand political decision-making in managing public spaces and recreational amenities in large cities.

*City managers in Quebec municipalities with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants: perceptions of elected officials:* Sandra Breux (INRS)

**Abstract:** Within municipalities, relations between the mayor and city manager are sometimes a source of tension. Although there is little research on city managers, the delimitation of areas of competence between the mayor and the city manager remains unclear, and that it is often in the field that the functions between these two people are delineated. While the situation seems clearer between the rest of the municipal council and the city manager, it can also be a source of conflict. As far as we are aware, however, few studies have examined this relationship in small municipalities, even though they sometimes share a city manager and have limited resources.

Based on a survey of some 100 elected officials in Quebec municipalities with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants, and interviews with some 30 of them, we will show how the function of city management is perceived and defined by elected officials (mayors and councillors). This analysis will open the door to a broader reflection on the conception of municipalities, on the definition of political and administrative roles in small municipalities, often little studied in political science.

*"La politique ce n'est pas juste une affaire de gens de 50 ans" ou les jeunes élus municipaux au Québec:* Anne Mevellec (université d'Ottawa)

**Abstract:** L'objectif général de notre recherche est d'analyser, de façon qualitative, la présence des jeunes élus et élues (18-35 ans) en politique municipale au Québec. Les résultats d'une première enquête ont permis de soulever plusieurs éléments intéressants en lien avec le parcours des jeunes élus et élues, et les défis de l'exercice de la politique particulièrement lors d'un premier mandat dans les villes moyennes et grandes. Fortes de ces premiers constats, nous proposons ici, à l'aide de l'analyse d'une trentaine d'entrevues semi-dirigées, réalisées en 2023 et 2024, d'explorer deux

principales pistes.

Premièrement, on interrogera le lien entre le parcours de socialisation de l'engagement et l'entrée en politique active, en mettant particulièrement en relief le poids de la scolarisation de ces derniers. Ce dernier se manifeste à la fois dans les profils et expériences des élus, mais également dans leurs implications en politique scolaire qui ponctuent fortement leurs trajectoires d'engagement.

Deuxièmement, on discutera de l'accueil fait à ces jeunes dans les conseils municipaux québécois afin de mieux comprendre comment le jeune âge pourrait se révéler être un atout en politique, mais surtout comment il intervient dans la prise de rôle et des responsabilités une fois élu.

Une attention sensible au genre permettra, de façon transversale, de mieux comprendre les dynamiques qui président à ce petit groupe d'élus municipaux presque paritaire.

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## M16 - Roundtable: Voices From Administration - How Institutional Context Shapes the Opportunities and Challenges of Early Career Scholars

### Enseignement

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Jim Farney (University of Regina)

Jim Farney (University of Regina)

Jared Wesley (University of Alberta)

Amanda Bittner (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Cheryl Collier (University of Windsor)

Jon Rose (Queens University)

**Abstract:** This roundtable will interactively examine how broader institutional contexts, formal rules, and norms that shapes the opportunities available to early career scholars both on and off the tenure track. Better understanding the logic behind these contests, and how they vary across institutions, will aid early career scholars in making decisions about career priorities. Topics include about how to understand the balance between teaching and research at a particular institution, practical strategies for pursuing work-life balance, how to approach interdisciplinarity, and what change looks like at a University (especially around topics of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion).

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## N16 - Legislative Exits and Glass Cliffs

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Risen to the Top, but put at a Disadvantage: Examining the Role of Career Capital in Gendered Party Leaders? Political Survival:* Clint Claessen (University of Basel), Stefanie Bailer (University of Basel)

**Abstract:** The literature on women party leaders has produced important findings regarding the challenges women face, both getting elected to the highest party office and staying on while there. This article adds to this understanding by examining the political experience, i.e. the career capital, that women party leaders bring with them to these positions. Using original data from Canada, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland since the first women party leader entered office (1976-2023), I find a gender gap in political survival and examine inequality in career capital as a potential explanation for women's shorter tenures. I build upon the literature about gendered political resources by arguing that unequal opportunity structures within parties give rise to gender differences in career capital, even for those who reach the highest political party position. In addition, I find evidence that women party leaders with average or below average career capital face harsher standards and that youth wing capital potentially hurts right-wing women party leaders. More favourably, the gender gap in career capital is shrinking for the more recent cohort of leaders.

*The Gendered Mediation of Political Leadership: a Contextual Approach:* Clémence Deswert (Université libre de Bruxelles), Caroline Close (Université libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** Although leadership remains understood mostly in stereotypically masculine terms, its definition is now more inclusive of traits traditionally associated with femininity. As the literature on the gendered mediation of political leadership has shown, these leadership demands are reflected by the media discourse on political leadership, which has increasingly valued some stereotypically 'feminine' approaches to power, alongside the continued promotion of traditionally 'masculine' leadership skills (Wagner, Trimble & Sampert 2019; Wagner et al. 2022; Trimble et al. 2022). This paper argues that context should be considered in the analysis of the gendered mediation of political leadership. Indeed, the media do not just mention candidates and leaders, but they tell a story of these personalities taking actions, reacting to or participating in political events. More specifically, this research assumes that during electoral campaigns, the gendered construction of political leadership in media discourse is shaped by campaign events. To our knowledge, gendered mediation studies do not address this contextual dimension of coverage. This paper intends to tackle this gap by studying the press coverage of the 2022 French presidential elections campaign. Discourse analysis assisted by a text analysis software is used to examine which skills are used to depict candidates in the context of several campaign events and how they are evaluated in mediatic discourse in order to uncover gendered understandings of the qualities associated with political leadership.

*Are Political Exits Gendered?:* Rebecca Wallace (St. Francis Xavier University), Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Research on women's representation in legislatures around the world has long focused on obstacles that women face entering the political sphere, producing a robust account of the gendered barriers impeding women's recruitment, nomination, and election as legislators. Relatively little research, however, has examined women's exits from politics, including the timing of, reason for, and framing of their departures from political life. Entrance is important for descriptive and substantive representation, but so too are exits, especially if women's careers end earlier than men's and contribute to a leaky pipeline to senior leadership; if their exits are pushed or encouraged by gatekeepers or colleagues; or if public discourse about their exits is unduly critical, gendered, or interpreted as a reflection on women's political viability or effectiveness more generally, for example. Highly negative or gendered exits might also have demobilizing effects on girls and young women by sending a message that women are less welcome or valued in politics.

Our paper will address the following questions: do women politicians leave office earlier than their men colleagues or for different reasons? When women depart, how is this framed in media and public debate compared to men's departures? This paper presents a preliminary descriptive analysis of the patterns that emerge from these questions using an original dataset on legislators' careers and departures from politics from 1974-2021, covering six decades and starting when women MPs were tokens in the House of Commons.

*Falling off the Glass Cliff? Women Ministers, Crises and Press Coverage:* Clémence Deswert (Université libre de Bruxelles), Caroline Close (Université libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** In October 2021, the Belgian federal government – a coalition government involving seven parties – became the first government with a parity in terms of gender at this level of power in the country. Women have been appointed to traditionally male-dominated ministers such as the Ministries of Defense, the Interior and Foreign Affairs. Although these women seem to have broken the glass ceiling, their ministerial mandates were marked by the management of delicate moments, and even multiple crises such as the war in Ukraine and the energy crisis that followed or the refugee crisis, which attracted extensive media coverage. The situation echoes the 'glass cliff' phenomenon, defined as the idea that women are nominated at leadership positions when organizations face difficult times, and the risk of failure is higher (Ryan and Haslam 2007; Bruckmueller & Branscombe 2010; Ryan et al. 2011). Furthermore, some women have resigned from government, either because of decisions or declarations considered as political errors or for 'personal' reasons. Several of these women were young politicians with no ministerial experience. These circumstances constitute a privileged opportunity for the study of the gendered coverage of politicians holding executive positions in proportional electoral system. Using quantitative textual analysis assisted by a textometry software and qualitative discourse analysis, this paper analyzes how the Belgian Francophone press covered ministerial leadership, with a focus on sensitive events such as crisis moments and resignation episodes.

## N16 - Women, Disaster Management, and Uprising

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**Women Leadership in Disaster Management: The Case of the Beirut Blast \_ Award-Winning Thesis:** Fatima Nasser (American University of Beirut)

**Abstract:** Disaster affects men and women differently. Some research shows that women are more vulnerable than men in disasters. Due to gender inequality, women are more affected disproportionately by disasters. Although that, women show their capability to respond and recover from crisis through building community resilience and participating in disaster risk reduction.

Some theoretical approaches indicate the possibilities for Women's grassroots and non-profit organizations to adopt self-protective action in disasters based on their community work. In addition, some research indicates that women describe themselves as transformational leaders which have effective and impacted roles in disaster response plans. Even though, there is still a lack of research on women and disaster, particularly women leaders' roles in disaster management in Beirut Blast 2020.

This research explores women's leadership in disaster management in Beirut Blast 2020 focusing on disaster response, mitigation, and recovery phase. The importance of the research is to broaden the literature on women's leadership and disaster management and to identify the significance of women's leadership and building its resilience in disaster risk reduction and social change. Data were based on different resources mainly the UNDRR - Regional Office for Arab States' Publication.

The present research will benefit researchers as a testimony to the crucial role of women leaders in disaster management in the Beirut Blast. Furthermore, the information generated by the interviewees allowed us to get a comprehensive picture of the status of Lebanese women leaders in Beirut Blast (roles, challenges, motivations, and actions). Revealed findings provide a specific roadmap for conceptualizing and enhancing Women's Leadership in Beirut Blast.

**Scaling the Pandemic: Women, Social Reproduction, and Crisis Management:** Jacquetta (Jacquie) Newman (King's University College at Western), Patricia Mockler (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Drawing from oral histories gathered from women community leaders in London, Ontario during the height of the COVID pandemic (2020-2022), this study intends to show how women constructed, contested, and negotiated the larger social arrangements that put a premium on social reproductive work and care during the crisis. This project uncovers the gendered nature of crises and crisis responses, highlights how women navigate and resist the various scales defining a 'logic of appropriateness' (Chapell 2002; Findlay, 2014) of their work, and demonstrates the intimately gendered nature of crises and crisis responses.

This study responds to three central research questions: 1) How did women leaders negotiate the multi-scalar nature of the crisis? 2) How did the care work tasks carried out by women leaders evolve in response to the crisis?, and 3) How did women leaders navigate the intimacy of the crisis response? Our study provides a nuanced account of the gendered contours of care work at multiple scales during the pandemic and interrogates the gendered expectations embedded in crisis responses.

**Women, life, freedom? Role of Women in Current/Latest Iran's Uprising:** Aras Syhamanssuri (Charmo University), Farhad Mamshai (Virginia Tech)

**Abstract:** To what extent Iranian women will be the center of change in Iran's today and Iran's post-Ayatollah? This is the main question of this paper that attempts to argue the importance of women not only in the inner structure of society and families in Iran but their role in positions of leadership and politics. The latest death of the young Iranian Kurdish woman Mahsa Amini, also known as Zina Amini, due to police brutality, has repositioned the power of women in political platforms in Iran. Thus, it seems women will play a significant role within the government to create the link between freedom and progress for women's liberation. The center of the argument will be structured by women and in favor of women.

Although the feminism movement, e.g., the Iranian Women's Rights Movement, has a long history that goes back to the 1910s, the latest Iran uprising united most Iranian men and women, Persians, Kurds, Arabs, and local and exiled opposition groups or figures. Accordingly, the current Iranian women's movement is fundamental because it challenges the hijab as a characteristic of the national identity of Iran, and the future of women in Iran seems to be growing. A fundamental characteristic of this unrest-turned-movement has been the wide participation of women. Iranian women are leading the charge, coming from all ages and backgrounds, demanding justice, reform, and their rights. With thousands of men joining in as well, the protests have spread from Tehran to a reported 50 other cities and towns across Iran. The streets are filled with angry demonstrators crying, 'Death to the dictator,' and women are out burning their headscarves and cutting their hair in open defiance of the regime's strict control over Iranian women.

Even if the unrest in Iran would not lead to regime change, the signal is new for the Iranian regime because this is a new form of movement that was led and started by women. In the meantime, millions of men around the country and the globe joined the movement. The moment is new in Iran's history as it has created new challenges for the Ayatollah version of Islam. However, due to the evolving nature of the Islamic Republic under Khamenei, the clergy's traditional religious spirits have taken on a more political, ideological, and comprehensive character. The clerics have transformed from a simple, traditional institution into a vast and complex bureaucracy, with all clerics under constant ideological surveillance and punishment system if they cross the red lines set by the Supreme Leader. Therefore, it has become clear that the situation will not continue as it is due to the rise of opposite voices in Iran. And the 'women, life, freedom' is the latest one that seems to continue for a long term.

## Day 3 - Session 2 [KEYNOTE (open event) - JOAN TRONTO: NO POL THEORY; REIPP; WOMEN, G & POLS; LAW & PP SESSIONS IN THIS TIMESLOT] (10:15am - 11:45am)

### A17(a) - Assessing Pledge and Mandate Fulfillment: Trudeau's Liberal Minority Governments in Comparative Perspective (Panel 2 of 4: Domestic Policy Areas)

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (University of Toronto)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Re-Paving the Path: Improving Upon Quebec's Child Care Policy Model in the Canada-wide Early Learning and Child Care Plan:* Kenya Thompson (York University), Emma Willert (York University)

**Abstract:** In Budget 2021, the Trudeau government launched the Canada-wide Early Learning and Child Care plan (CWELCC), promising \$10 per day child care to all families nationwide by 2026. Trudeau applauded Quebec's leadership in early learning and child care policy, citing its provincial child care program, established more than 25 years ago, as a successful model for the CWELCC to follow. Though Quebec certainly paved the policy pathway for child care for the rest of Canada, its program has faced longstanding challenges meeting considerable demand and addressing issues about the variable quality of care. In the first two years since the implementation of the CWELCC, Trudeau has made several promises to deliver a system of early learning and child care across Canada's provinces and territories. There has been a resulting bottleneck in the number of affordable spaces available to families, and a lack of early childhood educators (ECEs) to staff the spaces that do exist. Through an examination of four key markers of quality, this chapter demonstrates how the goals as outlined by the Trudeau government have not been sufficiently or substantially met as promised—even the promises kept have not practically benefitted the lives of many Canadian families. With the CWELCC, Canada has an unprecedented opportunity to address the issues with Quebec's child care program, rather than replicate them. This chapter will explore these challenges, and provide a policy map to be followed towards a high-quality system of early learning and childcare in both Quebec and the rest of Canada.

*The Housing Crisis: Promises and Deceptions of the National Housing Strategy (LB suggested title):* Alison Smith (University of Toronto), Marc-Antoine Rancourt (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** After nearly 40 years of federal inaction, the federal government adopted a National Housing Strategy in 2017. Celebrated as a return of the federal government to the housing policy-making table, the housing strategy has brought increased investments and energy to the housing and homelessness crises. Yet, six years after the adoption of the NHS, the housing crisis is worse than ever, and community partners and municipalities are frustrated by unspent money and inadequate resources to meet their needs. This chapter will evaluate the promises made in the NHS. While acknowledging that the housing crisis has become more acute and complex, especially following the pandemic, this chapter concludes that the federal response has been inadequate and has not met needs or expectations.

*Faire le bilan des promesses économiques et budgétaires dans le contexte de la pandémie et de ses conséquences économiques inédites : un exercice délicat:* Marcelin Joanis (Polytechnique Montréal)

**Abstract:** Cette communication analysera la réalisation (ou non) d'un large éventail de promesses électorales du parti libéral du Canada en 2019 et en 2021. Un accent particulier sera mis sur l'incontournable crise de la covid-19 et sur ses impacts majeurs sur l'économie et les finances publiques canadiennes, qui seront documentés et quantifiés. Dans ce contexte, comment évaluer avec justesse le bilan d'un gouvernement confronté à une crise d'une telle ampleur? En matière de politiques économiques, les actions d'un gouvernement ne garantissent pas forcément les effets souhaités. Dans notre évaluation des promesses rompues ou partiellement réalisées, qui sont sans surprise nombreuses, nous tenterons de distinguer autant que possible celles qui l'ont été par la force d'événements hors du contrôle du gouvernement, surtout en ce qui a trait aux promesses pré-pandémiques de 2019, de celles dont la rupture découle réellement de décisions gouvernementales. Les domaines de politiques économiques et budgétaires suivants seront considérés (si applicable) : la gestion des finances publiques, les politiques macroéconomiques, le commerce, les infrastructures, l'innovation, l'aide aux entreprises et l'emploi.

*Health Care Politics under two Liberal Minority Governments:* Daniel Béland (McGill University), Alexandra Hays-Alberstat (McGill University), Olivier Jacques (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** This chapter provides a qualitative account of whether the Liberal party of Canada's (LPC) 2019 and 2021 electoral promises in the area of health were fulfilled, as Justin Trudeau led minority governments in both instances. The LPC faced many challenges since 2019. Most prominently, the COVID-19 pandemic changed the course of the electoral landscape for the 2021 election where 46 promises were made in the health and social services domain—compared to only 28 promises found in the LPC's 2019 election platform, many of them concerned vaccination. We argue that the LPC's minority status played a significant role in the ability or failure to fulfill their health-related commitments of 2019 and 2021. First, the election supply and confidence agreement between NDP and liberals in 2022 forced the hand of the Liberals in regard to dental care and pharmacare—both broken promises from the 2019

election that were absent in 2021. Second, the pandemic brought healthcare to the top of voters' minds thereby changing the politics of healthcare. We use data from the Trudeau Polimeter, a Web application that tracks the fulfillment of campaign promises to analyze five broad promises categories that encompass both elections' main commitments: (1) healthcare transfers; (2) public drug coverage; (3) mental health services; (4) addiction; and (5) vaccination. This chapter will analyze how these unforeseen events affect the fulfillment of election promises. It will also address the implications that extend beyond promises to cover significant policy decisions that shape healthcare politics before the next federal election.

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## A17(b) - Money in Canadian Politics: Fundraising, Transfers, and Spending

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

**Central Party Financial Support for Diverse Candidates: An Intersectional Approach:** Rob Currie-Wood (University of Alberta), Scott Pruyzers (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Political parties are facing growing demands to address representational deficiencies in elected office. Given their effective monopoly over entry into the House of Commons, the underrepresentation of women, racialized Canadians, and Indigenous Peoples is largely viewed as a failure of political parties. The literature points to highly decentralized nomination processes as a major factor contributing to representational deficiencies (Cheng and Tavits 2011; Thomas and Bodet 2013; Tolley 2019), noting improvements for women's representation when central party bodies are involved in candidate recruitment and selection (Koop and Bittner 2011; Cross and Young 2013; Cross et al. 2022). One possible way of addressing representational disparities is for central party organizations to use their financial resources to support candidates from marginalized backgrounds. A recent analysis, however, reveals that Canadian parties do not systematically support women's candidacies financially (Currie-Wood and Pruyzers 2023). This paper extends previous analyses in two ways. First, we consider whether similar patterns apply to candidates of other marginalized backgrounds (specifically racialized and Indigenous candidates). Second, we adopt an intersectional approach and consider whether Indigenous or racialized women are provided less central party support than white men and women. We answer these questions by analysing intraparty financial transfers within the Conservative, Liberal, and New Democratic parties during the 2008 and 2011 election years.

**Spending in District-Level Campaigns in Canadian Federal Elections:** Holly Ann Garnett (Royal Military College of Canada)

**Abstract:** What are district-level campaign funds spent on in Canada? This paper addresses the questions of the uses of campaign funds in electoral-district level contests between 2015-2021, using candidate expense reports transmitted by candidates' financial agents to Elections Canada and then published in the Political Financing Database. This rich source of information on candidate's campaign coffers and spending is published to maintain transparency in the campaign financing, but it is rarely used by scholars for more fine-grained analysis, beyond the totals spent, due to the complexity of returns, the changing categorization of expenses over time. This paper breaks down the expense report categories into major categories of spending, including election and personal expenses. It then merges these data with candidate and race-level data to determine the predictors of candidate spending, providing an overall picture of candidate spending in electoral districts across Canada.

**Examining Fundraising Appeals in Canada's Major Political Parties:** Patricia Mockler (Queen's University), Holly Ann Garnett (Royal Military College of Canada), Lisa Young (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Political parties rely heavily on email marketing to collect contributions; direct emails to supporters remain an important source of party revenue (Giasson and Small 2020, Marland and Matthews 2017). Direct connection with potential contributors became more important with the end of the per-vote subsidy, leading to increased reliance on individual donors to fund party activities. In addition, digital political messaging must be able to garner public attention and be circulated in a competitive and cluttered mediascape? (Raynauld and Lalancette 2021). These institutional features can incentivize the use of ideologically extreme imagery in appeals for contributions. What is unclear, however, is how these appeals are received by partisans. Our paper asks: what kind of appeals for donation are effective in the Canadian context?

Using data from a novel survey experiment, we explore the efficacy of messaging from parties and assess what kinds of messages encourage respondents to donate. The survey experiment introduces respondents to messaging that varies in both content and tone. Our results include a comparison across partisans of Canada's three major parties to assess differences in perceptions of each message type along party lines. This paper will provide timely insights about the role of political parties in shaping public discourse in Canada and their role in the growth of documented polarization among the politically engaged (Kevins and Soroka 2018).

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## A17(c) - Quebec Elections and Parties

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

**Nationalist populism & the Natural Governing Party: Comparing DeValera's Fianna Fail and Duplessis' Union Nationale:** Donal Gill (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Natural governing parties generate significant momentum for decades-long electoral dominance by successfully pitching themselves as the instrument necessary for building a democratic national community? (Carty 2015: 59). The proposed paper aims to assess how and why Ireland's Fianna Fail achieved natural governing party status whereas the Union Nationale of Quebec, despite a similar nationalist populist ideology could not sustain its political momentum beyond the reign of its founding leader. The parallels between Eamon de Valera's Fianna Fail (FF) party and Maurice Duplessis' Union Nationale (UN) in Quebec are notable. FF and the UN dominated political life in their respective spheres through effective nationalist populist appeals and firm party leadership. Both parties came to prominence in the early to mid 1930s and were singularly led by their charismatic founders until 1959. Whereas the UN struggled to define itself following the death of Duplessis in office in 1959 (notwithstanding the energy and vigor of Daniel Johnson Sr's government from 1966-70), FF continued to dominate Irish politics in the process becoming "Europe's greatest electoral machine" (Carty 2022). In the proposed paper, I argue that the brand of nationalist populism developed by FF under de Valera successfully shut down opposing interpretations of the nationalist question and embedded a "republican ethos" (Girvin 2010: 128) that dictated the contours of Irish political life for subsequent decades. The UN, on the other hand, was outflanked on the national question by both the Liberal Party of Quebec and later the Parti Québécois. The UN brand of nationalist populism - what Duplessis called "autonomism" - would largely fall out of favour in mainstream Quebec electoral politics until revived recently by François Legault and the Coalition Avenir Québec. This paper seeks to differentiate the ideological composition of the FF and UN populist appeal on matters of autonomy/sovereignty in order to assess how one attained natural governing party status and the other faded into obscurity.

**Analyse des cahiers de scrutin du Bas-Canada:** Jean-François Godbout (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Ce projet de recherche vise à construire et à analyser une base de données numériques contenant tous les votes répertoriés dans les cahiers de scrutin des élections du Bas-Canada entre 1792 et 1844. En effet, durant cette période de l'histoire électorale du Québec, les votes étaient publics. Les citoyens devaient se rendre au bureau de scrutin pour déclarer leurs choix. Les votes étaient alors consignés par un scrutateur dans un cahier qui indiquait le nom de l'électeur, son adresse, sa profession, son statut foncier et le nom des candidats qu'il appuyait lors de l'élection. Au total, ce fichier cumulatif devrait comprendre les votes de plus de 80 000 électeurs. La problématique à l'étude se rattache aux facteurs qui influencent le comportement électoral avant l'émergence des partis politiques. Dans un contexte où les divisions partisans n'étaient pas toujours claires, quels étaient les principaux déterminants du vote? L'information contenue dans les cahiers de scrutin devrait nous permettre de répondre à cette question, car ceux-ci contiennent toutes les données nécessaires pour réaliser une analyse approfondie du comportement électoral. L'hypothèse principale avancée est que les marqueurs identitaires, comme la langue ou la religion des candidats, auraient davantage influencé le vote à cette époque. Cette recherche permettra donc d'offrir de nouvelles perspectives sur des enjeux tels que l'émergence des premiers partis politiques et le développement des clivages nationalistes et réformistes au Bas-Canada.

**Évolution systémique d'un parti anti-système: la modernisation du marketing politique de Québec solidaire:** Jérémie Drouin (Université Laval), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval), Thierry Giasson (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Cet article porte sur l'évolution du marketing politique de Québec solidaire (QS) entre 2012 et 2022. Il cherche à savoir si Québec solidaire a progressivement adopté une approche orientée-marchée dans l'optique d'adapter son image de marque aux contextes médiatiques et sociaux au Québec. Autrefois un parti marginal, QS, un parti de gauche indépendantiste, a su se tailler une place dans le système de parti québécois au travers des cycles électoraux. Leur possible adaptation aux logiques médiatiques et la modération de leur image par le biais de tactiques marketing sont au cœur du questionnement théorique de cet article. Pour répondre à cette question, une analyse de contenu automatisée est conduite et vise le croisement de nombreuses données textuelles. Le corpus composé de plateformes électorales, d'interventions parlementaires et de publications sur les médias socionumériques est comparé à des données médiatiques et d'opinion publique. Des analyses par thèmes (topic modeling) et par ton permettent d'établir les enjeux et thèmes prioritaires par QS dans leurs propres plateformes de communication. Ils seront par la suite comparés aux enjeux prioritaires par l'électorat et par les médias. Cette étude contribue à la littérature en communication politique pour deux raisons. D'abord car QS n'a jamais fait l'objet d'études approfondies bien qu'il soit devenu un acteur important du réalignement politique québécois. Deuxièmement, en se penchant sur un parti de nouvelle gauche, cet article est pertinent dans une perspective comparée, car il aborde la modernisation et l'adoption de stratégies marketing chez des véhicules politiques plus idéologiques.

**Issue Competition in Quebec from 2003 to 2022:** Marc-Antoine Martel (Université de Montréal), Richard Nadeau (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** This research delves into issue competition dynamics during Quebec's electoral campaigns. Issue competition refers to the strategies deployed by political parties to increase or decrease the visibility of issues to gain political benefits (Green-Pedersen 2023). This study scrutinizes 31,624 messages from six parties during the 2003-2022 campaigns, aiming to comprehend party competition and identify the theories that best explain their behavior. An automated content analysis is employed to gauge issue visibility in party communications, providing insights into how parties craft their electoral agendas and selectively emphasize issues to attract voters. The findings reveal that in Quebec's multiparty system, parties converge on campaign issues to a significant extent. However, our analysis also shows that when parties' agendas diverge, the deviations reveal structured patterns rather than random noise. Despite constraints leading parties to engage on common issues, they retain a degree of flexibility, allowing them to highlight specific issues more than their rivals. This supports the notion of parties strategically emphasizing certain issues to distinguish themselves. These variations also track the

evolution of party positioning in terms of agenda over time, demonstrating that issue competition is a highly dynamic aspect of political competition. These findings have significant implications for understanding political strategy and could inform future research in this area.

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## A17(d) - Alberta in Turbulent Times

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Lisa Young (University of Calgary)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Feo Snagovsky (University of Alberta)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Jared Wesley (University of Alberta)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Trust in Public Health Leaders in Alberta Through the COVID-19 Pandemic:* Lisa Young (University of Calgary), Duane Bratt (Mount Royal University)

**Abstract:** The COVID-19 pandemic focused attention on the role of public health officials and highlighted the importance of public trust during a public health emergency. This was particularly the case in Alberta, where the role of the CMOH became highly contentious at various points during the pandemic. Using Viewpoint Alberta data from 2020 to 2023, we examine the predictors of trust in the Chief Medical Officer of Health over the course of the pandemic, building a model that includes partisanship, economic anxiety and demographic variables. This analysis helps to contextualize the controversies over the role of the CMOH in Alberta and contributes to the academic literature that looks at the predictors of trust in public health authorities.

*Eyes Wide Open? Perceptions of Discrimination in Alberta:* Angelia Wagner (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** The Black Civil Rights movement has long fought against racism in society, but the rise of Black Lives Matter in response to police brutality against African Americans has heightened public attention to racism. Meanwhile, activists have raised the alarm about missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls and unmarked graves of Indigenous children at former residential schools in Canada. To understand public attitudes toward discrimination in Alberta, this chapter draws upon three Viewpoint Alberta surveys conducted between 2019 and 2021. We asked Albertans for their views about the level of inequality faced by a range of social groups including Blacks, Indigenous peoples, transgender people, gays and lesbians, Muslims, immigrants, women, Christians, White people, and men. Results indicate that Albertans are acutely aware of inequality in society, with a bump in perception in 2020 during the height of the BLM, but that their views are influenced by partisanship.

*Populist Drivers of Regionalism in Canada: Comparing Quebec and Alberta:* Jared Wesley (University of Alberta), Evan Walker (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Drawing on survey data from the Consortium on Electoral Democracy (C-Dem), this study asks how different forms of populism drive regionalist attitudes in various parts of Canada. In particular, we ask whether populist forces of cultural and economic protectionism have disparate effects western alienation in Alberta and nationalism in Quebec. Our findings reveal that, while cultural populism and resource protectionism are driving western alienation, regionalism in Quebec is far from populist at all. Instead, anti-pluralism -- bereft of anti-elitism or anti-rich sentiments -- forms the core of modern Quebec nationalism. These results force us to reconsider the relationship between populism and regionalism -- and the connection between cultural and economic protectionism -- in Canada. They also suggest that, while there are many parallels between soft nationalism and western alienation, and even separatism in both Quebec and Alberta, populism is not among them.

*Conspiracy Theories in Alberta:* Feo Snagovsky (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Conspiracy theories have become more prominent in Alberta, particularly after the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Drawing upon two waves of survey data from Viewpoint Alberta, the study finds that a shocking number of Albertans find a number of troubling beliefs to be plausible, including that a 'deep state' embedded in the government operates in secret and without oversight, that the dangers of 5G cell phone technology are being covered up, that climate change is a hoax, and that COVID-19 was purposely created and released by powerful people seeking to control the lives of ordinary people. In addition to providing an overview of the conspiracy theory landscape in Alberta, the study examines the correlates of conspiracy endorsement in Alberta, finding that education, gender, race, media consumption, and support for the freedom convoy all predict conspiracy thinking. The paper concludes by discussing the implications that conspiracy beliefs have on Alberta politics.

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## B17 - Parties, Populism, and Protest

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

**Clarifying the Threat of Populism: Place and Party Organizational Strength:** Jiajia Zhou (University of Toronto), Phillip Lipsky (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The rise of populism has been viewed as closely related to instances of democratic backsliding. However, even though populist rhetoric has been observed alongside these worrying trends, the universe of cases does not present clear evidence and explanation for the suggested relationship. Is populism epiphenomenal to the rise of new parties and issues? In this paper, I investigate the relationship between party organizational strength and populist electoral success. I attempt to bridge the gap between micro-level theories of politician strategy and voter demands and macro-level theories of crisis and globalization through an understanding of local party strength and support for populism. I test my hypotheses by examining within-country variation in Japan. I utilize measures for party organizational strength and party-voter linkages in a municipal-level panel dataset across seven lower house elections, two of which occurred during the leadership of an anti-elite populist maverick in Japan's dominant party. This paper contributes to literature on place-related determinants of populist support and questions existing views of the populist threat as uniquely tied to a particular ideology or the challenges of globalization. More broadly, the paper aims to bring clarity to questions of a phenomenon that may involve both genuine pursuits of stronger representation and potential threats to democratic stability.

**The Politicization of the European Project: a Story of Supply and Demand. The Case of the Front de Gauche:** Léandre Benoit (Université de Montréal), Laurie Beaudonnet (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Over the past decade, European radical left parties have profoundly shifted their views on the European project. The strong opposition of the early days, based on economic concerns, has gradually given way to an opposition of principle, coupled with economic criticism and a desire for reform, as reflected in the positions defended by the United European Left. This research presents the argument for a new "hard Eurosceptic" turn by radical left parties towards the European Project, particularly in view of the eurozone crisis and changes in electorates. This evolution can be explained by two factors: structural and conjunctural. Firstly, the impossibility of genuine, qualified political opposition (due to the very structure of the European political system) means that critical positions toward the European project cannot find a political outcome. Secondly, the rise of Euroscepticism within various electorates is an important conjunctural factor, motivating parties to position themselves strategically on the European issue. These two hypotheses are tested empirically with a quantitative textual analysis of Front de Gauche positions from 2009 to 2017. Using a dictionary-based approach, this article examines the ways in which the Front de Gauche talks about European integration over time and the extent to which the evolution of radical left parties' positions allows us to fully grasp the shift towards hard Euroscepticism in recent years.

**Violent Populist Social Movements: what do Freedom Convoy supporters have in common with Capitol Hill rioters?:** Andrea Wagner (MacEwan University), Anna Brigeovich (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)

**Abstract:** This paper contrasts (violent) populist social movements, such as the Capitol Riots in the United States and the Freedom Convoy in Canada to shed light on populism's deleterious effect on democracy and regime stability. The Freedom Convoy's effective mobilization strategy challenges the prevailing wisdom that Canada enjoyed immunity from populism. Through this inquiry, we want to study those segments of the Canadian population who most spiritedly embraced its populist rhetoric on the vaccine mandates. We are going to analyze the degree of support for the Freedom Convoy Movement among 1000 polled Canadians with the purpose of establishing the profile of the average supporter. Furthermore, the role of populist actors during the protests is of great interest to the extent that it may provide important insights into a potential prospective (re)direction of Canadian conservatism. Similarly, the aftermath of the 2020 United States (US) presidential election and the Capitol Hill insurrection have sent shock-waves throughout the world, prompting questions about the ideal of American exceptionalism and the resilience of the country's institutions. First, we argue that current definitions of populism and populist social movements are lacking, in that they fail to account for the appeal of a strongman and more authoritarian styles of leadership for at least some portion of the public. Second, we contend that there are varieties of populism, and, as a result, populist attitudes. Our focus is on distinguishing between anti-establishment populism (AE populism), on the one hand, from authoritarian populism (AU populism), on the other. We examine these questions using original public opinion data collected as part of the Varieties of Populist Attitudes (VoPA) project.

**Left-Wing Parties and Cultural Issues : From Fragmentation to Aggregation ? A Comparative Analysis of the Positioning of Québec Solidaire and La France Insoumise:** Olivier Salomon (Université de Montréal), Martin Papillon (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** It is sometimes asserted that left-wing parties have become too focused on cultural issues at the expense of socio-economic concerns and thus, that they would be less able to win elections. This leads us to think that for left-wing parties, the positioning on cultural issues such as immigration, antiracism, minority rights, and secularism is a strategic dilemma and from a scientific perspective, a research puzzle to explore. The paper proposed addresses this topic by analysing in a comparative perspective the positioning of two parties, Québec Solidaire and La France Insoumise ; and asks : how these two parties articulate cultural and socio-economic issues ?

Relying on semi-structured interviews with executive members of both parties, on an analysis of the programs and platforms, and on documental research, this paper examines to what extent the positioning on cultural issues of these two parties have evolved over time, why there had been such an evolution and what is the strategic rationale that drives the positioning of these two parties on cultural issues. It allows us to identify the mechanisms by which the positioning of a party changes, and how parties deal with changing conceptions of emancipation that come from the intellectual field and from social movements.

On a theoretical level, this research thus brings together literature about changing conceptions of emancipation, secularity and antiracism and the classic literature about political parties. It also addresses the puzzle of how political parties adapt to a multi-dimensional political space and to the growing importance of socio-cultural cleavages.

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## B17 - Development, Sustainability, and Political Parties

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*Beyond the Dichotomy: A Typology of Direct Public Funding:* Tobias Gerhard Schminke (Dalhousie University), Scott Pruyers (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** To fulfill their function as the central link between the state and society in representative democracies, political parties require substantial financial resources (i.e., to advertise their policies, pay staff, rent office space, etc.). Funding regimes are typically a combination of public and private sources: Public funding refers to resources provided by the state to political parties, while private funding originates from non-state sources, such as donations, membership fees, and corporate contributions. In recent years, public funding has increased in scope and importance in many states. Funding regimes vary greatly between countries, with countries like Austria, Bulgaria, or Canada, demonstrating considerable diversity in generosity, recipients, allocation procedures, and disbursement modes.

The party and party system literature faces challenges in capturing the complexity of these funding regimes. While large-N research often treats public funding availability as a binary variable, it rarely accounts for nuances (i.e., which face of the party receives the funding). Case studies, on the other hand, offer specific insights but lack generalizability due to their case-specific nature. This paper addresses these shortcomings by creating an original typology of public funding regimes that considers variables like generosity, recipients, allocation procedures, and disbursement modes. This is an important first step in uncovering whether certain public funding regimes are associated with different outcomes (i.e., more polarization, ideological diversity, etc.). To demonstrate the utility of this new typology, I show differences in party system fragmentation across regime types.

*Urban Sustainability Transition in Turkey: Drivers and Barriers:* Zeynep Kadirbeyoglu (Brandeis University), Rabia Kutlu (Stanford University)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the drivers and barriers of urban sustainability policy transfer through a case study in Turkey. We show that increased opportunities for collaboration between the international and local actors, when local demand exists, can encourage municipalities to espouse sustainability discourse and in turn implement sustainable infrastructure projects, breaking institutional inertia. However, we argue these bottom-up attempts have limited transformative impact unless the central government enacts the necessary legislation and regulation to provide local governments with the authority and tools to pursue urban sustainability. These findings provide an important perspective into forces driving the localization of sustainable development goals.

*Beyond Borders: Comparing Green Political Movements for a Sustainable and Just World - Insights from Canada, Europe, and Australasia:* Evangeline Kroon (York University), Dennis Pilon (York University)

**Abstract:** Within the context of the current global discussion on climate change, Canada's political response to the ongoing climate crisis effects how the country is perceived on the international stage. Canada's historical and contemporary position as an energy extraction state is key to the nation's identity and economy, influencing its political decisions. Canada's location is also uniquely precarious in that it both disproportionality contributes to, and suffers from, the consequences of global warming, and this tension is observable in current political discourse. Therefore, an examination of environmental concern in Canada as reflected in voter support for the Green Party of Canada is overdue. However, though the emergence and success of Green parties in Europe and Australasia have been well-documented since the 1980s, the Canadian Green Party has had almost no attention paid to it and very few long-term success studies or comparative articles exist that examine its growth and political tenure since its formation in 1984.

This paper turns to Canada and examines the key themes found to contribute to the emergence and success of Green parties in the EU and Australasia and compares them to the Canadian context. In analyzing where the similarities and differences lie, this project explores if human concern surrounding climate is enough to provide political support and create political change, if it is the only issue needed, and if not, what other political, social or economic factors must fall into place for a Green party to be successful in Canada?

In alignment with the theme 'Sustaining Shared Futures', this research underscores the need to reimagine Canada's role in shaping a sustainable, equitable, and just world. It emphasizes the urgency of understanding the multifaceted influences on political, social, and economic landscapes and their collective interplay in steering the success of a Green Party in Canada and, by extension, in fostering a shared and sustainable global future.

*Seeing development like the state sees it: Visual content analysis of national development plans since 2012:* Lauchlan Munro (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** How do states portray the type of development that they want to promote? One way is through their national development plan (NDP), a document that some 140 countries containing almost 80% of humanity have produced over the last decade. NDPs are not only meant to guide all other development policies, but they also serve to frame debates about key development issues and project literal and proverbial images of what a developed future looks like. Earlier generations of NDPs were staid documents whose cover page usually contained little more than the title, date and publisher, plus perhaps the national emblem or flag. The covers of recent NDPs, in contrast, usually contain striking graphics, photographs and colourful designs. This paper posits that the visual imagery on the covers of national development plans constitute political, cultural and ideological symbols that are redolent with meaning about how the state sees development and about how the state visually portrays development to its citizens and to the world. This paper uses visual content analysis (Carneiro and Johnson, 2014) to see what kinds of imagery are found on NDP covers over the last decade. The texts of those plans are then analysed using conventional and summative content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). Comparing visual and textual content analysis provides insights into the broader meanings of the plans themselves and their relation to global policy agendas like the UN's Sustainable Development Goals. The paper draws on an electronic archive of 315 NDPs published by 143 countries since 2012.

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## E17 - Multilevel Governance: Democratic and Policy Consequences

### Politique locale et urbaine

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

***Collaborating with the Public on Designing for Public Participation: The Case of Advisory Committees of Council in the City of Guelph, ON:*** Leah Levac (University of Guelph), Wai Yin (Winnie) Chan (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** Municipal governments across Canada are served by Advisory Committees of Council (ACOCs), a widely used public participation mechanism where Council-appointed residents provide advice on a wide range of topics, including accessibility, transit, heritage, land use, the arts, and more. In Guelph, ON (and likely elsewhere), there is wide variation in their mandate and authority, overall purpose and objectives, membership composition, staff liaison roles, and reporting processes (and frequency) (Buchnea & Laban, 2021). Despite their ubiquity, little research has explored their functioning and effectiveness, how residents experience their service on them, the extent to which ACOC membership is accessible to residents who often face barriers to participation, or how city staff and Council perceive and receive their advice. Moreover, and perhaps in part because of these knowledge gaps, ACOCs have served as sites of conflict between members and the Councils they are intended to inform (e.g., Coleman, 2020; Vivian, 2021).

This paper presents the collaborative research and community engagement approach we undertook to respond to these gaps and learn more about this ubiquitous form of public participation. Guided by principles of engaged scholarship (Beaulieu et al., 2018) and their application to policy development (Levac et al., 2022), we describe our methodological approach, emphasizing our efforts to centre residents' lived expertise of serving (or facing barriers to serving) on ACOCs. We demonstrate the value of informing public participation design with the public's experiential knowledge of these mechanisms and argue for more entrenched forms of public participation in municipal governance design moving forward.

***Local and Regional Governance Navigating the Changing Contours of Canadian Federalism:*** Charles Conteh (Brock University)

**Abstract:** Subnational jurisdictions at the Local and regional levels are confronting the growing challenges of breakneck technological changes, shifts in markets and growing concerns about the mounting ecological crisis of climate change. These problems have catapulted these governance entities into the frontlines of countries' efforts to confront the challenges and exploit emergent opportunities. Cities and regions have in turn deployed various innovative initiatives over the past two decades in responding to these trends. One central implication of their governance adaptations is that local and urban jurisdictions have been assuming greater policy responsibility and agency. The proposed paper examines these trends in Canada, focusing on how several midsized regions across the country are adapting to the growing complexity of economic development in an age of greater knowledge intensity and new innovation policy approaches. Drawing insights from the concept of multilevel governance (MLG) as a framework for thinking about policy alignment across jurisdictions, the paper will investigate the emergent institutional, structural, and procedural mechanisms by which local and urban entities are navigating the currents of change in Canada's multi-tiered system. The MLG literature calls attention to the fluid mechanisms by which lower-tier jurisdictions like municipalities interact with and engage in joint policy action with upper-tier jurisdictions. It also sheds light on the porous boundaries of local and regional governance at the strategic interface between the state, market and society. The paper concludes with practical and theoretical implications for present and future trends of local and regional governance in the 21st century.

***The Governance of Sister City Agreements:*** Tom urbaniak (Cape Breton University), Andrew Molloy (Cape Breton University)

**Abstract:** This paper will examine and propose potential best-practices in the governance, implementation, and co-ordination of international sister-city agreements (also known as partner-city agreements or twin-city agreements). Such agreements have been increasingly common for most of the past century, with varied purposes and initiators. Such agreements have sought to promote one or more of the following: peace, democracy, trade and access to markets, tourism, the needs of diasporas, and, occasionally, specific ideologies or political agendas.

The authors will be relying on participant observation, involvement in inter-municipal and inter-agency consultations, and comparative literature reviews about historical sister-city agreements. One of the authors facilitated the 2019 twinning of the Cape Breton Regional Municipality (CBRM), Nova Scotia, and Wałbrzych, Poland. The process to arrive at the agreement will be discussed in the paper. The two municipalities are post-industrial, primarily urban, with populations of approximately 100,000 people. Both municipalities struggled with urban decay and unemployment.

The authors have also been involved in the agreement's implementation and the facilitation of civil society collaborations, as well as inter-institutional and educational collaborations (including a summer field school) involving the CBRM and Wałbrzych. In so doing, the authors and colleagues studied other sister-city agreements, including, but not limited to, agreements among other Canadian and Polish cities.

It will be argued that viable twinning agreements require a co-ordinating body that includes participants from outside the municipal structure, complementary inter-institutional agreements (such as between schools and universities), and, significantly, opportunities for participation by youth and students. Enduring and impactful agreements may need to envision multiple, not singular, avenues for mutual benefit. They may need to cycle through the following phases: 1) initiation by a champion(s); 2) experimentation with tangible projects; 3) consolidation of the Agreement's governance along with the development of parallel agreements, such as between schools and universities; 4) evaluation or planned sessions to take stock; and 5) an intentional, even if low-intensity, rhythm of activities and contacts.

***Public Transit Policy and Trilevel Governance in Canada: What are the Local States? Resources Securing Strategies?:*** Hao Xi (University of

Waterloo), Hongying Wang (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** The persistent infrastructure deficit has been an intriguing topic for decades in Canada. Public choice theory indicates that decentralization will empower local jurisdictions to efficiently provide public good, which can be illustrated in Canadian cases that show that the federal government's intervention in the local public good supply would blur accountability and thus undermine the policy performance. However, some in academia and industry also contend that current federal role in public transport providing is less than ideal. Specifically, who should be counted on regarding urban and rural public transit policy if those infrastructures have obvious externality? To what extent can the federal government intervene in the municipal public transit policy agenda? What are the local governments' strategies for securing resources? Regarding these questions, there still have been few robust studies that integrate the topics related to intergovernmental relations and public transit policy from a political science perspective. This research aims to do a comparative case study among Canadian cities (or regional districts) and explore the factors that lead to successful or less efficient public transit policy outcomes (e.g. Ottawa's failed LRT project and ION LRT in Waterloo). More importantly, this research tries to retrospect the conventional understanding of municipal government's status as the 'invention' of provincial government and how this special status influences local states' strategies in striving for resources within the intergovernmental political dynamics. Moreover, this study will also investigate the role of local states' changing governance structure in shaping their strategies.

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## M17 - Workshop on Teaching the Everyday: Interrogating Spaces of the Everyday

### Enseignement

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Heather Smith (University of Northern B.C.)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Heather Smith (University of Northern B.C.)

**Teaching the Everyday of Academic Work to Change It?:** Carole Clavier (Université du Québec à Montréal), Anne-Marie D'Aoust (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** Publishing papers, crafting an expertise in research, or navigating departmental meetings: an academic's everyday life is made of tasks, norms and expectations learned on the job and rarely discussed openly in professional settings. In 2016, we created the syllabus for a doctoral seminar aimed at critically discussing the everyday dimensions of academia and academic work through readings and practical exercises. The class succeeded in democratizing access to the norms of the discipline (Clavier et al., 2021) but it neither brought about the productive goals of neoliberal academia, nor a radical change to the context of knowledge production and dissemination. What is the relevance of such a compulsory doctoral course on the everyday of academic work? Based on our experience teaching this seminar and on a survey to students who took the class since 2016, we discuss two dimensions of the course in relation to everyday work and practices. First, there is a tension between the course's vocation as a practical and care space, its status as a compulsory course and its limited interaction with other learning situations (e.g. relationship with supervisor). Second, exposing inequalities between students' working conditions (funding, integration in research centres, etc.) is insufficient to change them. We conclude by reflecting on the course's content, our teaching practices, the broader context of doctoral training and their relevance for how students think about their research, why and how they are doing it, with what resources (or lack thereof), and their vision of what it takes to succeed in academia.

**Teaching Authentically You:** Christina Doonan (Memorial University)

**Abstract:** Writing of her choice to eschew wearing a prosthesis after mastectomy due to breast cancer, Audre Lorde wrote in *The Cancer Journals* that the "visibility which makes us most vulnerable is that which also is the source of our greatest strength." This paper / workshop presentation considers everyday dilemmas surrounding the choice between hiding and exposing body difference while teaching in the aftermath of breast cancer. When teaching feminist political theory and gender studies courses which address themes such as the politics of health and care, embodiment, affect, the complexity of gender, the beauty industry, and the links between personal and political, the question of whether and how to connect the classroom to the everyday is immediate and pressing. Indeed, when the physical appearance of the instructor itself links course content to the everyday in direct and obvious ways, how and when is it appropriate to connect embodied, lived experiences of the instructor to the worlds we teach? This paper presents some pros and cons of concealing or not concealing body difference and personal experience when teaching courses in which they are relevant. Considerations include privacy, boundaries, and vulnerability versus the power of lived experience to help students connect both with course content and the instructor.

**The Disability Studies Classroom as a Political Space: Activism, Access, and Abolition in the Everyday of Teaching and Learning:** Alison Howell (Rutgers University - Newark)

**Abstract:** This paper offers autoethnographic reflections on the politics of the everyday in teaching and learning in a critical disabilities studies course. It examines the classroom as a site where students and instructors alike move between and through experiences of disability, and of reaffirming or coming to politically identify as disabled in a classroom community. It will examine the classroom as an activist space, giving the example of a semester when students decided to use the class time and space as a site for organizing a campus student group for students with disabilities and allies. The paper discusses how students' (and instructor's) routinized experiences of ableism, and of intersections between ableism, racism, (trans)misogyny, and citizenship (to name a few) are harnessed by students to connect with readings and other course materials, as well as each other. Finally, it discusses the relationship between accessibility and abolition as guides for pedagogy and assessment. These themes will be contextualized in the everyday experience of disorientation produced by the back-to-back teaching of undergraduate Disability Studies and graduate International Relations theory.

**Managing the Everyday Today by Thinking About the Future:** Veronica Kitchen (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** For the past few years, I have divided my Introduction to International Relations class into two sections: a typical review of various mainstream and critical concepts and theories for understanding IR, and a structured foresight analysis of the future of global politics. In part, the foresight analysis is a tool to manage the challenges of teaching global politics in an uncertain world. Today's undergraduate students are living through the climate crisis and a global pandemic, as well as highly-publicized wars in Ukraine and the Middle East, among others. The content of an International Relations class can be bleak, and is compounded by the student mental health crisis: 46% of postsecondary students in Ontario reported feeling too depressed to fully function, and 65% reported feeling overwhelming anxiety (pre-pandemic figures; Council of Ontario Universities). I argue that teaching a structured way for thinking about the future can help manage the difficult everyday experience of learning about global politics. First, drawing on Afro- and Indigenous-futurism as well as other decolonized perspectives on thinking alternative futures can allow students to imagine a future that may feel less bleak than the one that merely extends the present. Second, drawing on psychological tools for cognitive restructuring, thinking about worst-case scenarios in a structured way can give students ways to de-catastrophize their current thoughts about an uncertain future. In this paper, I elaborate these ideas and also present a method for a semester-long foresight analysis project that incorporates both group and individual work.

## Day 3 - Session 3 (Lunch) (12:00pm - 01:30pm)

### A18(a) - Roundtable: The Polimeter's 10th Year: A Multifaceted Approach to Knowledge Gathering, Teaching Political Science Methodology & Agility in Knowledge Diffusion?

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

Dominic Duval (UQAM)

Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval)

Bastien Frédéric (Université de Montréal)

Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (University of Toronto)

Vincent Sarah-Jane (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** When the Polimeter (<https://www.polimeter.org/en>) was invented 10 years ago at the Center for Public Policy Analysis in Quebec City, there were four main goals: (1) track election pledges in Quebec (starting in 2013) and Canada (starting in 2014) in real time to provide citizens, journalists, politicians, and experts with reliable, independent data on election pledges and their fulfillment; (2) generate data for comparative research regarding pledge fulfillment in Canada and internationally; (3) publish edited books on each mandate as well as academic journal articles; and (4) provide young researchers with training and, when possible, early experience in publishing both for academic and general public audiences. The Polimeter is grounded in the methodology of the Comparative Party Pledge Project (<https://comparativepledges.net/>) to allow for tracking and sharing data during mandates then finalizing verdicts and the end of mandates. By 2019-2020, the Polimeter expanded to track pledges in New Brunswick and Ontario, generating additional data. The Polimeter data contributed to various academic journal articles, book chapters published with the CPPP, conference papers, and a series of edited books assessing the mandates of governments in Quebec (Couillard/PLQ, Legault/CAQ) and Canada (Trudeau I published in 2019 and Trudeau II & III forthcoming) . There have also been PhD theses using this data. The panelists are invited to present their reflections on the Polimeter, its fulfillment of its own goals, its strengths, weaknesses, and future challenges. They are invited to reflect on broader considerations about the potential impact of the tool on democracy through the responses of citizens, journalists and politicians.

NOTE: I will finalize the participants if the panel is accepted. We hope to have panelists including users and producers of Polimeter data. I would like to invite graduate students who work on the Polimeters, professors who used the data for their publications, one professor who is new to our book projects, and one who has participated in all of our book projects. If possible, I will recruit one of the many journalists who use our data as well. I began with Dominic Duval who was the first graduate student to work on the Polimeter and who is now a professor at UQAM. Yannick Dufresne joined the Polimeter in 2017 where he leads the development of digital infrastructure and coaches graduate students working on related projects. Frédéric Bastien has supported the Polimeter through grants from the Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship.

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## B18 - Ethics, Trust and Political Leadership

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Alex Marland (Acadia University)

Co-Chair/Président/Présidente : Neil Thomlinson (Toronto Metropolitan University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Valere Gaspard (University of Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Kenny Le (University of British Columbia)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Populism, Leader Character and Trust:* Cristine de Clercy (Trent University)

**Abstract:** The unique context of the COVID-19 pandemic and its aftermath provided an unusual opportunity to explore the relationships among character, identification-based trust, and perceptions of leadership effectiveness alongside a rise in populism. As in many other states, levels of trust seem to be in decline in Canada while distrust is on the rise. How does the valuation of leader character influence public trust in leaders, and is populism a salient context? Focusing on the leadership of Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, and using custom cross-national survey data collected in 2020, 2021 and 2022 I first explore whether citizens believe character is important during efforts to exercise political leadership. Then, I examine voter perceptions of the importance of the leader character using dimensions identified by Crossan et al. (2017) and to what extent Trudeau was perceived to demonstrate behaviors associated with these dimensions across the pandemic.

Third, using time series data for the Canadian case as well as several other developed countries, I investigate whether populist citizens are less likely to be concerned about the importance of character in their political leaders when compared to non-populist voters. Finally, because the extant literature largely ignores the role of gender (Mudde, 2021), I investigate the effect of gender on populist attitudes toward leader character and public trust. This work builds on findings reported in some earlier co-authored studies (Seijts, de Clercy and Miller 2022, Seijts and de Clercy, 2020) and it concludes that while most citizens value character in the exercise of leadership during the pandemic and its aftermath, populist voters hold markedly different attitudes than non-populists, valuing character much less and holding much less trust for political institutions. Moreover, gender is an important factor when considering the effects of populism on support for positive leader character: respondents who identified as women were much less oriented toward positive leader character than their male populist counterparts. This is a surprising finding that merits more study of the gendered aspects of populist support towards understanding the deep effects of populism on leadership, trust and democracy during times of crisis.

*Open Government, Strategies and Public Trust:* Peter Ferguson (Government of Canada)

**Abstract:** This paper examines efforts by governments to increase public trust through an examination of open government initiatives. The public service in Canada and throughout the OECD has become increasingly focused on finding means to increase public trust and bolster democratic institutions. The evidence indicates these concerns are well-founded. According to the OECD Trust Survey, only 40% of those surveyed in OECD countries have high or moderate trust in their national governments. This was the case despite the fact that more than 60% indicated satisfaction with service delivery. And levels of trust are even lower among disadvantaged groups and young people.

There is broad agreement across OECD countries that declining public trust must be addressed in order to bolster vulnerable democratic institutions. For example, the 2022 Global Forum and Ministerial on Building Trust and Reinforcing Democracy resulted in the launch of the OECD's Reinforcing Democracy Initiative. Two of the five action pillars underlie the Initiative's effort to improve trust in public institutions (combating mis- and dis-information, and strengthening representation, participation and openness in public life) directly involve open government. Open government is a broad umbrella of actions aimed at increasing transparency, accountability and public participation.

Data indicates OECD countries have been making strides toward increasing government transparency and accountability over the last decade, the same does not appear to be the case when it comes to public participation. The OECD Trust Survey points to widespread feelings, felt uniformly across country contexts, that there are few opportunities for the public to participate in policy making, and that even when such opportunities exist, governments are unresponsive to public feedback.

Recent efforts to mature open government within OECD (and non-OECD) countries have focused on advancing whole-of-government, open government strategies. For example, the OECD's Open Government Scan of Canada: Designing and Implementing an Open Government Strategy calls on Canada to undertake a concerted effort to bolster public participation as a means of maturing open government in order to increase public trust and bolster democratic institutions.

This paper explores recent open government strategies to determine how they purport to increase public participation and whether such efforts can be expected to increase trust. Cases include Canada, Finland, and Italy. In addition, Brazil will be examined as a non-member with which the OECD has a working relationship, specifically as it pertains to their open government activities.

*Democratic Leadership Revisited:* Michael MacKenzie (Vancouver Island University)

**Abstract:** Abstract: Democratic theorists often assume that democracy and leadership do not mix. Democracies are supposed to be egalitarian, collective, and participatory. Leadership, by contrast, must be hierarchical, at least to some extent. This idea that democracy and leadership do not mix has been challenged by scholars such as J. Ronald Pennock (1979) and Eric Beerbohm (2015). These theorists argue that democratic leaders have three essential

functions: 1) they aid the thinking of others; 2) they forge joint commitments with others to act; and 3) they help solve collective action problems so that shared objectives can be achieved. In this paper, I argue that these theories of democratic leadership do not address some of the practical challenges that leaders must face. For example, democratic leaders are often required to "step out ahead" of their followers if they want to "get stuff done," thus acting before joint commitments with potential followers have been made. Indeed, this may be one of the most valuable and necessarily functions of leadership more generally.

I argue that "stepping out ahead" of potential followers does not necessarily violate democratic norms if certain conditions are fulfilled. These conditions include: 1) existing reservoirs of warranted trust between leaders and their potential followers; 2) institutions and practices that require leaders to provide post-hoc justifications for the actions they have taken without joint commitments; and 3) real opportunities for followers to reject the justifications that leaders provide, and thus the leadership claims that they make.

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## **B18 - Nationalism, Ethnic or Religious Minorities, and Protest**

**Politique comparée**

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle :**

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## E18 - Urban Policy Challenges: Climate, Food Security, Economic Development

### Politique locale et urbaine

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

#### *Sustaining Food Security in Niagara: Joanne Heritz (Brock University)*

**Abstract:** Food security remains the one social service, for the most part, still under the purview of charities. In 2021 almost one in six households in Canada were food insecure, amounting to 5.8 million people including almost 1.4 million children. This means that one in five children lived in food-insecure households. Current forecasts indicate that food insecurity is going to get even worse (PROOF 2023). Charities have a long history of providing food security in Niagara but have never faced the challenges they are experiencing today. Household budgets are struggling to pay for increasing housing and transportation costs, and then comes the realization that there is little, or no money left for food.

Findings from an environmental scan of food banks across Niagara Region's 12 municipalities indicate that there has been a 30 per cent increase in food bank visits from 2022 to 2023 and they are experiencing unprecedented shortages in supply. The federal government responded to the food crisis with a one-time rebate in Summer 2023 and the provincial government's only response was during the pandemic. This begs the question, if food security demands are outpacing supply and distribution, what are the factors causing current gaps in service provision, and how could they be addressed? How are municipalities assisting charities in providing food security for the most vulnerable members of our community? Preliminary findings indicate that municipalities are included in the actors responding to food insecurity by acknowledging the current crisis and making recommendations for action at the provincial and local levels of government.

#### *Provincial Policies for Small-Scale Renewable Energy Projects: Decentralizing Pathways for Energy Transition in Canada: Gabriel Barbosa (Western University)*

**Abstract:** Energy governance has recently received a great deal of attention in Canada, where dissimilar provincial political economies associated with uneven natural resource geographic distribution and energy infrastructure frameworks contribute to diverse paths toward energy transitions and energy democracy. As a country where the governance of energy systems is focused mainly at the provincial level, Canada embraces multiple and simultaneous energy transition pathways, even compared to other federal countries. In this context, less attention is given to local governments and communities, and whether recent provincial renewable policies have been fostering the participation of local governments and communities in small-scale renewable energy projects (SREPs) is an open question. To discuss provincial renewable policies in Canada and their potential to foster a decentralized energy governance model via SREPs, the present paper asks: "Do provincial decentralizing energy policies in Canada that promotes SREPs also promote decentralized energy governance? And under what conditions they do this?" To answer these questions, the paper focuses on the groups of stakeholders invited to apply as developers of SREPs and the collaborative multilevel governance structure of SREPs. This paper employs text analysis on twelve Canadian provincial energy policies that have fostered SREPs since 2010. The selection of policies was supported by the literature on RES-E infrastructure, which suggests that SREPs are more likely to exist when infrastructures of connectivity and locality are decentralized. However, whether or not these policies also promote decentralized governance and community involvement is an open question that this paper expects to address in the analysis.

#### *Being well now or later: the temporal disconnect between climate and urban wellness policies: Marielle Papin (MacEwan University)*

**Abstract:** Cities have become places of compound crises, where many shocks and stresses happen simultaneously and interdependently in different sectors. The climate crisis is entangled with many other urban issues, including physical and mental health and wellbeing. But how do these crises and their solutions interact? Does addressing climate change in a systemic way automatically mean ensuring the good health and wellbeing of all urban dwellers? Although the consequences of climate change are being increasingly felt, for many they still seem far away in space and time. Yet, health and wellbeing are immediate and constant concerns for all.

This paper is interested in the synergies and conflicts of urban climate and health and wellbeing policies and their consequences on the most vulnerable urban communities. It asks: how do adaptation and wellness policies work together?

We present a case study of Edmonton's recent climate adaptation and wellbeing initiatives. It shares and puts light on the results of a documentary analysis of policy documents as well as semi-structured interviews with local policymakers and community members participating in or affected by Edmonton's climate and wellbeing initiatives.

We show that there are many synergies between adaptation and health wellbeing policies. While these synergies tend to positively affect the wealthiest communities, they conflict with one another when it comes to the most vulnerable communities.

This research may be of interest to scholars working on climate policies or on health and wellbeing policies, as well as to urban scholars and policymakers.

#### *The Impact of Smart Urbanism on Economic Development in Niagara Region: Learning from the Regional Innovation Systems Literature: Nathan Olmstead (Brock University), Charles Conteh (Brock University)*

**Abstract:** The fabric of the Canadian city is increasingly fibreoptic, with many municipalities investing in new technologies to address the challenges they face. In addition to improving local quality of life, developing such "smart city" approaches is often framed as a way to attract investment, talent, and economic growth, particularly in the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) sector. Despite this, the impact of smart urbanism on economic development, and the relationship between smart urbanism and existing economic development policies, is underexplored, and the viability of smart urbanism as an economic development strategy is unclear. To that end, this paper explores the influence of smart city policies on economic development in Niagara Region, a two-tier municipality in Ontario, Canada. Drawing on available economic data and a series of interviews with local stakeholders, we explore the history of smart urbanism in Niagara and the growth of the Region's ICT sector over time. Comparing Niagara region to provincial and federal trends, we find that growth has been concentrated in ICT subsectors that reflect Niagara's historical strengths in agriculture and manufacturing, rather than

the ICT subsectors traditionally associated with smart cities. Smart urbanism is thus an insufficient explanation for the growth of ICT within the Region. In this regard, we argue that smart city approaches can be bolstered by existing research on Regional Innovation Systems, and in particular this literature's emphasis on economic clustering, institutional supports, and intermediary organizations. We conclude with some policy implications for current practice and theoretical extrapolations for future studies.

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## M18 - Research, Discovery and Prediction in Political Science

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Fiona MacDonald (University of Northern B.C.)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Fiona MacDonald (University of Northern B.C.)

**Predicting the Future to Understand the Present: Strategic Foresight in the Classroom:** Jeffrey Rice (MacEwan University)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the use of strategic forecasting as a pedagogical tool for teaching students about global politics in a meaningful and reflexive way. It argues that strategic foresight, in other words asking students to try and predict the future in a controlled setting, can help expand students' appreciation of international politics in areas that otherwise have proven difficult to do, such as: connecting the local to the international; and exploring linkages between traditional and non-traditional IR policy areas - public-health, aging, and international security for example. At its core, strategic foresight is a tool used to make predictions about obvious and non-obvious plausible short-, medium- and long-term trends in an environment that is fundamentally characterized by uncertainty. The purpose of strategic forecasting is generally two-fold: first, it is intended to help manage uncertainty in uncertain environments in order to better prepare for the future through policy, understanding, or otherwise; and, second, to help forecasters reflect on their understanding about international events in order to identify potential blind-spots, biases, and faulty assumptions in their present understandings. This paper emphasizes the latter, goal, of uncovering assumptions, biases, and blind spots in how students understand international politics. To do so, I describe how to employ strategic foresight as a pedagogical tool in the classroom using three, easy-to-run, interconnected exercises.

**Information Discovery as Political Praxis: Reflections on Instructing Critical Information Discovery at the Undergraduate Level:** Kayla Morgan Dold (University of Ottawa), Jada Watson (University of Ottawa), Kaitie Jourdeuil (Queen's University), Margaret Moore (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Increased use of machine learning for information retrieval systems - from ChatGPT to Google-enhanced institutional search algorithms - presents an opportunity to evaluate not only our sources and how we collect them, but the information architectures that render them discoverable: subject headings, tags, other metadata. These facets often betray information architecture's biases against anti-colonial, feminist, and anti-racists sources (Hepp, 2022; Noble, 2018; Thornley, Bustillo, & Supprian, 2022).

This paper describes our experience conducting one-shot critical information discovery instruction for undergraduate political science students. Developed according to the Association of College and Research Libraries (2016) standards, critical information discovery defines the skills that identify bias within information architectures and guides our use of them. Focusing on the Omni library catalogue (the Ontario university catalogue system), we describe our experiences imparting three critical information discovery skills: reflection, evaluation, and decision making. These skills help students recognize when information architecture masks sources because it cannot accurately describe works that are anti-colonial, feminist, or anti-racist (Bullard, Watson, & Purdome, 2022; Dowell, 2021; Lo, 2019; Howard & Knowlton, 2018).

This paper provides a framework for instructing students in critical information discovery skills and reveals how information discovery is a political practice by delineating the relationships between discoverability, knowledge, and power. While critical information discovery offers practical tools for sharpening our information discovery skills, it also critiques conventional knowledge organization - after all, for knowledge to be powerful, it must first be discoverable.

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**Making Methods Attractive: a Cabinet of Fun Assignment Curiosities for Teaching Political Methodology:** Spyridon Kotsovilis (University of Toronto Mississauga)

**Abstract:** This paper presents a toolkit of activities, exercises, and games that can attract students' attention (Bradbury), stimulate their interest and elicit their active commitment (Laal and Ghodsi) to the study of methods in Political Science. It spans across both Quantitative and Qualitative methods, including Probability, Regression Analysis, as well as ethnography, Process Tracing, Archival Research and Content Analysis. For example, on making the learning about statistical probability fun, the paper details a class exercise that simulates a 'Let's Make a Deal!' television show, to showcase and explain the Monty Hall problem. On ethnography, it describes an assignment that asks students to read excerpts from a book famous for its excruciatingly detailed observations of everyday life - and then spend time at a campus location of their choice, recording what they see to be submitted as part of their graded work. Following submission, in tutorials, they read aloud from their notes prompting them to discuss dimensions, processes and theories of ethnographic research. The paper also illustrates an activity to help teach both Archival Research and Content Analysis. For this exercise, students divide in groups and



compete in a game to analyze a short diary entry by William Lyon Mackenzie King accessed through Government of Canada's online archives. Considering criteria and types of content, each team produces a collaborative report with their findings and interpretations, while learning from each other in the process. In addition, for guidance, brief appointments are set for the students with librarians and the instructor, who in the process explain the contours of archival research and Content Analysis. Overall, the paper concludes by arguing that, as literature points out (McKenzie et al.), embedding teaching innovations in the classroom can render the study of methods appealing and even enjoyable for students of Political Science.

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## N18 - GBA+ in Policy Analysis II

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

***Stretching Social Reproduction: An alternative approach to researching gendered informal economies in the Global South:*** Laila Mourad (York University), Anna Agathangelou (York University)

**Abstract:** In the contemporary global economy, informal labor is intertwined with what is traditionally defined as 'formal' labor. With that being said, the constructed boundaries between formality and informality as well as paid and unpaid labor still exist in the research and analysis of gendered informal economies, especially in the Global South. In this paper I participate in ongoing critical feminist discussions happening in various disciplines such as economics, development and gender politics, that advocate for alternative epistemological and methodological approaches (Agathangelou, 2004; Olmsted, 2005; Taha & Salem, 2019).

I propose that social reproduction can be stretched from a concept (Salem, 2018) to a lens or framework that can be used to (re)conceptualize and (re)imagine key socio-economic principles. This can be done by centering women's everyday knowledges and practices and using them to think differently about why people work (purpose), their choice of work (agency), what they produce (value and productivity), the challenges they face (precarity), and the skills and tools they utilize (knowledge).

This proposition is based on fieldwork research in Egypt where I conducted interviews and ethnography with home-based women workers who prepared, cooked and sold food in the informal food sector. The interviews followed a life history approach, which created space for storytelling and for sharing personal and professional narratives. The ethnography involved working alongside several women workers in varying capacities and observing their work setup.

The women's stories and lived experiences portrayed how their everyday knowledges and practices often transcended material and emotional boundaries. Here I choose to focus on two, namely: hustling and *tawfeer*. Hustling, which is defined as hurried movement, in this case encompasses more than the physical motion but also the disruption of time and space and mobility within the economy and society. *Tawfeer* is an Arabic umbrella term that refers to saving time and money, being efficient, reducing waste, and using resources sufficiently. The thoughts and acts behind hustling and *tawfeer* demonstrate alternative ways of thinking about key aspects of labor including needs, choices, resource management, efficiency, risks, and productivity.

Therefore, stretching social reproduction from a concept to a lens when researching women's informal labor challenges the heterogeneity of informal economies in academic literature and development policy agendas (Escobar 1995; Mezzadri, 2021; Mitchell, 2002). This alternative approach expands the ways in which we conceptualize the intersection of work and everyday life and how we envision economic justice in an ever-changing global economy.

***Expert Evidence, Advocacy, and Bias in Canadian Alliance for Sex Work Law Reform v Canada:*** Rosemary Nagy (Nipissing University)

**Abstract:** The Canadian Alliance for Sex Work Law Reform's constitutional challenge to the Protection of Exploited Communities and Persons Act (PCEPA) was recently denied by the Ontario Superior Court of Justice. A significant section of the decision is dedicated to questioning whether the expert evidence on both sides of the debate was biased. This paper compares the perceptions of bias in constitutional jurisprudence and social science research, engaging particularly with anti-oppressive epistemologies which challenge positivist notions of objectivity. It critically assesses the Court's weighing of expert evidence and its general dismissal of the testimony of sex work advocates. Given the deep social and researcher polarization around the commodification of sexual activity, the article reflects on whether and how sex work law reform research might respond to the judicial critique. The literature on the effective use of social science evidence in litigation is also applied to the case for sex work law reform.

***GBA+, Public Service Values and Social Media:*** Hannah Silver (formerly McGill University), Francesca Scala (Concordia University), Stephanie Paterson (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** In the era of digital governance, social media has become an increasingly important part of public service work. The growing use of ICTs and social media among public servants has renewed debates about core public service values, such as neutrality and anonymity, and has showcased tensions between potentially conflicting values, such as efficiency and equality. While recognized as key sites of stakeholder engagement and information access, early research demonstrated that official tweets by the government were oriented towards publishing information, rather than promoting dialogue or engaging with users, reproducing traditional public service values (Small 2012). In contrast, the increasing use of unofficial or personal accounts has allowed public servants to discuss their work online, identify themselves as stewards of specific initiatives, and create stronger networks of interaction (Clarke 2019).

In this paper, we situate Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) in this context, exploring public servants' use of X (formerly Twitter) to communicate GBA+. GBA+ is Canada's approach to gender mainstreaming, which requires analysts to apply an intersectional lens to all policies and programs to detect and mitigate disparate impacts. GBA+ presents a potential challenge to public service values, adhering, on the one hand, to notions of efficiency, while on the other hand, expanding ideas of neutrality and accountability (Paterson and Scala 2017). Importantly, GBA+ has nurtured pockets of feminist activism within the bureaucracy and has highlighted the importance of more recent public service values such as fairness, responsiveness, and equity (Scala and Paterson 2018). At the same time, however, the political nature of GBA+ has been hyperbolized and villainized by mainstream media and conservatives alike who view the framework's challenge to perceived bureaucratic neutrality as harmful and anti-democratic (Paterson and Scala 2021). We consider how public servants' use of X discursively constitutes GBA+ and how it connects to, challenges, or reconciles traditional public sector values, particularly neutrality and anonymity.

*Distinctions and Divergences: The Political Economy of Governance Feminism in Mexico and Canada:* Tammy Findlay (Mount Saint Vincent University), Alexandra Dobrowolsky (Saint Mary's University), Hepzibah Munoz-Martinez (University of New Brunswick, Saint John)

**Abstract:** Governance feminism, emerging in a variety of contexts, promises an inclusionary politics while reinscribing neoliberal values and practices (Scala & Paterson 2020; (Dobrowolsky, 2020; Dobrowolsky & Findlay, 2023). Previously, we have focused on mapping both shared features and significant differences in governance feminism in Mexico and Canada (Dobrowolsky & Findlay, 2023; Dobrowolsky, Findlay, & Muñoz-Martínez 2023). Here, we move from the what to the why ? how do we explain these distinctions in governance feminism in these jurisdictions?

This paper will trace unique state dynamics, women's and feminist mobilization, and their interactions, using a comparative, intersectional feminist political economy and decolonial lens. While much of the governance feminism literature draws from either a feminist institutionalist, or Foucauldian perspective, we argue that more emphasis must be placed on variegated spatial political economies and social forces. Divergent colonial histories, institutional configurations, ideological foundations and patterns of feminist action and resistance, work to produce distinctive forms of governance feminism in Mexico and Canada.

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## N18 - Women, War, and Peacebuilding

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

**Fostering Change: WPS Initiatives and Collaborations Between Academia and Security Organizations:** Emilie El Khoury (Queen's University / CIDP (Centre for International and Defence Policy)), Stéphanie von Hlatky (Queen's University / CIDP (Centre for International and Defence Policy))

**Abstract:** Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, there has been a surge in research collaborations that bridge the gap between academics and security organizations. This collaboration is exemplified by initiatives such as the Human Terrain System (HTS), operated by the US Army from 2007 to 2014, a case that is ripe for lessons learned. HTS aimed to leverage the specialized knowledge of anthropologists to increase the cultural awareness of deployed members of the Armed Forces. Similarly, NATO's Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) policy introduced in 2007 also opened the door to expert consultations with academics and civil society to increase the gender awareness of NATO forces on operations, which predictably, was accompanied by some organizational resistance. Our current research aims to understand how this resistance plays out, with a specific focus on women's experiences within the context of NATO operations, with special attention paid to women in the armed forces, academia, and civil society. Our research uses a variety of methodologies such as participant observation, life stories and semi-structured interviews, drawing on different reflexive, intersectional and intersubjective approaches. Drawing from our preliminary findings, we will analyze the perspectives and experiences of academics and practitioners involved in NATO missions where WPS standards have been implemented and adapted, to advance scholarly work on military operations, but also inform methodological and ethical guidelines for applied research, taking into account lessons learned from HTS and comparable cases.

**Women's agency in peacebuilding: Evidence from Northeast India:** Amrita Saikia (GIGA Institute for Asian Studies)

**Abstract:** Women are generally excluded from formal peace processes despite playing a significant role in peacebuilding in conflict-torn societies. Examples include Columbia, Guatemala, Afghanistan, Iraq, etc. The Northeast of India is no exception, as evident from the Bodo and Naga peace processes. While the former culminated in the signing of a third peace accord in 2020, the latter is an ongoing process. This paper attempts to understand women's agency in peacebuilding in the context of Northeast India by considering the Naga and the Bodo conflicts. The paper argues that although Naga and Bodo women's roles in the formal peace processes of Nagaland and Bodoland, respectively, have been limited, women have been actively involved in informal peacebuilding in these societies. Naga and Bodo women have contributed immensely to peacebuilding in various capacities ? as activists, mothers, informal negotiators, mediators, writers, and so on. Theoretically, the paper draws from the feminist understanding of violent conflicts and gender relations and power dynamics in conflict-affected societies. The paper is based on primary data collected by visiting Nagaland and Bodoland and conducting in-depth interviews with members of women's civil society organizations, peace activists, academics, researchers, and journalists.

**Creating and Sustaining the Home: Geopolitics and the Canadian Military Household:** Leigh Spanner (Saint Mary's University)

**Abstract:** Canadian military families move three to four times more frequently than civilian families. This operational requirement of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) calls on military families, especially wives, to undertake a variety of labour practices in order to create 'the home' at each new posting. It is from 'the home' that military members receive significant support that enable them to serve, including moral and emotional support. Moreover, 'the home' which extends to the creation of the 'nation' becomes a motivation for military service and military engagement: that which we must protect. Both the tangible practices and ideas that create and sustain the home are gendered, and call on the labour of and ideas about women in order to persist. This paper considers how the creation of the Canadian military home, both as a material space and as an idea, is gendered and connected to Canada's military and military capacity. I draw on in-depth interviews with 28 members of Canadian military families to reveal how modern warfare, domestic practices of everyday life, and 'the home' are connected to one another and are co-constituted. In so doing, this paper contributes to literature on feminist geopolitics by emphasizing how geopolitics not only shapes households, but how geopolitics emerges from and is shaped by the home. It reveals how mundane practices within the home and family life are in fact deeply political and shape politics at national and international levels.

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## Day 3 - Session 4 (01:45pm - 03:15pm)

### A19(a) - Assessing Pledge and Mandate Fulfillment: Trudeau's Liberal Minority Governments in Comparative Perspective (Panel 3 of 4: Policy Sectors with International Dimensions)

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Lisa Birch (Centre d'analyse des politiques publiques)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*From governing during immobility to end of innocence: Trudeau's immigration policies since 2019:* Mireille Paquet (Concordia University), Catherine Xhardez (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** This presentation highlights four of the most important features of the governments' 2019-2023 track record. First, immigration policymaking in and around the pandemic, which was marked by the introduction of multiple slowing international immigration in an unprecedented manner since the 1930 economic crisis and - as time passed - with the the management of the consequences of these policies developed 'on-the-fly' (Perzyna et al. 2022), such as acute labour shortages and an historical backlog of immigration files. Second, the implementation of the Canada-Ukraine Authorization for Emergency Travel in 2022 is discussed. This initiative facilitated the arrival of over 200,000 Ukrainian nationals under temporary protection. Third, the 2023 expansion of the Safe Third Country Agreement with the United States. While this reduced irregular arrivals at land borders, it consequently spurred a rapid increase in asylum claims in Canada. Fourth, the increasingly controversial decision to base Canada's post-pandemic recovery on record immigration targets and the accompanying plans to modernize the country's immigration programs and legislation. As the Liberals conclude their second mandate, they face unprecedented criticism for their immigration management. Critiques range from linking immigration to various societal issues (e.g., housing crisis) to disappointment over perceived biased treatment of immigrants based on their regions of origin or geopolitical alignment. As public opinion about immigration is shifting in Canada, Trudeau's second mandate might mark the loss of innocence for a government who had been able to use immigration to its advantage in the past.

*Lessons of Justin Trudeau's governments on national defence policy as a Canadian electoral issue:* Anessa Kimball (Université Laval), Christian Picard (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** This chapter will assess how Justin Trudeau's minority governments (2019 and 2021) delivered on his electoral pledges concerning national defence and security, including a comparison to his first mandate leading a Liberal majority government in 2015. In doing so, it will provide us with a unique opportunity to explore how defence and security issues become domestic issues in the Canadian political landscape. A common trope in Canada is that foreign policy does not win an election, highlighting the electorate's sensitivity to domestic needs. However, such a simple statement hides how the ramifications of international affairs issues affect the realm of domestic politics. Justin Trudeau's consecutive mandates permit a study of how some of these consequences play out, by exploring the dynamics of continuing defence issues, as a subset of foreign policy, across both majority and minority governments. The analytical framework employed mobilizes literature in international relations, game theory, political communication, as well as Canadian and electoral politics. As such, this chapter contributes to several subfields of political science and public policy, enriching the literature on Canadian politics and foreign policy.

*Le bilan environnemental du gouvernement Trudeau : quelle transition énergétique et écologique durant les mandats minoritaires?:* Alexandre Gajevic Sayegh (Université Laval), Annie Chaloux (Université de Sherbrooke), Philippe Simard (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** Alors qu'un pourcentage important des promesses électorales liées à l'environnement a été réalisé (ou est en voie de l'être) lors des mandats 2.0 et 3.0 du gouvernement Trudeau, certaines questions importantes planent toujours sur la politique climatique canadienne.

Des cibles plus ambitieuses pour la réduction des GES, 40-45% de réductions pour 2030 par rapport au niveau de 2005, ont été annoncées. La vente de véhicules de passagers à combustion interne sera interdite dès 2035, alors que celle des véhicules zéro émission est subventionnée depuis 2021. Des crédits d'impôts ont été offerts pour le développement de la production d'énergies renouvelables et de batteries. Le pays a aussi mis à jour son plan environnemental : le plan « Un environnement sain et une économie saine » (ESES) de 2020 remplace le « Cadre pancanadien sur les changements climatiques » de 2016. Or, la promesse d'éliminer les subventions aux énergies fossiles a-t-elle été respectée ? Est-ce que la main-d'œuvre sera formée pour que le pays puisse en effet déployer des systèmes d'énergies renouvelables ? Observons-nous réellement un virage vert dans le secteur des transports ? Des investissements ont-ils été faits et des ménages ont-ils reçu des subventions pour améliorer l'efficacité énergétique de leurs bâtiments ? Et est-ce que l'annonce récente de suspendre la taxe carbone sur le mazout dans les provinces de l'Est du Canada pourrait signer l'arrêt de mort d'une politique de tarification pourtant née de ce même gouvernement au lendemain de l'adoption de l'Accord de Paris?

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## A19(b) - COVID-19 in Canada: Equity, Participation, and Public Trust

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

**Women and Political Participation During the COVID-19 Pandemic:** Patricia Mockler (Queen's University), Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** This paper explores the implications of the COVID-19 pandemic for women's political participation in Canada. Drawing on data from the Canadian Election Study's Democracy Checkup surveys, we examine how women's participation evolved with the introduction of public health measures to manage the spread of the virus.

Political participation has long been stratified by ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status in Canada. Women, racialized people, and people living with lower incomes participate in politics at lower rates than their white, male, and wealthier counterparts (Davidson et al. 2020; Tolley 2019; Bashevkin 2011). The disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic changed the availability of important resources that are precursors to political participation; time, money, and access to opportunities for political socialization became scarcer. These disruptions were not distributed equally across sociodemographic groups but instead have been structured by the politics of gender, ethnicity, and class and have been most pronounced for those citizens who were less likely to participate in politics before the pandemic.

Prior to the onset of the pandemic, women spent more time on domestic care work than men. Time use data collected in 2020 suggests that this gender gap in household labour widened with the closure of childcare facilities such as daycares and schools (Qian and Fuller 2020). We hypothesize that the additional time spent on domestic tasks was a barrier to women's political participation during this time. We explore women's political participation between 2020 and 2022 to better understand the gendered implications of the pandemic in Canada.

**Equity in COVID-19 Vaccination: Exploring the Impact of Local Transit Access in Alberta's Largest Cities:** Kael Kropp (McGill University), Daniel Béland (McGill University; Director, McGill Institute for the Study of Canada), Alexandra Hays-Alberstat (McGill University)

**Abstract:** The healthcare system in Canada is a complex network overseen by federal, provincial, and territorial authorities, each with specific responsibilities (Martin et al., 2018). However, municipal-level decisions also play a vital role in achieving national health objectives, especially in ensuring health equity. A recent example is the challenge of achieving equity in COVID-19 vaccinations (Sebring et al., 2022). Even seemingly trivial municipal decisions related to transit infrastructure and planning can have significant impacts on individuals' healthcare access (Foth et al., 2013). Transportation access is strongly influenced by socioeconomic disparities (Rezvani et al., 2023), mirroring healthcare distribution disparities within provincial jurisdiction that often favour privileged groups over vulnerable populations (Collins and Hayes, 2010). Public health emergencies, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, highlight the increasing importance of these local decisions. Previous municipal planning and development choices reveal disparities and strengths, particularly in connecting urban populations with lower incomes or lacking alternative transportation means to life-saving services. This study explores how local transit infrastructure in and around Alberta's two largest cities, Calgary and Edmonton, influenced COVID-19 vaccine coverage between 2021 and 2022. Preliminary data analysis indicates that access to transit significantly facilitated vaccine uptake among vulnerable populations. Utilizing remote sensing and linear regression techniques with Alberta government datasets, we empirically examine how proximity to public transportation influenced vaccine coverage in these regions. The results emphasize the importance of intergovernmental collaboration between municipal and provincial governments and underscore the significance of accessible and comprehensive public transit systems.

**Understanding inequities associated with the use of travel measures during the COVID-19 pandemic: The case of the US-Canada border.:**

Andréanne Bissonnette (Western Washington University), Kelley Lee (Simon Fraser University), Laurie Trautman (Western Washington University), Salta Zhumatova (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** The uncoordinated, prolonged and frequently changing use of travel measures during the COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in large-scale disruptions to individuals, economies and whole societies. While tradeoffs have been required between applying measures for public health risk mitigation and the wider societal impacts they cause, limited attention has been given to how these impacts have been experienced differentially across individuals, communities and countries. Focusing on four travel measures implemented to travels between Canada and the United States (border closure, quarantine, vaccine requirement, and testing), this research project aims to better understand how specific equity-deserving groups experienced and perceived travel measures in both countries. Building on mixed methods (online survey, focus groups, stakeholder interviews, and media analysis), this paper presents the preliminary results of the research. It first presents an overview of the research project (literature review, methodology, and theoretical frame), before delving into the preliminary findings of three methods: an extensive media analysis of newspapers articles published in English, French, and Spanish between March 20, 2020, and May 31, 2023; an online survey focusing on all four travel measures disseminated across both countries between Dec. 2023 and Feb. 2024; and focus groups conducted with selected equity-deserving populations (April-June 2024). In so doing, this paper furthers our understanding of how populations in Canada and the United States experiences and perceived travel measures, and their impacts on their lives during the COVID-19 pandemic.

**Impact of Economic Interventions on Economic Perceptions and Public Trust During COVID-19 in Canada:** Guila Cohen (McGill University), Félix Laliberté (Université de Montréal), Mathieu Pelletier-Dumas (Université de Montréal), Dietlind Stolle (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Declining levels of public trust in government institutions and political leaders have become a growing concern in democracies. While existing research has delved into various factors contributing to this phenomenon, few have explored whether government economic interventions can increase

trust. As governments increasingly turn to income support measures to address crises like COVID-19 and inflation, filling this gap in the literature is essential to inform policy decisions and research. Our study investigates how government economic policies during the COVID-19 pandemic impacted economic perceptions and public trust using a representative nationwide panel survey from April 2020 to April 2022 (final wave N = 1623). Our primary research question is how economic perceptions during the pandemic affected public trust in the government's ability to respond to the crisis effectively. Furthermore, we examine the extent of fluctuations in economic perceptions throughout the pandemic and how government relief shaped public perceptions of the financial situation in Canada. Our analysis extends to evaluating the effectiveness of these economic policies in mitigating economic disruptions and enhancing public perception as the pandemic dragged on and the economic impact became more pervasive. We will use various quantitative methods, such as correlational, regression, and longitudinal analysis, to comprehensively understand the complex relationship between government actions, public perception, and trust in times of crisis. This study will address a critical research gap and offer valuable insights into the multifaceted dynamics between government actions, public perceptions, and trust during times of crisis, with implications for researchers and policymakers alike.

Keywords: COVID-19, economic perceptions, public trust, government policies, Canada.

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## A19(c) - Roundtable: Archival Research in Canadian Politics

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Tari Ajadi (McGill University)

Adrienne Davidson (McMaster University)

Jean-François Godbout (Université de Montréal)

Margaret Little (Queen's University)

Jack Lucas (University of Calgary)

Lori Oliver (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Although much work in Canadian politics draws on archival materials, Canadianists rarely discuss archival methods. This roundtable opens a discussion about opportunities and challenges for scholars interested in using archival research in Canadian politics. This discussion will address how archival research fits into recent trends toward formalizing graduate methods training and involving students in research grants. Between the panelists, there is a wealth of experience?from local to national archives, with open and restricted collections, public and private collections, single and multi-country research, as well as independent and collaborative archival work.

The roundtable will address the following:

? How can archival research be used (e.g., from traditional qualitative research to creating quantitative datasets)?

? How can we better train and advise students doing archival research?

? What advice would you give someone preparing a grant with student training in archival research?

? How can researchers organize and oversee collaborative archival projects, including with research assistants?

? What should one consider when planning multi-site or multi-country projects?

? What do you see as opportunities for archival research (e.g., collections that remain underused, questions that would be addressed well through archival research)?

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## A19(d) - Opportunities for and Challenges of Reconciliation in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

*A New and Renewed Relationship or a Skipping Record? Indigenous/Canadian 'Progress' (2015-2019):* Chadwick Cowie (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The purpose of this paper will be to assess the first term of the Justin Trudeau Liberal government in relation to Indigenous relations, rights, and reconciliation. Although Trudeau, during the 2015 Canadian federal election made many promises relating to a new, and renewed, relationship with Indigenous peoples, the assessment put forth will highlight that such a relationship continued to be a "Canadian-centric" form rather than nation-to-nation. In arguing that the Trudeau government's approach was more Canadian-centric than nation-to-nation, this paper will first assess the first year of the Trudeau government focusing on the swearing in of Cabinet and budgetary promises during its first mandate. Following a review of Cabinet and Budgetary commitments, this paper will then review policy decisions and movements that impact and relate to Indigenous nations, peoples, rights, consultation, and concepts of reconciliation. Lastly, focus will then turn to assessing how such Canadian-centric approaches by the Trudeau government not only led to a decline in Indigenous support and volunteerism but was further declined with the treatment of the of former Ministers Hunter Tootoo and Jody Wilson-Raybould.

*UNDRIP and Reconciliation: Canadian Legislation and the TRC's 94 Calls to Action:* Isabelle Cote (Memorial University), Matthew Mitchell (USask), Andrew Grant (Queen's University), Dimitri Panagos (Memorial University)

**Abstract:** The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada issued its final report in 2015. A prominent feature of the report is its 94 Calls to Action, a detailed list of concrete steps aimed at promoting the process of reconciliation with Indigenous communities in Canada. A careful survey of the 94 Calls reveals the important role of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in the reconciliation process. Among other things, the report urges federal, provincial, and territorial governments to formally recognize UNDRIP and to develop strategies for its implementation (Calls to Action #43 and #44). This paper examines the progress made by federal, provincial, and territorial authorities on this front. Specifically, it tests the hypothesis that less progress will be made in jurisdictions where a higher proportion of the governments' revenues are drawn from mining and hydrocarbon sectors, as the Duty to Consult with Indigenous communities means that uncertainty regarding the timeline and outcome of Free, Prior, and Informed Consent could heighten the costs and risks associated with potential projects. The paper thus assesses which governments have incorporated UNDRIP into their legislation, how UNDRIP impacts this legislation (including impact on investment in mining and hydrocarbon projects), and the degree to which these legislative effects coincide with the 94 Calls to Action. The study will not only ascertain how much progress Canada has made toward meeting the commission's UNDRIP-related calls to action, but also offer insights on how to promote reconciliation in both a feasible and equitable manner.

*Personal Responsibility and Attitudes Toward Reconciliation:* Mark Williamson (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Addressing intergroup inequality and historical injustices often requires government-led, structural reforms. Yet popular discourse in recent years has regularly emphasized the responsibility that individual citizens have to take action on these issues in their own day-to-day lives. Focusing on the case of reconciliation in Canada, this project investigates how appeals to personal responsibility affect support for improving intergroup relations. Pessimists have argued that emphasizing individual-level responsibility can induce backlash by raising the perceived costs of supporting reconciliation and triggering feelings of blame. Yet highlighting the need for individual action can also foster a sense of duty and make pro-social norms more salient. I investigate these competing accounts using an online survey experiment that manipulates whether Canadians feel personally responsible for working to advance reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples. I find that appealing to a sense of individual responsibility increases support for reconciliation and encourages a more expansive view of what is required to redress the relevant injustices. Contrary to theories of backlash, respondents do not feel more blamed when they are primed about their personal responsibility. In fact, the positive effects on support for reconciliation are strongest among those who traditionally hold more negative attitudes toward Indigenous Peoples. These findings advance discussions on how best to build support for reconciliation in Canada and offer broader lessons on how individuals think about responsibility for structural injustices.

*The Prevalence and Correlates of Residential School Denialism in Canada:* Edana Beauvais (Simon Fraser University), Mark Williamson (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** For a period of more than 150 years, government-funded and church-operated Indian Residential Schools operated across Canada. More than 4,000 Indigenous children died at these schools, although experts believe the true number is much higher. Beginning in the summer of 2021, unmarked graves were identified at several former schools across the country using radar technology. While this news initially led to an outpouring of collective grief among the Canadian public, misinformation about the schools' history gradually emerged in online circles, the media and elite discourse. This residential school "denialism" has sought to cast doubt on the existence of unmarked graves and misrepresent the purposes and consequences of the schools. In this paper, we use an original survey to develop a unidimensional and reliable scale that measures the latent concept of residential school denialism. Using this new measure, we characterize the extent of denialism in Canada and show that it correlates with partisanship and several important demographic predictors. We also use an experimental learning intervention to disentangle ignorance from "true" denialism (i.e. when, after being exposed to a factual history of residential schools, Canadians still endorse denialist claims). This study advances our understanding of the barriers to reconciliation in Canada and contributes to broader debates on the role of misinformation in politics.

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## B19 - Democracy, Representation and Institutions: Cases in Canada and Japan

### Politique comparée

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Hideki Kido (Ritsumeikan University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jim Farney (Johnson Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Hideki Kido (Ritsumeikan University)

**Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :**

*What Have Students Learned from Voting? Lowering the Voting Age in Japan and the Consequences of the Voting Experience:* Etsuhiro Nakamura (Aichi Gakuin University)

**Abstract:** In 2016, the voting age was lowered to eighteen in Japan. On a macroscopic scale, Japanese political parties still continue to pursue policies biased toward the elderly. At the individual level as well, the lowering of the voting age is said not to have brought about significant changes in the political attitudes of young people. In empirical research utilizing the framework of natural experiments, the impact of voting participation has been found to be highly limited, with almost no observable changes among voters. However, Japanese high school students do go to the polls when urged to vote, and their turnout is surprisingly high. Did they really learn nothing from the experience of voting?

This study examines how the experience of voting has changed high school students' political knowledge and awareness through surveys conducted at a high school during three national elections. The results show that the voting experience does not significantly increase political knowledge at the national level, but rather at the district level. Moreover, students themselves report an increase in their consideration of political issues, especially within their own communities, as a result of the voting experience.

*How Political Career Paths Matter in Policy Making? Cases of Canadian Parliament Members:* Hideki Kido (Ritsumeikan University)

**Abstract:** This presentation will examine the political careers of parliament members in Canada. I will focus on how many politicians are moving into the federal government from the provincial and/or municipal level and how they behave in the parliament. Many studies show that parliament members in the Canadian federal government started out in professional occupations such as accounting, legal practice, and medicine before becoming politicians. This is because the federal political party is completely separated from the provincial party in Canada, and provincial and/or municipal politicians are not regarded as significant resources for the federal parliament. Even though it is often said that local autonomy is the school of democracy, Canadian local and/or provincial politics is separated from its federal politics in terms of political careers.

My presentation will question this aspect of political careerism in Canada and examine how many federal politicians are coming from the provincial and/or municipal level and how they behave in the parliament. Indeed, over 25% members of the House of Commons after the 2015 election have had a previous political career at the provincial and/or municipal level. These parliament members would behave in parliament to reflect provincial/local interest in the policymaking process. To reveal this, this presentation will investigate the former jobs of all parliament members in the House of Commons between 1988 to 2022, including former party affiliation and types of political careers, such as mayor, provincial legislative assembly member, etc.

*Comparative Institutional Analysis of Constitutional Monarchy in Canada and Japan: Advocate of Democracy or Detriment to Democracy?:*

Kentaro Okada (Aichi University)

**Abstract:** In the past two decades, there has been a growing trend in Canada for political analysis related to constitutional monarchy. Administrative officials, journalists, and political scientists engaged in the study of Canadian politics have been actively discussing various aspects of this system, including its historical framework, roles, and its unique positioning as a system distinct from that of the United Kingdom. At the core of these discussions lies the argument that constitutional monarchy is an essential feature of Canada's political system and a vital element for its democracy. Coincidentally, in Japan as well, over the past decade, journalists, political scientists, constitutional scholars, and historians have engaged in lively debates concerning the Japanese imperial system. These discussions, initiated by the Emperor's abdication declaration, share a common perspective with Canada. They assert that the Japanese imperial system has brought a positive influence to Japanese democracy and is indispensable for post-war democratic governance, nourishing democracy. In their view, constitutional monarchy holds significant importance for democracy, creating a shared point of discussion between Japan and Canada.

This article aims to organize and examine these discussions, while also contemplating the characteristics and commonalities of constitutional monarchy in Japan and Canada. Additionally, it seeks to explore the relationship between constitutional monarchy and democracy from various perspectives.

*Merits and Limits of the Judicial System as a Conflict Resolution Mechanism: The Case of the Social Conflict in Isahaya City:* Masatoshi Kato (Ritsumeikan University), Kyoko Tokuhisa (Ritsumeikan University)

**Abstract:** This paper analyzes the merits and limits of the judicial system as a conflict resolution mechanism. The judicial system is considered to be the most reasonable and reliable mechanism of conflict resolution in modern society. There is no doubt that it works well in many cases. However, in the case of the social conflict in Isahaya City, the courts have been unable to resolve the conflict, actually aggravating the problem. The social conflict in Isahaya stemmed from the state-run Isahaya Bay reclamation project. After intense discussions, the project was initiated in 1989 and completed in 2007. However, prior to completion, some fishermen took the state to court to stop the project. According to them, the reclamation project affected their catches of fish. After a trial in the high court, the fishermen won. That is, the state was ordered to open a floodgate. Consequently, some farmers of the reclaimed land filed a

counter suit to stop the gate from being opened. According to them, if the state opened the gate, farming on the reclaimed land would be damaged terribly. After a trial in the lower court, the farmers won and the state was ordered to keep the gate closed. In short, there were contradictory judicial decisions on the same project. Why was the judicial system ineffective? Based on process tracing, interviews, and questionnaire surveys, this paper shows that the judicial system could not resolve the complex social conflict. While it focused on the legal aspects of the conflict, the stakeholders asserted the social aspects, such as their own identity. Therefore, in such cases, if the judicial system issues a decision, the concerned stakeholders might not be satisfied. Finally, this study implies that we should create a new conflict resolution system in modern society, and the theories of deliberative democracy provide some insights.

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## B19 - Politics and Social Media

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

*Policymaking to the Tempo? Timing, Policy Implementation & Protest Cycle during the Covid-19 Pandemic:* Amir Abdul Reda (Université Mohammed VI Polytechnique)

**Abstract:** Protests against containment policies during crises like the Covid-19 pandemic have the potential to disrupt society beyond their immediate impact on policymaking and policy reversal. Recent findings show overwhelmingly that protests have an important and substantive impact on public opinion about the issue being contested, especially immediately after important societal events (Branton et al. 2015; Reny and Newman 2021; Wasow 2020; Mazumder 2018; Collingwood, Lajevardi, and Oskooii 2018; Wouters 2019; Curtis 2022; Sato and Haselswerdt 2022). Additionally, recent evidence goes to show that anti-containment policy protests find considerable support in many societies (Hunger, Hutter, and Kanol 2023), even though disruptive action has the potential to decrease support for protests in some cases (Ketchley and El-Rayyes 2021), and some find that some protests during Covid-19 did not help spread the virus (Neyman and Dalsey 2021). Using opinion surveys, some study support for protests against containment measures and show staggering rates of sympathy for protesters, and willingness to take part in contentious action despite containment policies (Hunger, Hutter, and Kanol 2023). Finally, others explore the many different types of Covid-19 related protests and discover variation based on country level features, with more developed, more liberal societies seeing a dominance of anti-restriction protests while others see a dominance of healthcare related protests (Hellmeier 2023).

Such findings prompt the need for scholars and policymakers alike to question conventional approaches to pandemic fighting policies and do more to be prepared for such unlikely yet occurring eventualities. In this paper, we ask: in times of crisis, why do some containment policies face more civil unrest than others? What does this tell us about the ways in which policymakers should introduce restrictive yet common good policies during times of crisis? To answer these questions, we elaborate and test three theoretical mechanisms of civil unrest against restrictive policies during times of crisis: the fatigue mechanism, the protest cycle mechanism, and the communication mechanism.

The first mechanism is based on onlookers' psychological burnout from crisis-fighting measures. The basic idea of this mechanism is that populations are sensible to two variables: first, deviance from the pre-pandemic, baseline 'normal' life; and second evolution of the crisis. We suggest that these two variables generate a 'spread' in the day-to-day calculus of populations whereby they assess the fairness of government restrictions on their civil and public liberties to fight the crisis. The second mechanism is based on the general intuition that timing of policy implementations in relation to already ongoing protests matters for explaining and predicting the likelihood of future protests. Here, we elaborate an empirical test of the protest cycle mechanism by exploring the interaction of new restricting policies with protest intensity over time. In so doing, we suggest that new policies will not have the same effect on the intensification or decrease of protests depending on when they are implemented during the protest cycle. The third mechanism is based on European politicians' public speeches about Covid-19 and the pandemic. To measure communication by said politicians, we use their official Facebook pages over the timeline of the pandemic and code a number of different patterns in the speech: such as misinformation about the pandemic, encouragement to comply with health policies, etc. The intuition behind this mechanism is that skeptical onlookers are more likely to protest new stringency adding policies if their opinions are validated by politicians in public (on Facebook) than not.

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***Appropriately Angry? Emotion Norms in Online Political Communication:*** Jessica Burch (Simon Fraser University), Eline de Rooij (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** Previous political communication work suggests that anger expression drives social media engagement, with angry posts more likely to be rewarded with 'likes' or 'shares'. This common finding sits oddly with widespread social norms, which tend to discourage the expression of anger in everyday conversation. I examine whether previous findings on anger expression generalize to Reddit. In addition to being a more discussion-based platform, Reddit is also home to communities (known as subreddits) with different norms. I theorize that social media posts are rewarded or penalized on the basis of context-specific norms - and that anger expression will be deemed more appropriate in political, than (primarily) non-political, subreddits. I also explore potential differences between Canadian and American subreddits. I use corpus-informed, dictionary-based text analysis to capture the presence and intensity of anger expression in more than 2,000 posts. I then examine the extent to which anger expression is rewarded, and whether this varies by topic. Implications for emotion in politics and political engagement research are discussed.

***Rooting for whom? Mainstream parties group appeal strategies on social media in a fragmented party system:*** Lucas Kins (Université libre de Bruxelles), Caroline Close (Université libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** The decline of mainstream, historical political parties in Europe has been challenged in recent years, with many instances of resilience or comeback of such actors across the continent. Nevertheless, the proliferation and persistence of both right-wing and left-wing populists also points to a scenario of cohabitation (or even collaboration) in several countries (De Vries & Hobolt, 2020; Krause et al., 2023). In this context, it is now more than ever crucial for mainstream parties, which have suffered from their ideological convergence (or de-ideologization) and partisan dealignment, to differentiate from one another (Garzia et al., 2022; Grant & Tilley, 2023). Drawing on social identity theory, representation and political communication literatures, we unravel the strategies that mainstream parties adopt in their day-to-day online communication to craft their image relative to groups in society (1), partisan identities (2), individual (3) and institutional actors (4). We rely on a quantitative content analysis of one year of parties and party leaders communication in Belgium on social media (X), a fragmented multi-party parliamentary democracy, and analyze parties' group appeals in order to assess whether parties achieve homogenous partisan identities, or to the contrary actively contribute to their further dissolution. We proceed to examine to what extent different parties feed into the horizontal and/or vertical polarization strategies of their populist challengers, or opt for an alternate communication style with regards to group appeals.

***X as a Mobilization Tool: The 2022 Freedom Convoy:*** Jan Eckardt (University of Western Ontario), Mathieu Turgeon (University of Western Ontario), Deena Abdul-Fottouh (Dalhousie University), Farah Rana (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** We seek to leverage X (Twitter) data collected to evaluate the extent to which X was used as a mobilization tool for the 2022 Freedom Convoy in Ottawa, Canada. Several tweets from a variety of hashtags were collected. We evaluate the content of the tweets through an unconventional approach, using the Large Language Model (LLM) GPT4. Our methodological contribution is extended by comparing results from a more parametric approach to a more unsupervised approach to LLM-based data analysis and comparing the validity of results. Methodologically, we aim to make a contribution by using a novel and streamlined approach to text analysis by using GPT4 and generating new insights as to how this method is best used. The results of this analysis should in turn add to our theoretical understanding of how X can be used as a mobilization tool for social movements and protests. In sum, our project should both have a methodological and theoretical contribution.

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## M19 - Workshop on Teaching the Everyday: Decolonization and Community Practice

### Enseignement

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Liam Midzain-Gobin (Brock University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Liam Midzain-Gobin (Brock University)

**Centering Everyday Experiences through Photovoice in the Classroom and Beyond:** Fiona MacDonald (UNBC), Vanda Fleury (UNBC)

**Abstract:** Photovoice is a powerful mechanism to centre the politics of everyday experiences in the classroom and community. In general, photovoice methodology describes a structured process using images to identify and analyze salient issues from standpoints often unheard and/or underrepresented in dominant narratives. This paper highlights the benefits of incorporating photovoice methodology in community-centered teaching and learning practices and showcases a particular example of this approach centred on Indigenous patient safety and health justice. As this example reveals, privileging experiential knowledge through story medicine via photovoice contributes to challenging Canada's colonial narratives that typically ignore or devalue Indigenous women's life experiences. Ultimately, this work challenges the medicalization of childbirth and reimagines health and wellness in an active present through community engagement and expertise.

**Indigenizing Canadian Politics and decolonizing teaching through share sharing of my settler lived settler experience: Do these goals conflict in practice?:** Julie Simmons (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** This paper/panel participation is intended for the Teaching the Everyday workshop. I would like to share the way in which I have experienced teaching a Canadian Politics survey course, through the lens of Indigenous peoples, (as part of my university's commitment to Indigenization) despite my identity as a settler who lived among but apart from the Cowichan Tribes members on Vancouver Island for the first 22 years of my life. I work to reconcile my lived experience of privilege apart from the members of the Cowichan Tribes (living eight houses from the reserve boundary) all the while embedded among the members of these tribes (sharing friends, school, and our experience learning the language of Hul'q'umi'num, and living on their unseeded territory) through the decolonizing practices, content and perspectives I share in the classroom. These practices, the challenges, and what I have learned and continue to learn through this process would form the content of my contribution as a panelist. Teaching Canadian Politics is part of every department, and there are practical steps I have taken to "cover" traditional content, but in a way that is centred on Indigenous lived experiences. But aside from changing the orientation through which I expose student to content, I have also consciously adopted an Indigenous world view of the interconnectedness of the physical, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual, in my non-hierarchical interactions with students and in my willingness to expose to students my own vulnerabilities as a bereaved parent.

**Refugees in International Relations (IR) Classrooms: Towards a Relational and Carefull Pedagogy of Discomfort:** Salma E. El Refaei (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** This paper investigates the epistemic locations that refugees occupy in IR classrooms. Generally, "bypassed" by IR scholars (RSC 2010), refugees are often marginalized or selectively ?included? in IR curricula where they are likely to be confined, as add-ons or extensions to class discussions on the nation-state, international security, citizenship, and sovereignty. While this might not be fundamentally problematic, it constructs refugees as "stick-figures," (Sylvester 2011) risking a pedagogy or an engagement that alienates them from their agency, and experiences. This is why in this paper, I revisit reflexivities of discomfort (Pillow 2003) and relational pedagogy (Shick 2020), proposing a turn to a relational (and care-full) pedagogy of discomfort that helps us move beyond restrictive, marginalizing pedagogies and practices that compartmentalize the space that refugees occupy in the classroom. Through discourse analysis, I posit that a relational pedagogy of discomfort recognizes that teaching about refugees is a process that is enmeshed in discomfort and that it requires practices that do not obscure or perpetuate historical processes by which refugees are sustained. More importantly, a relational pedagogy of discomfort offers pathways that recognize the distance between who we are, and what and how we learn about refugees, and their lived experiences.

**Diversifying the Discipline: Establishing a Baseline to Support the Evolution of Inclusive Syllabi Development in Political Scien:** Griselda Asamoah-Gyadu (McMaster University), Adrienne Davidson (McMaster University), Beyza Hatun Kiziltepe (McMaster University), Szu-Yun Hsu (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Diversifying course syllabi has been identified as one of the key initiatives to anti-racism and decolonizing higher education (Sawer and Curtin 2016; Andrews 2020). Several universities in Canada and abroad have highlighted syllabus redesign as a key component of diversifying the academy, and have carried out plans to promote more diverse and inclusive curricula. Over the last year, and in line with the conversations occurring across many similar departments in Canada, the Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Decolonization Committee in the Department of Political Science at McMaster University has been advancing an initiative to better understand the content of our courses through the lens of equity, diversity, and inclusion.

With the support of a strategic grant from the university provost, our team of faculty members and graduate students have collected all undergraduate and graduate course outlines in our department for the 2021-2022 academic year, and well as PhD comprehensive exam reading lists. In this paper, we discuss the development of our methodology to code and account for diversity in the discipline of political science, and report on the findings of our analysis of course syllabi. We reflect on some of the challenges encountered to date in our research and in applying our methodology. As well, we discuss next steps and consider the opportunities and challenges associated with building our findings into a broader departmental conversation to facilitate change and advance more inclusive course designs.



## **N19 - Roundtable: Innovations in Feminist Methodology: An Emerging Scholar**

**Femmes, genre et politique**

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Jessica Merolli (Sheridan College)

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## N19 - FIAP and Foreign Policy

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

*Perpetrators, silencers, and oppressors: A transnational feminist assessment of Men's roles in the FIAP:* Brianna Parent Long (Carleton University), Laura Macdonald (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The shift to a feminist foreign policy in the Canadian government was seen as a pioneering transformation that centered gender equality at the core of international assistance initiative. Critiqued for its feminist credentials and neoliberal orientations, along with a notable absence of addressing diverse sexual orientations, gender identities, expressions, and sex characteristics (Aylward and Brown 2020; Parisi 2020), a fundamental question remains: Where are the men in Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP)? Defined in comparison, rather than relationally to women, men and boys are overwhelmingly displayed as perpetrators at the root of the gender inequality which overlooks the reciprocal and relational components necessary to addressing gender inequality (Connell 2003). Using a transnational feminist framework, this paper seeks to disentangle and evaluate the persisting colonial, gendered narratives embedded within the FIAP that unduly bracket gender equality as predominantly a "women's issue" that women and girls are responsabilized to fix. Through a thematic analysis of framing in the Canada's foreign policy documents and statements given by Global Affairs Canada (GAC), the paper searches, evaluates, and critiques the framing through which roles of men and boys are articulated and understood. I argue for the crucial need to reposition men and boys not merely as perpetrators but as indispensable catalysts in disrupting and altering gender inequality narratives. This paper posits that unraveling and critically reflecting upon these gendered and colonial policy narratives is paramount to crafting a more holistic, inclusive, and transformative international assistance approach that transcends binary and western-centric ideological formulations.

*Where Are the Women? The Role of Gender in Japanese Anti-US-Base Activism:* Charmaine Willis (Skidmore College)

**Abstract:** Cynthia Enloe once famously asked, "where are the women?" in international politics? From women's rights groups and mothers' associations to peace organizations and anti-nuclear groups, women have played a leading role in activism against militarization. What drives gendered patterns in such activism? I explore this question focusing on activism against the US military abroad, given its expansive global presence. To date, the US base politics literature has highlighted the role of female activists but has not explored the relationship between anti-militarization and gender more broadly. In this study, I use original 2022 surveys from mainland Japan and Okinawa, the sites of both the biggest US peacetime presence abroad and the most anti-US-base protests globally. I hypothesize that people who identify as female are more likely to report involvement in anti-US-base activism, as operationalized through a scale of various forms of activism including street protests. However, I find that men, not women, are more likely to report involvement in activism. This suggests that the role of gender in anti-US-base activism is more complicated than is conventionally believed. While women may be more likely to be involved in leading activist organizations, those participating in activism "non-career activists" are more likely to be men.

*Troubling Feminist Policies: Assessing the (in)securities of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy:* Juliana Crema (York University), Heather MacRae (York University)

**Abstract:** Over the last 30 years, attention to issues of gender equality have risen. Terms and tools such as "gender equality" and "gender mainstreaming" have been increasingly employed by both the international community "in the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security adopted in 2000" and in national governments. For example, in 2017 "under the leadership of Justin Trudeau, who notably introduced a gender parity cabinet" because it's 2015? "Canada implemented its Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP), identifying empowering women and girls as a means to eradicate poverty and increase global stability. Building on existing critiques of development programmes that are based upon neoliberal logic of economic growth as a means to reduce inequality, this project problematizes the economic and developmental focus of FIAP, questioning how effective can the FIAP be in empowering women and girls and, secondly, how its success can be defined and measured. A critical feminist perspective of security studies is employed to analyse the FIAP through a "security-development nexus", which critiques how underdevelopment is targeted to avoid increased risk of conflict and insecurity (Peoples & Vaugh-Williams, 2021). Through this lens, Canada's FIAP is revealed as a policy that works to further entrench Western power over developing nations, contradicting its feminist aims. Using an interdisciplinary approach, this paper reveals connections between gender equality policies and economic and security goals, and critically fills the dearth of feminist analyses of development policies from a security perspective.

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## Day 3 - Session 5 (03:30pm - 05:00pm)

### A21(a) - Assessing Pledge and Mandate Fulfillment: Trudeau's Liberal Minority Governments in Comparative Perspective (Panel 4 of 4: Diversity and Regionalism)

#### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : François Rocher (Université d'Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : François Rocher (Université d'Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Martin Papillion (Université de Montréal)

Cliquez sur le lien suivant pour obtenir des informations complètes sur la session :

*Same old, same old? Trudeau's promise of reconciliation:* Veldon Coburn (McGill University), Janique Dubois (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** In this paper, we ask whether there is anything new to report with respect to federal promises related to Indigenous peoples. We situate the promises made since the election of Prime Minister Trudeau within the larger objective of reconciliation on the eve of the 10th anniversary of the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report with its 94 calls to action. With an eye on the past as well as on the future, we reflect on the political and electoral implications of Trudeau's promised nation-to-nation relationship with Indigenous peoples.

*Trudeau vs the Prairies: Combating climate change in Canada's oil and gas heartland:* Duane Bratt (Mount Royal University)

**Abstract:** In the 2015 election, Liberal leader Justin Trudeau not only won a majority government, but had a breakthrough in Alberta. The Liberals won two seats in Calgary (the first time they won federal seats in the city since 1968) and an additional two in Edmonton. This was still only four out of 34 seats in Alberta, but it still illustrated that some Albertans were willing, despite the baggage of the Liberal brand and Trudeau name in the province, to give them a chance. This goodwill was lost between 2015-2019 due to many perceived anti-energy policies, in the oil and gas heartland of Canada, enacted by the Trudeau government: introduction of a federal backstop on carbon prices, formally cancelling the Northern Gateway pipeline, codifying a moratorium on tanker traffic off the northwest coast of British Columbia, introducing the Impact Assessment Act, and many others. The 2019 election led to the loss of all Liberal seats in Alberta or Saskatchewan. Even long-time Liberal stalwart and cabinet minister Ralph Goodale was defeated in Regina. Newly-elected Alberta Premier Jason Kenney joined forces with Saskatchewan Premier Scott Moe, both partisan Conservatives, to attack the Trudeau government through fierce rhetoric, court actions, and challenges to Canada's constitutional order. This chapter explores the impact of the 2019 and 2021 federal elections in Alberta and Saskatchewan in light of Trudeau's oil and gas policies. It argues, regardless of the merits of Trudeau's climate change agenda, that Trudeau has greatly damaged national unity on the prairies.

*Le Québec, la francophonie canadienne et les gouvernements Trudeau minoritaires : un bilan critique:* Félix Mathieu (Université de Winnipeg), Sarah-Jane Vincent (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Dans ce chapitre, nous offrons un bilan critique de la manière dont les enjeux relatifs au Québec et à la francophonie canadienne ont été saisis par le Parti libéral du Canada alors qu'il formulait ses promesses électorales à l'automne 2019 puis à l'été 2021. Dans un premier temps, nous présenterons un panorama des promesses concernant le Québec et discutons de la manière dont elles ont été traitées par la suite, selon que les promesses ont été tenues, partiellement réalisées, ou rompues. Nous mettrons ensuite l'accent sur quelques promesses phares pour mieux saisir les nuances des dynamiques politiques à l'œuvre. Dans un deuxième temps, nous ferons la même analyse pour ce qui concerne les promesses qui sont relatives à la francophonie canadienne. Enfin, avant de conclure, nous allons offrir une analyse plus prospective et de nature normative, en identifiant quelques thèmes précis que nous espérons voir abordés de front par les diverses formations politiques dans le cadre de la prochaine campagne électorale fédérale.

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## A21(b) - Conceptualizing Democracy in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*The Individual in the Collective: Understanding Compromise in Deliberations:* Joanna Massie (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Increasingly, governments are using tools such as deliberative mini-publics (DMPs) to engage citizens and gather public opinion. DMPs are models of deliberation that involve a small group of descriptively representative citizens meeting over an extended period to learn about and consider policies, creating the conditions for participants to articulate their own interests and, where warranted, to compromise to recommend outcomes that are in the common good (Fishkin 2018, Curato et al. 2021). However, the process of compromise to reach the common good remains underresearched. While existing research explores the effect of the deliberative process on opinion change (e.g. Luskin and Fishkin 2002, Gastil, Black, and Moscovitz 2008), and the conditions that best engender opinion change (e.g. Rosenberg 2007), research typically fails to focus on the specific mechanisms of such change ? that is, whether participants concede their own preferences to better fulfil the public interest.

To understand the compromises that participants are willing to make, I survey participants in a real DMP before and after their deliberations. I examine not only objective changes in participants' preferences and perspectives over this period but also whether participants believe that their changes are indeed compromises. I extend this work by examining whether certain types of participants are more or less likely to engage in self-reported compromise. This paper contributes both to our understanding of the role of DMPs in capturing common good for Canadian policymaking, and to the wider, emerging scholarship on the mechanisms of deliberation that lead to more active, democratically engaged citizens.

*Challenges to Liberal Democracy: Minority Protections and Accountability to the ?People?:* Andrea Migone (Toronto Metropolitan University), Kathy Brock (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** This paper explores the possibility that ? within an already broadly fragmented idea of democracy (König 2022) ? an increasing focus on minority protection coupled with a strong political agenda towards the promotion of those protections in law and administrative practices ? often with the intent of ?locking-in? these gains because of opposition to these protections by parts of society and of the political opposition ? may have a negative effect on the perception of democracy as a ?fair? method for the representation and resolution of contrasting political priorities.

We argue that two conflicting images of ?democratic process? are presented in these situations. On the one hand there is a ?general? notion of liberal democracy where the rights of minorities are protected but that protection is tempered by majority rule. In this image an important corollary is often present ? especially in Westminster models ? which stresses the relevance of the majority both as the ultimate seat of political legitimacy for elected officials and as a relatively simple tool to contain authoritarian drifts.

The second image of liberal democracy is often raised by opposition parties and other groups when the ?lock-in? processes for the protection of some minorities are proposed. This image stresses the contradiction between majority rule and the top-down imposition of extra protections for one or more minority.

In some cases, this narrative can contribute to reduced perceived legitimacy of a political party or even of an entire political system in an already weakened political space (Kriesi 2013; Grossman et al. 2022). We believe that this result depends on the very specific nexus between political accountability and liberal democracy, one that must practically balance the sometimes-dissonant couplet of minority protections and accountability to the ?people?.

Grossman, Guy, Dorothy Kronick, Matthew Levendusky, and Marc Meredith. 2022. ?The Majoritarian Threat to Liberal Democracy.? *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 9 (1): 36?45. <https://doi.org/10.1017/XPS.2020.44>.

König, Pascal D. 2022. ?Citizens? Preferences for Liberal Democracy and Its Deformations: Evidence from Germany.? *European Political Science Review* 14 (3): 367?85. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773922000194>.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2013. ?Democratic Legitimacy: Is There a Legitimacy Crisis in Contemporary Politics?? *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 54 (4): 609?38.

*Thinking Canada as a Democratic Deliberative System:* Oscar Berg (Université du Québec à Montréal), Alain-G. Gagnon (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** The aim of this communication is to connect two fields of democratic theory, namely those of multinational democracies (Gagnon and Tully 2001) and deliberative democracy. Questions regarding the appropriate forms of democratic practice within multinational democracies, and the institutionalization of large-scale deliberation remain unresolved issues for scholars of both fields of study. Connecting the fields of multinational democracies and deliberative democracy can foster progress both their normative and empirical agendas, as James Tully once claimed for the case of recognition and dialogues theories (Tully 2004). To establish this connection, I will refer to deliberative democracy theory, with a specific emphasis on systemic approaches to deliberative democracy (Mansbridge et al 2010, Elstub, Ercan and Mendonça 2016) and deliberation within deeply divided societies (Dryzek 2005, O?Flynn 2006, Drake McCulloch 2011, Steiner et al. 2017). My main assertion is that multinational democracies are best conceptualized as deliberative systems. Consequently, normative ideas of multinational democracies need to be re-evaluated from a systemic deliberative perspective. To illustrate the argument, I?ll rely on the Canadian case as both a deep diversity (Taylor 1990) and a settler colonial state (Veracini 2011, Wildcat 2015). Therefore, thinking Multinational Canada as a democratic deliberative system raise questions about recognition, reconciliation and decolonization. Yet, we need to examine the possibilities and the pitfalls of systemic approaches to deliberative democracy to deal with incommensurability issues (Kahane 2010), make treaty

federalism work (Papillon 2020), and achieve transformative reconciliation (Asch, Borrows and Tully 2018).

*Pedagogy of Debate? Re-Examining The ?Teaching Function? of Parliamentary Discourse in Canada.:* Chris Greenaway (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper re-examines parliamentary debate in Canada through Bagehot's notion of the ?Teaching Function? of Parliament. It starts by contrasting adversarial and deliberative models of political discourse, establishing a framework for evaluating the communicative role of parliament. The study posits that Bagehot's ?Teaching Function? offers a discourse model that better reflects the institutional aims of representation and accountability. While Bagehot's notion of the ?efficient? and ?dignified? roles of parliament are well-examined, the critical ?Teaching? and ?Informing? aspects are less understood. By analyzing debates from the Canadian Hansard, specifically on environmental policy as an empirical example, this paper operationalizes the teaching function to re-conceptualize parliamentary discourse in the House of Commons. The analysis of these debates re-examines the intersection of political discourse and public enlightenment - or the lack thereof.

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## A21(c) - Non-Electoral Participation and Mobilization in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*Partisanship and Non-Electoral Political Participation in Canada:* Megan Mattes (Simon Fraser University), Victoria Mahon (McGill University)

**Abstract:** The link between partisan affiliation and vote choice has been studied extensively in Canadian political science literature. Many scholars have tested the impact of durable and flexible partisanship on vote choice to varying results (Clarke et al, 1991, 2019; Green et al., 2002; Gidengil et al, 2012, 2022). A move in the literature to understand partisan identity in Canada as a form of social identity forms the theoretical backdrop for our question: what is the link between partisan affiliation and engagement in non-electoral forms of political participation? This research contributes to the literature on partisanship in Canada and how the unique party system impacts the relationship between partisanship and non-electoral forms of political participation, including protests, boycotts, petitioning, volunteering, donating, and online participation. Active citizen participation through non-electoral forms of participation is crucial for the health of a democracy and understanding who chooses to participate is key to knowing how to facilitate democratic discussion. Using publicly available data from the Canadian Election Study group's Democracy Checkup survey, we investigate how individuals across party affiliations participate politically in a variety of non-electoral formats. Using OLS regression analysis, we investigate whether certain forms of political participation are tied to the strength of party affiliation, interacting with party affiliation, controlling for gender, age, education, ethnicity, religion, citizenship, and socioeconomic status.

Note: Indicating my PhD supervisor as per the instructions - Professor Edana Beauvais, Simon Fraser University, edana\_beauvais@sfu.ca

*Political Perspectives of Student Leaders who Organized Against Student Union Corruption and Mismanagement at the University of Ottawa, Canada, 2015-2019:* Justin Patrick (University of Toronto), Nina Bascia (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** In 2019, after about four years of sustained activism against alleged corruption and mismanagement in the Student Federation of the University of Ottawa (SFUO), University of Ottawa undergraduate students voted in a referendum to replace the SFUO with a new student organization, the University of Ottawa Students' Union (UOSU). An analysis of 22 semi-structured interviews with former student leaders involved in the movement that culminated in the UOSU Revolution and student journalists who reported on what was happening reveal that these former students' experiences impacted how they view politics. Key findings include participants coming away advocating for more decentralized governance structures, accountability mechanisms to ensure liberal democratic safeguards and prevent populism, and mechanisms to ensure appointed positions cannot unduly infringe upon democratic processes. Some participants were left jaded by their experience and expressed being less interested to participate in politics generally in the future. Recommendations include highlighting the potential for student government participation to influence political perspectives, and that a consistent effort is needed to ensure that student governments in Canada practice good politics and maintain healthy standards of democracy.

Keywords: politics of education, political behaviour, student governments, student unions, anti-authoritarianism

*Political Support and Participation in Canada: Using Newly Collected Data to Explore Unconventional Participation in Canada:* Sophie Courchesne (Concordia University), Mebs Kanji (Concordia University), Kerry Tannahill (Concordia University), Nancy Yacoub (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Canada has seen significant expressions of alternative participation in the past few years including its historical climate marches, the Freedom Convoy, and the more recent protests about the escalations of violence in Israel and Palestine (Shingler 2019; Murphy 2022; Chiang 2023). And while political dissatisfaction has been tied to certain forms of alternative political engagement, the direct links between disaffection with different political objects and the effect on shifts in political engagement behaviours remains under-explored (Norris 1999; Christensen 2016). An analysis of data collected Canada-wide in 2017 by the Political Communities Survey Project (PCSP) revealed preliminary evidence that discontent with the political regime may be one of the most important drivers of alternative participation. The data also suggested that, rather than a shift away from traditional participation toward alternative forms, Canada may instead be experiencing a broadening of the political engagement repertoire (Courchesne, Tannahill, and Kanji 2023). Using a new wave of PCSP public opinion data collected from across Canada in late 2023, this paper proposes to expand and deepen the analysis of political support and engagement by answering several questions. What forms of unconventional political activities are Canadians engaging in and which activities do they engage in the most? What accounts for unconventional political participation? And are there any observable systematic patterns that emerge across two distinct data points?

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## A21(d) - The Politics of Knowledge Production and Mobilization

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*Political Science as a Dependent Variable: The National Science Foundation and the Politics of Knowledge Production:* Tamir Moustafa (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** From 1965-2020, the US National Science Foundation's Political Science Program constituted the single largest funding source for political science research globally. As such, the NSF played a central role in defining the cutting-edge of our discipline. This paper examines the nearly three thousand projects funded over the 55-year life of the Political Science Program. It shows that the NSF leaned heavily toward research that utilized quantitative methods and, more generally, work that was firmly positivist in orientation. Research utilizing qualitative and especially interpretive methods, and work embracing normative or critical approaches, received little or no support. The dataset makes visible the material forces that shape new knowledge production and underlines the NSF's instrumental role in consolidating behavioralism and marginalizing non-positivist approaches in American political science. The paper sheds light on the unique features of American political science, even as it exerts enormous influence on the discipline globally, including vis-a-vis Canadian political science.

*Perils of Punditry: Challenges and Strategies of Public Facing Academics:* Lori Williams (Mount Royal University)

**Abstract:** In an increasingly polarized and adversarial climate, many scholarly experts engaged in public discourse, analysis and commentary have been targeted online and through other threats, including complaints lodged with media organizations or their employers, and even lawsuits. The aim of these attacks is often to silence or discredit those contributing to public discourse. Academics targeted in these ways often seek to protect themselves, however this tends to limit their public engagement, and public discourse suffers as a result. Drawing on interviews from scholars based on their political, legal and social science expertise, my analysis will chronicle the experiences of several prominent scholarly subject matter experts, their lived experience around this issue, how best to understand and address it, what responses or strategies are needed, and who should be involved.

*Canadian Political Scientists in the News:* Gerald Kernerman (Cornell University)

**Abstract:** Political Scientists in the News: What roles do Canadian political scientists play in Canadian political news reporting? This project undertakes a preliminary exploration of this question by documenting and analyzing the contributions made by Canadian political scientists in the reporting of news during Canada's 2021 federal election campaign. At this early stage of the research, I am compiling the full set of instances during the election campaign where print journalists from selected major Canadian English-language newspapers quoted, or paraphrased, sources they identified as political scientists. Once I have completed this process, I will proceed to analyze the ways in which the political scientists being cited influenced the journalistic accounts of Canadian electoral politics during the campaign. If the results of this initial analysis are promising, I will consider a larger-scale study that would, among other things, include interviews with the political scientists who participated most actively in Canadian political news reporting.

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## B21 - Children, Education, Paternalism, and Rights

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*Toward Democratic Inclusion: Rights Education and the Children's University:* Marshall Beier (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** This paper approaches children's university programs as engaged forms of rights education allied with efforts toward democratic inclusion of children. To the extent that they produce opportunities for children to discover themselves as participants in knowledge production and transmission, children's universities promote children's recognition of their own extant (not just deferred) potential to make a difference in their societies. Meaningful participation, in turn, underwrites possibilities both for children to be seen as and to come to see themselves as practicing a fuller citizenship as children – that is, premised on their present assets, capabilities, insights, and experiences and not just on preparation for eventual "ascension" to adulthood. The participation rights laid out in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) herald just this promise but, in practice, little progress has been made on their implementation in the more than three decades since the Convention came into force. Also largely unfulfilled is the UNCRC commitment for states to educate citizens (including but not limited to children) on the Convention and its provisions. Drawing from original research on children's university models in Canada and Hawai'i, I highlight the contributions of a central ethos that explicitly positions children as indispensable acting subjects in knowledge practices, not merely a recipient audience.

*Interactions and Implications: Contextualizing the Canada-wide Early Learning and Child Care Plan:* Kenya Thompson (York University), Leah Vosko (York University)

**Abstract:** The Canada-wide Early Learning and Child Care Plan (CWELCC) – a federal policy incentive promising a public, non-profit system of early learning and child care – is often attributed to the Covid-19 pandemic, compelled by interruptions to women's employment due to heightened caregiving responsibilities. Though child care in Canada has largely been a patchwork, market-based system, characterized by insufficient and unreliable government support and overreliance on civil society, there have been some limited national and subnational policy initiatives. The Universal Child Care Benefit, the Caregiver Program (formerly the Live-In Caregiver Program), and Multi-Lateral Early Learning and Child Care Framework addressed child care at the national level, while Quebec implemented a provincial program in 1997. Framing child care as a reproductive right through a feminist political economy lens, this paper considers how these policies interact, and the differential impacts for diverse families, creating conditions ripe for the implementation of the CWELCC. For example, Quebec's child care program was well-established when it withdrew from the Caregiver Program in 2014; likewise, the Multi-Lateral Early Learning and Child Care Framework, an unprecedented federal investment in the field, was launched in 2017, only 3 years following the dissolution of the Live-In Caregiver Program. Placing the CWELCC within this context links these disparate policies, underscoring the Canada's systemic devaluation of child care. This paper argues that advocates must critically consider the consequences of the CWELCC based along lines of race, citizenship, and class, lest it perpetuate Canada's exclusionary legacy and miss opportunities to redress such structural inequalities.

*The Failure of Economic and Social Rights in Canada:* James Van Schaik (Western University), Dr. Laszlo Sarkany (Huron University College at Western University)

**Abstract:** Human rights are organized into several categories: civil and political, economic, social and cultural, and global. Civil and political rights have been enshrined in most institutions and laws within Canada along with economic and social rights, which are considered equal. However, in practice, those latter rights are relegated to so-called "second-generation" rights. These rights include material and economic rights, such as the right to shelter, food, education, healthcare, and employment, all of which have fallen by the wayside in politics and policy. The homelessness crisis in Canada is evidence of the lack of practical implementation of these basic human rights. This reality creates a human rights' antinomy because one cannot enjoy one set of rights without access to the other. This creates a disconnect between theory and practice when it comes to protecting these human rights.

This paper examines economic, cultural, and social rights in International theory versus Canadian human rights' public policy, comparing it to the ethnographic experiences of a frontline social worker. It explores the lived experience of homelessness in Canada and lack of access to basic rights. The study uncovers that while Canada has a duty to uphold these rights, the lived experiences of the homeless in Canada indicates they face significant discrimination and barriers in regard to access and practice. The implications of this essay suggests a political and policy failure to live up to our International commitments to economic and social human rights, and a failure to protect the most vulnerable in our society.

*Permissive politicians, coercive public: The misalignment of attitudes on government paternalism in Israel.:* Clareta Treger (University Of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Government paternalism includes policies that intrude into individuals' private spheres to prevent self-harm, including food labeling, sugar taxes, retirement savings mandates, and euthanasia restrictions. While conventional wisdom and previous research suggest that individuals favor non-coercive paternalism (like information and nudges) over coercive measures such as taxes and bans, little is known about how politicians, who shape these policies, perceive them. We also do not know where they think public opinion on such policies stands. This study examines politicians' attitudes toward government paternalism and their perceptions of public opinion on such policies, and actual public preferences using original data from Israel. The findings reveal that politicians generally prefer non-coercive paternalistic policies, such as information provision, across various policy issues. They also believe that the public shares similar preferences and, if anything, supports coercive measures less than they do. However, actual public support in Israel is higher than politicians perceive, and on certain issues, the public favors more coercive policies. This discrepancy indicates that politicians frequently underestimate public preferences, in line with the idea that less coercion is generally preferable but contrary to actual public sentiment. This misalignment suggests a representation gap that can lead to suboptimal policy outcomes.

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## M21 - Challenging Silences in the Student Experience

### Enseignement

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Veronica Kitchen (University of Waterloo)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Veronica Kitchen (University of Waterloo)

***Erasure of Women from the History of Western Political Theory: Content Analysis of Undergraduate Syllabi and Library Classification and Options for Improved Discoverability:*** Kayla Dold (University of Ottawa), Jada Watson (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** How often do you review your bookshelves or citation software for gaps in your literature or syllabus? How often do you review your bibliographies, literature reviews, or even database search results? Do you ask yourself what is missing? Do you ever ask who is missing?

This paper presents the results of a case study conducted on undergraduate political theory syllabi taught at a mid-size Ontario university from 2010 to 2020 and the assigned text's library classification. Using content analysis and descriptive statistics, we explore who and what is taught over the ten-year study period, and who largely is not: women of all identities, but especially those of colour. We interpret these results through three related theoretical lenses: the Matrix of Domination, a theoretical map developed by P.H. Collins (2000) to explain the oppression of Black women in Western culture; Citational Relationality, a theory of reference sketched by S. Ahmed (2014) to explain how repetitive practices over time ossify into exclusive canons; and Intersectional Invisibility, articulated by Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach (2008) to demonstrate how we tend to include exemplar minorities that reflect hegemonic identities despite their differences, like whiteness and heterosexuality.

Firmly rooted in a transformative paradigm, this research not only demonstrates how our pedagogical and classification practices facilitate the erasure of women from the history of Western political theory. It also provides a roadmap for critiquing those practices and options for rendering women discoverable in political theory research and pedagogy ? from citation policies to data mapping the library.

***Teaching Training and Mentorship in Canadian Political Science Graduate Programs:*** Noelle Jaipaul (University of Alberta), Dax D'Orazio (Queen's University), Rissa Reist (University of Alberta), Elise Sammons (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Canadian political science programs offer varied opportunities for graduate students to develop their skills in teaching and pedagogy (e.g., formal training, informal training, mentorship, etc.). This study employs a mixed-methods approach to assess the availability and types of teaching training and mentorship offered to graduate students in Canadian political science programs. It does so through surveying the graduate chairs of political science departments at U15 research universities across Canada, and an analysis of graduate program manuals. In doing so, this study enriches our understanding of the current state of graduate teaching training and mentorship. With this evidence, the authors suggest areas for improving and adapting the approaches, knowledges, and methods currently used to support graduate students in developing their own pedagogical approaches.

***Is Political Science in Canada Inclusive and/or Diverse? Evidence from a Cross-Institutional Course Syllabi Review:*** Ulas Tastekin (McMaster University), Nathan Andrews (McMaster University), Akalya Kandiah (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** In the last two decades, we witnessed a rising interest in epistemic oppression in political science. Scholars from various sub-disciplines of political science investigated the issue based on theoretical studies, historical backgrounds, including the Canadian context, and empirical studies by looking at faculty experiences, publication processes, and course materials. As a result, especially compared to many other subjects, ?decolonizing the discipline? has been a common discourse among political scientists with the purpose of making it more inclusive and diversified. Our research aims to assess the practical outcomes of the proliferation of these studies in the last decades by looking at 85 syllabi from political science programs at undergraduate and graduate levels in 22 Canadian universities. Specifically, the study investigates core courses from the subjects of political science (general), Canadian politics, comparative politics, public policy, and international relations. Our analysis is based on quantitative analysis of course readings and qualitative analysis of critical themes in the syllabi retrieved. Our research shows that the rising awareness in the literature and the broader discipline regarding equity, diversity, and inclusion does not translate into practical outcomes in terms of the diversification of course readings. Our findings, therefore, showcase where we are as a discipline and what could be done to address this apparent incompatibility between wider EDI efforts and pedagogical diversity.

***International Student Mobility to Canada and New Zealand: 'Edugration' or 'Transience'?:*** Conrad King (Kwantlen Polytechnic University), Catherine Gomes (RMIT), William Shannon (University of Canterbury), Micky Lu (University of Canterbury)

**Abstract:** Policymakers in some key Western international education hubs assume that international student mobility (ISM) is based on aspirations for permanent migration, particularly if those students come from the Global South. The concept of ?edugration? - an amalgam of education and immigration ? has become influential in both policy and research. This paper examines student motivations for ISM in Canada and New Zealand using a mixed methods approach of online surveys and focus group interviews, collecting data from 396 international student participants (Canada: n=244; New Zealand: n=152). The results show a nuanced picture, highlighting that many students view international study as a transient experience rather than one that facilitates permanent migration. The paper also discusses the extent to which a desire to attract potential migrants is reflected in policies related to ISM in the two countries, and the potential implications of the findings for these policies.

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## **N21 - Roundtable: Feministing in Political Science**

### **Femmes, genre et politique**

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** :

#### **Participants**

Alana Cattapan (University of Waterloo)

Fiona MacDonald (University of Northern British Columbia)

Nisha Nath (Athabasca University)

Ethel Tungohan (York University)

Stephanie Paterson (Concordia University)

Chamindra Weerawardhana ()

Jeanette Ashe (Douglas College)

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