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# **Association canadienne de science politique**

**Programme du congrès annuel de l'ACSP 2024**

**Approches, savoirs et méthodes pour le monde de demain**

**Organisé à l'Université McGill**

12 juin au 14 juin 2024

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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 : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

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 :

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

**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 University)

**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:* Olivier Jacques (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.

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

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

### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Gerard Boychuk (University of Waterloo)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Gerard Boychuk (University of Waterloo)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Benjamin Forest (McGill University)

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

*The Geographical Distribution of Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and the Electoral Prospects of a Radical Right Party in Canada:* Salar Asadolahi (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.

*Canada's fascist past and neo-fascist present: examining continuities in Canadian extremism:* Simon Marmura Brown (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) - Politique(s) de l'immigration au Québec

### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia University)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=4](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=4)

*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'hypermédiation 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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## B01 - Comparative Climate Politics

### Politique comparée

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Huong Le (University of Alberta)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Andrew Basso (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Chelsea Dunn (Queen's University)

***Imagining the Infinite Potentials for Climate Violence: From Ideas to Crimes:*** Benedict Schriefers (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 climactic 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)

**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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## C01(a) - The Politics of International Finance: Navigating Influence and Integration

### Relations internationales

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** McGill College 2001 1552

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Juliet Johnson (McGill University)

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Patrick Leblond (University of Ottawa)

**Translating Politics into Technocracy: The European Banking Union in a Global Perspective:** William D. O'Connell (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Much of the research on the EU Banking Union sits within a comparative political economy tradition which does not adequately account for the global context in which the Union has developed. Yet two of the 'three pillars' of the Banking Union – the Single Resolution Mechanism and the failed European Deposit Insurance Scheme – were shaped not only by intra-EU politics, but by the need to comply with a set of global standards on cross-border bank resolutions which were negotiated after the 2008 crisis. Paradoxically, the result is a Banking Union where the deepest cross-border financial integration is paired with a patchwork of rigid, incompatible, and often incoherent national and EU-level resolution frameworks. This paper argues that the EU bank resolution regime has developed through a process of translating the political issues inherent in crisis management into a series of technical puzzles: once at the global level, and then again through EU institutions. As with all translations, key elements are lost. The shortcomings of the Banking Union are therefore not simply a function of uniquely European politics, but rather a product of larger issues stemming from the delegation of complex and deeply political global governance problems to transnational technocratic authorities.

**Financial Discipline and Sovereign Debt: The Influence of Private Creditors in Emerging Market Debt:** Andrew Kaufman (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Sovereign debt in low-and-middle-income countries has grown significantly over the last 50 years, accompanied by a shift in the creditor landscape from official lenders to private creditors. These creditors often employ financial discipline through interventions in domestic policies aimed at enhancing the creditworthiness of these nations, a practice that has seen significant evolution over this period. While official lenders have historically influenced policy through direct leverage, the proliferation of private creditors introduced new dimensions of market discipline. Owing to investors' ability to rapidly withdraw capital in response to unfavourable government policies, market actors wield considerable influence, thereby impacting the policy-making spaces of debtor nations. Although previous research has broadly mapped the implications of private creditors in sovereign debt markets, less is known about their evolving practices, policy preferences, and perceptions of borrowing countries. Consequently, this paper asks how private financial entities' discourses and market preferences influence the conceptualization and enactment of financial discipline. To answer this question, I discursively analyzed 28 investor meetings held between June 2020 and May 2023, which brought together portfolio managers, fixed-income analysts, bond traders, lawyers, and credit rating professionals. Documenting market actors' views and strategies reveals the evolving discourses, practices, and structural power dynamics in contemporary sovereign bond markets. Ultimately, this study illustrates the tactics that market actors employ to influence the policies of borrowing nations, advocating for austerity and privatization to mitigate their financial risk while seeking to maximize investment returns.

**Do Central Banks Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Perspectives on Sovereign Credible Commitments:** Michael A. Gavin (University of Queensland)

**Abstract:** Lending to governments involves a certain leap of faith, as creditors may have little recourse in the event of default. Research finds that central banks enhance government repayment credibility and reduce borrowing costs, but the reasons behind this are debated. A 'constraints' view argues that central banks raise default costs while an 'information' view argues that central banks facilitate costly signaling. Since both views agree that central banks enhance sovereign credibility, a test to distinguish between them needs to find aspects of central banking on which these theories disagree. I examine the historical lending functions of central banks between 1800-1914 to conduct such a test. Using a formal model, I find that the constraints view predicts reduced borrowing costs when central banks lend to governments, while the information view predicts lower borrowing costs when central banks lend to the private sector. Empirical results on sovereign borrowing costs and follow-through effects to the rate of inflation unequivocally support the information view.

**Informal Global Governance and Sovereign Debt: The G20 Common Framework and Debt Crises:** Isabel Rodriguez-Toribio (Concordia University), Alexandra O. Zeitz (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Much of the global governance of international finance relies on informal or soft law instruments. This paper analyzes the impact of one such institution, the Common Framework for Debt Treatments, agreed under the auspices of the G20 in November 2020. The Common Framework defines procedures for the restructuring of countries' bilateral debts, but is only available to 73 low-income countries. To examine whether the Common Framework improved coordination among bilateral creditors and enabled debt crisis resolution, I compare the experiences of Ghana, Zambia, and Sri Lanka in negotiating with their creditors. All three countries were highly exposed to both Chinese and private creditors, but only Ghana and Zambia are eligible for the Common Framework, with Sri Lanka above the income eligibility threshold. The comparison suggests the Common Framework introduced new institutional mechanisms for coordination, but did not resolve fundamental differences between major bilateral creditors that would have allowed them to respond more quickly to debt crises.

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## C01(b) - Methods and Approaches for Studying Conflict

### Relations internationales

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Aaron Hoffman (Simon Fraser University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Aaron Hoffman (Simon Fraser University)

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

*Applied Theatre for Conflict Resolution: Pushing the Boundaries:* Telisa Courtney (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Political science has long had a clear preference for quantitative, positivist, realist methods and outlooks (Maliniak et. al., 2011; Wesley, 2015; Eun, 2017), leaving the field unable (or unwilling) to accept the value of 'softer' qualitative and subjective perspectives (Ledarch, 1997). Applied theatre is one such method that, despite decades of demonstrated value to conflict resolution and political activism (Etherton & Prentki, 2006; Nicholson, 2014), is often overlooked by political scientists as valuable methods on their own and considered, at best, add-ons to more 'mainstream' work and, at worst, completely disregarded (Ayindo, 2008). The power of applied theatre is severely undertheorised, both within the social sciences and the fine arts (Lederach, 2005; Ramsbotham et. al., 2016; Pruit & Jeffrey, 2020). This paper presents preliminary findings of my doctoral research, aimed at filling this important gap in literature and practice. I argue that psychological mechanisms of change and healing, such as cognitive dissonance and internalisation (Festinger, 1957), empathy and distancing (Emunah & Ronning, 2021), embodiment (Plastow, 2015), and enjoyment (Selman & Heather, 2014; McQuaid & Plastow, 2017) are inherent in and essential to applied theatre programs. Evidence of these mechanisms of change can be seen in the bodies and words of those engaged in dramatic activities (Van der Kolk, 2014; Courtney & Battye, 2018; Courtney, 2019). Using case study analysis framed through a post-modern, feminist, post-structural lens, I investigate the outcomes of four applied theatre programs, and propose new theorisation to the fields of applied theatre and political science.

*Responsibility to Protect and Politics of Desperation: How did the Intervention in Libya Impacted the Syrian Uprising.:* Basileus Zeno (York University)

**Abstract:** Over the past decade, there has been a growing literature on humanitarian intervention and the R2P doctrine that examines the Syrian and Libyan cases (Brockmeier, Stuenkel and Tourinho 2016; De Waal, 2013; Hehir 2015; Lynch 2016; Tocci 2016). However, most studies are based on state-centric theories of international relations (IR) at the macro level, with little attention to politics at the micro level. This article contributes to the growing literature on humanitarian intervention and the R2P but redirects attention to the impact of humanitarian discourse on the dynamics of the Syrian uprising where state sovereignty was suspended or at least in question, and how it shaped the uprising's language, sloganeering, and meaning-making practices. This dimension has been largely overlooked in both R2P/humanitarian intervention (state-centric approach) and social movements literature.

Drawing upon interpretive methodology, ethnographic fieldwork, critical discourse analysis, and interviews with twenty-seven Syrian activists who were amongst the 'early movers' between 2011-2012, I argue that the political strategy of legitimating Syrian oppositionists' demands by means of an invocation of R2P and humanitarian intervention discourses was not only undercut by the actions taken in Libya but that it has been productive of what I call a politics of desperation. This form of politics affected actors' semiotic practices (Wedeen 2002) and the ways they produced, received, and interacted with meanings in the revolutionary context of 2011-2012. I demonstrate the comparative advantage of applying interpretive methodology for the world of tomorrow and empirical research across human rights, international relations, and contentious politics literature.

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## C01(c) - Governing a digital economy in a global context: Challenges, approaches, and new frameworks

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : McGill College 2001 735

Chair/Président/Présidente : Guillaume Beaumier (École nationale d'administration publique)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Tyler Girard (Purdue University)

*The Digital Governance Trilemma*: Guillaume Beaumier (École nationale d'administration publique)

**Abstract:** The United States, the European Union, and China are commonly depicted as representing three competing models of digital governance. Their so-called market, democratic, and authoritarian approach supposedly reflects their respective preferences over which actors should control the development and use of digital technologies. Building on Dani Rodrik's globalization trilemma, we argue that more than representing different values, each model differs in how it resolves inherent tensions associated with governing a digital economy. When devising new digital policies, they must navigate tensions between achieving the three following objectives: promoting their regulatory preferences, developing their national industry, and supporting an open ecosystem. Significantly, the legacies and consequences of early policy choice promoting different combinations of these objectives create new constraints and limit their ability to move toward one of the other models. We examine this argument by comparing three historical narratives of the emergence and development of digital governance strategies in each jurisdiction. The article contributes to ongoing debates about the rise and origins of different digital governance models while bringing nuance to dichotomous arguments opposing democracies as promoting an open digital ecosystem and autocracies preferring a closed one.

*Digital services and digital sovereignty games in the international political economy*: Colin Chia (McGill University)

**Abstract:** How are sovereignty practices evolving as states pursue agency and control over digital economic flows? Permissive international treatment of digital economic flows is ending as international frameworks for taxing transnational digital services inch forward. Canada has already broken from the OECD moratorium and its digital services tax will go into effect from 2024. In international trade governance, debate has reopened over whether the WTO moratorium on digital services tariffs, in place since 1998, should continue. I build off Adler-Nissen & Gammeltoft-Hansen's concept of 'sovereignty games' which highlights how states instrumentalize sovereignty in areas of jurisdictional ambiguity? an issue especially relevant to cyberspace and digital economic activity. This paper examines digital sovereignty games and argues a shift is taking place from a permissive situation, in which states colluded with digital services firms by offering attractive tax and legal regimes, towards greater demands for tax and regulatory compliance.

*The Transatlantic Diffusion of the Big Tech Pushback*: Francois Gionet (Université de Montréal), Frédéric Mérand (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** The 2010s were characterized by the rise of Big Tech firms and a largely laissez-faire approach on the part of Western governments. This laissez-faire attitude came to an end in 2020. What emerged instead is a new wave of antitrust and content-control laws intended to rein in Big Tech, enhance consumer choice, enable better value sharing in the digital economy for smaller-medium businesses, and boost innovation. How can we explain this sudden and drastic surge in digital policymaking? In this paper, we focus on the EU, the US, the UK, Canada, and Australia and argue that the Big Tech pushback is explained by three interrelated factors. First, the 'Brussels effect'. Popularized by Bradford, this describes the regulatory lead played by the EU in consumer protection and other policy fields such as environmental policy, whereby the EU institutions use the size of the single market to promote progressive norms and regulations that end up being adopted by firms operating on a global scale. The GDPR is one of the main examples discussed by Bradford, which the EU seeks to replicate with the DSA and DMA. Second, the Biden administration has proved unprecedentedly open to taking on Big Tech. While the Democrat administration remains a powerful political voice for the GAFAM, it has adopted corporate tax rules and a stronger antitrust strategy, and promoted digital regulations, that are at worst compatible and at best converging with EU policies. Third, a global process of 'public policy emulation' led policymakers to 'copy the policies and regulations they see experts promoting and leading countries embracing' (Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett 2004, 40). In the unusual context of the COVID-19 pandemic, the global scope and huge profits of Big Tech firms provoked similar public reactions which were accompanied by heightened intergovernmental and transnational policy dialogue among regulators, political forces, and civil society organizations.

*La gouvernance du cyberspace en reconfiguration : les approches régionales de l'UE et de l'ANASE*: Yaxin Zhou (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Depuis le milieu des années 1990, le cyberspace connaît un développement rapide et s'étend progressivement à travers le monde. Les États-Unis, en tant que première puissance de ce nouvel espace, ont historiquement établi les règles du jeu, promouvant les principes du libre marché et préconisant une intervention minimale de l'État (Nocetti, 2015). Néanmoins, le modèle de gouvernance américain est de plus en plus contesté, au sein et en dehors des pays occidentaux. L'Union européenne (UE) et l'Association des Nations de l'Asie du Sud-Est (ANASE) se présentent aujourd'hui comme deux acteurs régionaux importants dans la gouvernance du cyberspace faisant respectivement la promotion de leur identité régionale. Si l'approche européenne insiste sur la régulation, sur l'exportation de ses normes par l'effet de Bruxelles (Bradford, 2020) et sur ses valeurs européennes, l'approche anaséenne se distingue par son ASEAN Way et par la centralité de l'ANASE dans les affaires régionales (Acharya, 1998). En même temps, ces deux institutions régionales multiplient les échanges notamment par le processus de « socialisation à deux sens » et influencent leur développement respectif (Chen et Yang, 2022). En comparant les approches de l'UE et l'ANASE, tout en retraçant leurs interactions au fil du temps, cet article démontre comment ces différents modèles régionaux co-évoluent et contribuent ainsi à l'établissement de normes globales dans la gouvernance du cyberspace.

## E01 - Authors Meet Extremely Enthusiastic Celebrants: New Books in Municipal Elections and Representation

### Politique locale et urbaine

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 365

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

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

Nicole Goodman (Brock University)

Helen Haynes (McGill University)

Jack Lucas (Calgary University)

R. Michael McGregor (Toronto Metropolitan University)

Zac Spicer (York University)

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 Pruyzers, 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).

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## F01 - Nationalism and Identity

### Comportement politique/sociologie

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin, 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5020

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Fred Guillaume Dufour (UQAM)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Fred Guillaume Dufour (UQAM)

*Language or racial identity? The saliency of linguistic issues among Black Quebecers:* Nadjim Fréchet (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** The study of the cross-cutting effect of linguistic and racial identity is highly relevant since the issues related to Black Canadians have been particularly salient in both the English and French-speaking parts of Canada in recent years. Indeed, George Floyd's assassination in the United States has sparked important debates on the treatment of Black Canadians by the police or on economic disparities between them and the rest of the population. Nonetheless, linguistic issues have also been salient in recent years, especially in Quebec, because of the important decline of French as Quebecers' first spoken language in the province. With a two-step survey experiment, this article evaluates how salient linguistic issues are compared to racial issues for Black Quebecers. In the first step of the experiment, we ask all respondents to choose between two candidates, one specifying it wants to reduce systemic racism and another who wants to reinforce language laws to evaluate the most salient issue for them. In the second step of the experiment, we request respondents to choose between a candidate who wants to tackle both issues and one who wants to tackle only one of the two issues. With this experiment, we can assess how cross-pressured French-speaking Black voters are when both linguistic and racial issues are primed. The result of this study will also bring a better understanding of how issue politics work with voters having cross-cutting identities in Canada.

*Collective Efficacy: why assessments of national competence matter:* Ailsa Henderson (Edinburgh)

**Abstract:** Efforts to understand why the UK voted for Brexit have drawn on a number of competing or mutually reinforcing explanations, including hostility to migrants, a sense of being 'left behind' by globalisation, anti-elite populism and nationalism. Underpinning each of these is an understanding of the state's trajectory and the position of the demos within it. Drawing on data from the 2019 Future of England Survey this paper discusses the role of collective efficacy as it applies to politics, outlines its various dimensions and introduces a new index to measure it. It then uses this measure to account for attitudes to the state's external relationships, using Brexit as a case study. The analysis examines the inter-relationships among individual-level efficacy, national identity and collective efficacy, demonstrating that collective efficacy helps to explain both attitudes and behaviour toward the EU.

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## G01 - The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power Fifty Years On (Part I)

### Économie politique

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Bryan Evans (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Gregory Albo (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Steve Maher (State University of New York - Cortland)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=291](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=291)

Yuly Chan (York University)

Stacy Douglas (Carleton University)

Samir Gandesha (Simon Fraser University)

Tamanisha John (York University)

Ann Porter (York University)

Charles Smith (University of Saskatchewan)

Scott Aquanno (University of Ontario Institute of technology)

Peter Graefe (McMaster University)

Veldon Coburn (McGill University)

Gavin Fridell (St. Mary's University)

**Abstract:** : In 1977, Leo Panitch's edited collection *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power* was published. For many, this was a first introduction to Leo and his Marxist analytical lens. The 1970s was a far cry from the political and economic context we find ourselves in today. Stagflation set the economic context. The political context globally was one of labour militancy, emancipatory struggles for social and national liberation in the Global South, and of a successful electoral and social movement Left. In Canada, 1976 saw this country's first, and only, national general strike over wage controls as stagflation endured. Unions and the NDP advocated for the public ownership of natural resources, and in some provincial cases, actually did so. Left economic nationalism was a "thing", various social movements - women, environmental - were at the zenith of their influence. Obviously that world has been turned upside down. With this historical context in mind, the editors (Gregory Albo (York), Bryan Evans (Toronto Metropolitan), and Stephen Maher (SUNY-Cortland), are undertaking a "re-imagining" of Panitch's original book entitled *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power Fifty Years On, 1977 to 2027*. This roundtable provides a forum where contributors to the volume can share how they are re-imagining and contemporizing issues touched upon in the original collection as well as issues such as free trade, Indigenous struggles, and race not dealt with in 1977.

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## H01(a) - Decolonization #1: Inclusion and Resistance in Political Theory

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 391

Chair/Président/Présidente : Marion Trejo (York University)

*The Asceticism of the Oppressed: Recovering the Emancipatory Tradition of Discipline:* William Tilleczek (Université de Montréal and McGill University), Dimitri M'Bama (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** If in political theory asceticism is not ignored entirely, it tends to be aligned with positions of social dominance—a special privilege of an aristocratic or religious elite, which alone has the leisure to turn away from worldly affairs and cultivate the self as an aesthetic object. Meanwhile, since Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, discipline has been widely used as a means of describing and condemning modern social domination. Workers are disciplined in the factory; their children are disciplined in the public schools. If we say: "practices of the self," it is far more likely that the listener thinks of Socrates and Marcus Aurelius than of Harriett Tubman or of all those "improbable aristocrats" of which James Baldwin spoke. If we say: "industrial discipline," we think of the crushing grind of the factory instead of those countless labourers who playfully redeployed this same discipline in order to provide themselves a rigorous education—sometimes while at work. At its core, discipline is simply the organized use of training techniques; and asceticism is really the name for any practice of the self. As such, they belong to no one; they are tools instrumental to the most various projects. This essay recovers a lost revolutionary tradition—the asceticism of the oppressed—in which discipline has been used for the self-empowerment of the powerless. In so doing, we explore divergences and overlaps in the disciplinary tactics of anti-colonial and anti-capitalist movements.

*Relationality, Decoloniality, and Comparison in Political Theory:* Pinar Dokumaci (University College Dublin)

**Abstract:** In this paper, I aim to explore relationality and comparison in political theory, especially concerning comparative political theory. Although comparative political theory is an emerging subfield that explores the works of "non-Western" political thinkers as well as "non-Western" ideas about politics; the comparison aspect of comparative political theory has been argued to be not quite novel. Political theorists have been comparing different ideas from different traditions since the establishment of the field. What is novel about the comparative political theory is rather its growing influence and precursory role in "decolonizing" political theory and theorizing from the margins. While this is a meaningful and inspiring effort, the subject of analysis, as well as both the author and audience in this attempt, is still Western. Hence, comparative political theory has also been argued to reproduce the dichotomy that it was set to demolish, which is the separation, if not the divide, between Western and non-Western intellectual traditions. This paper will rethink this puzzle of comparison as a method for decolonizing political theory concerning relationality and address two main questions: Can relationality provide a better normative basis for decolonizing the way we think about political concepts and issues? Should comparative political theory become more relational to respond to the broader decolonial challenges it addresses?

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## H01(b) - The Individual and the Community in Hobbes and Locke

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : UQAM, Pavillon Paul-Gérin-Lajoie (N), 1205 St-Denis, local/classroom N-4050

Chair/Président/Présidente : Timothy Berk (University of Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Lindsay Mahon Rathnam (Duke Kunshan University)

*Locke's Trust Model of Government: a New Grounding for Fiduciary Political Theory*: Madalyn Hay (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** A recent turn in legal theory has focused on the potential power of the fiduciary obligation to constrain the power of government. These ?fiduciary political theorists? argue that the fiduciary obligation, the obligation to act in the best interest of another, could work as a new model for legitimating use of public authority and subject the use of public power to deliberative and consciences checks. When describing the history of this theory of government, most fiduciary political theorists acknowledge the role of Locke?s Two Treatise of Government in creating a fiduciary or trust model of government. However, Locke is usually cited in passing and there is little sustained attention on the details of his trust model of government. This paper accordingly promises a resurrection of the public trust model of government from within Locke?s thought. By paying closer attention to the specifics of Locke?s argument, we can extract a powerful model that balances the people?s power with the power of the government. By foregrounding the importance of the judgement of the people in Locke?s account, this paper will provide fiduciary political theory with a new grounding. Current theory focuses too heavily on the state?s ability to check its own power and ignores the power that the people have to act as a check on their own government. A model of public trust governance that is attentive both to the power of the people and the power of internal governmental checks can be stitched together from the account that Locke provides.

*Please Glory Over Me*: Ryan Griffiths (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Hobbes?s description of glory as a cause of war is a false truism. First rank, the home of glory, is dangerously scarce because vast numbers of us desire it, but only one can have it. Similarly, Fred Hirsch described harmful competition over intrinsically scarce positional goods in his influential *Social Limits to Growth*. Perhaps we would have fewer harmful conflicts if we regarded no one as above anyone else.

The question is this: how can the pessimistic interpretation of the pursuit of glory fit with a huge range of everyday facts of glory competition?

Everyday fact: award shows and sports championships are popular and we cheer for someone to win.

Everyday fact: if you beat me at a task that I take myself to be expert in I will want you to be pleased with having bested me and rather take it as an especial affront if you do not seem pleased with having beaten me. It seems right to say that I want you to glory in beating me.

The solution: rank is scarce, but the glory deriving from it is abundant, because glory (not rank) is non-rival and non-excludable. The winner?s rank is exclusively theirs, but we cannot be prevented from sharing in their glory (non-excludable), and sharing in their glory (non-rival) expands the total amount from network effects (think of victory parades).

This turns out to be a worrisome fact about inequality, injustice, and peace, because it means we often want the already privileged to have more.

*Hobbes on Individual Happiness (Felicity) and its Relationship to Politics*: Vertika - (McGill University)

**Abstract:** What is Hobbes?s contribution to helping us understand the relationship between individual emotions and politics? To answer this question, I claim that Hobbes argued that it is intrinsic to human nature that people can only experience and advance their happiness or felicity when they feel secure and that a political society characterized by trust, security, and certainty is essential to fostering this sense of individual security and felicity. Thereby, the obsession with security is for the final end of felicity. That is why the classical explanation of Hobbes, who was obsessed with security at the expense of liberty, is wanting.

This argument, however, has been made in different ways in the existing literature. For example, Richard Tuck has made a case for the utopian nature of Hobbes?s politics and argued that Hobbes aimed to bring about a utopian understanding of politics rather than a new political practice (Tuck 2004, 126). Robin Douglass (2016) has argued that Hobbes?s work combined realism and idealism and was centrally concerned with safety, trust and security. I propose that this paper will comprehensively explain Hobbes?s ?realistic idealism? and outline a vision of politics that the absolutist state, rooted in anxiety, stood for and what kind of policy implications we can draw from it today in the age of insecurity, mistrust, and uncertainty.

Building on other philosophical interpretations of the concept of trust (Baumgold 2013; Odzuck 2017) and felicity (Abizadeh 2018, 139?79) in Hobbes?s philosophy, I argue that the purpose of Hobbes?s politics was to foster a climate of security and trust to allow the pursuit of happiness or felicity. My argument is rooted in the Epicurean premise, which I show Hobbes shares, namely, that a state of anxiety is the main obstacle to attaining felicity. I suggest that the ?disagreeability of disagreement in Hobbes? (Bejan 2017, 82?111) is to prevent a politics of anxiety from taking over the pursuit of happiness.

I reconstruct the psychology of anxiety in Hobbes by proposing to understand it as a passion in Hobbes that explains the relationship between different and conflicting passions in Hobbes. Summarily, I suggest that anxiety in Hobbes is the vacillation between hope and despair on the one hand and courage and fear on the other, with the end outcome being uncertain. The future-looking Hobbesian human being experiences the passion of anxiety in different permutations and combinations between hope, despair, courage and fear. The opposite of anxiety for Hobbes is felicity, a state of confidence in being able to fulfil one?s desires consistently (L: VI: 30).

My interpretation goes beyond others who have emphasized not just security but also identified certainty to be the end of Hobbes?s state. (For example, Planinc 2010). I argue that the utopia Hobbes wants to establish with the absolutist state has the ultimate end of felicity. My argument on felicity will engage



with and differ from one of the most sustained elaborations of Hobbes's concept of the good (Abizadeh 2018) to suggest that felicity was the ultimate end of Hobbes's political politics.

The most important insight from Hobbes, which I aim to highlight through this paper, is that individuals cannot be happy without a sense of security. I argue that contemporary institutions of social and political organization have much to learn from this insight into their responsibilities towards people. Distrust in institutions will lead people to believe in alternate actors who might claim to know the truth and herald solutions. We need to understand that precarity and despair can be one of the fuels of the success of propaganda, leading to somewhat of a truth is dead era. Hobbes teaches us that human anxiety, though restless, can be mitigated by a sense of security, which can help foster a polity based on trust and enable people to pursue their felicity or happiness.

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## H01(c) - Democracy, Bureaucracy, and Ideology

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 395

Chair/Président/Présidente : Shehnoor Khurram (University of Toronto)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Spencer McKay (University of British Columbia)

*Democracy, Empathy, and the Ideological Turing Test:* Victor Bruzzone (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Today's political world features hyper-partisanship, rapidly spreading misinformation online, and declining trust in institutions. Under these conditions, cultivating empathetic understanding takes on a special importance because it can make meaningful deliberation possible. One promising measure of empathetic understanding is what Bryan Caplan coined as the 'ideological Turing test' (ITT). In this exercise, participants who hold views on polarizing political issues attempt to 'pass' as their ideological opponent by providing reasons for why people with the opposite view might support it. There has been some recent literature that defends the use of 'negative' emotions (like anger) in political discourse or contests the value of empathy on the grounds that it conceals power dynamics (Scudder, 2020; Thompson, 2017). In this paper, I make three arguments. First, I argue that the ITT is a plausible way of measuring empathetic understanding because it requires that participants have been listening to their ideological opposites. I argue this addresses many criticisms of empathy-based approaches to democracy. Second, I argue that we are justified to exclude deliberators from having any binding political authority over us if they cannot demonstrate empathetic understanding (by passing the ITT). I argue that because negative emotions (like anger) can interfere with our ability to have empathetic understanding, the value of its contribution is questionable. Finally, I outline the idea of an 'empathocracy' built on sortition assemblies where those selected can only serve if they pass the ITT.

*Taming the Machine: Democratic control over bureaucracy machinery in the republican state:* Yi Yang (McGill University)

**Abstract:** This paper provides a critical analysis of Philip Pettit's neo-republican vision of the state, with a specific focus on its approach to democratic control over bureaucratic administration. Effective democratic control over the state is a cornerstone for achieving non-domination. Pettit places excessive emphasis on the design of the legislature as the main vehicle for control, while leaving bureaucratic administration as mere an executor of law. I argue that this exclusive reliance on the legislature for democratic control is inadequate as it fails to properly constrain the bureaucratic machinery and underestimates its vital role in the republican state, in particular securing citizens' socio-economic freedom and social justice. I raise three fundamental criticisms.

First, bureaucratic officials require a certain level of discretion in their functions to effectively pursue non-domination. The prevailing legislative-centric approach fails to provide it with sufficient guides and even discourages for its exercise. Second, Pettit's model suggests establishing impartial, insulated bodies to counteract democracy's shortcomings and make crucial decisions on public affairs. This approach empowers bureaucratic domination and paradoxically contradicts with the legislature's democratic authority. Third, bureaucratic administration in Pettit's model assumes an all-encompassing role managing nearly all aspects of social life, which sidelines civic engagement and renders citizens marginalized, akin to a form of servitude.

To address these limitations, I propose a revised model of democratic control which does not limit democratic supervision and civic engagement solely at the stage of law-making but also law-implementation.

*Epistemic Injustice and Corporate Structuring: Boundary Making, Membership, and Epistemic Rights:* Chi Kwok (Lingnan University)

**Abstract:** Outsourcing has become a significant trend in corporate restructuring. The challenges and injustices faced by labor in outsourcing have been extensively discussed in scholarly literature. These challenges are typically categorized into two main approaches: the injustice approach and the welfare approach. The injustice approach highlights the violations of basic rights and the structural disadvantages experienced by outsourced workers. In contrast, the welfare approach examines the ethics of outsourcing practices through a consequentialist lens, focusing on the overall outcomes. In this paper, I introduce an epistemic perspective on outsourcing. I contend that from an epistemic standpoint, outsourcing can be problematic when it is a calculated effort to employ a multifaceted corporate structure to diminish epistemic rights, specifically the right to be heard and treated as an epistemic equal. This epistemic critique of outsourcing enriches the current literature, illustrating how outsourcing can be seen as an attempt to redefine the boundaries of who deserves the right to be heard.

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## H01(d) - The Politics of Policing and Pain

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Sarah Hynek (Sheridan College)

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

*The Infliction of Harm to Police Officers During Political Protests:* Alexis Bibeau (University of Virginia)

**Abstract:** Political protests and riots frequently involve violent confrontations between demonstrators and law enforcement officers. Research on violence during protests and riots suggests that police officers on the ground sometimes play a significant role in initiating or escalating such violent confrontations with demonstrators. In liberal democracies, demonstrators are almost systematically condemned by authorities and mainstream media, while generally inciting negative reactions among the public, when they use violence in confronting the police. However, most people—and political theorists among them—generally consider that sociopolitical circumstances characterized by severe and entrenched injustices and oppression may provide valid moral reasons for political resistance, most prominently to the state and those who act as its agents or representatives. What about harm inflicted by protesters to police officers during protests? Could there be reasons that would make it justified for demonstrators to use self-defense against police officers that initiate violence? This paper investigates the legitimacy of politically motivated harm against police officers in cases of violent clashes between protesters and police officers during protests and riots. I more precisely argue that police officers have special moral obligations, and this special status makes them potentially liable to being harmed in lieu of the state. This argument builds on the notion that there is a moral asymmetry between police officers and private citizens which plays a central justificatory role: police officers are legitimate targets for harm inflicted during political protests precisely because they are not the moral equals of ordinary citizens but official representatives of the state. Finally, I show how this argument is constrained by specific moral considerations, namely the fact (1) that demonstrators targeting police officers must have no obligation to obey the law; (2) that the protest in which those individuals participate must be motivated by strictly political reasons; and (3) that the harm inflicted to police officers in the context of this particular protest must be proportional to the requirement of protesters' political purpose. This paper makes a central normative contribution to theories of political resistance, political violence, and defensive ethics.

*A Brief History of the Philosophy of Pain and a Way Forward:* Alejandra Vivas Suarez (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Within the history of Western political thought the question of the proper place of pain, loss, and suffering within a fulfilled human life has a marginal place. In this paper, I reconstruct two dominant models within this tradition for making sense of these experiences, one which I call "pragmatic" and, the other, "ethical". The "pragmatic" model has its origins in Hobbes and Bentham, and at its core is an attempt to grasp individual experience as a form of "currency" to be exchanged for ones that are preferred, e.g., "fear" can be exchanged "security" but only at the cost of the "right of nature". The limits of the pragmatic model, however, become especially patent in the experience of colonialism. Colonialism has proven that some sensibilities, including Indigenous ways of life, cannot simply be "exchanged" for a place in society without causing them to go extinct. In response to this problem, radical thinkers from Plato to Emma Goldman advocate for an "ethical" model, according to which human misery can never be compensated for; it being, in this sense at least, intractable. They advocate instead for a life often at odds with the collective, oftentimes at an extreme cost. I argue that these models' limitations point to the need for a new way forward. I call this third path the "generative" model. Rather than elevating pain, loss, and suffering to a "virtue" or itself containing a source of judgement about the good, I draw upon the eccentric philosopher, Marquis de Sade, who begins to demonstrate the possibilities for pain as the basis of relational and institutional transformation. The project aims to recuperate what previous models often construe as waste in order to sketch, incipiently, a new language for understanding the relationship between the individual and the collective.

*Orderly Dispositions: Policing the Affective Economies of Racial Capitalism:* Conor Bean (Johns Hopkins University)

**Abstract:** In this paper, I put forward an analytic I call "affective governance" as a frame for theorizing how police participate in the strategic circulation of public affects. I argue that in the contemporary United States and Canada, strategies for governing affect are not universal and instead take on a stratifying function to reproduce hierarchical relations of race and class. In particular, policing capitalizes on feelings of insecurity among propertied whites to inculcate attachments to security practices, while leaving impoverished, often largely non-white communities to experience everyday precarity without recourse. This bifurcation of insecurity is compounded by strategies of policing that routinely seek to foster fear of police agents, both in everyday interactions with police and in moments of uprising against police violence. I begin by reading the work of Michel Foucault, Sara Ahmed, Stuart Hall, and Ruth Wilson Gilmore together to theorize the police as operating segregated affective economies of urban control and suspicion. I then contrast this framework with interpretive schema for theorizing policing descended from the work of Jacques Rancière and Louis Althusser to argue for the particular relevance of affect analysis for policing as distinct from aesthetic theory and theories of ideology. To illustrate my theoretical approach, I focus on two different examples of police power deployed in Chicago on a single day in 2020, contrasting police messaging downplaying seemingly routine lethal force used in a majority-Black deindustrializing neighborhood in comparison with fomenting moral panic around looting in the city's wealthy central shopping district.

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## J01 - Federalism, Power-sharing and Intergovernmental Relations in Times of Crises ? Canada and Beyond (1)

Politique provinciale et territoriale au Canada et au-delà

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : UQAM, Pavillon des sciences de la gestion (R), 315 Sainte-Catherine Street E., room/local R-3680

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Soeren Koeren (University of Fribourg)

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*The Council of the Federation at 20 and Power-Sharing in Canada: Hopes and Pitfalls:* Félix Mathieu (University of Winnipeg)

**Abstract:** Borrowing from Martin Papillon and Richard Simeon's formulae, it is common for scholars to refer to power-sharing mechanisms in Canada as being the "weakest link" in the federal system. The Canadian Second Chamber (the Senate) is hardly promoting regional representation and interests in the Canadian Parliament, and First Ministers' Meetings are dominated by the federal prime minister's agenda. However, roughly 20 years ago, in December 2003, a new institution was set up under the leadership of Quebec's newly elected provincial government in collaboration with the other 12 provincial and territorial Premiers: the Council of the Federation. Its main objective is to promote inter-provincial-territorial cooperation and to foster meaningful relations between governments based on the recognition of the diversity within the Canadian federation. As such, great hopes were invested in this institution to instill a new era of power-sharing in Canadian federalism. Two decades later, has the institution lived up to its promises? In this communication, I will offer a critical assessment of the evolution of the Council of the Federation by focusing on a series of key policy issues and dynamics.

*Intergovernmental Relations and Devolution in England: Opportunities, Challenges and Future Prospects:* Paul Anderson (Liverpool John Moores University)

**Abstract:** Since their establishment, metro mayors have become an entrenched feature of devolved governance in England, gaining increased prominence during the Covid-19 crisis. The crisis raised the public profiles of metro mayors and highlighted the importance of effective central-local government relations, but public disagreements between the metro mayors and central government over lockdown rules and financial resources pointed to a distant and somewhat dysfunctional central-local relationship. In recent years, some attention has been paid to the importance of intergovernmental relations between the UK Government and devolved governments in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, but little attention has been paid to harnessing relations with England's metro mayors.

Drawing on interview data with metro mayors, other personnel within the combined authorities and central government, this paper presents preliminary findings from a research project examining relations between the mayoral combined authorities and central government. It explores how relations between combined authorities and central government have developed in recent years, as well as how mayor-to-mayor relations have evolved. It concludes by sketching potential avenues for reform, utilising the viewpoints of the stakeholders involved

*Constituent Units as Democratic Enclaves: understanding subnational counterforces to democratic backsliding in Brazil (2018-2022):* Silvana Gomes (University of Ottawa), André Lecours (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** The last few years have witnessed an upsurge in populist and extremist movements worldwide. In some cases, these movements led to political violent outbursts and direct action to challenge democratic institutions. In Brazil, the Bolsonaro administration (2018-2022) was the greatest expression of what has commonly been called democratic backsliding. Through nostalgic praise for the military dictatorship (1964-1985) and its perpetrators, aggressive rhetoric against political opponents, support for misinformation and disinformation, constant attacks on the country's highest courts, and unfounded claims seeking to undermine the credibility of Brazil's electoral system, Bolsonaro constituted the most acute threat to the Brazilian democracy since the 1980s. Despite his solid support base in the National Congress and across society, Bolsonaro found significant resistance to his actions among state governors and mayors, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. This paper argues that constituent units acted as important democratic enclaves in the context of democratic backsliding during Bolsonaro's tenure. However, these subnational counterforces to democratic backsliding must be understood in light of three characteristics. First, opposition to Bolsonaro was not unanimous across subnational governments due to party affiliation and ideological identification. Second, governors and mayors did not have the tools to resist undemocratic actions from the central government on their own. They heavily leaned on the judiciary to obtain court rulings to prevent or reverse federal policies encroaching on their powers. Third, political opportunism was also factored into subnational contestation to Bolsonaro's actions. By offering a more nuanced analysis of the role played by constituent units in upholding democracy in a complex federation, the paper helps advance extant knowledge about the dynamics of democratic backsliding and resistance in federal settings.

*The Pandemic's legacy: How has HOW Intergovernmental relations happen in Canada changed?:* Julie Simmons (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** Comparatively speaking, intergovernmental relations in Canada are characterised as relatively informal and weakly institutionalized. While there have been some attempts to create more formal processes in some policy areas, and even at the level of first ministers, such nascent institutional developments are susceptible to changes in leadership in Ottawa. For example, the exogenous shock of Stephen Harper's "Open Federalism" destabilized the steps towards formalization and regularization of intergovernmental relations of the Chretien "Collaborative Federalism" era (Simmons 2021). The Covid 19 pandemic was an exogenous shock of a different kind, moving much of Canada's workforce online. This paper explores how the format of intergovernmental relations across policy areas was impacted by the inability of provincial and federal elected and appointed officials to meet in person, and whether different patterns of interaction from this period have had an enduring impact on the conduct of federal-provincial relations today. It

uses both quantitative data (frequency of in-person meetings pre and post Covid across policy areas and among ministers and deputy ministers), and qualitative data (interviews with unelected intergovernmental officials in provinces and at the federal level who share their perceptions of how the functioning of their relationships with counterparts in other jurisdictions has changed). It will be of interest to scholars and practitioners of federalism in Canada and elsewhere, as well as those with an interest in theories of institutional and organizational change.

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

### Administration publique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1041

Chair/Président/Présidente : Carey Doberstein (University of British Columbia)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Kathy Brock (Queen's University)

*Politicization of government agencies in the Canadian federal bureaucracy:* Carey Doberstein (University of British Columbia)

**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)

**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.

*Décision et incertitude : Les activités de lobbying et l'attribution des contrats publics au Canada:* Maxime Boucher (Université d'Ottawa), Christopher A. Cooper (Université d'Ottawa), Erin Sullivan (Faculty of Governance and Global Affairs - Institute of Public Administration)

**Abstract:** Cet article aborde la question des activités de lobbying dans le contexte des processus d'attribution des contrats publics au Canada. Notre approche mobilise la littérature sur les activités de lobbying et l'attribution des contrats publics pour expliquer comment les contrôles administratifs et politiques, ainsi que la nature des institutions parlementaires, peuvent exercer un effet dissuasif ou incitatif sur les stratégies de lobbying des entreprises. Selon nos propositions théoriques, les rapports de force entre les institutions politiques, de même que les contrôles administratifs des processus d'attribution des contrats publics, créent différentes sources d'incertitude. En retour, la nature et l'intensité de ces sources d'incertitude influencent la décision des entreprises privées et des agences gouvernementales d'investir du temps et des ressources dans des rencontres de lobbying. Pour vérifier ces hypothèses, notre cadre de recherche utilise des données systématiques sur les activités de lobbying et l'attribution de contrats publics par les ministères du gouvernement canadien afin d'étudier l'impact de la taille - en montant de dollars - des contrats publics sur le volume des activités de lobbying. Le principal objectif de la recherche est de déterminer si l'attribution d'un plus grand montant d'argent en contrats publics est associé à une augmentation du volume de lobbying effectué par les entreprises actives dans ce domaine. En complément, le second objectif est de mesurer l'impact des sources d'incertitude sur l'intensité des échanges entre les lobbyistes, fonctionnaires et ministres.

*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), Elliot Goodell Ugalde (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 Stilinovic, 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 Stilinovic, 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.

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## N01 - Parties, Institutions, and Gender Equality

### Femmes, genre et politique

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 451

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Rebecca Wallace (St. Francis Xavier University)

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

**Gendered Party Strategies and Quotas:** Sebastian Vallejo Vera (Western University), 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 (Muriaas 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.

**The Gendered Mediation of Political Leadership: a Contextual Approach:** Clémence Deswert (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.

**The Silent Rise: paradigm shift and Women's Role in Defending new Democratic Values:** Mohadeseh Jazaei (Ferdowsi University of Mashhad)

**Abstract:** The arrival of AI technology has led to significant transformations and advancements in numerous aspects of society, including how we perceive and uphold democratic ideals. A paradigm shift refers to a fundamental alteration in the fundamental assumptions, beliefs, and practices of a specific system or field. With regard to AI and democratic values, a paradigm shift signifies a transformational change in the way we understand and defend these values, especially regarding the role of women. In the past, women have faced numerous challenges and barriers in various spheres, including politics, technology, and leadership positions. But with AI, women can play a bigger role in defending new democratic values. It seems that AI technologies, can ensuring that democratic values such as privacy, transparency, and accountability through: Inclusivity and diversity, new Ethical considerations, Policy and governance and bridging the gender gap. but this article focuses on Empowering marginalized communities and Authoritarian societies. The question of this study is how women can be effective in the new age of AI in Authoritarian societies. The methodology of this research is based on the concept of



'Discourse of resistance in everyday life.' It explores how AI can empower women in both public, visible forms of power and the hidden transcripts?the informal, offstage, and often disguised expressions of resistance that occur within everyday life. These silent discourses include strategies like humor, gossip, coded language, foot-dragging, sabotage, and other acts of defiance that challenge the legitimacy of power structures in spreading democratic values. For this research, the focus is on the Iranian movement (woman, freedom, life) as women fought for democratic values. The study examines virtual campaigns used for organizing demonstrations and protests, revealing hidden transcripts and silent resistances that form the focal points of this research.

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## W301 - National Security & Intelligence: Debates in Canadian National Security

Atelier - Sécurité nationale et renseignement : perspectives canadiennes et comparées

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : McGill College 2001 461

Chair/Président/Présidente : Bessma Momani (University of Waterloo)

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

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**Smoking Guns: Qualitative evaluation of Canadian firearm policy.**: Noah Schwartz (University of the Fraser Valley), Claire Kitsul (University of the Fraser Valley)

**Abstract:** The Liberal government has made significant changes to Canada's gun laws since 2019 with the promise of improving public safety. But while there are strong incentives for politicians to pass gun control laws, research from the United States has demonstrated that the incentives to implement, enforce, and evaluate these policies are weaker. As a result, the public does not get the safety benefits promised by legislation. Public support for gun control in Canada is high, and anecdotal comparisons with the United States suggest Canada's system works well. That being said, quantitative evaluations of Canada's gun control laws often present contradictory results. New challenges, like 3D-printed firearms and increasingly sophisticated smuggling networks, also undermine Canada's efforts at reducing gun violence.

In this presentation, we present initial results from our SSHRC-funded project conducting a qualitative evaluation of Canada's gun control laws. This project draws on interviews with public safety officials, law enforcement, and key stakeholders like community groups.

Gun control has been increasingly incorporated into narratives around culture war wedge politics. Evaluating gun control policies helps hold politicians accountable for the promises they make and ensures that gun control policy contributes to public safety, rather than party fundraising.

**The Weaponization of Disinformation: A Threat to Canadian National Security:** Bessma Momani (University of Waterloo), Shelly Ghai Bajaj (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** The shifting global balance of power, characterized by growing multipolarity, is occurring alongside the rapid expansion of tools, strategies, and spaces for adversarial states to expand their spheres of influence, disrupt multilateral diplomacy, undermine internationalism, and threaten liberal democratic norms and values that underpin our national security. The information space is a growing operational domain for threat actors with digital disinformation as a salient feature of global politics that impacts national security. Moreover, adversarial states are growing increasingly adept in their weaponization of digital disinformation by using new techniques to exploit and influence the global information environment as well as to harm other states (Moore, 2018). This paper examines the weaponization of digital disinformation by adversarial states for Canadian national security by examining its impacts on social cohesion and social resiliency.

Although the weaponization of digital disinformation falls below the threshold of conventional inter-state conflict, it contains a range of malignant and malicious activities as a low-cost and high-yield strategy for threat actors. Disinformation strategies can range from the dissemination of deep fakes, fabricated content, foreign interference, and coordinated propaganda campaigns to a more subtle exercise of information operations by states in which disinformation feeds into a broader, more sophisticated, and carefully managed narrative structure. This paper examines the wide range of ways that digital disinformation may be weaponized by adversarial states like Russia, China, and Iran, known to engage in "information warfare" tactics while exploring how other states, like India, can engage in more subtle and indirect forms of digital subversion through the domestic spread of disinformation that subsequently spreads outside of its borders. Understanding the connection between global political volatility, the weaponization of digital disinformation, its implications, and how it may be effectively countered is imperative given its destabilizing potential to Canada's national security.

**Synergy as integrative theory:** Eric Dion (École nationale d'administration publique)

**Abstract:** In light of increasing complexities of the many contemporary challenges in multiple dimensions, idiosyncratic theories do not cut it anymore; there arises the need for an integrative theory that transcends academic disciplines with the aim of fostering synergy between theory and practice. And indeed, according to Kurt Lewin (c. 1943): "There is nothing as practical as a good theory"! But is the field of political science ready to lead such a constructive and yet pragmatic renewal?

Employing mixed methods within a grounded theory design, Synergy as integrative theory, was developed as theoretical model in order to explain Canada's (past) engagement in Afghanistan, with a view on the comprehensive approach and the need for a multi-dimensional collaboration. However, what has been underappreciated is that a constructive, yet pragmatic epistemological perspective becomes fundamental that transcends traditional academic or political science silos. Based on six fundamental dimensions, namely: The situational context, the societal culture, the organisational structure, the systemic process, the strategic policy, and the synergy dynamic; this paper will thus argue that Synergy, as integrative theory, offers an intellectual way forward.

Of course, a challenge lays in its "incommensurability" of which our adversaries make little case, hence our reflexive and critical thinking must evolve toward a more integrated holistic approach, one embracing diversity of thought to build on all respective strengths and counter weaknesses. To confront so many contemporary challenges in multiple dimensions, Synergy is quintessential.

*The perils of history: why states repeat past intelligence Mistakes?:* Ariel Reichard (Charles University, Prague), Or Honig (Hampden-Sydney College)

**Abstract:** Why do states find it so hard to learn from their own history, often preferring to look at others' real-time experience for strategic lessons? Conversely, why do so many states seemingly forget past lessons, repeating past mistakes that lead to repeated disaster?

We examine why small states fail to learn by examining the recent Hamas attack on Israel. This case is paradigmatic not simply because as a threatened country with vast military experience, Israel has a strong incentive and optimal conditions to apply successful learning (indeed, its experience is often a source for learning by others!). In reality, the Hamas attack was made possible because Israel repeated several mistakes that caused it to suffer a devastating intelligence surprise before the 1973 war (another well documented and researched case that was commemorated the days before the fatal Hamas attack). While Israeli leaders routinely claim to have learned the lessons of 1973, they clearly did not.

This article argues that this is not coincidental. In reality, history is far less useful as a field of learning strategic lessons than many historians and political scientists seem to believe. In fact, trying to learn from the Past can sometimes be misleading and lead to new failures. While nations sometimes fail because they tragically forget past lessons, more frequently nations draw or apply the wrong lessons to new situations, failing to make the proper adjustments. We describe how history (one's own and others') can mislead strategists, and caution against the wholesale adoption of accepted "lessons of the past" as a basis for national security policy making.

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## W501 - Gender and Canadian Legislatures

### Atelier - La diversité et la représentation dans les assemblées législatives canadiennes

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 294

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

**Accommodating Parenthood in Parliament: Old traditions and new realities:** Susan Franceschet (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Parliaments around the world have become more diverse in terms of gender over the past 25 years. Globally, women's legislative representation increased from 11% in 1997 to 26% by 2023. Less progress appears on other dimensions of diversity, namely, age. Individuals aged 35 and under remain significantly under-represented in the world's elected assemblies, with little change over time (Stockemer and Sundstrom 2022).

Researchers have pointed to several reasons for women's and youth under-representation in elected institutions, but few studies focus specifically on the problems faced by elected politicians with small children. Recent research has, however, explored how parliaments function as gendered institutions to reduce opportunities for women who are mothers (Thomas and Bittner 2018). Scholars have noted that parliaments' sitting hours are decidedly family-unfriendly and expectations around long workdays and late nights pose burdens on MPs with children, particularly women. Despite women's growing presence in politics, few elected assemblies have reformed parliamentary procedures to accommodate MPs who are new mothers. Most parliaments lack formal mechanisms for maternity leave, still require MPs to vote in person, prohibit infants in parliamentary chambers, and fail to provide on-site and flexible infant care. My paper compares how two countries with Westminster traditions—Australia and Canada—have responded to calls to accommodate new parents in their parliaments. The paper shows that the limited nature of reforms in both countries owes to the difficulty of transforming old institutions whose culture, rules, and procedures reflect an era when men's dominance of elite institutions was standard and unquestioned.

**Canada's Parliament: Becoming a More Gender and Diversity Sensitive Workplace:** Jeanette Ashe (Douglas College), Tracey Raney (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Despite some modernizing reforms such as family friendlier calendars, violence prevention measures, and Speaker guidelines intended to improve civility and decorum, Canada's parliament is far from a gender and diversity sensitive workplace. Some members and staff report feeling excluded and marginalized within the parliamentary workplace, with instances of racial profiling, gender-based heckling, and harassment targeted especially at those who identify as women or queer, Indigenous People, Black People, and People of Colour (IBPOC). Using an intersectional and multiple method approach, in this paper we explore Canada's parliament as a gendered and racialized workplace by identifying gender and diversity (in)sensitivities across four dimensions: infrastructure, culture, participation, and equity policy. To do this, we draw upon interview and survey data with members of the House of Commons and the Senate, as well as with clerks, who have institutional knowledge in leadership (parliamentary actors or bodies responsible for gender and diversity equality), data (gender and diversity information collected and made public), and gender expertise (presence of gender and diversity experts). We use these data and the literature to evaluate the gender and diversity sensitivity measures already implemented and those underway or not yet enacted in Canada's parliament. The goal of the research is to better understand how parliament as a workplace can be made more inclusive, which will in turn increase its representative function in Canadian democracy.

**Insider Reflections on Gender-Based Violence in Canadian Parliamentary Spaces:** Cheryl Collier (University of Windsor), Tracey Raney (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Recent research has brought attention to the long-standing problem of gender-based violence (including sexism, sexual harassment, psychological and physical forms of violence) in Canadian legislative workplaces at all levels of government (see for example, Raney and Collier eds. (2024) forthcoming), Raney and Collier (2023), Collier and Raney (2018) and its detrimental impacts on women's and gender minorities' participation in legislatures and ultimately in the health of our democratic institutions. Women-identified political actors began speaking out more regularly about this persistent problem in the wake of the #MeToo movement and disclosures of gender-based violence against political actors in person and online have continued to be reported in the news on a regular basis ever since (often heightened during electoral contests). Many jurisdictions in Canada at the federal and provincial/territorial level have enacted codes of conduct and anti-harassment policies for political staff and elected members aimed at curbing this violence (Raney and Collier 2024 forthcoming), yet little research has been conducted on how well known and how effective these codes and policies have been since they started appearing across the country just prior to the second wave of the #MeToo movement. Our proposed paper will share insights on this as well as the challenges that GBVP poses to diversity and representation inside of Canada's legislatures gleaned from survey and interview data from past and present MPs/MPPs/MLAs across the country. The paper will also share the challenges we encountered in conducting this type of data collection and analysis as part of our ongoing research project in this area.

**Institutional Newness and Women's Representation in Canada's Senate: The Case of Bill C-65:** Elizabeth McCallion (University of Toronto), Tracey Raney (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Previous research has examined how institutional 'newness' creates opportunities for gendered policy change (Chappell 2014; Mackay 2014). When the underlying gendered 'logic' of predominantly white, highly masculinized institutions is in flux, spaces for feminist actors to enact gendered policies are potentially created. In this paper we assess how and in what ways institutional 'newness' facilitated or curtailed the substantive representation of women's issues in Canada's Senate. The Canadian Senate is a useful site case to evaluate institutional change and women's representation. A new appointments process adopted in 2015 has resulted in some significant changes inside the Senate, including an influx of women and independent senators who are no longer subject to party discipline. Using a feminist institutionalist lens, we ask: have these new senators taken bold steps to stand up for women's interests? To address this question, we analyse Senate deliberations of Bill C-65, anti-harassment legislation introduced by the Trudeau

government in 2018 that applies to all federally-regulated workplaces, including parliament. Using content analyses and archival research of parliamentary records, we focus on senators' deliberations of the bill inside the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights and on the floor of the Senate. The research contributes to growing literature on the role of parliamentary committees in legislative processes, as well as of the Canadian Senate from a gendered perspective (Rayment and McCallion 2023). The findings have implications beyond the Senate, highlighting the constraints and opportunities for gendered change inside less partisan contexts, such as municipal governments and international organizations.

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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 :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

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

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

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*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 constitute 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 (University of British Columbia), Michael Donnelly (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 thermostatic opinion change, using our new measures to examine the conditions under which each is likely to take place.

*Race and Racism in Canadian Social Policy:* Debra Thompson (McGill University)

**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.

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

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

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 :

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=5](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=5)

*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:* 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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## A02(c) - Canadian Political Parties

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

Chair/Président/Présidente : J.P. Lewis (University of New Brunswick)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : J.P. Lewis (University of New Brunswick)

*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)

**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))

**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.

*Central Party Financial Support for Diverse Candidates: An Intersectional Approach:* Rob Currie-Wood (University of Alberta), Scott Pruyers (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 Pruyers 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.

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## A02(d) - Political Staff in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

*Who Wants to Work in Canadian Politics?:* Lewis Krashinsky (Princeton University), Blake Lee-Whiting (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.

*Political Staff in Canada: Helping or Hindering Democratic Government?:* Alex Marland (Acadia University), Donald Savoie (Université de Moncton)

**Abstract:** The number and influence of political staff in the Prime Minister's Office, in a premier's office and in a minister's office has been growing. These appointed 'exempt staff' face limited accountability. They are nudging aside the elected officials who are integral to responsible government and they are usurping the role of senior public servants. Yet exempt staff are also indispensable to government operations in such a fast-paced, highly charged and complex political environment. All of this has considerable implications for how we view the public service bargain. We are embarking on the first deep study of political staff in Canada. This presentation will outline the research problem, our theories and our research methodology in an age when more political staff can exert more power than ever before.

*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)

**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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## B02(a) - Roundtable: Adopting and Adapting Power-Sharing Settlements

### Politique comparée

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** : UQAM, Pavillon des sciences de la gestion (R), 315 Sainte-Catherine Street E., room/local R-3680

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

Soeren Keil (University of Fribourg)

Neophytos Loizides (University of Warwick)

Réginas Ndayiragije (University of Antwerp)

Marie-Joëlle Zahar (Université de Montreal)

Kamaran Palani (Salahaddin University)

Liam Whittington (Forum of Federations)

**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(b) - Migration and Citizenship

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1047

Chair/Président/Présidente : Willem Maas (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Phil Triadafilopoulos (University of Toronto)

*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)

**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.

*Coordination without harmonization: Immigration bureaucrats and the safe country principle in Canada:* Geoffrey Cameron (McMaster 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.

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## B02(c) - American Political Science Association (APSA) Roundtable: Political Science and the Politics of Polarization

### Politique comparée

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Steven Rathgeb Smith (American Political Science Association)

Dax D'Orazio (Queen's University)

Terri Givens (McGill University)

Rachel Laforest (Queen's University)

Eric Merkley (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This topic is especially important and urgent for the future of democracy. The challenges facing countries around the world from political polarization are now a much-discussed theme among policymakers and scholars. Political polarization is often tied to broader social divisions, including those related to race, religion, and culture, reinforcing the dichotomy of "us versus them" in politics. During the pandemic, high levels of social and economic inequality further exposed the wedge between different socioeconomic groups eroding social cohesion.

In the United States, we face one of the most serious partisan divides that we have experienced in many decades. While in Canada, the polarization of political parties hasn't been as pronounced, navigating social divisions remains an important challenge as it can undermine effective policy making. Indeed, polarization contributes to gridlock in legislative decisionmaking, creating daunting challenges to the enactment of effective policies that would make a meaningful difference in people's lives. This lack of solutions then contributes to citizen cynicism and distrust of government in general including an opposing party. Citizens then gravitate to media outlets that fit with their world views, reinforcing this polarization. Initiatives to overcome polarization like community-based deliberative forums are unlikely to succeed in this polarized environment.

Political polarization also created major challenges for the discipline of political science. Policymakers, scholars, journalists, and citizens are now looking to political science for answers or solutions to this slide toward polarization. More broadly, these new expectations call upon the discipline to be more engaged with the public sphere of ideas. In the US context, many political scientists have responded with new and novel solutions like changing the primary system, reforming the electoral college, or instituting new voting procedures. More broadly, policymakers are now hoping that political science can help them respond to their constituents and improve the policymaking process. But engagement with public policy also means that political scientists need to be able to offer evidence-based research that is also widely accessible. This effort also requires inventiveness and creativity as political scientists strive to uphold their commitment to so-called objective social science research while also supporting the advancement of democratic policies, norms and values.

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## C02 - Climate Governance

### Relations internationales

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :** UQÀM, Pavillion DS: DS-2950 (2nd floor, enter off of St-Catherine Street, métro Berri-UQAM or St-Laurent)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Soham Das (O.P. Jindal Global University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Andrew Heffernan (University of Ottawa)

***Climate Finance and Nigeria's Quest for Net Zero Emissions: Problems and Prospects:*** John Shola (Landmark University)

**Abstract:** Abstract

The issue of climate change and its attendant global challenges have become issues of global priority in recent times simply because there is no country that is completely shielded from its havoc. Despite the anthropogenic nature of climate change and its associated challenges, low climate finance is worrisome most especially in Africa. It is evident that the developing countries have contributed the least to the accumulation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, they are however the most vulnerable to the threats of climate change because of low capacity to adapt to the various threats posed by the climate. It is projected that developing countries will need hundreds of billions of dollars to adapt to the inevitable warming of the climate change and other attendant consequences. However, it is obvious that Nigerian fragile economy has a low proclivity to contain the required finances needed to mitigate the causes and effects of climate change without over-reliance on foreign donors. In 2009, under the Copenhagen Accord, developed countries agreed to jointly provide succor with USD 1 billion a year by 2020 to developing nations to help them adapt to climate change and mitigate further rises in temperature. In spite of the euphoria that greeted the promise, it was not fulfilled. The study intends to assess Nigerian financial stance and its projected quest for Net Zero Emissions. The study adopts methodological triangulation. The primary data were generated through the utility of Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), the secondary data were sourced from textbooks, journal articles and web-based materials. The data generated were analyzed using logic inductive method and thematic analysis. The study recommends more comprehensive financial parameters beyond what is captured in the Climate Act coupled with the full implementation of carbon tax system across the federation with required legislations

**Keywords:** Climate Change; Climate finance; Climate mitigation; Anthropogenic factors; Nigeria

***Climate Change, Mobility, and Resilience: Politicizing the Gaps of the Global Governance Response to Climate-induced Migration and Displacement:*** Chelsea Dunn (Queen's University), Sarah E. Sharma (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** Climate change has ignited a crisis of mobility. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre estimates that in 2022 alone, 32.6 million people fled environmental disasters within the borders of their countries, marking a near 38% increase from the previous year. And yet, the climate-induced crisis of mobility remains marginalized in political science. While migration scholars understand that climate change exacerbates other social, economic, and political factors influencing migration, there remain significant gaps of knowledge related to 1) the different approaches required to address long-term compared to sudden disaster-driven forms of climate-induced mobility, and 2) the novel ways climate mitigation initiatives drive displacement amidst land conflicts particularly in the global South, which experiences the brunt of this crisis. Responding to these silences, this paper employs an international political economy (IPE) approach to investigate the historical, institutional, discursive, and material landscape of global climate-induced mobility governance. To do so, we examine six flagship global governance publications on climate-induced mobility, including the field-defining 2018 World Bank Groundswell Report. In so doing, we investigate how global institutions frame and govern climate-induced mobility, particularly in terms of equity and justice. We find that global institutions claim that climate-induced mobility can be effectively managed through forms of resilience-building and strategic adaptation despite the growing evidence that this crisis requires systemic changes around key issues like housing and border control. Drawing on the concept of disposability, we argue that this approach leverages xenophobic logic to justify the shortcomings of resilience in governing the climate-induced crisis of mobility.

***Transnational Climate Governance, Foucault, and the Neo-Liberal Turn: Similarities and Dead-Ends:*** Mark Purdon (Université du Québec à Montréal), Olivier Ruchet (Université Paris 2)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the uncanny resemblance between Foucault's initial embrace of the politics of neoliberalism and current interest in Transnational Climate Governance (TCG). We show in the paper how TCG dovetails closely with several elements of the Foucauldian neoliberal framework, from attempts to decenter the state as an essential political actor in global efforts towards climate change mitigation to the designation of non-state actors as key catalysts of climate governance and a preference for 'bottom-up' processes to take climate action. Just like Foucault might have failed to appreciate hidden mechanisms of power in governance through markets, we argue that there has been insufficient attention to the potential for regressive political consequences of TCG, particularly in the developing world. Exploring the parallels between Foucault, neoliberalism and TCG, the paper brings debates in global climate governance into dialogue with broader trends in global political economy and opens new theoretical approaches to global climate governance that resonate with declining enthusiasm for globalization amongst developed countries as well as growing interest in the developmental state model in the developing world.

***(Practice) Tracing the Rise of Subnational and Indigenous Governors in Global Environmental Politics:*** Marjolaine Lamontagne (McGill University)

**Abstract:** How do new governors emerge in world politics? Since the establishment of the UN "Constituencies" at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, the environmental arena has witnessed a significant rise in the involvement of so-called "non-state" actors in global policymaking and conferences, particularly within the domains of climate, biodiversity, and the Sustainable Development Goals. This Ph.D. dissertation employs a practice tracing methodology, incorporating interviews, participant observations, archival research, and analysis of social media content, to illuminate how subnational governments and Indigenous Peoples have effectively expanded their presence and engagement in UN-sponsored global events, including the HPLF and climate and

biodiversity COPs, from 2015 to the present. By tracing how informal practices developed over two decades of advocacy and activism have led to more formalized types of participation for these territorial actors in recent global summits, it seeks to examine two interrelated processes of cognitive evolution of great significance for national and global politics.

Firstly, this research explores how local governments and Indigenous communities integrated into global diplomatic networks have come to redefine their understanding and practice of local/regional autonomy and/or sovereignty within the context of global environmental governance. Secondly, through a comparative analysis of practices related to the inclusion and exclusion of subnational governments and Indigenous Peoples across the climate, biodiversity, and Sustainable Development Goals fields, this study sheds light on the transformation of shared assumptions and background knowledge among UN personnel and member state representatives, which may have fostered greater receptivity to "non-sovereign" territorial representatives in global policymaking.

(Supervisor: Vincent Pouliot, vincent.pouliot@mcgill.ca)

***Shifting Grandiose Visions of Sustainability and the Making of an Arid Sahara Desert:*** Khaoula Bengezi (York University)

**Abstract:** The Sahara Desert in Morocco has long been a subject of ambitious techno-scientific visions. These visions often contrast the Orientalist perception of a barren desert with the Sahara's transformative potential. This is exemplified by various large-scale development initiatives introduced throughout history, including the French administrations' dam projects, Morocco's Green Plan, and more recently, elaborate and futuristic large-scale solar power projects. The focus of my paper is to examine how these temporal notions of 'sustainability' are situated within a specific time and space and prioritize the visual grandeur of the projects at the expense of their long-term viability and their benefits to local communities and the nation. The current global preoccupation with the construction of expansive solar power plants is exemplified by the Noor Ouarzazate Solar Power Plant, the largest of its kind in the world with approximately two million solar power mirrors. My paper emphasizes the cost of these grand imaginaries by highlighting how these projects require a significant amount of water to operate, thereby posing a threat to an already water-scarce region and the communities that surround them. I argue that these water shortages are not solely the result of climate change drought, but also the consequence of internationally envisioned and nationally implemented grandiose development projects.

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## D02(a) - Indigenous Peoples and the Canadian Courts

### Droit et analyse de politiques

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 365

Chair/Président/Présidente : Kate Puddister (University of Guelph)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Janique Dubois (University of Ottawa)

*The Role of the Courts in Policing Indigenous Resistance in Canada:* Minh Do (University of Guelph), Kate Puddister (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** Indigenous peoples continue to resist colonial forces, including through non-routine, highly visible forms of direct actions taken outside of established political and legal processes (Borrows 2005, Ladner and Simpson 2010). For example, land defenders from Standing Rock, and the Wet'suwet'en and Gitksan are challenging major pipeline projects in their respective lands. Scholars have critically examined how the state mobilizes police forces to quell Indigenous resistance (Crosby and Monaghan 2018), but the role of the judiciary is often overlooked. Courts can be called upon to issue injunctions, which compel a party to take or refrain from taking a particular action, potentially shaping how police forces engage with Indigenous resistance (Roach 2021). Courts are increasingly issuing injunctions in favour of private interests (Yellowhead Institute 2019), and yet an account of how courts evaluate various rights when Indigenous resistance is underway is underexplored. Our study examines how courts weigh competing rights when issuing injunctions by analyzing the decisions of the superior courts in the Canadian provinces of B.C. and Ontario in the last five years (2017-2022) to compare how courts treat Indigenous resistance with non-Indigenous protests in these jurisdictions. We then analyze the extent to which these injunctions shape police actions towards Indigenous land defenders and non-Indigenous protesters.

*The Role of Trust and Relationship Building in Canadian Trial Courts: Indigenous Sentencing Policy and Street Level Bureaucracy:* Emma Gill-Alderson (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** I am a PhD Candidate in Political Science at the University of Toronto conducting dissertation research on judicial and Crown Attorney implementation of Indigenous sentencing principles in Ontario trial courts and how this influences patterns of diversion to Indigenous community justice programming. My proposed paper presents findings from my first case study: an Indigenous community justice program in a small Northern Ontario city that works almost exclusively with one local court. Using a qualitative and interpretivist methodology, I look at the participation of court actors in the policy implementation mechanisms that translate written sentencing policy to policy outcomes. Using data from interviews and comparing them to written policy and guidelines surrounding Indigenous sentencing and community justice diversion, I explore the role of court actors as street-level bureaucrats who directly impact Indigenous sentencing policy outcomes at the granular level.

I find that the strength of the relationship (defined using three measures: interpersonal trust building, institutional trust building, and institutionalized supports) between community programs and Crown offices has the most important and long-term impact on diversion practices. I argue that all three forms of relationship building need to be present in order to develop effective diversion practices that appropriately respond to Indigenous sentencing policy and guidelines. Strong relationships not only cause Crowns to divert more cases to community justice programs, but they also result in the development of more appropriate diversion practices that match a program's available resources. These findings are particularly poignant given assumptions of impartiality in Canadian trial courts and the tendency of public policy research to assume written policy is implemented as intended by those who write it.

*Of costs, courts, and co-operation: Explaining legislative behaviour with respect to Métis lands in Alberta and Saskatchewan (1930-1990):* Christa Scholtz (McGill University)

**Abstract:** In both the 1930s and 1980s, Alberta passed legislation with respect to Métis lands, while Saskatchewan did not. What explains both Alberta's legislative activism and Saskatchewan's legislative stasis across time? Previous scholarship has pointed to robustness of Métis political mobilization to explain Depression-era policy choices, but this variable on its own cannot explain policy choices in the 1980s. In order to analyze these province's legislative behaviour across time, I turn to a game-theoretic model of legislative supply. Legislative choices are endogenous to policy preferences, intergovernmental relations, and judicial uncertainty over legal jurisdictions. I then test the predictions of the model to the case of Métis land legislation. Using archival sources of cabinet deliberations in both provinces, I conclude that legislative choices with respect to the Métis were primarily driven by governments' assessments of the economic cost to itself and other parties. Métis political mobilization is important to the degree that it can impose costs on governments. Interestingly, provinces' beliefs about constitutional jurisdiction only partly constrain legislative behaviour. These findings challenge the judicial argument that jurisdictional clarity simplistically facilitates the supply of Métis land policies. Indeed, political contestation over jurisdictional boundaries is endogenous to policy costs. We see this in 1984, when Saskatchewan's Devine government, unable to garner federal subsidization of provincial policy costs, supported the Métis National Council's argument that the Métis fell under federal jurisdiction, while Alberta's Lougheed government (initially) did not.

*The Continuity and Discontinuity of Indigenous Rights in Canada:* Neil Montgomery (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** With the Constitution Act, 1982, two groups of rights were formally constitutionalized in Canada: first, those rights enumerated in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and applying to all Canadians; second, those rights recognized in section 35 and applying to "Indian, Inuit, and Métis" peoples in Canada. While Aboriginal rights are formally protected from Charter challenge, the influence of the Charter on the Supreme Court's Aboriginal rights jurisprudence has been significant. Through a critical analysis of the development of Aboriginal law since 1982, this paper argues that the influence of the Charter on Aboriginal law has resulted in a rights jurisprudence that is in fundamental tension with itself. As the Court has sought to marry an abstract approach to rights drawn from its Charter jurisprudence with an historical approach to rights more fitting to the domain of Aboriginal law, it has struggled to produce a satisfactorily coherent conception of the nature of constitutional rights in general. Without a generally coherent theory of constitutional rights, the Court risks undermining a key aspect of the rule of law. The paper concludes by suggesting that the recent but largely implicit tendency of members of the



Court to interpret Charter rights from an historical perspective might provide a theoretical avenue through which such coherence could be established, requiring the courts to reverse rather than reject the relationship of influence between Charter and Aboriginal rights.

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## D02(b) - Policy Processes and Policy Change

### Droit et analyse de politiques

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 391

Chair/Président/Présidente : Tim Heinmiller (Brock University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Heather Millar (University of New Brunswick)

*The politics of growing health care costs:* Olivier Jacques (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Population ageing and technological progress have increased health-care costs everywhere in advanced democracies. What are citizens' preferences regarding the trade-offs incurred by growing health-care costs? Who is willing pay more taxes to pay for health care? Which groups prefer to retrench other social policies or to reduce the coverage of public health insurance to avoid tax increases? Previous studies on preferences for health-care expenditures have not analyzed trade-offs between health care, taxes and other social policies, which is an important gap in the literature considering the pressures posed by growing health-care costs. We argue that once these trade-offs are adequately measured, there is significantly less public consensus about health care than what previous studies have suggested. As a merit good whose demand increases with income, but also with age, we contend that health care is a priority for older and richer citizens who are likely to prefer cutbacks in other social policy fields to pay for growing health-care costs. In contrast, poorer and younger citizens are more likely to prefer that growing health care costs be paid for by higher taxes or, if they lean towards the right, to constrain the growth of health care costs. This paper presents the results of an original survey on policy trade-offs between health care and other social policies conducted in 2023 in four countries using wording experiments, conjoint experiments and point allocation questions. With these survey experiments, the paper highlights the political conflicts inherent to growing health-care costs.

*Why Policy Change Pathways Close: Canada's Failed Attempts at Cannabis Decriminalization:* Tim Heinmiller (Brock University)

**Abstract:** Between 2002 and 2006, three government bills were introduced to decriminalize recreational cannabis use in Canada, but none were passed. This is a curious result given that two of the bills were introduced by governments with majority control of the House of Commons, and the third was introduced by a minority government with support from two opposition parties. It is even more curious that several attempts at decriminalization failed given that Canada subsequently legalized recreational cannabis in 2018. ACF policy change theory posits that the presence of at least one policy change pathway is necessary for major policy change to occur and, indeed, there is substantial evidence that pathways were present during the three decriminalization attempts. However, it is important to distinguish between necessity and sufficiency, and the three failed decriminalization efforts provide opportunities to investigate why policy change pathways are insufficient for major policy change, even if they are necessary. Such an investigation probes the limits of ACF policy change theory and provide insights into why some policy change pathways result in major policy change while others terminate without changing the policy status quo.

*Indigenous self-determination through collaborative governance? Potential and limits of joint policymaking in Canada:* Martin Papillon (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** While we tend to equate Indigenous self-determination with greater political autonomy, institutions designed to facilitate Indigenous-state coordination, or shared rule, are arguably also essential to achieving change in colonial relationships. In recent years, the development of policy through collaborative processes with Indigenous organizations and governing bodies has emerged as an informal mechanism of shared rule in Canada. There are very few systematic analyses of these policy co-development exercises. Who participates? For what purpose? To what extent do they provide an actual space for collaborative governance and, ultimately, co-decision? Drawing on the rich literature on collaborative governance and joint policymaking, this paper proposes an analytical framework to unpack these processes and assess their potential and limits. It then proceeds to illustrate the proposed framework with two case studies, the collaborative process that led to the development of a new federal fiscal policy for Indigenous self-governments and the process that led to the adoption by Parliament of the Indigenous Languages Act.

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## D02(c) - Constitutional Pluralism and Asymmetry

### Droit et analyse de politiques

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 395

Chair/Président/Présidente : Yonatan Fessha (The University of the Western Cape)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Yonatan Fessha (The University of the Western Cape)

*A Systematic Comparison of Self-determination Practices in Multinational Democracies:* Félix Mathieu (University of Winnipeg), Dave Guénette (University of Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** In what ways do contemporary multinational democracies deal with claims related to political self-determination typically made by agents of their constitutive societal diversity? In answering the question, this communication aims to shed new light on how various liberal democracies that are made up of two or more demoi organize their constitutional order to deal with demands for secessionism and self-determination more broadly. It does so in a decidedly interdisciplinary and comparative way, drawing on the tools of both normative political theory and comparative constitutional law. It compares cases such as Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom, with regard to the relative hospitality of their respective constitutional architecture towards claims that have been expressed with various degrees of intensity by the Flemish, Quebecois and Indigenous Peoples of Canada, Corsican and New Caledonian, South Tyrolean, Catalan and Basque, and Scottish and Northern Irish communities.

*Legitimacy in Multilevel Constitutional Orders: Between Multilateral and Mutual:* Maja Sahadžić (Utrecht University)

**Abstract:** Legitimacy in multilevel constitutional orders is influenced by several factors, one of the most prominent ones being the asymmetrical positioning of individuals, groups, and levels of government (in national, international, and transnational settings). Since asymmetrical positioning results in differences in status, powers, and fiscal autonomy (Sahadžić, 2021) they question, among others, the relationship between individual and collective rights, (Requejo, 2001) and the balance between the levels of government. This reflects on the perception of the legitimacy of multilevel constitutional orders (Burgess, 2006). For the multilevel order to be legitimate under the influence of asymmetrical solutions, the system has to be established in such a way as to acknowledge that legitimacy originates from several sources (multilateral). It also has to enable all these sources in their search for the accommodation of their interests (dynamic). But, the question is how to position the concept of legitimacy to achieve and maintain broad inter-acceptance and support for such a thing (mutual). Drawing upon research on multilevel constitutional orders, this paper attempts to (1) use the concepts of input, output, and throughput legitimacy to evaluate what effective and accountable participation and transparent processes use to build multilateral awareness and (2) explore the principles of equality and transparency that underline the concept of legitimacy to transform the narratives about mutual acceptance. In the outcome, the paper will reinforce the (3) concept of dynamic legitimacy.

*Asymmetrical Constitutional Pluralism in Africa: The Coexistence of Indigenous and Received Constitutionalisms Then, Now, and in the Future:* Jan Erk (Université Mohammed VI Polytechnique (UM6P))

**Abstract:** This paper takes a longue durée perspective covering colonial and post-colonial periods in Africa aiming to map out the different ways uncoded indigenous constitutional traditions are incorporated into the fold of modern written constitutions. The paper tracks the fate of three indigenous kingdoms which preceded the arrival of colonialism, their constitutional status as protectorates within the British imperial order, the strong position they enjoyed during the early days of independence, their weakening under the centralist/populist decades that followed, concluding with their recent resurgence. The paper has selected three case-studies from the three corners of Africa: Ghana's Asante Kingdom from west Africa, Uganda's Buganda Kingdom from east Africa, and Zambia's Lozi Kingdom from southern Africa. What unites the three kingdoms is that, while they have all have gone through ups-and-downs constitutional history, they have remained more prominent in comparison to other indigenous polities inhabiting the same geography. The resilience of their traditional systems of law and the continuing loyalty they command from the grassroots make the three kingdoms informative case-studies. The main angle in the longue durée analysis is the relationship between uncoded systems of traditional law and governance and the formal constitutional order. The findings are from field-research and archives. The paper identifies three types of relationship which has varied over time, and the political consequences of each type. The final part of the paper is a reflection on how the future might unfold for these three kingdoms and what all this might mean for political stability and societal peace.

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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 : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1041

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

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

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*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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## F02 - Political Polarizations I

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 451

Chair/Président/Présidente : Mathieu Turgeon (Western University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Fred Guillaume Dufour (Université du Québec à Montréal)

*The Fearful Right and the Brave Left? About the Ideological Dimensions of Fear:* Beáta Kovács (Eötvös Loránd University)

**Abstract:** The main goal of my research is to explore the right and left dimensions of the phenomenon of fear. I would like to argue that the categories of left and right continue to be defining aspects of political identities, and by mapping their emotional structure we can better understand the current relevance of these ideologies. By examining fears related to the refugee crisis and climate change, my research aims to show how political ideology works in our everyday lives and has an influence on our (political) decisions.

The studies that have examined political fears have mostly linked fear to conservatism and right-wing populism, while the fears of the left have generated far less scientific interest. In addition most research has been conducted using quantitative methods in the American political context. Thus, my study aims to use qualitative methods to explore differences and similarities between the political fears of left-wingers and right-wingers in Hungary. In the course of the research so far seventy semi-structured creative interviews have been conducted with political activists. The interview questions were combined with projective techniques and the activists belonged to political parties which were members of the Hungarian Parliament.

The preliminary findings of my research show that regarding migration and climate change extreme ideological positions were rarely found among the respondents. However, political polarization is one of the most important fears perceived by the interviewees in Hungary today. The results of my research also confirmed that Hungarian society is by no means polarized by itself, but the polarization process is mainly the creation of the political elites, who intensify naturally existing opinion differences to create a battle between good and evil.

*(Mis)information Flows and Public Beliefs about Voter Fraud in the 2020 and 2022 U.S. Elections:* Mathieu Lavigne (Dartmouth College), John Carey (Dartmouth College), Brian Fogarty (University of Notre Dame), Marília Gehrke (University of Groningen)

**Abstract:** Trust in the electoral process is key to a healthy democracy and has recently come into question. How do citizens update their beliefs about voter fraud in a highly politicized context like the aftermath of the 2020 U.S. presidential election? Using paired over-time panel survey data and behavioral web browsing data, we first examine how citizens' partisanship and consumption of mainstream and untrustworthy news sites influenced their exposure to voter fraud news and refutation of fraud claims during and between the 2020 and 2022 U.S. election periods. We then evaluate the correspondence between information flows and public beliefs. We uncover significant differences in the likelihood of updating one's perceptions of election integrity in the post-election period and between the two elections based on exposure to cues from elites. Finally, we report results from a survey experiment conducted after the 2020 election that shows that corrections debunking claims of widespread voter fraud can be effective at reducing misperceptions. However, our data show that exposure to corrections was relatively rare, especially among those believing in voter fraud. The results highlight the critical role played by elites in shaping perceptions of elections and the necessity of increasing demand for fact-checking among those most likely to consume misinformation.

*Misinformation, Polarization, and Trust in Elections: Longitudinal Evidence from Canada:* Mathieu Lavigne (Dartmouth College), Aengus Bridgman (McGill University), Holly Ann Garnett (Royal Military College of Canada)

**Abstract:** Emerging literature suggests that rising affective polarization can amplify the winner-loser gap in perceptions of elections and political support. Indeed, affective polarization increases the perceived stakes of elections and citizens' vulnerability to ideologically-aligned rhetoric about election administration. Using data from the Canadian Election Study from 2008 to 2021 and the Media Ecosystem Observatory from 2019 to 2021, we show that perceptions of election administration, which are measured in terms of confidence, satisfaction, and perceived fairness, have not become more negative over time, but are more strongly influenced by citizens' political orientations since 2019. We then evaluate three potential causes for these partisan and ideological differences in perceptions of elections: (1) affective polarization, (2) the fact that the party that won the popular vote did not form the government in 2019 and 2021, and (3) beliefs in election misinformation (primarily based on elite rhetoric during the 2020 U.S. election). The findings help understand the evolution of citizens' perceptions of elections in Canada, which have important implications for the health of our democracy.

*Polarizing Political Participation: How Major American Political Organizations Mobilize their Members Across the Right and Left:* Catharina O'Donnell (Harvard University)

**Abstract:** National political organizations like Planned Parenthood and the National Rifle Association play an important role in contemporary American politics. Historically, political organizations offered their members opportunities for political and civic engagement, but some scholars suggest that this function has declined as political organizations have professionalized and institutionalized. To interrogate the contemporary relationship between political organizations and their membership bases across the right and left, I computationally analyze 13,459 mass emails sent by 29 major American political organizations to their member mailing lists between 2018 and 2022. I find that these organizations continually encourage their bases to engage in concrete action. However, the specific kind of action encouraged is shaped by political divides. Left-leaning organizations assign readers urgent tasks focused on immediate political objectives that largely take for granted the reader's ideological commitment (e.g. contact your representative). Meanwhile, right-leaning organizations encourage actions that build collective identity and commitment to the movement (e.g. listen to our podcast). My findings suggest that contemporary national political organizations do present their members with some opportunities for political participation, but the nature of these opportunities is structured by the right-left political divide.

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## G02 - The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power Fifty Years On (Part II)

### Économie politique

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Bryan Evans (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Gregory Albo (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Steve Maher (State University of New York - Cortland)

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Christian Pépin (Université du Québec en Outaouais)

Arnel Borrás (St. Francis Xavier University)

William Carroll (University of Victoria)

Nicolas Graham (University of British Columbia)

Robert Heynen (York University)

**Abstract:** In 1977, Leo Panitch's edited collection *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power* was published. For many, this was a first introduction to Leo and his Marxist analytical lens. The 1970s was a far cry from the political and economic context we find ourselves in today. Stagflation set the economic context. The political context globally was one of labour militancy, emancipatory struggles for social and national liberation in the Global South, and of a successful electoral and social movement Left. In Canada, 1976 saw this country's first, and only, national general strike over wage controls as stagflation endured. Unions and the NDP advocated for the public ownership of natural resources, and in some provincial cases, actually did so. Left economic nationalism was a 'thing', various social movements – women, environmental – were at the zenith of their influence. Obviously that world has been turned upside down. With this historical context in mind, the editors (Gregory Albo (York), Bryan Evans (Toronto Metropolitan), and Stephen Maher (SUNY-Cortland), are undertaking a 're-imagining' of Panitch's original book entitled *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power Fifty Years On, 1977 to 2027*. This roundtable provides a forum where contributors to the volume can share how they are re-imagining and contemporizing issues touched upon in the original collection as well as issues such as free trade, Indigenous struggles, and race not dealt with in 1977.

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## H02(a) - Decolonization #2: Reflections on Colonialism and Post-Colonialism in the Developing World

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1051

#### *From Revenue Systems to Mass Death: Racial Bureaucracy in British India?*: Chris Barker (The American University in Cairo)

**Abstract:** The British official in charge of Bengal during the disastrous 1866 famine refused to take any responsibility - a key concept of liberal political theory. Theorizing in the Malthusian spirit, one might conclude that "gigantic inevitable famine stalks in the rear," bringing population back into lockstep with the land's carrying capacity. However, as Amartya Sen has argued, democracies do not experience famines because they face public criticism and maintain their legitimacy and power through elections. Authoritarian governments lack these constraints. Famines - and famine relief efforts - illustrate the misapplication of liberal political economy and liberal imperial theory, the false promises of bureaucratism, and the flaws of racial bureaucratism, as I argue in this paper.

Lieutenant Governor of Bengal Cecil Beadon's own exculpatory statement on the causes of the famine and the relief effort paraphrase a passage of JS Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* sent to him by John Strachey, architect of British famine policy. For Mill, in times of famine government should counsel general moderation of consumption, because subsidies do not reduce prices and enrich the middle-men. As his August 15, 1867 letter to Thomas Plummer shows, Mill was aware of the Orissa famine, but he did not speak or write on it. In the course of the parliamentary debate about Orissa, Viscount Cranborne, Secretary of State for India, noted that Mill's liberal doctrine was systematically misused in doctrinaire fashion to starve "some 750,000 persons." Mill's silence was broken by a shouted cry of support, "Hear, hear!" and yet Mill did not speak in parliament on the famine, the misuse of liberal theory, or even the shocking claim that his own textbook on political economy shaped the British policy that provided too little famine relief, too late.

Famine relief policy was illiberal, but famines were induced in the first place by a system of imperial land tenure and revenue systems that were wealth-extractive in intent. In the paper, I step back to address the efficiency and impartiality of British revenue collection in India. I bring failures in these areas back around to the original purpose of the Company, which was to transfer wealth from India to Britain. The path-dependency of the for-profit corporation (the East India Company) charged with the impartial administration of a large territory comprised of distant and different subjects is a part of global liberalism's story that is too often overlooked. This paper therefore recenters theorists' focus on revenue systems, taxation, and unintended consequences (famines) as systematic failures that cannot easily be addressed within the liberal frame of intervention vs. non-intervention. In the words of Stafford Northcote, Secretary of India during the Orissa Famine and past co-author of the famous Northcote-Trevelyan report, the cause of the 1866 Orissa Famine was "an official lack of courage" of the officers of the Raj. The "bureaucratic demon" that silenced the local revenue collector, who was charged with making reports about local conditions, and who retracted his report under pressure from his superiors, form an episode in the exercise of power-knowledge and non-parrhesia that shows the limits of bureaucratic administration. Finally, the racial component of these failures were noted by Northcote: "the conduct of Englishmen towards Asiatics and other races is very often such as to make me blush."

The 1866 famine was by no means the first or the most mortal famine in British India. Attention to the failures of the British administration and its consequence - mass-death in famines - helps to clarify the scope of imperial power, clarify the form of administrative power that was exercised over so-called dependencies, and recenter studies of Metropolitan liberalism on how practices of administrative control over territories and populations were created on the periphery.

#### *The Role and Function of Recognition for Fanon's Conception of Freedom*: William Gregson (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Frantz Fanon is often seen as both a proponent and radical critic of the politics of recognition. This article seeks to reconcile Fanon's project of freedom as both being foundationally concerned with establishing the conditions for recognitive reciprocity and providing an alternative to the recognition paradigm. While it is argued that misrecognition poses a threat to freedom insofar as it consists in the objectification of an otherwise free and self-conscious subject, Fanon nonetheless identifies three freedom-disabling forms of recognition: i) recognition-seeking as a form of bad faith, ii) essentialist recognition of group identity, and iii) recognition as falsely equated with freedom itself. Ultimately, Fanon avoids these obstacles by articulating freedom as self-constitution, for which recognition is a necessary but insufficient condition.

#### *China in Herder's Political Thought: a Reassessment*: Simon Kow (University of King's College)

**Abstract:** Johann Gottfried Herder's robust approach to cultural diversity in his historical and political thought has been seen by sympathetic commentators as an important shift away from the more egregious aspects of Enlightenment universalism. They champion Herder's insistence that different world cultures, past and present, cannot be judged by the values of eighteenth-century Europe, and that each culture contains its own internal standards of happiness and virtue. This would suggest that Herder would be more cognizant of cultural particularity and difference than other eighteenth-century thinkers, and thus avoid the trap of either idealizing or denigrating China based on European models of Enlightened absolutism or Oriental despotism. On the contrary, as I argue, Herder's presentation of China is even more caricatured and dismissive than that of such Enlightenment critics of China as Montesquieu or Diderot. I will consider Herder's remarks on despotism and race before turning to his stress on the Mongolian origins and genetic character (*genetischen Charakter*) of the Chinese, and his assessments of the Chinese moral and political order. Despite Herder's robust appreciation of cultural difference in many respects, his account of China is influenced by Enlightenment critiques of Chinese despotism and goes beyond them with his emphasis on China's "genetic character" as a deformed Mongolian culture. Herder's hostile account of China is not an aberration in his thought, but rather an integral part of his philosophy of history and thus an extension of later Enlightenment critiques of China.

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## H02(b) - Justice, Rationality, Property, and Agency in Liberalism

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1165

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Marc Hooghe (University of Leuven)

*Why should liberals care about collective agents as such?:* Xavier Boileau (Université McGill)

**Abstract:** Liberals have difficulty recognizing the importance of collective identities as a source of justice in their own right (Moore, 2015). When they do, it's often only to recognize their instrumental value to the individual well-being of community members, like Will Kymlicka (1995) or Alan Patten (2014). While this approach goes some way to explain the importance of collective identities for individuals, it fails to show how a collectivity can suffer harms that are not reducible to individuals.

We aim to show that the methodological individualism defended by liberals opens the door to at least three problems in contexts where several autonomous political communities cohabit, whether in plurinational or postcolonial societies. Firstly, by focusing primarily on individuals, liberals open the door to interventions by an external authority within the community to protect the individual rights of these members (Coulthard, 2015; Eisenberg, 2022; Chevrier, 2019). Secondly, by considering only the instrumental role that collective identities play for individuals, liberals diminish the meaning and scope of the concept of collective autonomy itself (Young, 2007; Allard-Tremblay, 2018). Finally, the third problem relates to liberals' limited understanding of collective identity, which risk reducing the number of reasonable solutions we can envision to resolve these conflicts.

To avoid these problems, one possible solution would be to adopt a more precise conception of cultural and political institutions. To this end, we propose to revisit Kymlicka's concept of the structure of culture in light of the work of Seymour (2017), Descombes (2013), and De Schutter (2016).

*Moral Comfort and Pathologies of Conscience: Probabilistic Moral Reasoning and the History of Liberalism:* Joseph Dattilo (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Studies in the history of liberalism often focus on the material conditions that gave rise to it and studies of the philosophical content of liberal ideals throughout time. Likewise, the moral psychology of liberalism has been well-studied from contemporary and empirical perspectives. However, the historical development of liberal moral psychology has not received as much attention. My study traces the moral-psychological aspects of liberalism to the tradition of probabilistic moral reasoning and casuistry in the early renaissance. In this era, scholars were often preoccupied with crises of conscience. By turning to various thinkers of the 15th to 16th centuries, like Jean Gerson and Pierre Nicole, I show the beginning of a newfound concern with the nature of moral certitude and the implications of moral complexity for the consciences of political actors. Questions of conscience were flavoured by the religious pre-occupations of renaissance and early modern eras, but the differing approaches to seeking moral comfort and resolving crises of conscience led to a fruitful theoretical dialogue that engendered the rise of modern liberalism. By bringing the works of Gerson and his contemporaries and successors into conversation with later theorists of moral psychology like Shklar, Smith, Mandeville, and Weber, I demonstrate the impact of the early modern probabilistic moral reasoning. In so doing, this paper provides perspective on how liberal societies handle complex moral information, contested claims of moral right, and negotiating the boundaries of toleration. Thus, I show how, for liberal societies to navigate the challenges of moral contestation and rising intolerance, they must engage with their history of case-based reasoning and moral probabilism.

*Civic Education in Hierarchical Societies: A Rawlsian Framework:* Jimmy Lim (National University of Singapore)

**Abstract:** This paper explains the place of public justification in hierarchical societies, by reinterpreting Rawls's concept of public justification as something that involves the empathetic power to place oneself in the shoes of those to whom one disagrees with while evaluating the normativity of law. Following Stephen Darwall, I call this the power to take up the second-person standpoint in moral reasoning. This is a more accurate reading than that given by Rawls's critics. On this interpretation, what makes justification as a mode of reasoning 'public' is not a situation where everyone gathers in some outdoor space to debate with one another (which makes justification an event) but the presence of an implied addressee (which makes justification a normative, second-personal, concept). Citizens may pursue public justification collectively, in a raucous townhall, or intra-personally, without ever participating in face-to-face debates. Reconceiving Rawlsian public justification as second-personal justification liberates us from liberal and idealized conceptions of public justification. For Rawlsian public justification can take place in hierarchical societies where empathy is valued, and in the classroom, small enough where everyone can participate in moral debates. East Asian educators can therefore apply Rawls's account of public justification in their classrooms; the pedagogical key here is not to begin civic education with liberal ideals of political freedom but with their own political constitutions as foundational doctrines for debates about basic justice and constitutional essentials.

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## H02(c) - Utopias: Past, Present, and Future

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1055

Chair/Président/Présidente : Ryan Griffiths (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Michelle Mawhinney (York University)

#### *Reduction and Utopia in Benjamin's Critical Political Phenomenology:* Paul Mazzocchi (York University)

**Abstract:** In recent years, critical and political phenomenology sought to recenter the phenomenological project around both unmasking the quasi-transcendental way social structures affect experience and exposing the systems of domination that these structures are rooted in. While critical theory also sought to unmask domination, the members of the Frankfurt School were often dismissive if not outright hostile to phenomenology. Walter Benjamin represents an exception to this tendency within critical theory. Yet, his engagement with phenomenology remains cryptic and largely ignored. This paper explores Benjamin's subliminal deployment of a phenomenological reduction and what it might contribute to the critical and political turn in phenomenology. Benjamin sought to unmask the temporality of capitalist modernity, including its deployment of an 'empty, homogenous time' rooted in conceptions of progress and eternal return. To escape this form of temporality, Benjamin theorized 'now-time' as a moment of awakening in which the temporal structure of modernity is suspended, opening new historical possibilities and new relations to the past and future as objects of experience. I argue that now-time can be read as an example of a critical political phenomenological reduction that explodes the historical or temporal continuum in opening utopian possibilities. In doing so, I consider not only Benjamin's own specific focus on capitalism and the oppressed but how this can dovetail with anti-colonial phenomenologies.

#### *The right to utopia: imagination and experimentation in Nozick's framework for utopia:* Thilo Schaefer (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Ruth Levitas argues that utopianism should be understood as a method, not a goal. Utopias, Levitas argues, represent 'provisional hypothesis about how society might be.' The 'method' of utopia involves comparing the vast multitude of imaginable social alternatives against each other and against existing social institutions. This evaluative process allows us to better understand what a more sustainable, equitable, and just world could look like. It is this definition of utopia as a method for tomorrow which I employ in my paper reconsidering Robert Nozick's "Anarchy, State, and Utopia." This is a book best known for its comprehensive defense of Nozick's entitlement theory of rights and the libertarian minimal state limited to defending those rights. The final chapter, in which Nozick constructs a 'utopian' argument for the minimal state, has received remarkably little critical attention. In this chapter Nozick describes his idealized 'framework for utopia' using the language of rights: in the framework for utopia '[e]very rational creature' will have the same rights of imagining a possible world for himself to live in.' The existence of a 'right to utopia' is a very provocative suggestion. Even more fascinating is Nozick's insistence that utopianism is an equal right. My paper explores this eccentric form of egalitarianism that is disguised within an otherwise libertarian argument. I further explain how Nozick views the right to utopia as being made up of two constituent parts: the right to imagine one's ideal society and the right to actualize it through social experimentation.

#### *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory and the Role of Forgetting:* Sophie Marcotte Chenard (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Memory studies have flourished in the past decades, accompanied by memory activism and a prevalent discourse on the duty of remembrance. The democratization of mnemonic techniques, such as photography, has further reinforced the importance of cultural and collective memory as an essential object of study. However, recent memory contestations, in the form of an active destruction of public monuments, have raised central interrogations about the place of forgetting within political communities. Can forgetting be used as a beneficial strategy in dealing with difficult or contested pasts? What is involved in the deliberate operation to reject or eliminate specific traces in collective memory? While forgetting is often presented as a threat or as a pathology, I argue that oblivion may actually perform a central political function. Drawing from Paul Ricoeur's notion of the 'travail de l'oubli' and Axel Honneth's work on the politics of memory, I elaborate a typology of the uses and abuses of collective forgetting by distinguishing between cases of imposed forgetting, such as amnesties, and cases of 'forgetting from below', such as the recent waves of destruction of statues in Canada and the United States. Through the analysis of key examples, this paper examines the politics of memory through the prism of forgetting, and shows how we inherit a living past and how this debt can be processed critically through a balance of remembering and forgetting. It argues that too much memory may prevent the work of imagination necessary for the projection of alternative futures.

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## K02 - Policy, Diversity and Social Services' Delivery

### Administration publique

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1065

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Carey Doberstein (University of British Columbia)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Maxime Boucher (Université d'Ottawa)

**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), Éric 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 University), Maria Gintova (McMaster University), Elliot Goodell Ugalde (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)

**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.

***Racialization and the Mandatory Power of the State: How Racial Minority People Encounter State Child Welfare Systems in Canada:*** Anika Ganness (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** My paper aims to understand the phenomenon of the disproportional representation of racial minority people in child welfare systems by examining what explains the variation in interaction rates between racial minority people and government child welfare systems? Ontario is not only a representative case, but also a key case to study how racial minority people encounter child welfare services. Utilizing data from original interview evidence, policy analyses and secondary data, I map how intersectional aspects of child protection affect marginalized communities, leading to varied encounters with child welfare systems. Drawing on King and Smith's (2005) theory of racial orders I assert that child welfare policies and practices differ across time, populations, and administrative authorities to increase or ameliorate intersectional oppressions that affect how racial minority people (including racial minority immigrants) encounter child welfare systems. I characterize the competing orders as an Inequality racial order of structural racism and an Equality racial order. The paper reveals the extent to which the child welfare system, a key arm of the state that asserts mandatory state powers and intervenes in families, exhibits structural racism and whether child welfare systems are more characteristic of an Equality racial order or an Inequality racial order in its encounters with racial minority families. This paper demonstrates that while marginalized communities experience varied encounters with child welfare, working in solidarity to hold the state accountable helps to contribute to more equitable child welfare systems that better meet the needs of our diverse Canadian society.

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## L02 - Representing Political Issues

### Race, ethnicité, peuples autochtones et politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1155

Chair/Président/Présidente : Tobold Rollo (Lakehead University)

*Discourses of healthcare (in)eligibility: International students in Manitoba:* Lindsay Larios (University of Manitoba)

**Abstract:** In spring 2018, international students in Manitoba were stunned to learn that their access to public health insurance was ended, and confused as to what this would mean for them in the coming semester. Canada's healthcare system is frequently described as universal in nature; however, for temporary residents, eligibility is conditional on a range of factors, often including province/territory of residence, length of permit, and university enrolment or employment. The COVID-19 pandemic made visible the harmful implications of uneven access to healthcare for migrants. Although many provinces provide public health insurance to international students studying full-time, eligibility varies across provinces and has been both implemented and revoked in Manitoba in recent years. As such, this presents a unique case to examine discourses of healthcare (in)eligibility in relation to temporary residents. This paper uses critical discourse analysis to examine Manitoba Hansard, government documents, and media from 2010 to 2023 to understand how healthcare access for international students in Manitoba was framed by policymakers and how these discourses differ from those used by other actors involved in this issue. Findings indicate two distinct discourses: one in which healthcare provision is positioned as a human right linked to broader discourses of humanity and belonging, and the one in which healthcare is positioned as a bargaining chip ? an incentive to attract immigrants, dependent on economic payoff. Implications for this embrace by Manitoba policymakers of this healthcare as incentive discourse are discussed within a dynamic context of shifting access to healthcare for migrants across Canada.

*Effacement et déshumanisation : discours publics sur les femmes autochtones disparues et assassinées au Québec:* Miriam Hatabi (Université d'Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Le rapport de la commission d'enquête nationale sur les femmes et les filles disparues et assassinées (ENFFADA) a souligné que celles-ci sont les cibles du génocide colonial canadien. L'urgence de la situation que sont les assassinats et les disparitions de femmes autochtones au Canada n'attire pas beaucoup d'attention et est traitée différemment d'autres féminicides (terme utilisé dans les médias québécois, souvent pour désigner les meurtres de femmes en contexte intime) qui ont vu leur couverture médiatique augmenter depuis 2019.

En prenant pour cas d'étude le Québec, cette communication s'intéresse aux discours déshumanisants sur les femmes autochtones qui contribuent à perpétuer ce que les commissaires à l'ENFFADA ont appelé le génocide colonial canadien. Mon principal axe d'analyse, à l'aide de l'analyse du discours, est l'identification d'un système de déshumanisation coloniale qui opère dans les discours médiatiques et politiques au Québec, en dépit des mythes voulant que le Québec est un colonisateur « plus doux » que le Canada. En prenant pour point de départ les conclusions de mes recherches antérieures qui se basaient sur des témoignages entendus lors des audiences publiques de l'ENFFADA, j'identifie des mécanismes discursifs sur lesquels s'appuie la déshumanisation des femmes autochtones (avant, pendant et après la violence), dans un processus d'effacement et d'élimination des Autochtones primordiaux à l'établissement et au renouvellement de l'État colonial de peuplement.

Par ailleurs, cette communication ouvre la réflexion conceptuelle sur l'emploi, en contexte québécois, du terme « féminicide » pour désigner majoritairement des meurtres de femmes autochtones (surtout cisgenre et blanches) commis en contextes intimes, tandis que les féminicides commis envers les femmes, les filles et les personnes 2ELGBTQQIA autochtones s'insèrent difficilement dans les discussions publiques.

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## Q02 - Trust and Elections

### Praticiens

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1145

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** David Houle (Public Sector)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Alexandre Morin-Chassé (Secteur public / Public sector)

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

***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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## W302 - Sécurité Nationale et Renseignement : Table ronde sur l'Environnement et Sécurité Nationale Défis et Opportunités

**Atelier - Sécurité nationale et renseignement : perspectives canadiennes et comparées**

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** : McGill College 2001 461

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Bruno Charbonneau (College militaire royal St Jean)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=146](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=146)

Luz-Marina Cabrera-Suarez (Université Laval)

Yan Vaslavskiy (Université d'État de Moscou)

Claude Laferriere (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** En quoi la prise en compte des problèmes environnementaux et des changements climatiques dans l'agenda international va au-delà de la protection militaire de l'intégrité territoriale et de la souveraineté des États-nations ?

Si bien, tous les bouleversements environnementaux, qu'il s'agisse de détérioration écologique ou de raréfaction des ressources, ne revêtent pas nécessairement la dimension de questions touchant à la sécurité nationale, il est impératif de reconnaître que les paramètres environnementaux ont joué un rôle historiquement conséquent dans les dynamiques des relations internationales entre États, même en périodes de paix aussi bien que de conflit. La dégradation de l'environnement est un vecteur d'instabilité pour les nations et une source substantielle de conflits aux dimensions potentiellement violentes, ce qui met au défi le rôle des infrastructures politiques en matière de sécurité environnementale.

Les facteurs environnementaux ont été historiquement pris en compte dans les relations internationales des États, y compris dans les situations de paix et de guerre. Sun Tzu, auteur de "L'art de la guerre" vers l'an 500, a mentionné le rôle du climat, des forces naturelles, de la topographie, de la nature du terrain et de ses caractéristiques, des cours d'eau et de la végétation comme facteurs décisifs dans la conduite des opérations de guerre. Thomas Malthus est un autre auteur qui a établi un lien entre les facteurs naturels et le comportement des sociétés, et qui a en fait, fait valoir que la rareté des ressources était une source potentielle de conflit.

Les défis qui émergent ne portent plus un label d'identification, révélant de manière univoque quelle nation pourrait potentiellement mettre en péril la stabilité d'une autre et les barrières caractéristiques de cette nouvelle ère du système international se distinguent par leur capacité à empêcher l'identification d'un adversaire clair.

Aujourd'hui, plus que jamais, l'intégration des éléments environnementaux et naturels dans la dynamique de la guerre est également ancrée dans le domaine des relations internationales. La prise en compte des problèmes environnementaux ou des changements climatiques dans l'agenda international demandent l'attention des États au-delà de la protection militaire de l'intégrité territoriale et de la souveraineté de l'État-nation.

De ce fait, Comment les bouleversements environnementaux peuvent-ils affecter la sécurité nationale d'un État et entraîner des conflits potentiels ?

Cette table ronde, a pour objectif d'explorer en profondeur les liens entre l'environnement, les changements climatiques, la sécurité nationale et les relations internationales. Nous chercherons à comprendre comment les défis environnementaux vont au-delà de la sécurité territoriale des États-nations et impactent les dynamiques mondiales.

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## W502 - Diverse Dimensions of Representation in Canadian Legislatures

### Atelier - La diversité et la représentation dans les assemblées législatives canadiennes

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1151

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

*Did Indigenous Involvement Matter? Responses from Indigenous Volunteers, Candidates, and MPs Between the 2015 ? 2019 Canadian Federal Elections:* Chadwick Cowie (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** In assessing Indigenous involvement, especially between the 2015 and 2019 Canadian federal elections, this paper will consider writings and responses from Indigenous peoples. More specifically, this paper will first introduce the author of this paper's personal experience as an Indigenous volunteer within the LPC up to April of 2018. In sharing such context and experience, the reader will garner understanding and background regarding the methodological approach, and questions, utilized during interviews held with a variety of Indigenous individuals who had sought involvement in Canada's federal electoral process. Following the aforementioned section, this paper then outlines the methodological approach, questions formulated, and categorical details of those interviewed in order to understand the pool of respondents in relation to being Indigenous and involved in Canadian federal political and legislative institutions. Lastly, the answers given in said interviews, alongside that of Jody Wilson-Raybould's own writing regarding her involvement at this time, will be presented and then analyzed. In assessing personal experience of Indigenous volunteers, candidates, and MPs, this paper concludes that for many, any victory made meant that reconciliation was actually with the slow pace the Canadian state and the Trudeau government had taken in relation to Indigenous peoples and nation-to-nation relations.

*Unelected Representatives? A Conceptual Exploration of Descriptive ?Representation? in Senate of Canada:* Michael Wigginton (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The Senate of Canada increasingly distinguishes itself from the House of Commons in having far more diversity in its membership. While women account for scantily more than 30% of members of the House of Commons they currently account for the majority of Senators. Similarly, Indigenous and racialized people make up larger proportions of Senators than they do MPs. While the greater diversity of the upper house of Canada's Parliament is undisputed, the implications of increased diversity in an unelected legislature are less clear. In this paper I use the case of the Senate of Canada to explore the concept of descriptive representation and ask the question: is electoral accountability a necessary component of descriptive representation? I argue that, while important in its own right, diversity in the Senate does not constitute descriptive representation in the sense usually meant by political theorists. I further caution that appointing more people from underrepresented groups cannot be said to compensate for any perceived deficits in the House of Commons.

*Who is the Standing Committee on the Status of Women Representing?:* Alexie Labelle (House of Commons)

**Abstract:** Committee work represents an important part of Members of Parliament's role as legislators. As a space wherein state-society interactions happen on a weekly basis, House committees provide the opportunity for MPs to better understand the community interests at play, and to better represent these communities in the House. Despite their relevance to the study of representation and legislative politics in Canada, House committees remain understudied. In their 2007 article, Tremblay and Mullen put forth the argument that the Standing Committee on the Status of Women (FEWO) provides an avenue for improving both the descriptive and substantive representation of women in Parliament. Decades later, and in light of intersectional considerations, I propose to revisit FEWO's role as a vector for improving women's substantive representation. Considering how women's experiences and needs are shaped by other factors, such as race, sexual orientation, ability, and so on, I ask the following question: who has the committee been representing over the years? I argue that taking a closer look at the studies undertaken by the committee since its inception in the 38th Parliament can provide some clarity on this matter. More precisely, distinguishing between intersectional studies, meaning studies that have focused on a specific group of women (e.g. Indigenous, disabled, or trans), and non-intersectional studies, namely studies without an explicit focus on a certain group of women, can provide a sense of the extent to which the committee actively seeks to represent the interests of certain groups of women. Secondly, examining which witnesses have appeared before the committee on non-intersectional studies can further deepen our understanding as to which voices are being heard by the committee. Together, these results will provide an enlightening portrait as to whose interests has the committee sought to represent before the House.

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# Day 1 - Session 3 (Posters) (10:30am - 12:00pm)

## P02 - Posters Session 1

### Présentation visuelle

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 10:30am - 12:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West Lobby

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

*Comparing Chinese- and English-Language Media in their Coverage of the 2021 Canadian Federal Election:* Valere Gaspard (University of Ottawa), Holly Ann Garnett (Royal Military College of Canada)

**Abstract:** Recent allegations of political interference from the People's Republic of China (PRC) have been widely reported in Canadian media. Notably, former Conservative MP Kenny Chiu, a known critic of Beijing, accused China of launching a "misinformation campaign" against him on the social media platform, WeChat, that may have assisted in his loss in the 2021 federal election. Thus, there are concerns that through the influence of information consumed by diaspora communities, the PRC can persuade a significant portion of these citizens toward a certain political agenda. While previous research suggests that media has limited effects on voter beliefs, voter turnout, and voter knowledge, previous findings do support the idea that media can reinforce perceptions toward certain political figures or issues. This poster presentation will compare how influential Chinese and English language media differ in their discursive strategies for the coverage of Canadian political issues. Content and sentiment analysis will be conducted on a selected sample of Chinese and English news articles from the 2021 Canadian Federal Election to determine their overall attitude toward different political events. This study hypothesizes that Chinese-language media remain neutral on non-China-related Canadian issues but align with the PRC's stance on contentious Sino-Canadian matters. The findings will contribute to our understanding of the potential impact of media consumed by Chinese-speaking Canadians and suggest how these results may impact our understanding of potential foreign interference in elections through diaspora communities.

*Who's Voting in BC? A District-Level Analysis of Turnout and Voting Behaviour:* Sonya Pallapothu (McGill University), Holly Ann Garnett (Royal Military College of Canada / Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Robust voter turnout is accepted as one of many factors that indicate a healthy democracy and, consequently, has been an extensively-developed area of research in electoral studies. This research is especially important since it informs electoral management bodies of which population groups are least likely to go to the polls, and thus influences policies and practices that may increase political participation. While there exists a consensus regarding the effects of many socio-demographic variables on turnout, consideration of socio-economic variables, such as occupational status and type, is limited. As well, racial minorities, such as immigrants and Indigenous populations, are largely neglected in this discussion. Additionally, the scholarship on turnout mostly focuses on the national level (Preuss, 1981) and those that consider sub-national elections are predominantly in the American and European contexts (Ainsworth, Munoz, & Gomez, 2023; Martikainen, Martikainen, & Wass, 2005). Rather than relying on self-reported survey data, this poster uses the 2016 Census Data from British Columbia and the electoral results from the 2020 provincial election to address these gaps via the following questions: 1) Which socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics affect voting, and non-voting, in the British Columbia provincial elections at the district level? And 2) How do geographic predictors influence voter turnout?

*The Presidential Difference and Iran's Foreign Policy Under Khatami (1997- 2005):* Azadeh Momeni (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Iranian foreign policy under the Khatami presidency (1997-2005) went through a paradigm shift, one that involved a change from confrontation to peaceful relations. The main reason for this alteration rests on Khatami's belief system, whose discourse of "Dialogue Among Civilizations" aiming at coexistence and cooperation assured the international community that Iran would not pursue revolutionary aspirations, but rather seek constructive and meaningful relations based on equality, mutual respect and understanding.

I have applied Operational Code analysis as the theoretical framework to my research since this approach examines how the decision-maker perceives world politics—whether as conflictual or harmonious—and then decides what strategy he/she would adopt in order to achieve their goals. As this dissertation shows, Khatami believed that conflict was not a permanent feature of the international system; therefore, he followed a cooperative approach on the foreign policy front. The outcome of this new approach was Dialogue among Civilizations, instead of Clash of Civilizations. Based on this worldview, Iran, under Khatami, experienced the most peaceful relations with the international community since the inception of the Islamic Revolution in 1979.

*Les effets concrets du discours populiste de droite sur les populations minoritaires : regards comparés entre Québec et Rio de Janeiro.:*

Eduardo da Nóbrega Monteiro (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** Introduction

Le populisme est un concept, comme plusieurs autres en sciences sociales, difficile à définir. Vu que chaque proposition est chargée de signifiants, l'on en proposera un que le comprendre de façon minimaliste et par son discours. Ainsi, le populisme est une logique politique discursive, dont l'idée centrale est la séparation entre le "peuple" et l'"élite". Il s'ajoute à cette logique une idéologie plus dense, comme le libéralisme, communisme, le conservatisme ou le fascisme. À partir de cette addition, l'on devra suivre la logique essentielle pour décortiquer quels sont les signifiants (vides) du peuple et de l'élite. Pour la droite contemporaine, cette relation dyadique se métamorphose vers une triade, où le troisième pôle est celui d'une population minoritaire, souvent racisée. Par cette définition, cette thèse offre une étude sur ces effets du discours vers ce troisième groupe dès que les populistes arrivent au pouvoir jusqu'à la fin d'un premier mandat.



Plus récemment, une préoccupation avec les États-Unis et l'Europe a bouleversé le milieu académique. Malgré la hausse des études publiées sur le populisme, on constate une concentration forte d'études pour expliquer le phénomène avec des regards à l'échelle nationale et, surtout, dans ces deux régions mentionnées plus haut. En plus, la majorité des travaux porte sur la relation avec la démocratie libérale et la presque impossible relation du populisme avec le pouvoir.

À partir de ce constat, je propose d'examiner les effets du populisme contemporain de droite sur les populations minoritaires dans deux contextes distincts et à l'échelle subnationale. L'objectif central de la thèse est d'étudier la relation du populisme de droite avec l'inclusion et la gouvernance par la mise en œuvre de son discours sur le troisième pôle de la triade (i.e. les populations minoritaires). Parmi les objectifs spécifiques, je veux constater la relation causale du discours vers la praxis gouvernementale envers les populations minoritaires; aussi que le rôle joué par les bureaucrates, les ONG et les associations de quartier.

## Contexte

Propulsé par les cas américain, britannique, brésilien, turque et philippin, une préoccupation surgit pour expliquer les similitudes et différences entre les personnalités. Cependant, les études étaient virtuellement toujours consacrées à la montée du populisme dans les contextes nationaux, avec moins de 0,23% de participation des études sur le populisme à l'échelle subnationale.

Étant donnée les effets divergents dans chaque région, une étude comparative à l'échelle subnationale permettra de mieux saisir l'ensemble significatif des effets du populisme dans une population minoritaire. Comme déjà souligné, ce troisième pôle est essentiel pour la traction du discours populiste de droite avant et après le succès électoral d'une personnalité ou d'un parti. Au Canada, malgré le fait que le premier ministre Justin Trudeau ne soit pas considéré comme populiste de droite, on trouve quelques exemples dans les provinces. Que ce soit en Alberta, en Ontario ou au Québec, plusieurs partis politiques et personnalités font appel à des possibles menaces de groupes minoritaires. Dans le cas québécois, le rôle joué par l'immigration est considéré comme étant ce troisième pôle (à côté du peuple québécois et de l'élite anglophone/fédérale) de la relation populiste. Au Brésil, c'est clair que Jair Bolsonaro a pu entraîner d'autres candidats, notamment aux gouvernements subnationaux, avec un discours populiste de droite. Dans le cas de Rio de Janeiro, le populisme de droite a mobilisé la violence comme un problème de la ville et de l'état qui se matérialise par la présence des favelas. La dernière administration (2018-2022) a été élue en s'appuyant dans un discours où l'état allait massacrer les trafiquants dans les favelas. La triadique brésilienne est la suivante : le bon citoyen/cidadão de bem, l'élite corrompu du PT et les favelados. Ainsi, le mécanisme causal se présente de la façon suivante : le/la populiste de droite arrive au pouvoir (cause) ? il/elle possède la volonté de changer la relation entre l'État et le troisième pôle ? la bureaucratie lui suit parce qu'elle respecte la hiérarchie ? obtient du soutien dans l'assemblée législative ? il/elle promeut des politiques publiques ciblées ? moins inclusion/plus d'exclusion au troisième pôle (effet).

## Discussion méthodologique

Je suis la méthode de la concordance de J. S. Mills (1843) qui permet de comparer deux cas dont les contextes sont très distincts sauf pour le phénomène à l'étude et où les facteurs systémiques ne jouent pas un rôle causal dans les effets - (aussi appelé most-different research design) (Przeworski et Teune, 1970).

Autant à Québec qu'à Rio de Janeiro, les administrations ont voulu mettre en œuvre ses discours par l'entremise du pouvoir de l'état, i.e., de l'administration publique. Pour pouvoir inférer une relation de causalité des gouvernements populistes au pouvoir et chercher leurs justifications, je collecterai les données primaires par la recherche documentaire, les entretiens semi-dirigés, par l'analyse de contenu des sessions dans les Assemblées régionales pour la part de personnes liées au parti au pouvoir et des journaux, la littérature secondaire et l'ethnographie. Je ferai attention aux contrepublics qui tentent défendre ces populations des assauts populistes (e.g. A Voz da comunidade). Je testerai du mécanisme causal, tout au long de la thèse, avec quelques variables intervenantes et en faisant un process-tracing pour confirmer la causalité.

L'une des raisons principales d'avoir choisi cette échelle pour la thèse s'inscrit dans la taille du mécanisme causal. Avec le but de bien saisir les rôles et les poids de quelques variables ainsi que l'impact du contexte, l'échelle subnational apparaît comme une conséquence d'un souci méthodologique. On comprend que l'espace compte et que la littérature en science politique a opté pour travailler avec l'idée d'État-nation et relations interétatiques, au dépit du contrôle des limites. En même temps qu'il y a eu une montée en flèche des études quantitativistes qui ont permis des discussions méthodologiques vis-à-vis les contrôles de variables ? race, genre, revenu, scolarité ? les limites de la généralisation au sein d'un État ne les avaient guère pas suivis. Nous sommes reconnaissants qu'en sociologie, surtout urbaine, ainsi qu'en anthropologie ce type de remarque n'aurait pas été probablement nécessaire, car ils ont leurs propres traditions et discussions sur le rôle de l'espace, aussi que dans les études sur le fédéralisme et régionalisme.

La recherche à partir du subnational n'est pas justement sur la politique locale, mais particulièrement, comment elle façonne et s'inscrit dans les questions clés en science politique. Si on prend le rôle du citoyen et de la citoyenneté, la bureaucratie étatique et sa relation avec les individus sont plus explicites au niveau local. Cela a été déjà bien travaillé chez Richard Snyder (2001) qui a signalé tant la potentialité d'échelonné à la baisse les unités d'analyse que la façon dont elles s'entrelacent avec celles plus en haut.

L'approche subnational a constamment été présente dans les études sur la démocratie. Les concepts de démocratisation et d'enclaves autoritaires ont suscité des débats précieux sur la flexibilité de la démocratie et sa manifestation dans des contextes autoritaires, ainsi que sur l'inverse de cette dynamique (Dabène, 2008 ; Durazo-Herrmann, 2010, 2012 ; Gibson, 2005 ; O'Donnell, 2001). Les études sur la démocratie participative travaillent souvent avec des gouvernements locaux et leurs rapports avec les citoyens (Félix, 2022 ; Fung et Wright, 2001 ; Garibay, 2015 ; Pateman, 1970). Finalement, entre les contributions essentielles de l'optique subnational, on a la remise en cause de l'universalisation des concepts à partir de variations intraétatiques et interétatiques, en outre l'échange avec la politique de la capitale et de l'État-nation.

La recherche subnational comparée vit une tendance récente selon Jeffrey Sellers (Sellers, 2019). Cet argument met en avant un changement dans la recherche en politique comparée, passant d'une concentration traditionnelle sur les États-nations à une attention accrue portée à la recherche subnationale. Cette transition reflète une tendance plus large en sciences politiques qui s'éloigne de la vision des frontières nationales comme unités naturelles d'étude. La recherche subnationale révèle les réalités opérationnelles des systèmes nationaux et la variation du comportement politique, des partis et des intérêts organisés, à l'intérieur et entre les pays. Ce tournant met en évidence les limites de l'analyse basée uniquement sur des données nationales agrégées. Les données de revues anglophones et de haute échelle montrent une tendance croissante vers la recherche subnationale et les

comparaisons transfrontalières au fil du temps. En somme, l'argument souligne l'importance de la recherche subnationale en politique comparée et l'évolution de l'approche pour étudier les systèmes politiques au-delà des États-nations.

***Provincial Patchwork: A Comparative Index of Gender Affirming Care Access Across Canadian Provinces:*** Lee Whelan (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** Access to publicly funded gender affirming care (GAC) varies across Canadian provinces. While all provinces and territories offer coverage for certain surgeries (i.e., vaginoplasty or mastectomy), some also offer coverage for hormone replacement therapy, and relatively few others also offer coverage for procedures like laser hair removal or facial feminization surgery. There is also significant variation across jurisdictions in the bureaucratic processes required for patients to access coverage. For example, some provinces require one or medical doctor's approval, some allow referrals from nurse practitioners, and some require reference letters from psychologists.

While there has been some work to describe GAC policies across Canada, this study develops and uses a numerical index to compare access to GAC across provinces and territories focusing on public insurance coverage and the barriers to accessing GAC. The index takes into account which procedures are covered, the level of coverage (partial vs. full), and relevant bureaucratic barriers. The aim is for the index to serve as a baseline for future research to assess the relationship between access to GAC and other socio-legal factors, as well as to serve as a tool for those working to improve access to GAC across Canada.

***Relative Confidence in Government in Canada:*** Christopher Yurris (McGill University)

**Abstract:** This poster will examine the question, "how does the gap in confidence in the federal and provincial governments differ across Canada's regions?" This paper will use cross-sectional survey data spanning nearly three decades. I will be combining data from four surveys: the Canadian Election Study, the C-Dem Democracy Checkup, C-Dem Provincial Election Studies, and the Comparative Provincial Election Project Survey (2011-2014). The outcome variable will be relative confidence in the federal government, which will be measured by subtracting confidence in the federal government from a respondent's confidence in the provincial government. The planned status of the paper for the conference are preliminary results and analysis, which will be presented through descriptive statistics, an initial regression, and prediction plots.

#### **Participants**

Tyler Chamberlain (Trinity Western University)

Noah Schwartz (University of the Fraser Valley)

Erin Crandall (Acadia University)

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## Day 1 - Session 3 (Lunch) (12:00pm - 01:30pm)

## Day 1 - Session 3 (Lunch) (12:00pm - 01:30pm)

### G03 - Re-examining the Political Economy of Trade

#### Économie politique

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Patricia Goff (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Patricia Goff (Wilfrid Laurier University)

*In the Elephant's Shadow: Corporate Concentration as a Response to Fears of US Dominance:* Piers Eaton (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** In 2023, the Conservative Party and the New Democratic Party both introduced legislation which would eliminate clause 96 ? dubbed the efficiencies clause ? from the 1985 Competition Act. With a renewed interest in competition policy, particularly the efficiencies clause, it is worth re-examining the intended purpose of this clause and its roots in Canadian insecurity about its global position. First, I will explain the efficiencies clause and how it contributes to corporate concentration in the Canadian economy. Second, I will explain how the Competition Act's stated purposes contradict one another and the efficiencies clause's role in this problem. The preamble of the act suggests that the goal of the act is to strengthen Canadian participation in world markets and to ensure that small and medium-sized enterprises can participate in the Canadian economy, and yet the stated purpose of the efficiencies clause is to allow Canadian enterprises to compete through size. This reflects dual priorities: the preservation of small and medium-size enterprises on one hand and the increasing concentration of Canadian enterprise on the other. Third, I will argue that this second priority reflects an insecurity about Canada's place in an increasingly globalising world, particularly regarding Canada's proximity to the United States and how intertwined the two nations are, which Pierre Elliot Trudeau compared to sleeping next to an elephant. Finally, I will argue for an alternative approach which preserves Canada's place in the global economy while also preserving economic competition within Canada.

*Ties That Bind: the Effect of Trade Agreements on Supply Chains Resilience in Uncertain Times:* Zarlisht Muhammad Razeq (University of Warwick)

**Abstract:** Do trade institutions make firms' supply chains more resilient against major disruptions? Using the COVID-19 episode as a test case, this paper examines whether one particular form of international institution, deep preferential trade agreements (PTAs), reduces supply chain disruptions' negative effect on firms' exports and GVC linkages. The paper argues that because trade agreements reduce trade costs and increase the certainty and continuity of trade relations, firms in countries that commit to more comprehensive trade agreements with other countries experience less decline in their export after a major disruption in supply chains. In assessing this argument, the paper uses a quarterly dataset that includes micro and macro data on firm-level exports, their level of GVC integration, depth of PTAs, COVID-19 policies, and other country and firm characteristics. Results show that the more committed a country is to deep trade agreements, the less disruption its firms will experience due to a sudden external shock such as COVID-19. The implication is that trade institutions increase the resilience of supply chains in times of major exogenous shocks, fulfilling their roles in normal and hard times. The paper contributes to the micro-study of GVCs and trade institutions in uncertain times.

*In Trade We Trust: Why Political Trust Matters for Citizens? Trade Attitudes:* Tyler Girard (Purdue University), Andrea Lawlor (McMaster University), Erin Hannah (King's University College)

**Abstract:** Multilateral trade is often characterized as facing a state of ?crisis.? The last round of multilateral trade negotiations at the World Trade Organization collapsed in 2011 and the organization remains mired in geopolitical conflicts between the United States and China. The uneven distributive effects of trade and increasing economic inequality have fueled the growth of nationalist populist parties and are undermining domestic support for international trade across much of the global North. Canada is especially vulnerable to the crisis of multilateral trade, as trade accounts for nearly two thirds of the national economy and supports over three million jobs. Public opinion toward trade has historically been thought to be positive, though scholarship on the subject in Canada has been scant. While the determinants of public opinion toward trade typically emphasize self-interest, sociotropic economic concerns, or individual-level knowledge or information effects, we suspect that trust in government is a critical ? yet often overlooked ? component of how citizens form attitudes about trade and trade policy. In this paper, we build a theoretical framework to link the concept of institutional trust to support for trade. We explore the variability of this relationship in light of new trade priorities for Canada, including social reproductive labour, digital trade, and geopolitical conflict.

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## **M03 - Three Minute Thesis Competition (Rehearsal)**

### **Enseignement**

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

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

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## Day 1 - Business and Committee Meetings (01:00pm - 01:30pm)

### S03 - CPSA Board of Directors - Appointment of Officers / Conseil d'administration de l'ACSP - Désignation des dirigeants

#### CPSA Business and Committee Meetings

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 01:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle** : Carrefour Sherbrooke - 475 Sherbrooke Street West, Montréal, H3A 2L9 - ROOM / SALLE 704 (7th Floor - 7ème étage)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=327](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=327)

#### Participants

Nikola Brassard-Dion (University of Ottawa)

Erin Crandall (Acadia University)

Anne-Marie D'Aoust (University of Quebec in Montreal)

Aude-Claire Fourot (Simon Fraser University)

Megan Gaucher (Carleton University)

Amy Janzwood (McGill University)

Genevieve Fuji Johnson (Simon Fraser University)

Jonathan Malloy (Carleton University)

Julia Rodgers (Dalhousie University)

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

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

#### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Rob Currie-Wood (University of Alberta)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Rob Currie-Wood (University of Alberta)

**Split Decision: Federal and Provincial Elections in Ontario, 1997-2022:** Matthew Taylor (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)

**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), 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(b) - Multiculturalism and Immigration Policy

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

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## A04(c) - Populism in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

#### *Understanding the Determinants of Populist Attitudes : The Case of Canada:* Félix Lévesque (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:* Brendan Boyd (MacEwan University), Jared Wesley (University of Alberta)

**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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## B04(a) - Migrant Workers, Informal Economies, Immigration

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : Concordia University, Henry Hall Building, Room 1269-3 (12th floor)

Chair/Président/Présidente : Aubrey Westfall (Wheaton College)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Aubrey Westfall (Wheaton College)

*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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## B04(b) - 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 : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

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 :

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=99](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=99)

***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.



## C04(a) - Contemporary Case Studies in Conflict

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : McGill College 2001 1552

Chair/Président/Présidente : John Shola (Landmark University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Surulola Eke (University of Manitoba)

*Deliberately Targeting Journalists Is a War Crime, and Becoming Common: Case studies in Ukraine and Gaza:* Kelly Bjorklund (University of Cincinnati)

**Abstract:** During the current wars in Ukraine and Gaza, more than 50 media workers have been killed (CPJ, 2023). The rules that are supposed to protect journalists during armed conflicts are being eroded, and it is becoming more commonplace for journalists to be targeted during war. After his colleague was killed on November 2, TV correspondent Salman al-Bashir reported live from Nasser Hospital in Gaza. After removing his PRESS flak jacket and helmet, he said "We can't take it anymore, we are exhausted? We're going to get killed, it's just a matter of when. There's no protection? These PPEs don't protect us. Nothing protects journalists. We lose lives, one by one? Mohammed Abu Hatab was here, half an hour ago." Along with targeting civilians, hospitals, schools, orphanages, residential buildings, communications centres, and places of worship, the Russian state has been accused by the National Union of Journalists (2023) of Ukraine and others of deliberately targeting journalists. In conflicts such as these, journalists risk their lives to report the truth and reveal war crimes committed by both sides. But when journalists themselves are targeted, these war crimes almost always go unpunished. My research examines the effect of these violations of international law and codified norms. It is essential for us all that the protections afforded to journalists under international law are scrupulously upheld, and that those responsible for their deaths face the consequences. Our research aims to understand what the effects of these changing norms are, and what can be done to further protect journalists in conflict zones.

Kelly Bjorklund (she, her, hers)

Assistant Professor, University of Cincinnati

Lecturer, University of Colorado Boulder

Senior Writer and Editor, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

PhD Candidate, Staffordshire University

*Gaza Cosmopolitanism and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism:* Chris Barker (The American University in Cairo)

**Abstract:** During the 2023 Gaza humanitarian crisis, ontological and master narratives - about which group was right or wrong, good or evil - quickly took over traditional "public narratives" about the origins and operations of states and institutions (Patterson and Monroe 1998). As is often the case, these narratives were initially created and have now been redeployed to legitimate retaliatory violence against those characterized as "human animals," "barbarians," or "savages." This language is merely an indication of a broader conceptual paradox of liberal internationalism, where the internationalism of the world system is structured by concepts such as civilization and progress that were developed in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The basic conceptualization and categories of the language of civilization have a very long provenance. As scholars such as Jeanne Morefield and Brett Bowden argue, this language was created in the mid-18th century with both descriptive and hierarchically evaluative prongs present from the creation. Civilizational discourse was then developed through the exercise of imperial power in the British second empire. This substructure remains perhaps the dominant conceptual language of liberal internationalism today, especially in crisis situations.

It may seem surprising to theorize a Gazan cosmopolitanism after all, are not all of the claims made about Gaza, whether liberatory or in favor of occupation, made on behalf of competing national groups? Moreover, the spectacle of collective punishment in Gazans may not indicate an enthusiasm for Kantian perpetual peace, but instead suggest a sharpening of existing national, ideological, racial, and religious lines of demarcation. However, we might decline to answer Kant's question from the "Conflict of the Faculties" about whether national or global sentiment supports an incipient, cosmopolitanism republican, and instead note that a more radical inclusion of the subject of cosmopolitan connections is needed in liberal and international relations theory and practice. This inclusion of the cosmopolitan subject would clarify the civilizational substructure of liberal internationalism and potentially show the place where a more radical cosmopolitan regard for persons and peoples is possible. Thus, we may find new resources for wriggling out of dehumanizing practices.

This more radical cosmopolitanism needs a critical method, and this paper canvases some possibilities, including Edward Said's exilic disposition and Jeanne Morefield's adaptation of it in her recent work on Said. Recent scholarship has revisited Foucault's transhistorical cynicism, which Foucault left as a pregnant direction for further research at the end of the 1984 lectures. The paper considers affirmative biopolitics and an affirmative, proletarian cosmopolitanism from below as justifications for a turn from internationalism to cosmopolitanism. Finally, I suggest another possibility: a transhistorical zetetic cosmopolitanism adapted from Foucault's Socratism. Whereas an exilic disposition is unsettled, defining itself in terms of what it is not, Foucault's affirmative and zetetic cosmopolitanism defines itself by its method of searching, examining, and testing. And where biopolitics and proletarianism may require more metaphysics and dutiful mobilization than a cosmopolitan world politics can support, a zetetic and examining approach may offer a path between unsettledness and over-rigor.

Upon reflecting on the similarities between Foucault and Edward Said, far from suggesting that the exilic disposition of Said lacks a method as opposed to Foucault's configurations of truth, power, and subjectivity, it seems more likely that the exilic figure shares this zetetic cosmopolitanism. The consequence of this disposition for liberal internationalism is examining and testing the imperial and hierarchical civilizational language that allows liberals to immunize themselves in the face of the suffering of distant and different peoples, while permitting locality and difference to operate without reducing politics to a world-state or a proletarian humanity.

*Terrorism News on Television and in Newspapers: Similarities and Differences.:* Aaron Hoffman (Simon Fraser University), Kelly Grounds

(Government of Canada)

**Abstract:** The conventional wisdom in terrorism research is that television news programs present terrorism news in more frightening terms than newspapers do. The trouble is that this assertion is untested and similar claims about differences between television and newspaper presentations of crime have not been clearly borne out. In this paper, we examine similarities and differences in the television and newspaper coverage of four terrorism crises: The Pulse Night Club shooting, the Manchester and Christchurch attacks, and the January 6th attack on the US Capitol. Our results confirm that presentations about these attacks differ across these media, but in unexpected ways. The results do not clearly suggest that television news presentations are more intimidating than similar presentations in newspapers.

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## C04(b) - Table Ronde: La politique étrangère de Trudeau: quel bilan?

### Relations internationales

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle** : A1715 Pavillon Hubert Aquin, Université du Québec à Montréal, 400 St Catherine St E, Montréal

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : David Morin (Université de Sherbrooke)

Jérémie Cornut (Simon Fraser University)

Claire Turenne Sjolander (Université d'Ottawa)

Stéphane Roussel (École nationale d'administration publique)

Justin Massie (Université du Québec à Montréal)

Chantal Lavalée (Collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean)

Annie Chaloux (Université de Sherbrooke)

François Audet (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** Le Canada a longtemps été décrit comme une puissance moyenne qui s'appuie sur les organisations internationales et une diplomatie de niche pour peser sur la scène internationale. C'est dans cette tradition de l'internationalisme libéral que s'est inscrit Justin Trudeau lors de la campagne électorale de 2015. 9 ans plus tard, il apparaît clairement qu'une telle approche est mal adaptée au contexte actuel de tensions et de crise du multilatéralisme. L'analyse de la politique étrangère canadienne proposée dans cette table-ronde montrera notamment que, dans ce contexte, les décideurs canadiens, à défaut d'avoir une boussole claire, voient la politique étrangère avant tout comme un enjeu de politique intérieure. Cela rend les débats publics sur la politique étrangère canadienne, et l'enseignement dans ce domaine, d'autant plus cruciaux.

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## C04(c) - Théorie des relations internationales (I)

### Relations internationales

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** McGill College 2001 735

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Camille Marquis Bissonnette (Université du Québec en Outaouais)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Pietro Marzo (l'Université TÉLUQ)

*La Coupe du Monde, le PSG et le Qatar: Est-ce que les Stratégies de Soft-Power Centrer sur le Sport Sont Efficaces?:* Nicolas Roulier (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Depuis qu'il a obtenu les droits d'organisation de la Coupe du monde de football en 2010, le Qatar s'efforce de devenir un acteur majeur dans le domaine du sport. Bien que les responsables qataris aient déclaré que ces investissements visaient à diversifier l'économie et à promouvoir un mode de vie sain dans l'émirat, ils peuvent également être considérés comme des moyens de montrer sa puissance et de changer l'opinion internationale sur le pays. Bien que les motivations derrière les investissements de l'État dans le sport aient été étudiées, aucune recherche n'a étudié si c'était un moyen efficace d'atteindre les objectifs du pays. Cet article évalue l'efficacité de la stratégie du Qatar en utilisant une analyse de contenu des articles du New York Times sur le Qatar pour étudier le cadrage et l'exposition médiatique du pays. Nous montrons qu'en accueillant des événements sportifs importants comme la Coupe du monde, en investissant dans des équipes comme le Paris Saint-Germain et en sponsorisant des équipes du monde entier via Qatar Airways, Doha a pu accroître sa couverture médiatique et changer la réputation du pays. Compte tenu de l'importance du coût financier, seule une poignée de pays peut utiliser le sport comme outil de puissance douce et d'image de marque. Néanmoins, pour les pays qui le font, il s'agit d'une stratégie efficace.

*Quantifier la paix et le travail humanitaire : ds enjeux méthodologiques et épistémologiques à l'efficacité sur le terrain:* Karelle Yanya (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** Les études de paix et de sécurité prennent de plus en compte les logiques de quantification qui ne sont pas toujours présentes dans la science politique, notamment la science politique française. Pourtant, la recherche de efficacité sur le terrain aussi bien pour les processus de paix que pour le travail humanitaire met en évidence ce besoin de quantification.

Une question se pose dès lors, à savoir quels en sont les enjeux méthodologiques et épistémologiques de cette logique de quantification? à partir du terrain centrafricain ce travail envisage de contribuer à l'enrichissement méthodologique des études de sécurité internationale.

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## C04(d) - Critical Theories of IR

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : Times Out Market, 705 Rue Saint-Catherine St. West/Ouest

Chair/Président/Présidente : Makonen Bondoc (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Veronica Kitchen (University of Waterloo)

**Governing Paradox: Children's Rights and Performatives of Canada in Foreign Policy:** Marshall Beier (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** In May 1990, Canada signed the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and, with its ratification of the Convention in 1991, undertook to implement a comprehensive set of provisions making historic guarantees of specific rights for all children along broad lines of protection, provision, and participation. Its reaffirmations of commitment to the Convention and vocal support for children's rights more generally have served as important opportunities for Canada to perform a self-image of good liberal international citizenship over the decades since. At the same time, however, it has drawn sharp criticism from the UN for significant failings in meaningful implementation of core principles and prescribed practices under the Convention. Making sense of this disjuncture calls for the development of conceptual tools as yet unfamiliar to analysis of Canadian foreign policy. The thrust of this chapter is to bring new insights with origins in Critical Childhood Studies to the study of Canadian foreign policy and to make the case for their importance not only where questions about children are conspicuously at issue but across the whole of this specialized area of inquiry. Like earlier interventions on gender, a childhood-informed perspective brings much to light about Canadian foreign policy, the ways we study it, and alternative political possibilities.

**Exploring the Performative Borderwork of the European Union's Bordering Practices through the Method of Critical Visual Discourse Analysis:** Jana Walkowski (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Scholarship on the EU and its responses to an ongoing migration 'crisis' has brought attention to the performative dimension of its bordering practices by emphasizing prevailing narratives, discourses and representations that have been routinized and helped to naturalize status quo migration politics (De Genova, 2017; Pallister-Wilkins, 2022). This has centered how knowledge about migration politics is (re)produced to facilitate particular political objectives whilst also illuminating important silences/erasures, such as the ways in which a form of crisis politics necessitating swift and decisive action by European governing authorities has played a crucial role in silencing people on the move (Squire et al., 2021).

I argue that the method of Critical Visual Discourse Analysis can provide important contributions to advance our understandings of this performative borderwork and corresponding power relations. This approach takes images seriously as producing their own effects and demands that scholars interrogate how images portray particular social categories and how they portray or render invisible social difference in relation to their intended audiences (Rose, 2001). This approach is applied to analyze the EU's Trust fund (EUTF) for Africa instrument which launched a virtual photo-based exhibit titled 'Stories from Africa' to increase transparency about its projects. A critical visual discourse analysis of this exhibit reveals how development is presented as the main focal point for audiences to understanding the work of the EUTF for Africa whilst obscuring the EU's broader political objectives to regulate undesired migration through externalization. In doing so, I emphasize the importance of thinking through the public-facing dimension of bordering practices and corresponding silences/erasures.

**Pluralizing the Sovereign Archive:** Mark Salter (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** This project adds to the pluralization the possible archives of sovereignty by engaging with Inuit thought on sovereignty. The choice of Inuit is intentional. While a number of Indigenous and allied thinkers frame their understandings of sovereignty in relation to nation or state (Alfred 1995, Beier 2009, Lyons 2010, Simpson 2014), the Inuit do not identify as a nation per se, and do not derive their rights or status through colonial or historical treaty relations (which is not to say that they don't have non-treaty rights, human rights, or rights as Indigenous peoples), and although they seek self-determination and have a homeland, they do not seek an politically-independent state form (Nichol 2017; Fabbi and Wilson 2021). Inuit thinkers and practitioners are already demonstrating ways that sovereignty can be imagined otherwise through the ICC Declaration and the Arctic and Northern Policy Framework. Even within Canada, Inuit political thought is often neglected in more general analyses of Indigenous and First Nations politics, and so it is the scope of this article to amplify the already-existing knowledges and practices of Inuit sovereignty to enrichen the archives of political science (Zellen 2009, Christie 2011, Shadian 2014). Situated within an Inuit cosmology, Qitsualik argues, 'Sovereignty, then, is truth. For Inuit, it is the self-maintained right to define themselves, mind and soul; by the Water; on the Land; under the Sky. Inuit, who know the Nuna (land) so well, cannot define sovereignty via mastery of their home, but rather of their own hearts.' (2013: 33). This paper seeks to amplify Inuit thought on sovereignty in three stages: setting out how Inuit thinkers have engaged with Western theories of sovereignty through a critique of political theology and the assertion of a unique Inuit cosmological ground to sovereignty; an examination of how the Inuit claims to continual presence were subsumed by opportunistic and disorganized Canadian claims to Arctic sovereignty; and finally a consideration of contemporary settler-colonial modes of sovereign control over Inuit and the positive, assertive redefinition of sovereign claims by Inuit thinkers.

**Traversing Disciplinary Boundaries and Borders: Bringing the Study of Tourism to Political Science and International Relations:** Lana Wylie (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Tourism has been called the 'greatest mass migration in human history' and is a 'key driver for socio-economic progress' (UN 2023). As political scientists we can recognize that tourism is imbued with politics and relations of power. Yet, while tourism research has produced a large literature (in Tourism Studies and Human Geography most notably), the fields of Political Science and International Relations have tended to ignore tourism. Drawing on the insights from critical geography and post-colonial IR, my research delves into the importance of tourism for political, social, and economic relationships between communities and across boundaries. This research uses the concept of 'other diplomacies' to understand and interrogate the



positive and negative implications of tourism for these relationships. As a concept, other diplomacies 'aims to capture analytically the everyday activities of societal non-state actors that have a diplomatic character' (Young and Henders 2012: 375). While not new, 'other diplomatic' practices have greatly expanded in recent years because of communication technologies, expansion of travel and global markets, transformations in territoriality, and more. Representative practices, as Young and Henders observe, are central to both official and other diplomacies. While conventional readings assume a prior constitution of identities in the diplomatic relationship, their approach calls attention to the assumed boundaries and borders, the 'everyday discursive and material practices,' that produce identity and difference in complex ways. Using an 'other diplomacies' lens this research highlights the relevance of tourist practices and travel flows for understanding the relationships across state and other boundaries.

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## C04(e) - Roundtable: If Not Academia, Now What? (ISA-Canada Professional Development)

### Relations internationales

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle** : McGill College 2001 461

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Caroline Dunton (Queen's University)

Rebekah Pullen (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** The number of available faculty positions has trended steadily downwards over the last decade. This comes at a time when admissions to PhD programs in IR are trending upwards, meaning that there are increasingly less positions for more graduates. Given this reality, many graduate students and those graduates not on the tenure track are looking for alternative areas for employment. Where should they look? What kinds of skills do they bring from graduate studies? And, what are the differences (both possibilities and drawbacks) to pursuing employment outside of academia?

Recognizing that many graduate programs are not set up to address these questions, this panel will bring together individuals who have completed graduate work in international studies, and used these studies to build a career outside of academia. Panelists will provide their experience and advice from a number of non-academic sectors, including: the non-profit and private sectors, government and policy-making, alt-ac, and think tanks.

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## D04(a) - Government, Parliament, and the Supreme Court in Policymaking

### Droit et analyse de politiques

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1047

Chair/Président/Présidente : Danielle McNabb (Brock University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Minh Do (University of Guelph)

*Expanding the Scope of Section 3 of the Charter:* Andrea Lawlor (McMaster), Greg Flynn (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** While the Supreme Court of Canada has clarified the core principles upholding the Charter's democratic rights (section 3) in a wide variety of cases, several questions remain about the depth and scope of the section, particularly as they relate to its core dimensions of 'meaningful participation' and 'effective representation'. In two recent high-profile cases, *Toronto City* and *Working Families*, the courts have come to different conclusions about how far to extend the scope of these constituent elements of section 3, having the effect of both narrowing and broadening aspects of section 3 within a short time. The SCC's decision in *Toronto City* placed firm boundaries around effective representation, explicitly reading municipal governments out of section 3 and to the non-application of unwritten constitutional principles to take a more limited view of voting rights. The Ontario Court of Appeal, by contrast, took a progressive view, rejecting the government's attempt to limit meaningful participation through restrictions on third party spending. This paper examines how section 3 jurisprudence has evolved considerably in this short time and how courts have addressed the risk of partisan self-dealing or agenda advancement through a clarification of the boundaries of pre-existing precedents while, at the same time, maintaining some strictness surrounding demands for broader institutional change. In doing so, we use existing case law to determine whether the courts, who have traditionally taken an egalitarian view toward section 3, will promote a more expansive or restrictive stance when faced with the potential of partisan interference and/or demands for broader institutional change.

*Salient or non-salient? The Supreme Court of Canada's engagement with policy disputes:* Marc Zanoni (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** Keywords: law and politics, judicial policymaking, issue salience, framing, legislative replies, policy process.

The Canadian dialogue literature recognizes the policy potential of courts. Scholars have often focused on the policy effects of courts by tracing the formal legislative replies to court decisions. In doing so, policy disputes tend to be examined post-judicial involvement, with policy impact conceived as formal legislative replies. Fewer scholars have relied on issue salience and agenda-setting to determine the magnitude of influence. Do courts engage with salient policy disputes? Or do they operate on the periphery and resolve non-salient, secondary disputes? This paper examines issue salience by focusing on policy disputes that the Supreme Court of Canada has deemed unconstitutional and invalidated. Rather than tracing the post-court effects, however, policy disputes are assessed at the time of formulation and enactment – as Bills at committee in the Canadian House of Commons. Content analysis of public witness presentations at committee, which scrutinize proposed bills, will be conducted to determine which policy disputes (within broader legislative changes) receive additional attention. The disputes that eventually ended up in court will be compared to those that did not in order to see whether courts are contributing to salient or non-salient issues. Canadian social policy issues will be examined. In particular, the focus will be on complex issue areas, which tend to see policy disputes folded into broader legislative reforms, to provide a more complete picture of issue salience.

*Parliamentary Constraints on the Constitutional Decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada:* Brendan Dell (Queen's University), Geoffrey Sigalet (UBC-Okanagan)

**Abstract:** Scholarship on the Charter has often argued that SCC decisions act as constraints on Parliament which typically bows to the pronouncements of the SCC on rights issues (e.g. *Roach 2001*, *Hiebert 2002*, etc.). In contrast, American scholarship has increasingly recognized constraints placed upon the U.S. Supreme Court in its constitutional decisions; 'institutional maintenance' encourages the Court to consider the preferences of other actors (e.g. *Clark 2010*, *Harvey and Friedman 2006*, *Gardner and Thrower 2023*). While Canadian political scientists have argued that Parliament fails to contest judicial review under the Charter, this dialogue debate focuses on legislative responses to cases (*Macfarlane 2013*). But case-based research may fail to identify legislative constraints on SCC decisions because decisions to review actions of Parliament are likely correlated with merits decisions. A statute-centred approach, however, can correct this selection bias enabling us to show Parliamentary constraints on the Court.

We demonstrate that the SCC constrains its own behavior in response to parliamentary preferences and ideology. This study examines the likelihood of the SCC to invalidate federal statutes on constitutional grounds (including *ultra vires* and Charter invalidations) from 1949 to the present. We hypothesize that the SCC accommodates the policy preferences of Parliament in its constitutional decisions, though this relationship is tempered by the strength of the government in Parliament and the political salience of the policy at issue. By examining statutes and decisions both pre- and post-Charter, we may also contribute to the vast literature on the influence of the Charter on Canadian political institutions.

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## D04(b) - Foreign Policy and International Order

### Droit et analyse de politiques

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085 - Hybrid session/session hybride (see Zoom details below/voir détails Zoom ci-dessous)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Laszlo Sarkany (Huron University College)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Laszlo Sarkany (Huron University College)

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

*Fusing international relations and international legal methodologies for innovative global governance Analysis:* Hope Tracey (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** IR and IL have long been considered separate academic disciplines, with their own theoretical orientations, methodologies, and publishing outlets (Irish, Ku, & Diehl, 2013). As Christopher Joyner noted: "Academics who study either international law or international politics share a dirty little secret: both groups know the presence of international law is critical for international relations to occur, and both know that the practice of international politics is essential for international law to evolve and function. But each is still reluctant to admit the necessity of the other" (Joyner, 2006). The effect of this divide is that research findings in one discipline have largely been ignored by the other, despite focusing on many of the same substantive interests.

For this conference, I propose writing a single paper on the merits to and limits of combining international relations (IR) and international legal (IL) methodologies for global governance analysis. Specifically, I seek to learn what each discipline's methodologies can bring to the analytical rigour of the other. The focus for creating new approaches should not be negative – that is, identifying how one discipline is deficient – but rather, positive – that is, actively seeking what each discipline may bring to an exploration; Interdisciplinary methodology in this project is meant to draw on each discipline's insights without necessarily trying to subvert or refine the other's discipline grown understandings on the subject of global governance.

I am a PhD Global Governance student and my Supervisor is Dr. Neil Craik (ncraik@uwaterloo.ca).

*De l'action humanitaire aux sanctions: avancées et limites de deux approches visant la promotion de l'ordre international basé sur les règles dans la politique étrangère du Canada.*: Mulry Mondélice (Collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean)

**Abstract:** Puissance moyenne, le Canada accorde une place importante à l'idée d'un ordre international basé sur les règles dans sa politique étrangère, de manière plus poussée dans les années 1990. Dans la foulée, l'approche 3D (défense, diplomatie et développement) dans ses liens avec le concept de sécurité humaine dans la diplomatie canadienne a conduit à un intérêt renouvelé pour la promotion de l'idée d'un ordre international basé sur les règles en matière de paix et sécurité internationales, des relations économiques internationales et des droits de la personne. Alors que des crises humanitaires nées de conflits et de catastrophes naturelles conduisant à des migrations constituent un enjeu global, comment et dans quelle mesure le Canada promeut-il l'idée d'un ordre international basé sur les règles dans ses réponses aux crises ?

Considérant les situations haïtienne et ukrainienne comme études de cas et le pluralisme ordonné de Mireille Delmas-Marty comme cadre théorique pour l'analyse du droit touchant l'action humanitaire et les sanctions, la communication analyse des avancées et défis entourant l'idée d'un ordre international basé sur les règles dans la politique étrangère du Canada. Elle montre que l'action humanitaire menée et les sanctions adoptées par le Canada sont des moyens de promouvoir un ordre international basé sur les règles. Cela dit, l'action humanitaire et les sanctions évoluent et prennent sens selon certains déterminants de la politique étrangère du Canada. D'un côté, cette approche conduit à un élargissement différencié de l'action humanitaire, comme le montrent des programmes d'immigration humanitaire comme réponse du Canada à certaines crises. De l'autre, les sanctions adoptées, soit à la suite de la résolution 2653 du Conseil de sécurité concernant Haïti, soit par des sanctions autonomes dans la situation ukrainienne, illustrent une évolution limitée par un manque de cohérence découlant non seulement de la complexité des crises et de la fragmentation du droit international, mais également, de la nécessaire prise en compte, par le Canada, de considérations liées à des contraintes politiques et juridiques internes, ainsi que de défis diplomatiques influençant la politique étrangère du Canada dans un contexte de polycrise. Dès lors, il convient de repenser la cohérence de la politique étrangère du Canada en misant sur la consultation, l'information et la participation d'acteurs peu ou pas encore impliqués dans son élaboration et sa mise en œuvre, ainsi qu'une meilleure articulation de normes du droit international pour des politiques et programmes plus cohérents.

*Global Policies on Forced Migration for the World of Tomorrow: Is it Closer than One Might Think?:* Gamze Ovacik (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Only few years apart, forced migration movements from Ukraine and Syria received divergent policy responses from the destination countries. The prime example of this was observed in Europe where influx of 1 million Syrian refugees was labelled as a crisis, while 5 million Ukrainian refugees were welcomed with much ease. The robust criticism that addressed this contrast is pertinent but a different perspective might be capable of contributing to something better; envisioning a more equitable and just tomorrow in global asylum governance. To this end, the proposed contribution builds on the favorable dimensions of the policy framework that surrounded the forced migration influx from Ukraine that include right to choose country of asylum, reception conditions and access to labor market. We currently live in a world where dominant global policy climate of forced migration is characterized by deterrence and containment measures. Against this backdrop, the mentioned policy examples offer hope. Even though they are limited to a certain group so far, the suggested framing within the paper will position these practices as the seed of a world with better asylum governance. This potential does not solely rely on feasibility demonstrated through such practices. It will be argued that, when formulating responses to refugee situations that arise elsewhere, states should be bound by their own actions within the Ukrainian context.



## E04 - Education Politics and Policy in Canada

### Politique locale et urbaine

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 365

**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(a) - Political Polarizations II: Public Policies and Institutions

### Comportement politique/sociologie

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin, 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5020

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Fred Guillaume Dufour (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** John McAndrews (McMaster University)

**Chapter 5: Don't Blame the Media (Probably):** Eric Merkley (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** One common explanation for affective polarization in Canada is the media ecosystem. The media environment has fragmented with new technology, allowing citizens easier access to opinion-reinforcing content on social media or in partisan news ? the ?echo chamber? effect. The purpose of this chapter, part of a larger book project of the causes and consequences of affective polarization in Canada, is to explore a possible link between the news media environment and affective polarization in Canada.

I use 2019 Digital Democracy Project and the 2020-2021 Media Ecosystem Observatory surveys (N~114,000). These datasets offer rich sets of questions related to self-reported media use and affective polarization. I also use the DDP?s media tracking study, which provides unique tracking of the online behaviour of over 700 participants over four weeks, including over seven million website visits. These data allow us to directly observe media consumption and evaluate a possible connection to affective polarization.

We will see that Canadians of all partisan stripes consume broadly centrist, mainstream news. Audiences for partisan news are tiny and traffic to these websites is dominated by an even smaller share of the population. Further, there is no consistent observable link between social media usage nor partisan news consumption and affective polarization using either self-reported or behavioural measures of media use. There is an association between behavioural mainstream news consumption and out-party hostility, but this relationship was not observed using self-reported data. Overall, we should be skeptical of claims that the media ecosystem is driving affective polarization in Canada.

**Who supports the judicial reforms in Israel? Societal cleavages, elite cues and democratic backsliding:** Dietlind Stolle (McGill University), Elisabeth Gidengil (McGill University), Liron Lavi (Bar Ilan University), John Hicks (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Democratic Backsliding can be observed in several countries around the globe. The question is how the public reacts to such attempts. Many studies on this topic ask hypothetical questions and present hypothetical scenarios to determine whether a country is prone to democratic backsliding. In this paper we leverage an actual attempt at democratic backsliding in Israel during the period of the proposed judicial reform. We combine actual questions on the reform, which was aimed --in part-- at weakening judicial checks on the government with questions about support for democracy and other forms of democratic backsliding to understand: Who supports the reform? To what extent does support reflect elite cues (via party or leader) versus fundamental divisions within Israeli society (internal and external)? Is support stronger when these divisions are more salient and/or when people are more affectively polarized? 2) Supporters and opponents each claim they are defending democracy. Is the judicial reform supported by those who are least supportive of democracy? Is support for the judicial reform just one manifestation of support for democratic backsliding in Israel? Why or why not? To answer these questions we use a two-wave panel survey in Israel that was asked during the reform attempt and again during the period of war against Hamas in response to the October 7 attacks.

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

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin, 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5060

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

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Allison Harell (Université du Québec à Montréal)

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***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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## H04(a) - Decolonization #3: Indigeneity and Settler Colonialism

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 395

Chair/Président/Présidente : Sylvain Bérubé (Université d'Ottawa)

*Decolonization, Realism, and the Force of Morality: a Comparative Approach:* Caleb J. Basnett (Mount Allison University)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the relation between morality, ethics, and politics by bringing two disparate groups of scholars into productive dialogue: Indigenous theorists of decolonization; and political theorists who adopt 'realist' approaches to politics. Recent work by Indigenous scholars on the idea of decolonization in North America has often placed morality and ethics at the centre of this political project, such that decolonization that does not reflect Indigenous moral values and ethical practices is not considered decolonization at all. However, for many counted among the recent contributors to realist political theory, prioritizing morality or ethics in a political project is a grave error which risks ignoring how power enables/obstructs political goals. This error amounts to what realists have pejoratively called 'idealism' and 'utopianism.' For many realists, it follows that decolonization ought to focus on what is politically possible given established relations of power, not on moral or ethical guidelines. This paper asks: Are moral/ethical theories of decolonization susceptible to the realist critique of 'idealism' and/or 'utopianism'?' This paper draws comparatively on diverse theoretical sources to argue that the moral and ethical dimensions of decolonization are not perniciously idealist or utopian. Rather, the place of morality and ethics in decolonization highlights how ethics and morality relate to politics more generally, thus helping to clarify this relation and some of the confusion it has often presented in realist political theory. In this way, consideration of the moral/ethical dimensions of decolonization makes possible a more nuanced and persuasive account of realism in political theory.

*'A Cursed Line of Mestizos and Tremendous Whores?; Theorizing the Indigenous Politics of Cultural, Political, and Ethnic Mixing:* Yann Allard-Tremblay (McGill University), Elaine Coburn (York University)

**Abstract:** In early 17th century Peru, the Quechua nobleman Don Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala challenged the mixing of Indigenous Andean and Colonial Spanish societies, writing of 'a cursed line of mestizos' that would lead women to become 'tremendous whores.' We suggest that Guamán Poma's pronouncement constitutes an initial statement of the fears produced by the mixing of cultures and ethnicities in colonial contexts and reflects an Indigenous desire to resist such mixing as leading to the elimination of Indigenous peoples and cultures. Guamán Poma's vividly conjured horror and aversion to mixing persist, in attenuated but enduring forms, in the relationships among peoples in settler colonial contexts. We strive to carefully disentangle aspects of what we term the Indigenous politics of cultural, political, and ethnic mixing to better understand and negotiate ongoing political issues concerned with Indigenous identity and cultural and political preservation. We differentiate legitimate concerns for the revitalization, resurgence, and recentering of Indigenous lifeways from more problematic, often gendered, forms of policing of identity through the disqualification of cultural and ethnic hybridity. While differences between lifeways can methodologically be emphasized for political and theoretical purposes, and while the discourse of métissage can be used to disavow ongoing Indigenous differences, political actors need to be careful about not consolidating essentializing criteria of authenticity regarding identity and culture. Such criteria easily seep into a disciplining and exclusionary politics that harmfully deny what Métis scholar Chris Andersen terms the 'density' of concrete identities and existences.

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## H04(b) - Class, Workers, and Socialism

### Théorie politique

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** UQAM, Pavillon Paul-Gérin-Lajoie (N), 1205 St-Denis, room/classroom N-4050

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Philip-Emmanuel Aubry (McGill University)

***The Sword and the Trowel: Councils Democracy and the Rule of the Poor:*** Amir Fleischmann (University of Michigan)

**Abstract:** From Plato to James Madison, democracy was associated with the threat of the rule of the poor, the abolition of property, and creation of material equality. There is a growing literature that is returning to poor as the essential democratic subject. My paper asks the question of how the rule of the poor can be institutionalized. By exploring the notion of council democracy, I explain how it enables the poor to rule in a sustained way and what is necessary for that rule to be established in the first place. I argue that workers' councils foster identification based on exclusion from power and property, while emphasizing the many's capacity for transformational self-rule, thereby subjectifying the poor as a political force. Contrary to existing literature, this paper emphasizes the pivotal role of political parties in establishing and sustaining workers' councils. I further argue that council democracy emphasizes the connection between the two ways concentrated wealth translates into political power, in both formal institutions and workplaces. This connection has been under-theorized and helps clarify why square movements and neighbourhood councils, to which some council democrats turn as the 21st century expression of this tradition, are insufficient. Council democracy highlights the way that democracy is the product of struggle and that coercive action, whereby the majority assert their sectional interest, is a key feature of democratic movements that seek to break up the entrenched power of oligarchy.

***The Political Theory of Liberal Socialism:*** Matthew McManus (University of Michigan)

**Abstract:** A paper discussing the key arguments of my forthcoming book "The Political Theory of Liberal Socialism" for Routledge Press (2024). It will discuss the key figures making up the traditional of liberal-socialist political theory, as well as summarizing the core components of the the tradition as framed in the book. Namely: a commitment to methodological collectivism, a developmental over acquisitive ethics, and a commitment to egalitarian economic policy while retaining liberal political institutions.

***From Fraternalism 1.0 to Fraternalism 2.0: Transformations and Tensions in Social Democratic Thought in English-speaking Countries from 1880 to 2022:*** David McGrane (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** This paper examines 709 texts of 120 social democratic ideologues in Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, United Kingdom and the United States. These ideologues include prominent politicians, journalists, trade union leaders, and preachers who shaped the history of social democracy in these countries. I argue that their texts define social democracy as the pursuit of the fraternal society, that is, a society that functions like a family and adheres to three basic fraternalistic principles: interdependency, co-operation, and altruism. I also argue that an important shift in social democratic thinking about fraternity in these English-speaking countries occurred in the late 20th century and early 21st that I characterize as the transformation from Fraternalism 1.0. to Fraternalism 2.0. Whereas Fraternalism 1.0. concentrated exclusively on the material well-being of white working-class males, Fraternalism 2.0. focuses more improving the material well-being of and recognizing a greater status for women, racialized minorities, and the natural environment. The paper ends by exploring how the clash between Fraternalism 1.0. and Fraternalism 2.0. is creating significant, and perhaps unresolvable, tensions in contemporary social democratic ideology in the English-speaking world.

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## H04(c) - Political Theory and Popular Culture

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1041

*Poetic-Political Encounters: The Aesthetics of Dissensus in Letters from the Streets:* Eric Adamo (McMaster University), James Ingram (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** In the history of political thought, we find reflections on *politeia* announced under the general expression, 'art of government,' from which we get the sense that the experience of politics is (or at least was for the ancient Greeks) deeply and intricately associated with the work of human craft. Sometimes referred to as the 'aesthetic turn,' an emergent critical arts-based disposition in international relations and the political sciences decisively reframes questions of representation and alterity, democratic futures and, more conceptually, 'the political?' through analytical encounters with the performative arts, photography, film and cinema, and other textual practices in literature and poetry. The central thread of my research looks at how Jacques Ranciere's concept of dissensus features in scenes where homeless people use textual, visual, oral and enactive registers to make critical claims, acknowledge injustices, and stage themselves as 'activist citizens?' (Isin, 2009) in the world. Because it would be impossible to map the various 'aesthetic surfaces?' of homeless people here, I want to evaluate one, more accessible example where we can articulate dissensus in effect: in cardboard signs that comprise a series of art installations curated by Willie Baronet and titled 'We Are All Homeless.' This essay argues for an aesthetic approach that (i) identifies dissensus inherent in written accounts that defy proper comprehension in 'official' archives; (ii) traces 'cynical?' and 'poetic?' criteria in the content of their statements; and (3) centers 'letters from the street?' in an effort to rethink politics of homeless people from a 'radical cosmopolitical?' perspective.

*Gesturing Artificial Life through Eminem's "Rap God:" Artificial Immortality, Programming Phobias and Supersonic Politics:* Micheal Ziegler (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** Much of contemporary AI debates revolve around the fears and hopes of, as Eminem says in his hit song 'Rap God:?' 'something is happening.' Optimists and AI researchers gesture towards a bright future wherein AI will solve many of humanity's comings?AI can help with climate change, healthcare, homelessness, etcetera. Simultaneously, pessimists and the same hope-filled AI researchers paradoxically signal inevitable failure?minerals needed to build AI infrastructure are mined with renewed vigour, we are on the cusp of an AI arms race, and science fiction dystopian surveillance states appear increasingly non-fiction. Built within Eminem's dichotomy of Rap Bot/Rap God, I seek to understand the dichotomy of optimism and pessimism in artificial intelligence research and development. I will argue that overcoming artificial life failures requires neither optimism nor pessimism and that we must be complicated about how we orient ourselves toward the development of AI in society. In short, and to liberally paraphrase Eminem, we must refuse the mainstream by standing between hope and pessimism. The paper will unfold in three parts. First, I will develop Rap Bot/Rap God as a methodological tool to understand the desire for Western control and domination underlying social, environmental and political failure. That AI robots appear God-like, and this orientation underlies much of artificial intelligence hopes and fears. Next, I will explore how the Rap-Bot/Rap-God orientation gestures our failures by exploring Eminem's use of homophobic language whilst denying homophobia. The gesture of denying homophobia whilst using harmful language underlies artificial life in that much of AI development has incidental and purposeful bias and phobias programmed into their foundations. Finally, after exploring the underlying foundations of hopes and fears through God-like orientations and programmed phobias, I will engage in Eminem's pessimistic language that ironically calls for hope?standing in-between. Refusing mainstream ideals (much of which incidentally uphold many social phobias) allows us to move towards a different, post-harm future.

*Cinema as History of Political Thought: On Westerns, Hobbes, and the Ambiguities of Political Foundation:* Christopher Holman (Nanyang Technological University)

**Abstract:** Recent years have seen an increasingly number of political theorists turn to the study of cinema as a repository of political insight. Typically, cinematic texts are interpreted as representing in narrative form some theoretical paradigm from within classical or contemporary political thought. In this paper I suggest that the potential of film to intervene in our reading of political thought far exceeds this articulation: it is not just that the history of political thought may aid us in comprehending what is presented within film, but film may aid us in comprehending what is presented within the history of political thought, through the revelation of a dimension of meaning occulted by the dominant political imaginary. In order to demonstrate this potentiality, I take as a case Kelly Reichardt's 2010 revisionist Western *Meek's Cutoff*, demonstrating the extent to which its depiction of the limits of sovereign legitimacy, the conditions of democratic foundation, and the implausibility of the nature-politics binary, opens up a dimension of meaning within classic contractarian thought that has not yet been fully appreciated.

*Comedy as a Vocation: The Epistemic Virtues of Reckless Jokes:* Abraham Singer (Loyola University Chicago), Toby Rollo (Lakehead University)

**Abstract:** Debates over comedy tend to mirror the debate over free speech/expression: some contend that comedians should be afforded full latitude; others, citing how comedy can reinforce ideas that normalize violence against vulnerable groups, contend that comedians should constrain their jokes to those that target the powerful and help the powerless -- to 'speak truth to power?' and 'punch up.' We contend that this is the wrong sort of argument. Comedy occupies a social position that precedes this debate; consequently, the freedom from ordinary social norms afforded to comedy is not rooted in a right to free political expression, nor should it be curtailed to mitigate power dynamics. Instead, we argue, comedy serves a vital first order function in revealing the shape of politics and power relations, and that this capacity is grounded in its reckless and morally unimpeded nature.

We begin with the now-dominant 'punch up?' paradigm. The 'punch up?' ethic rightly tries to articulate comedic ethics in terms of the specific role of the comedian. However, it assumes a fairly conventional understanding of power: one where there is a straightforward hierarchy from which to gauge whether

one is punching up or down. However, in a postmaterialist society, this is not the case: modern power is reproduced at the level of social practice not monarchical decree, and issues of identity, race, gender, and ability have alloyed in unstable ways with class structures. Consequently, it is not always clear who occupies a space of privilege relative to another. To say comedians ought to punch up is to assume both that we know which way up is, and what constitutes a punch.

Given this, we offer a different view of comedy grounded in its revelatory and epistemic function. Power is an affective force in that it does not cohere to a logical or propositional structure.. Comedic/satirical storytelling is so important because it has a unique capacity to reveal the affective landscape of power. Given this, we contend that the 'punch up' paradigm mistakes the comedian for a politician or activist (who acts according to prior normative and epistemic commitments) or an academic (who inquires into the nature of these normative and epistemic commitments through rational discourse), and thereby puts the critical cart ahead of the epistemological horse. While some relations of power are somewhat stable, most are unstable; while rational inquiry can help shine light on these fluid power relations, it can only do so much. Consequently we can't expect politics or science to tell the comedian which way to punch ex ante: we do not know what direction a joke is punching until the joke itself reveals such realities.

The purpose of comedy is not to speak truth to power, we argue, but to unmask the truth of power. Comedy's core competency is not in its ability to support the underdog, but rather to illuminate the changing identity of the underdog. To serve this function, comedians must have the license to speak recklessly and irreverently.

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## J04(a) - Roundtable: The Future of Federalism in a Changing World

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

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 451

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Alain-G. Gagnon (UQAM)

Jan Erk (Université Mohammed VI Polytechnique, Morocco)

Wilfried Swenden (The University of Edinburgh)

Marie-Joelle Zahar (Université de Montréal)

Yonatan Fessha (The University of the Western Cape, South Africa)

Alan Fenna (Curtin University, Australia)

**Abstract:** This roundtable brings together six scholars of comparative federalism with research interests covering the world. Chaired by one of Canada's leading federalism scholars, Alain-G. Gagnon, the roundtable will discuss the future of federalism in the midst of unpredictable geopolitical changes. The five participants of the roundtable have wide-ranging research interests covering various facets of federalism in different parts of the world and have all been involved in both its scholarly and applied side. They all serve as editors or members of editorial boards of the field's prominent journals. Yonatan Fessha brings in comparative reflections from the African continent with particular emphasis on the continent's three big federations, South Africa, Ethiopia, and Nigeria. Jan Erk addresses how the applied side of federalism will be affected from the fraying post-Cold War consensus around liberal democratic principles. His focus is on the future of federal solution in post-conflict settings, in particular, in South Sudan and Somalia. Wilfried Swenden covers both Western Europe and Southeast Asia in his observations on the state of the literature and emerging new theoretical approaches. Alan Fenna's contributions to the roundtable highlights the relationship between federalism and public policy in Australia and beyond, and the hurdles that await us. Marie-Joelle Zahar shares her insights into the applied side of federalism in post-conflict settings contrasting her experiences on the field with the teachings of federalism studies. What all participants share is their knowledge of Canadian federalism and the attending challenges, which will serve as the common reference point during discussions.

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## **J04(b) - Roundtable Book Discussion: Security. Cooperation. Governance. The Canada-United States Open Border Paradox**

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

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 294

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Elisabeth Vallee (Collège militaire royal St. Jean)

**Joint Session / Séance conjointe** : Provincial & Territorial Politics & National Security Workshop

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=311](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=311)

### **Participants**

Christian Leuprecht (Royal Military College & Queen's University)

Todd Hataley (Fleming College)

Carolina Reyes Marquez (University of Toronto)

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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** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1165

**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 - Feminism and Gender Gaps

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1051

**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:** Jeni Armstrong (Carleton University), Anna Lennox Esselment (University of Waterloo), Alex Marland (Acadia 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), 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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## Day 1 - Session 5 (03:30pm - 05:00pm)

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

#### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1047

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Sylvia Bashevkin (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Sylvia Bashevkin (University of Toronto)

***Strategies to Reproduce Societies: Comparing Social Reproduction Policy Regimes in Quebec and Ontario:*** Emma Willert (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)

**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)

**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)

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

### Politique canadienne

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Alex Marland (Acadia University)

Shannon Proudfoot (Globe and Mail)

Jonathan Pedneault (Green Party of Canada)

Pierre Marc Johnson (Former Premier of Québec)

Aphrodite Salas (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** So much is riding on how the leaders of political parties and journalists interact. Politicians and the press have a symbiotic, powerful relationship that cuts to the core of political power ? and increasingly leaders have the upper hand. When do party leaders and journalists work together best? When are things at their worst? What goes on behind the scenes between them that doesn't get reported? What are the opportunities and threats presented by a rapidly evolving media environment? Participants in this roundtable will shed light on this complicated, high-level political relationship in Canada.

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## A05(c) - Roundtable: The Nature and Role of Unwritten Constitutional Principles

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

Chair/Président/Présidente : Dennis Baker (University of Guelph)

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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## A05(d) - Language and Language Policy

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

Chair/Président/Présidente : Daniel Salée (Concordia University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Daniel Salée (Concordia University)

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

**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) - Lobbying in Canada

### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495 - Hybrid session/session hybride (see Zoom details below/voir détails Zoom ci-dessous)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Lori Williams (Mount Royal University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Lori Williams (Mount Royal University)

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

***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), Elizabeth McCallion (University of Toronto)

**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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## 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 : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

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 :

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=78](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=78)

*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.

*Hate, Extremism, and Terrorism in the Canadian Prairies:* Michael King (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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## C05(a) - Global Politics in the Asia-Pacific

### Relations internationales

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** Teams (see détails/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Vandana Bhatia (Sheridan College)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Vandana Bhatia (Sheridan College)

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

***When Socialization Fails: Middle Powers and the Sticky Politics of Engagement with China:*** Michaela Pedersen-Macnab (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** What causes foreign policy stasis among Middle Powers? Under what conditions will they abandon policy? We argue that Middle Powers are less susceptible to strategic policy change than Great Powers because these states benchmark their policies against their peers in patterns of mutual policy legitimation. Policy "stickiness" is exacerbated in cases where the policy and its objective are inherently difficult to measure. In such cases, we find that change is made possible through deliberate institutional restructuring within the public services to create internal and inter-departmental opportunities to challenge deeply entrenched policies. We support our arguments by examining an especially puzzling instance of policy stasis: despite overwhelming evidence of policy failure, Middle Powers remain committed to proliferating engagement mechanisms to socialize China into the Liberal International Order (LIO). We leverage Canada's China policy as the key case: Canada is typical of other Middle Powers because its engagement policy was maintained despite external shocks that demonstrated overt policy failure. However, Canada is also an outlier because it radically changed its policy approach towards China in November 2022. We draw on interviews with high-level former and current diplomats and officials central to Canada's China policy, as well as documentary and secondary evidence from Canada, Norway, Australia and Germany. Our arguments and evidence also identify limits to the theory and strategy of socialization, particularly in defense of the LIO, and suggest a novel pathway for foreign policy change.

***Regional and national effects of economic statecraft: a study of public opinion during the Sino-Australian trade war:*** Benjamin Toettoe (University of Montreal)

**Abstract:** China's extensive economic linkages with states around the world have, in recent years, raised increasing concerns about their weaponization as economic statecraft. This has occurred in the context of intensifying US-China rivalry in a world persistently characterized by complex economic interdependence. However, studies of China's economic coercion have largely remained centered on state-centric approaches that do not fully incorporate the importance of various domestic actors shaping state behavior. Particularly, the effects of economic statecraft on public opinion in targeted countries remain understudied despite the increasing body of literature in Foreign Policy Analysis showing that citizens' preferences and attitudes represent a credible constraint on the foreign policies of democratic and authoritarian states alike.

This article will help expand the field's understanding of the effects of economic statecraft through a focus on public opinion. Using time-series data from the Australian Election Study ranging from 2016 to 2022, it will investigate how the public's foreign policy preferences vis-à-vis China have been affected by the Sino-Australian trade war that erupted in 2020. By using the geolocated positions of survey respondents, the analysis will determine whether individuals are more responsive to national dynamics surrounding cases of economic statecraft (such as portrayals and politicization by the media and politicians), or material economic impacts driven by local industry composition and trade exposure to economically hostile states. An understanding of the political effects of economic coercion that incorporates the sub-state level actors having been recognized by the field of Foreign Policy Analysis as shaping state behavior will emerge.

***Economic Security Dynamics in East Asia: A Case Study of the 2019 Japan-South Korea Trade Dispute:*** Jemma Kim (Meiji University)

**Abstract:** The 2019 Japan-South Korea trade dispute serves as an intriguing case study that highlights the complex interplay between economic interests and geopolitical tensions in East Asia. This paper delves into the unique nature of this dispute, where Japan implemented economic measures against South Korea, a departure from its typical foreign policy stance. Moreover, South Korea's response included security-related measures, adding an additional layer of complexity to the conflict. The study seeks to uncover the factors that contributed to the escalation of the dispute, emphasizing the missteps on both sides and the breakdown in effective communication channels. This paper examines how economic security and geopolitics intertwine, offering insights into the broader landscape of East Asian politics. The escalating confrontation between Japan and South Korea in the face of deepening economic ties and historical tensions challenges conventional wisdom about the relationship between economic interdependence and political cooperation. By analyzing the 2019 dispute, this paper aims to shed light on the dynamics of economic security and contribute to both theoretical and policy discussions in the East Asian context.

***Chinese foreign policy narratives and discourses in the Indo-Pacific:*** Karl Trautman (Central Maine Community College)

**Abstract:** This paper will reveal and analyze the power of language in diplomacy and shed insights into contemporary Australian foreign policy and strategic responses to China's growing presence in the Indo-Pacific.

The Indo-Pacific region encompasses Australia's major trading and strategic partners. Australia's ability to simultaneously benefit from this region's economic dynamism while reinforcing regional order is under stress due to shifts in the People's Republic of China (PRC) under Xi Jinping. The shift is characterized by the increasingly exerted political and economic influence in the region over the past two decades. This influence has not only been presented in various material forms, such as economic involvement and military presence; it has also been reflected in the PRC's normative engagement and more specifically, in its foreign policy language.

This paper will examine the discourses, narratives and rhetoric of Chinese foreign policy regarding Australia and the Western presence in South China Sea and Pacific Islands. This paper will employ both quantitative and qualitative research methods to map the key variables in Chinese foreign policy discourses since 2012 (Chinese government under Xi Jinping). Examples of discourse analysis include internationalist discourse, pan-Asian discourse and anti-colonialist discourse. Interpretive methodology will include using the theories of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. Content analysis as well as the concept of soft power will also be used in the analysis.

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## C05(b) - NATO

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : McGill College 2001 735

Chair/Président/Présidente : Owen Wong (Queen's University)

*20 years of the NATO Centres of Excellence program in post-communist Europa: integrated but still dissociated:* Anessa Kimball (Université Laval)  
, Bohuslav Pernica (Masaryk University)

**Abstract:** In this paper we argue NATO Centres of Excellence in post-communist countries had limited impacts due to force of different Purchasing Parity Power (PPP) across partners and the observation several Central and Eastern European (CEE) partners do not use the euro. The effects of their exclusion from the euro imply their capacity to purchase the same commodities is distorted due to exchange rate misalignments. In particular, previous work demonstrated there may be an over-estimation of national currencies functionally preventing these non-eurozone states from having the equivalent power to purchase the same bundle of goods/commodities with their national currencies. Such distortions not only affect budgeting at these Centres in CEE (where national contributions are provided in Euros) but also national military defence budgets from which NATO draws its support to function. We explore how a failure to consider PPP disturbances in those CEE countries is consequential for defence economists and NATO and suggest some implications for policy makers.

*The Problem of NATO in the Pacific:* Shaun Narine (St. Thomas University)

**Abstract:** In recent years, American representatives have suggested that NATO should expand its areas of activity and interest to the Indo-Pacific region. NATO's leading officials seems open to this idea. Some Western allies in the region, such as Japan, have also encouraged this expansion. If this happens, however, it will mark a dangerous escalation in the growing confrontation between the Western world (and its allies) and China. This paper examines the political and strategic reasons for NATO to pursue expansion and evaluates the likelihood of this happening. It sets NATO's aspirations within the context of the efforts of American imperialism to sustain itself and the ramifications of NATO's ongoing engagement in the Russia-Ukraine war. The paper uses a constructivist analysis to argue that the Western world, led by the US, is in the process of constructing China as an enemy and creating that possibility through its antagonistic and provocative actions. The paper reviews the politics of the expansion of NATO, the question of how NATO is regarded in the global South, and how the creation of enemies and confrontation is an effect of Western colonialism and validated through the use of the theory of realism.

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## C05(c) - Political Representation, Inclusion and Participation in Local, National and Transnational Activities: Learning from Women with Disabilities

### Relations internationales

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : Room #109, 469 rue Jean Talon Ouest, Montréal. Hybrid session/session hybride (see Zoom details below/voir détails Zoom ci-dessous)

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Karen Soldatic (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Kirsten Van Houten (University of Guelph)

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

***Representing Women and Girls with Disabilities in United Nations Arenas:*** Dominique Masson (University of Ottawa), Clothilde Parent-Chartier (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** The yearly meetings of the Conference of State Parties (COSP) of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) and of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) are the UN arenas where speakers from organizations centering women and girls with disabilities are most likely to participate on the international stage, and where their issues are the most visible to an international audience. Based on data collected at the 2021 and 2022 meetings of the COSP and UN-CSW, held online during the Covid-19 pandemic, this paper aims at documenting and analyzing the representation of the diversity of women and girls with disabilities in these settings. What is the variety of political actors involved in speaking on behalf of, for, and about women and girls with disabilities in the spaces offered by these meetings? How has the balance between different categories of actors changed over time? Which intersectional differences are taken up as the basis for self-representation by civil society actors representing women and girls with disabilities? What can we say about the place of ?voices from the South? in these events and the effects of global inequalities on who represents? This paper also inquires into the factors that orchestrate the representation of women and girls with disabilities in these arenas, from imposed yearly themes to the role of organizers in the selection of panel topics and speakers, and to the barriers placed on who can organize and who can participate, which all structure who gets to speak in these venues and, conversely, who does not. Finally, the paper comments on the possibilities and limits of the representation of women and girls with disabilities in these two settings.

***From Global Norms to Local Action: Implementing the Intersectoral Global Action Plan (IGAP) in South Africa:*** Sharlene Cassel (Epilepsy South Africa and Chair, South African Disability Alliance)

**Abstract:** This paper explores the localisation of the international norms embedded in the IGAP, adopted at the World Health Assembly in May 2022, in the South African context. The IGAP seeks to support the recovery, well-being and participation of people living with neurological conditions through interdisciplinary and intersectoral approaches. In South Africa, the process of norm localization of the IGAP has been led by Epilepsy South Africa in collaboration with the Department of Women, Youth and People with Disabilities. Theoretically, we utilize Acharya's postcolonial framework concerning normal localization which seeks to understand how norms ? global or otherwise - are created, adopted, and adapted within specific cultural and social contexts, in a dynamic, pluralistic, and often contested manner. Drawing on documentary analysis and key participant interviews, we examine how IGAP norms have been re-prioritized, adapted, and aligned with existing government policy and programmes, as well as local conditions and expectations. We assess the extent to which they have deviated from international standards in the process, and how this affects their prospects for successful implementation.

***Using a Feminist Intersectional Livelihoods Analysis to understand experiences of historically marginalized women and girls with disabilities in Canada:*** Deborah Stienstra (University of Guelph), Kathryn Reinders (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** This paper will explore what diverse women and girls with disabilities in Canada perceive as opportunities and barriers to achieving their goals and dreams using a feminist intersectional livelihoods analysis. We examine how human rights frameworks can enhance and/or provide barriers to livelihood choices of diverse women and girls with disabilities.

This research is part of the Engendering Disability Inclusive Development (EDID) partnership, a 7-year project working with diverse women and girls with disabilities for rights and justice in Haiti, South Africa, Vietnam, Canada and transnationally. This paper is based on qualitative and policy research undertaken in 2021 ? 2023 in the Canada country study.

The Canada country study is a collaboration between the DisAbled Women's Network of Canada (DAWN Canada), the Canadian Council on Rehabilitation and Work (CCRW), Realize, Indigenous Disability Canada, and researchers from the University of Guelph.

In the qualitative research we asked diverse women and girls with disabilities about the supportive and hindering factors that shape their paths to livelihoods. In our policy analysis and key informant interview we considered how legislative, jurisdictional and human rights frameworks facilitate and/or limit paths to livelihoods for diverse women and girls with disabilities.

The data gathered and key themes are developed using a feminist intersectional livelihoods approach. Livelihoods are the means through which life necessities are ensured, and they shape how individuals, families, and communities live. A livelihoods approach brings into view the forces that influence

the options people perceive to have and the choices they make. A feminist intersectional approach allows us to focus our gaze on the experiences of diverse women and girls with disabilities recognizing that their lives are shaped by multiple and interconnected social experiences of gender, disability, race, Indigenusness, class, and sexuality as well as ableism, racism and colonialism among others.

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## D05(a) - Courts and Judicialized Policy Making 2.0: Taking the Policy Process Seriously (Policy Development)

### Droit et analyse de politiques

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 365

Chair/Président/Présidente : Dagmar Soennecken (York University)

Co-Chair/Président/Présidente : Christine Rothmayr Allison (Université de Montréal)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Matt Hennigar (Brock University)

*Parliamentary Deviation from the Supreme Court: Tracking the Evolution of Policy Ideas:* Shauna Hughey (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** In the comparative study of the courts, the relative strength of judicial review—that is, whether the judiciary’s ruling is fully binding on legislative branches or not—is believed to be an important determinant of the scope of the judiciary’s power relative to Parliament. Although Parliament may have the ability to deviate from the Court’s ruling, in practice, Parliamentary deviation is relatively weak. While scholars have argued that policy actions by legislative branches do not differ dramatically from judgments (Morton, 1999), this criticism does not fully pass scrutiny. Empirical evidence from cases such as Bedford (2013), Carter (2015), and Morgentaler (1988) suggest that the Canadian Parliament is willing to substantively deviate from the Court at key junctures. I argue that comparative studies of legislative deviation would be strengthened by building in (and building from) the literature on discursive institutionalism. Ideas and discourse are the driving force of institutional shifts and change, thereby shaping dominant policy paradigms. I investigate the role of different orders of change (policy settings, instruments, and ideas) to offer a novel conceptualization of inter-institutional dialogue across two weak- or hybrid- forms of judicial review: the UK and Canada. I am cataloguing court decisions from 2000-2020 to build a database of policy deviations in criminal cases. I will measure the types of policy change introduced at the Supreme Court that facilitate Parliamentary deviation. I theorize that competing ideas and policy instruments introduced by the Court are determinants in Parliament’s decision to deviate from the Court’s ruling.

*Policy-oriented vs. court-centered: exploring competing explanations of policy change:* Marc Zanoni (Guelph University)

**Abstract:** Court scholars have argued that courts impact policy in unique ways. This claim assumes that courts are different from other venues in how they influence policy. Depending on the framework, this may stem from different sources, whether it be rights, judicial decision-making, judicial institutions and processes, or court-parliament interactions. Nevertheless, court-centered approaches tend to emphasize the exceptional ways that courts exert policy influence. Alternatively, the public policy literature does not view courts as an important policy venue; they are often overlooked (or ignored) within the main theories of policy change and are seen as only rarely contributing meaningful policy developments. These different conclusions reflect a disconnect between the law and public policy literatures, which has important research implications. Significant impact, partial impact, no impact, backlash? court and public policy scholars do not often agree on the policy consequences of judicial decisions.

This paper explores these divergent conclusions. In particular, it teases out the court-centered vs. policy-oriented approaches to identify the theoretical underpinnings that lead to differing research implications. The paper also intends to provide some insight into this debate by empirically testing court-centered vs. policy-oriented explanations. More specifically, it examines instances of policy change to determine whether courts produce unique effects (i.e., backlash, polarization, unification, etc.). Or whether courts simply reflect broader changes in a policy subsystem. Disagreements over court influence will be explored in Canadian social policy issue areas? with particular focus on cannabis and electoral policy -- in an effort to provide insights into these debates.

Keywords: law and politics, court impact, policy impact, judicial policymaking, policy change, policy process.

*Courts and the Policy Process:* Christine Rothmayr Allison (Montréal), Dagmar Soennecken (York)

**Abstract:** Three decades ago, researchers started pointing out a shift in power towards the courts as a worldwide phenomenon (Hirschl 2008, Tate and Vallinder 1998) and research on courts and policy-making has proliferated since then. There is a multiplicity of concepts and the vagueness of the concept of judicialized policy making makes it a catch-all term used on any occasion where courts render policy relevant decisions, often without investigating the actual impact of the decisions on the policy-making process. Cases are often selected based on the strong presence of courts in policy-making and implementation, or in ?big,? atypical court cases, with the highest courts generally being documented best. Little research comparatively investigates why in some policy fields we observe more court involvement than in others. There is, so far, also little research to investigate changes in judicialisation over time. Recent research argues that it might be more helpful to think of judicialised policy-making as one mode of policy-making (Burke and Barnes 2020; Kagan 2001) among many, instead of understanding judicialization as a simple shift of power to the courts. To address these gaps in the literature, the panel intends to discuss the following questions: How can our policy theories better account for different forms of authority or different modes of power relations between branches to advance the discussion of courts in policy making? How can we better explain variation across policy sectors and over time with respect to legal mobilization and court impact?

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## D05(b) - Critical Perspectives on Health Policy

### Droit et analyse de politiques

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

Chair/Président/Présidente : Sarah Marie Wiebe (University of Victoria)

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

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

**Régimes Fractals de Violence, de Mobilité et de Visibilité : Comprendre la Gouvernance Sécuritaire des « Anges Gardiens » au Canada pendant la Pandémie de COVID-19:** Anne-Marie D'Aoust (Université du Québec à Montréal), Charet Brethomé (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** La première vague de la pandémie de COVID-19 s'est déclarée au Canada au printemps 2020. Au fur et à mesure que celle-ci faisait rage, les demandeurs d'asile et les migrants sans papiers travaillant dans le système de santé canadien ont été appelés « anges gardiens » et une politique publique et un programme exceptionnel portant ce nom ont été créés de décembre 2020 à août 2021 afin d'accélérer leur accès à la citoyenneté. Émergeants comme une catégorie limite (Star, 2010), les « anges gardiens » ont temporairement connu un renversement des logiques de maintien de l'ordre et de surveillance liées à la mobilité dont ils font habituellement l'expérience. Plutôt que d'être complémentaires, nous considérons que les relations entre mobilité/immobilité et visibilité/invisibilité en matière de sécurité et de surveillance sont fractales (Gal, 2002). Cette compréhension nous oblige à analyser comment les différents recalibrages spatiaux et temporels ont affecté les « anges gardiens », révélant d'intenses frictions politiques sur ce qui, et qui, devrait être le sujet de la surveillance et du contrôle. Pour ce faire, nous distinguons les technologies initiales de contrôle et de surveillance qui déterminent la mobilité et l'expérience des « anges gardiens » en tant que migrants sans papiers et demandeurs d'asile travaillant dans le secteur de la santé (1) de celles qui sont mises en œuvre dans la vie quotidienne (2). Nous les comparons ensuite au programme public de reconnaissance des « anges gardiens », qui repose sur l'idée de contrôles et de surveillance a posteriori (3).

**Canadian Catholic Healthcare at the Nexus of Multiple Legal Regimes:** Amélie Barras (York University), Andrea Paras (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** What does it mean to be a public Catholic institution in Canada? How does this Catholic identity evolve and adapt with the increase secularisation and diversification of society, and with the rising awareness of the complicated legacy of Catholicism and colonisation in Canada? This paper explores those questions drawing on the material produced by the Catholic Health Alliance of Canada that support Catholic public healthcare institutions in Canada as well as on interviews with staff working in Catholic healthcare. Taking a legal pluralist approach the paper documents how Catholic healthcare institutions navigate between transnational canon laws and ethics, and human rights law. In so doing Catholic healthcare is situated in a web of national and transnational legal regimes. We also argue that this navigation takes different forms to adapt to societal changes (e.g. the authorization of MAID, the COVID pandemic, efforts to respond to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action, the focus of Pope Francis on social justice). Shedding light on efforts to uphold the Catholic identity of publicly-funded institutions speaks directly to the ways in which Christianity continues to play a subtle, at times invisible, but still constant presence in Canadian society. It is a contribution to our understanding of the complex relationships and entanglement between state and religion, and directly debunks tropes that construct this relationship as one of clear separation.

**Infertility and Policy Inequities: Surveying IVF Patients Pursuing Treatment Against BC's ?No Funding? Policy:** Jenna Quelch (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** While often touted as a symbol of national unity, Canadian healthcare is rife with inequities and policy variation across provinces and territories. This variation is often most pronounced among contentious gendered health policies, including reproductive health services like in vitro fertilization (IVF). While the impacts of fertility treatment programs and funding are well documented, the voices of those most impacted by policy variations are often excluded, leaving a gap in both the literature and in policymakers' understanding of their government's policy agendas. To better understand the policy impacts of this variation, this paper examines the lived experiences of those affected by Canada's ?patchwork? of IVF policies. As one of only three provinces without funding or coverage for fertility treatments like in vitro fertilization (IVF), British Columbia is an outlier among its peer provinces. The study includes a survey of more than 200 women in this ?no funding? province, all of whom have experienced infertility and who either underwent or are pursuing IVF. The survey captures quantitative information related to both treatment outcomes and barriers to access as well as qualitative responses that detail the impacts of provincial policy variation and the inequities that result.

**When a ?Code Red? climate emergency hits home: An intersectional policy analysis of extreme heat exposure in British Columbia:** Sarah Wiebe (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** Informed by a planetary health lens and intersectional policy analysis, this paper examines emergency management, planning and policy responses to extreme heat in British Columbia. It includes a multilayered critical discourse analysis of the modernized Emergency and Disaster Management Act and the voices of those directly affected by extreme weather events in British Columbia based on community-engaged research. To flesh out and examine representations of vulnerability, articulated as priority populations or affected parties, this paper analyzes extreme heat events and climate adaptation policies at local, regional, and provincial levels of government, and enriches these with the stories of those with lived-experience of extreme heat exposure, including the June 2021 heat dome. Specifically, from a community-engaged participatory research approach, the voices of those most affected by extreme heat are elaborated and discussed, including the perspectives of priority populations such as seniors living in social isolation, newcomers, and those with perinatal lived-experience, such as pregnant and nursing bodies. The aim of this paper is to elaborate what intersectional policy analysis brings

to the study of extreme heat exposure to impact and improve public engagement, emergency management, policy and planning in British Columbia and beyond. More information available via our project Story Map.

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## E05 - Local Democratic Institutions and Representation

### Politique locale et urbaine

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 391

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Meghan Joy (Concordia University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Zack Taylor (University of Western Ontario)

***The Participatory Outcomes of Participatory Budgeting: A Comparative Study of American and Canadian Cities:*** Raluca Gabriela Pavel (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.

***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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## F05(a) - Political Polarizations III: Who is Polarized?

### Comportement politique/sociologie

**Date :** Jun 12 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin, 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5020

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Fred Guillaume Dufour (Université du Québec à Montréal,)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Sophie Borwein (University of British Columbia)

**Partisan Conformity and Political Intolerance:** Seyoung Jung (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** As partisan prejudice increases, citizens show discriminating intolerance, opposing the rights of groups on the opposite side. Paying attention to partisan dynamics, this project examines how partisan identity and conformity shape political intolerance. I test whether a request for partisan conformity increases their willingness to act on political intolerance, using a vignette experiment where co-partisans ask to sign a petition to ban the protest of the least-liked group. Furthermore, I investigate which mechanism underlies this conformity, particularly comparing the narratives involving ingroup praise or outgroup derogation. Results indicate that co-partisans can influence other co-partisans to behave in a politically intolerant manner. While both types of narratives induced partisan conformity, more respondents opted for displaying their names in limiting others' civil activities when a narrative blaming the outgroup was given as a reason for solidarity. The findings contribute to our understanding of attitudinal and behavioral changes when political intolerance meets polarization.

**Évolution des croyances spirituelles au Québec suite à la COVID-19 : Une analyse de la théorie de la gestion de la terreur:** Camille Pelletier (Université Laval), Laurence-Olivier M. Foisy (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Cet article explore l'influence de la pandémie de COVID-19 sur les croyances spirituelles au Québec, à travers le prisme de la théorie de la gestion de la terreur. La pandémie, ayant imposé des restrictions sanitaires sévères et suscité une couverture médiatique alarmiste, a servi de catalyseur potentiel pour un renouveau spirituel en réponse à l'angoisse de mortalité. Cette étude analyse les modifications des croyances spirituelles postpandémiques des Québécois en utilisant des données comparatives issues de sondages pré et postpandémie. Les résultats dérivés d'un sondage initial en 2014 et d'un suivi postpandémique indiquent une augmentation notable de l'engagement spirituel parmi les répondants. Cette tendance est interprétée comme une tentative de donner un sens à la vie face à la crise sanitaire. L'étude a également incorporé une analyse de contenu des unes médiatiques à l'aide du langage de programmation "r" pour examiner l'impact de la représentation médiatique de la pandémie sur l'état d'anxiété et la recherche de significations spirituelles. L'article fournit une contribution significative à la littérature sur les mouvements spirituels en période de crise, en montrant une corrélation entre l'exposition à une pandémie et une orientation spirituelle accrue. Il met en lumière les réponses adaptatives des individus face à une prise de conscience de leur mortalité, enrichissant ainsi notre compréhension des dynamiques socioculturelles en temps de crise. Les implications de ces découvertes soulignent l'importance d'appréhender les dimensions psychologiques de la santé publique.

**Who is Affectively Polarized? A Sociodemographic Insight:** Juliette Leblanc (Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** The rise of partisanship as a social identity has sparked research into its consequences, particularly the increase in affective polarization, which measures individuals' affinity for their in-group and hostility toward their out-group (Iyengar et al., 2018). Many studies have explored how increasing affective polarization has implications in non-political areas, affecting relationships, attractiveness judgments, and job applications. While it's evident that people are becoming more affectively polarized, influencing even non-political judgments, we have yet to fully understand how non-political characteristics affect levels of affective polarization, especially in terms of sociodemographics. Who is affectively polarized? This study primarily focuses on identifying affectively polarized individuals within various sociodemographic groups. It examines whether gender, age, education, income, and region influence levels of affective polarization. Additionally, it explores when these social factors are most likely to impact individuals' levels of affective polarization, such as during relationship formation, which can be related to one's age, and parenthood. By analyzing social distance items and feelings thermometers, I will evaluate individuals displaying levels of affective polarization, although not in terms of the strength of partisanship. These results will shed light on which sociodemographic factors might influence one's levels of affective polarization and whether specific life stages, like forming meaningful relationships, have an impact on how someone interacts with members of the other party and their own.

**Chapter 3: Follow the Leader:** Eric Merkley (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Prior research has found 'sorting' in the Canadian electorate. Liberal/NDP and Conservative supporters have increasingly divergent views about policy. This sorting may be an important cause of affective polarization in Canada, but the causes of this sorting have not yet been studied. This chapter, from a book project exploring the causes and consequences of affective polarization in Canada, makes four contributions. First, I illustrate with Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) data that elite polarization in Canada is mostly characterized by a drift of the Liberal Party to the left on economic policy, and movement by the Conservatives to the socially conservative right. Second, I use data from the Canadian Election Study (CES) to show that perceptions elite polarization are consistently associated with partisan sorting, and that these perceptions lead rather than follow sorting. Third, I use multilevel modelling to show that elite polarization is associated with sorting. Finally, I use panel data from the CES to shed light on the mechanism behind sorting. We see, counter-intuitively, that we cannot discount the role of party-switchers in producing higher levels of sorting in the Canadian electorate. Taken together, the results suggest that partisan sorting, and potentially downstream affective polarization, have roots in elite discourse, but that Canadians don't necessarily mechanically adopt the positions of their preferred party. Their partisan attachments can be shaped by their ideological and

value commitments.

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## G05 - Navigating Sustainability Transitions: Insights from Political Economy

### Économie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 395

Chair/Président/Présidente : Shehnoor Khurram (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Sam Rowan (Concordia University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Angela Carter (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

*The effect of FDI on the carbon footprint of global trade: cross-country evidence:* Zarlisht Muhammad Razeq (University of Warwick)

**Abstract:** Foreign direct investment (FDI) and international trade are the key drivers of international production and development in the era of Global Value Chains (GVCs). Despite the significant body of research on the spillover effects of FDI on growth and development, the effect of FDI on climate change and sustainable development has received little theoretical and empirical attention. Most of the discussion about the effect of FDI in the context of climate change and sustainable development has raised concerns about the carbon leakage from North to South, where environmental standards are less stringent, making the latter an attractive destination as a pollution haven for production relocation and FDI. This paper aims to examine systematically if this is the case: does FDI from upstream North increase the environmental impact of trade and investment in recipient countries? The paper answers the research question by relying on statistical analysis and sectoral data on FDI and carbon emissions (CO<sub>2</sub>) for 67 countries between 2003 and 2018. We find that greenfield investment positively affects the CO<sub>2</sub> content of bilateral exports with differences in the effects across sectors, between final and intermediate products, and in relative positions of trade partners along the supply chains. The implication of these findings for investment policy is that the design of green transition and green investment strategies must consider not only the environmental impact of FDI but also the export composition and GVC position of trading partners.

*Workers as words: how rhetorical appeals to labor are deployed in contested just transition discourses:* Carley Chavara (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper asks how did it come to be constituted that state and provincial level representatives claim federal just transition policies are hurtful to fossil fuel workers when labor representatives supported the legislation? In both the case of the United States' proposed Build Back Better Initiative in 2021 and Canada's proposed Just Transition legislation in 2023 key political representatives at the state and provincial level (Sen. Joe Manchin and Premier Danielle Smith, respectively) came out against the legislation, partly on the ground that it was bad for fossil fuel workers. At the same time, the key unions in these polities (United Mine Workers Union and the Alberta Federation of Labor, respectively) publicly supported the federal legislation. I explain this puzzle by using the critical discourse analysis method developed by Fairclough. I treat each piece of legislation as a key text and comparatively analyze politicians' and unions' official press releases and public comments, as well as the discourse of relevant corporate actors. I find that despite public rhetoric appealing to labor, state and provincial governments aligned with capital on the climate policy, and despite labor's support of just transition, popular and even academic discourse portray labor as obstinate to climate action. This study makes an important empirical contribution to academic literature on just transition by providing contradictory evidence to existing assumptions on the political role of labor in the green energy transition and makes the theoretical contribution of including workers in their own words as key political texts.

*Mining for Green: Capturing value and promoting transformation in the local economy in extractive industries in a period of flux ? Lessons from mining industries in Labrador, Sudbury & Kamloops, BC:* Scott McKnight (University of Toronto), Dan Breznitz (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The fast-unfolding transition to low- and zero-carbon technologies will require a dramatic increase in the production of minerals and metals. The multi-faceted importance of extractive industries' to national security, to the global economy and to the unfolding transition to low-carbon energy sources' presents a generational opportunity for resource-rich areas. At the same time, extractive industries like mining are under a range of pressures' to reduce the carbon intensity of their operations; to provide minerals and metals at stable and affordable prices; and to generate good-paying, stable and physically safe jobs.

The anticipated increase in production in the context of varied and complex demands on the mining industry presents opportunities for local communities, companies and government to be active participants and sources of innovation, and not merely sites of extraction in mining for the 'green' energy transition.

What can mineral-rich areas with robust mining ecosystem like Labrador, Sudbury & Kamloops, BC learn from one another in generating wealth, capturing value in this transition, maximizing benefits for the province and making that growth sustainable over the long run? This research project presents preliminary findings from fieldwork in these areas with the overarching aim of systematizing lessons in creating local and sustained value in extractive industries.

*Why isn't the mining industry ready for the energy transition: Introducing the concept of Facilitator Industries:* Scott McKnight (University of Toronto), Dan Breznitz (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The technologies needed for the low-carbon energy transition will require huge increases over current volumes of mineral and metal production. However, despite government urging, expectations of high demand, and record profits for miners, why aren't companies investing more in preparation of this generational opportunity?

Two main obstacles constrain the massive expansion in mineral output needed for the energy transition: first, the mining industry lacks the financial and human capacity needed to provide the many mineral inputs at sharply increased volumes for the low-carbon energy transformation; second, the mining industry faces too many sources of uncertainty (political, ESG-related, technological) for the industry to transform itself.

This leads us to the bigger question: How to transform 'mature' industries to meet the demands of new technological paradigms? To answer this, we introduce the concept of a 'facilitator industry', which has several characteristics: First, a facilitator industry predated the technological revolution in

question (e.g. green tech) and is no longer or was never revolutionary in technology; 2) this industry is essential to facilitating and diffusing the ?core? industry to achieve its revolutionary potential; and finally and most importantly, 3) the facilitator industry needs to be thoroughly transformed to take on a much enhanced role for that core industry to reach its revolutionary potential.

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## H05(a) - Feminism and Queer Theory

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

Chair/Président/Présidente : Vertika (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Pinar Dokumaci (University College Dublin)

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

*Representing political interests: A missing link between descriptive representation and deliberative democracy:* Olivia Kamgain (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** The merits of descriptive representation for improving political inclusion have been considered extensively (Mansbridge, 1999; Young, 2002). Empirical literature has provided evidence that the presence of women or minority legislators translate into inclusive policies (Celis, 2007; Reynolds, 2013). Descriptive representatives are elected officials who have similar demographic characteristics to those they represent, i.e., who “look like” them in some way. Yet, there is a missing argument to explain why some political interests cannot be represented by outgroup members. Objections toward descriptive representation have challenged its compatibility with electoral accountability when these representatives are not elected directly by those they aim to speak for. By reflecting on the case of political inclusion of LGBTQ people in Canada, my paper addresses key questions to provide answers to this current gap in political theory. Who can voice LGBTQ political interests? Why does their representation depend on the presence of group members in parliaments? In this paper, I develop an argument that expands on the growing reflection about the preferable representatives to promote minority political interests (Dovi, 2009) and reinforces the value of descriptive representatives for both political inclusion and deliberative democracy. I first draw on contributions in queer theory (Warner, 2002; Butler, 2005; Ahmed, 2006) to define the boundaries of the LGBTQ political interests that may require members of the group to represent them. I then expand on the literature on epistemic injustice to articulate why these interests can be better represented by in-group members (Fricker, 2007; Dotson, 2018; Davis, 2020).

*From Nationalism to Equality: Tracing the Normative Foundations of Early Chinese Feminism, 1897-1907:* Devin Ouellette (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Employing an “ideas in context” approach to the writings of early Chinese feminism, this paper examines the history of the normative foundations of feminism in China and the practices these foundations legitimated; that is, it aims to illuminate the conditions that enabled Chinese men and women to begin to think of women as an important socio-political entity. This paper argues that, normatively, two alternative moral foundations for feminism emerged in China: nationalism and equality. Feminism in China first emerged as a normative desideratum subsumed by the importance of nation-building in a context of encroaching Euro-American and Japanese imperialism. In the subsequent evolution of Chinese nationalism, the conceptualization of women’s equality, and the means by which to achieve it, was deepened, demonstrating the troubling of the uneasy marriage between nationalism and feminism. Finally, the link between feminism and nationalism was severed by the anarcho-feminist Hé-Yǐn Zhèn ??? (1884-1920?), whose systematic critique of nationalist feminism shifted feminism to an independent normative basis of equality. Practically, this paper argues that nationalist feminism legitimated women’s education and participation in broader areas of social and economic life. As feminism was severed from nationalism by He-Yin, a total social revolution was championed in order to eliminate gender hierarchy, which, He-Yin argued, is produced and reproduced through linguistic, social, and intellectual practices of gender differentiation. This paper thus employs existing methodologies to the study of non-Western political thought, thereby contributing to the growing field of Comparative Political Theory.

*Motor Activities and Power-with: The Political Philosophy of Mary Parker Follett:* Etienne Cardin-Trudeau (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Mary Parker Follett’s (1868-1933) work was reviewed in the New York Times, the Times of London, the Journal of Philosophy and the Political Science Quarterly; praised and criticized by such illustrious scholars and political figures as Theodore Roosevelt, Viscount Haldane, Roscoe Pound, Bernard Bosanquet, Herbert Cooley, Harold Laski and many others. She was, for all practical purposes, among the most well-respected and renowned political theorists of her time. And yet, since then, she has almost been entirely lost to the field. This paper aims at correcting that injustice, and at recovering and reconstructing her political philosophy as a theory of participatory democracy that emphasizes the motor aspect of politics. I argue that Follett helps us understand democracy as a “network of human relations,” where “concrete activities,” such as common menial tasks, sports, and everyday interactions, contribute to an everlasting process of community-building that reduces the need for overt coercion in politics. Follett, in that sense, grapples with the intractable puzzle of how to reconcile individual freedom with collective agency, or how to increase the individual’s willingness to subordinate his or her interests to the well-being of all freely. Her answer differs from the mainstream theories of democracy by emphasizing the motor, or embodied element of participation.

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## H05(b) - Labour, Amour-propre, and Individuality in Rousseau

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : UQAM, Pavillon Paul-Gérin-Lajoie (N), 1205 St-Denis, local/classroom N-4050

Chair/Président/Présidente : Xavier Boileau (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Simon Kow (University of King's College)

*Re-imagining intimacy: Intimate writing and alternative visions of political life:* Erica Kunimoto (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper explores the political significance of intimate narratives for two eighteenth-century thinkers?Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Mary Wollstonecraft. Paying particular interest to Rousseau?s *Émile* and Wollstonecraft?s *Maria*, I suggest that the novel form affords both thinkers unique opportunities to ?re-write? intimate narratives to political effect. I suggest that this intimate ?re-writing? takes place through two moments. First, a critical moment, wherein both thinkers use the novel to show that ?real? intimacy has become impossible within the existing form of political life. Second, a generative moment, wherein both thinkers propose a new vision of intimacy, which becomes possible within a new vision of political life. Overall, I consider how an alternative vision of intimacy proposed by Wollstonecraft and Rousseau may be indexed to an alternative political project that they seek to re-orient their audience towards via their intimate writings.

*?Work like a peasant and think like a philosopher?: rethinking Rousseau?s understanding of labour in contrast with Arendt:* Ke Xia (University of Warwick)

**Abstract:** Contemporary theorists on political action, such as Hannah Arendt, tend to distinguish productive labour from non-productive public actions and only view the latter as the key activity for promoting political participation and cultivating citizenship. Rousseau is similar to Arendt in many ways, for they share concerns about the alienation caused by the division of labour and strive to mitigate its damage to political participation. However, despite criticising modern labour for alienating people from their natural state of idleness, Rousseau acknowledges the necessity of the division of labour in modern society.

In this paper, I will present a new reading of Rousseau?s understanding of work, aiming to bridge the gap between the *vita active* (active life) and the *vita contemplative* (contemplative life) as well as between labour and action, identified by Arendt. There are two points that I will make in this paper. First, using the example of Rousseau?s ideal citizen *Emile*, who shall ?work like a peasant and think like a philosopher?(*Emile*: 202), I demonstrate that contemplative life and active life are interconnected with each other in Rousseau?s educational framework. Second, I argue that productive labour, rather than hindering political participation, contributes to the social conditions necessary for political actions. I emphasize the importance of physical skills for individual independence and a sense of solidarity fostered by the division of labour in a well-functioning political community.

This paper has two theoretical aims. First, it contributes to Rousseau scholarship by emphasizing the positivity of modern labour, challenging a common reading of Rousseau (Sonenscher, 2020; Rasmussen, 2008) which views the specialised labour as the key defect of modern society. Second, it suggests that Rousseau?s understanding of labour may work as a better alternative to Arendt?s for recognizing the positivity of productive labour.

*Does Superiority Inflamm Amour-propre?:* Xinyi Cai (McGill University)

**Abstract:** In this paper, I aim to delve into the intricacies of Rousseau?s concept of "inflamed" amour-propre in his moral psychology and challenge the traditional Kantian interpretation that equates it with a pernicious, inegalitarian form of craving for superiority. Contrary to this view, I draw upon the insights of Neuhaus (2008), who offers a more nuanced understanding of inflamed amour-propre, arguing that not every desire for superiority necessarily falls into this category. Based on the text of the *Second Discourse*, *Emile*, *The Social Contract*, and the discussions of Dent (1998), Neuhaus (2008, 2014), Cohen (2010), and Kolodny (2010), I will first reevaluate the three demarcations between inflamed and non-inflamed amour-propre drawn by Neuhaus (2008, 2014), namely, independent values, universalizability, and egalitarian humility. Second, I will point out the limitations of understanding amour-propre in general without the dimension of superiority in Dent?s more primordial egalitarian interpretation, regardless that Kolodny revised it and limited the discussion to moral superiority. Building on the literature in the past two decades, I combine the normative evaluation of ?inflamed? amour-propre with the superior/egalitarian recognition debate. Instead of adopting a passive approach to defend ?inflamed? amour-propre for its egalitarian implication, I propose a positive approach, arguing that as the preeminence might be an important ingredient of non-inflamed amour-propre, the Kantian equation could undermine the role of this passion in cultivating citizen?s virtue and lead to an ?anti-heroic? mediocrity.

*Rousseau and Heidegger's Pastoral Politics:* Timothy Berk (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Rousseau and Heidegger?s politically charged critiques of the modern commercial city, as well as their valorization of rural life, speak to the urban-rural divide that is increasingly animating contemporary populist movements. Nevertheless, their writings give way to sharply diverging political visions. Whereas Rousseau advances rustic virtues in service of a robust egalitarian republicanism, Heidegger?s promotion of agricultural communities seeks to radically ?overcome? Enlightenment civilization through the revitalization of the Volk?s primordial rootedness (*Bodenständigkeit*). My paper will identify the crux of their disagreement in their competing understandings of ?nature? and ?history,? and, in particular, Rousseau?s more ambivalent evaluation of agricultural civilization. I will suggest that Rousseau?s more nuanced position can serve as a response to Heidegger and his contemporary epigones among the contemporary European and Eurasian New Right.

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## H05(d) - Roundtable: The Return of Political Things Today: On the Legacy of Miguel Abensour

### Théorie politique

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : C-4145, Pavillon Lionel-Groulx (3150 Jean Brillant St), Université de Montréal

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Paul Mazzocchi (York University)

Paul Mazzocchi (York University)

Martin Breaugh (York University)

James Ingram (McMaster University)

Olivier Ruchet (Paris-Panthéon-Assas University (Paris II))

Sophie Marcotte-Chénard (Carleton University)

Christopher Holman (Nanyang Technological University)

Devin Zane Shaw (Douglas College)

**Abstract:** In charting a subversive pathway for the discipline, Miguel Abensour distinguished two types of 'return' within political philosophy: on the one hand, the return of a neglected academic discipline, intent on re-philosophizing or legitimizing 'normal' politics within a liberal institutional framework; on the other, the return of 'political things' that emerge from events that irrupt in the here and now, namely emancipatory social movements challenging gods and masters. Demanding attention to the latter, Abensour challenged us to write 'about politics from the side of the dominated' who construct emancipatory visions in the face of polymorphic forms of domination. In the context of the upcoming publication of *A Politics of Emancipation: The Miguel Abensour Reader* (SUNY, 2024), this roundtable opens discussions about emancipation, domination, and the return of political things in our contemporary moment. The years following the 2008 financial crisis saw the rise of diverse movements for emancipation, including Occupy Wall Street, the Arab and Maple Springs, Indigenous resurgence, Black Lives Matter, Nuit Debout, anti-pipeline protests in North America, and anti-austerity movements throughout the world. Such movements have raised the spectre of emancipation. But the concurrent rise of the alt-right and authoritarian movements and governments globally has seen a counter-tendency inaugurating new forms of domination. Convened by the editors of *The Abensour Reader*, the roundtable will address the current return of 'political things' and examine the potentials and prospects for further emancipatory irruptions, particularly in the face of new forms of domination.

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## M05(a) - Roundtable: Voices From Administration - How Institutional Context Shapes the Opportunities and Challenges of Early Career Scholars

### Enseignement

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Jim Farney (University of Regina)

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

Jim Farney (University of Regina)

Jared Wesley (University of Alberta)

Amanda Bittner (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Cheryl Collier (University of Windsor)

Jonathan 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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## M05(b) - Workshop on Teaching the Everyday: Diversifying the Discipline

### Enseignement

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : Hotel Le Cantlie, 1110 Sherbrooke St West/Ouest, Mont-Royal room

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

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

Griselda Asamoah-Gyadu (McMaster University)

Beyza Hatun Kizeltepe (McMaster University)

Szu-Yun Hsu (McMaster University)

Hanan Zahrah (University of Windsor)

Badriyya Yusuf (Queen's University)

Janique Dubois (Université d'Ottawa)

Akalya Kandiah (McMaster University)

Ulas Tastekin (McMaster University)

Kayla Lui (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). 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

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 12 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 451

Chair/Président/Présidente : Valérie LaPointe (University of Edinburgh)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Jacquetta Newman (University of Western Ontario)

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

**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.

*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.

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

### **Praticiens**

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West SH680 1151

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

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=69](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=69)

### **Participants**

David Houle (Public sector / Secteur Public)

Philippe Roseberry (Public sector / Secteur public)

Eve Bourgeois (NGO / ONG)

Danny Lepage (Fonction publique fédérale - Federal Public Service)

Émilie Foster (Carleton University)

Alexandre Morin-Chassé (Public sector / Secteur public (provincial))

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

## R06 - Presidential Address: Voice through Text, Tradition, and Community

### Événements spéciaux

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 05:00pm - 06:00pm | **Salle** : Salle/Room A-M050, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin Building, UQÀM. 400, rue Sainte-Catherine Est; 400 St. Catherine St. E, Montréal, H2L 2C5 (Métro : Station Berri-UQÀM).

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

### Participants

**Introduction** : Elodie Jacquet (Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Political Science at SFU)

Genevieve Fuji Johnson (CPSA President - Présidente ACSP - SFU)

**Words of thanks/Mots de remerciement** : Melissa Williams (Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto)

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## Day 1 - Departmental Reception (06:15pm - 08:00pm)

**R07 - Reception: Department of Political Science, McGill University**

Événements spéciaux

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 06:15pm - 08:00pm | **Salle** : This event has been cancelled. Cet événement a été annulé.

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=334](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=334)

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## Day 1 - CPSA Women`s Caucus Social (07:00pm - 09:00pm)

### R08 - CPSA Women?s Caucus Social - Soirée du Caucus des femmes de l'ACSP

Événements spéciaux

**Date** : Jun 12 2023 | **Heure** : 07:00pm - 09:00pm | **Salle** : Institute for Research on Public Policy - IRPP 1470 Peel St. #200 Montréal

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=335](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=335)

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

### A09(a) - Parliament I

#### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Louise Cockram (Carleton University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Anna Esselment (University of Waterloo)

*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 :** Hybrid session/session hybride (see Zoom details below/voir les détails de Zoom ci-dessous) | 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Angelia Wagner (University of Alberta)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Angelia Wagner (University of Alberta)

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

***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.

***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?

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## A09(c) - Identity and Political Behaviour in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

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

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Colin Scott (Concordia University)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=8](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=8)

*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.

*Historical Injustices and Beliefs in Systemic Racism:* Mark Williamson (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** How do revelations of historical injustices affect dominant group members' beliefs in systemic racism against an outgroup? This study investigates changes in public opinion after hundreds of suspected unmarked graves were unexpectedly identified at former residential schools for Indigenous children in Canada in 2021. I find that intense media attention to this historical injustice strengthened beliefs in systemic racism among non-Indigenous Canadians surveyed just after versus just before the news first broke. Yet attitudes returned to baseline just a few months later. An analysis of media coverage during this period shows that the reversion coincided with a precipitous decline in media attention and novel new information about the relevant injustices. While non-Indigenous Canadians were deeply affected by the initial accounts of past wrongdoing, this shift was largely a result of the increased media salience, rather than true attitudinal change.

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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 : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

Chair/Président/Présidente : Andreeanne Bissonnette (Université du Québec à Montréal)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Andreeanne Bissonnette (Université du Québec à Montréal)

*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), Eleanor McGrath (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(a) - Ideology and Patterns of Mobilization

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

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

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

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

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[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=29](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=29)

*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.

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## B09(b) - Borders and Boundaries, Geography and Politics

### Politique comparée

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Valentin Pautonnier (Université de Montréal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Tka Pinnock (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Valentin Pautonnier (Université de Montréal)

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

*Is the geographical divide really increasing in Western countries? A new methodology to identify and describe a differentiation phenomenon involving economics and voting:* Valentin Pautonnier (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Research in political science has been focusing on the increase of an electoral geographic divide phenomenon in the US and Western Europe in the light of a located rise of populism in the last decades. A possible explanation lies in a widening of social and economic structures between regions of a same country over time in a globalizing context creating well-integrated and left-behind areas. This draft and in-progress article aims first to record if a deepening of the geographical divide is occurring at local levels such as constituencies and counties in Germany, the UK, Denmark, France, and the USA. This mostly descriptive study innovates by using a Gini coefficient applied to parties scores separately in each region at a given election time. It ends up giving a global Electoral Gini index for the given period and the given country. A regional concentration HHI index is also used to strengthen these results. A final component analysis integrating sociodemographic data as well as voting behavior is also undertaken. This step determines if differentiation is uniform across Western countries, notably by examining if there is a similar pattern of 'left behind' areas more and more different from the dynamic and more diverse ones. The preliminary results indicate a long-term increase in voting differentiation between constituencies over time since the 80's, alongside a populist and new left vote also subjected to more concentration than other parties, but without a clear recent deepening.

*Peace Building in South Asia: Exploring through lenses of Structure, Culture and Rationality:* Muhammad Sajid (University of the Punjab, Lahore-Pakistan)

**Abstract:** Durable peace in South Asia is still a fantasy. This research attempts to find out causes of failure of peace building between Pakistan and India. Due to its comprehension, the concept of peace building has been used. Using paradigms of comparative politics i.e. Rationality, Structure and Culture as well as some theories of International Relations, this research aims at finding the real causes of failure of peace building attempts. Though conflict and peace is studied under the umbrella of International Relations, this research is also an attempt to explain peace building by using theories of comparative politics.

It focuses on how and why individual and collective human agency and structural solutions failed in peace building in South Asia. It also explains how ethnic structure, factional politics, ideological indoctrination in politics, building of extreme nationalist narrative, territorial disputes and non-political elites posed hurdles in the way of peace process. By mapping existing literature, this research not only fills the gap by finding root causes of peace building failure but also suggests possible solutions of peace building between the two states.

*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.

*THE 49th Parallel: Balancing Cooperation With Sovereignty:* Sara McGuire (Drexel University)

**Abstract:** The Canada-United States border is oft touted as the 'longest undefended border' in the world. While the neighboring states view each other as allies and participate in numerous bilateral initiatives and international alliances, there is an inherent power balance that characterizes Canada-US relations. While the two states have historically sought to work together to manage their shared interests pertaining to the 49th parallel, the power imbalance in the Canada-U.S. relationship is evident in the way in which policies have been drafted and implemented. Distinct phases in cooperation are noticeable when examining border policies. The 'Smart Border' phase ushered in by the 9/11 attacks on the U.S. has given way to a perimeter approach to border relations in more recent years. Canada has addressed border policies in a manner that favors collaboration with the United States on shared

issues pertaining to immigration, security, and trade while, at the same time, protecting Canadian sovereignty. In recent years, the COVID 19 pandemic and differing approaches to immigration have highlighted the power imbalance between Canada and the US. While there has been policy divergence, Canada and the US have continued to demonstrate a desire for collaboration. Ultimately, the "special relationship" between Canada and the US indicates a continuing desire and willingness by both states to cooperate when addressing shared border concerns.

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## C09(a) - Roundtable: International Relations in Canada: Understanding the Field

### Relations internationales

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** : UQAM, Pavillon des sciences de la gestion (R), 315 Sainte-Catherine Street E., room/local R-3540

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Michael Murphy (Queen's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Michael Murphy (Queen's University)

Veronica Kitchen (University of Waterloo)

Stéphanie von Hlatky (Queen's University)

Marshall Beier (McMaster University)

David Mutimer (York University)

Anne-Marie D'Aoust (UQAM)

Jérémie Cornut (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** 2025 will mark the fiftieth anniversary of THB Symons' landmark report To Know Ourselves, which evaluated the status of 'Canadian Studies' in institutions of higher learning across Canada. Symons wrote critically of the field of international relations as it existed in the early 1970s, summarizing it as a meagre field dominated by non-Canadian-trained scholars researching non-Canadian topics and teaching non-Canadian texts. In response to Symons at the report's quarter-century, Kim Richard Nossal argues that the late twentieth century saw a rapid development of international relations in Canada. Significantly, while distinct from American international relations, this shift to a 'home-grown IR' was too methodologically and theoretically diverse to uncritically accept Symons' challenge. Especially given the large role of critical, postmodern, feminist, and international political economy approaches, Canada's 'home-grown IR' was not the nationalist project envisioned by To Know Ourselves. With the perspective of nearly a half-century, the purpose of this roundtable is to capture a range of perspectives on international relations in Canada, both in terms of what the field covers and what the field is.

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## C09(b) - India in Global Context

### Relations internationales

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Saira Bano (Thompson Rivers University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Saira Bano (Thompson Rivers University)

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

***Transnational Repression: India-Canada Relations and the Assassination of Hardeep Singh Nijjar:*** Aidan Kerr (University of Toronto), Nikhil Goyal (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The recent assassination of Sikh activist Hardeep Singh Nijjar raises questions on transnational repression and the forces influencing such an action. Transnational repression takes a peculiar dimension for India-Canada relations, considering their long-standing partnership, migration flow, and peaceful bilateral ties. Transnational repression in academic literature is particularly understood through lenses of authoritarianism, dissent, and migration, marking a dearth of scholarship from the standpoint of international relations and reputation, especially in non-authoritarian contexts. We ask the critical question: why do nations engage in transnational repression despite the seismic diplomatic repercussions and global fallout it causes? Through this essay, we explore the international and reputational dimensions of transnational repression and the underlying forces that drive this behaviour. As authoritarianism and dissident control explain little about transnational repression, we argue that the allegations and politics of transnational repression are firmly grounded in considerations of reputation costs and international bargaining. India's growing geopolitical influence and Canada's historical adherence to peaceful and rule-based governance render this case particularly compelling, underscoring the significant costs associated with such actions and allegations.

***SOUTH Asian Diaspora in Canada: Examining Political Behavior Through the Lens of Indian Sikhs and Bangladeshi Muslims in CANADA:*** Soham Das (O.P. Jindal Global University), Sreeradha Datta (O.P. Jindal Global University), Sanlap Acharya (O.P. Jindal Global University)

**Abstract:** The immigration policies of Canada since 2015 have made the country a favorable destination for economic immigrants across the world to come and settle. Additionally, its refugee protection programs also offer humanitarian resettlement opportunities to persecuted people across the world. Diasporas have often played prominent roles in upholding ethnonational identities and movements. This research explores the factors that help to explain this phenomenon through the sentiment analysis of social media engagements of members of the Indian-Sikh and Bangladeshi-Muslim diasporas in Canada. On the other hand, while the Indo-Canadian economic ties have been strengthened in the recent past and Canada is the 17th largest foreign investor in India with an investment of \$ 3,642 Million, the political difference regarding Sikh nationalism and separatism has created tension between the two bilateral partners. Similarly, while there have been few strategic visits between Bangladesh and Canada in the past few years and the bilateral trade of over 2 billion is likely to grow further, Bangladesh has also raised the issue of Canada refusing to extradite an assassin of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. These factors have deep implications in the Canadian electoral and domestic politics along with larger ethno nationalist sentiments in South Asia. This research reflects upon these perspectives during the temporal domain of 2015-2023 and studies the sentiments of Indian origin Sikh and Bangladeshi origin Muslim populace of Canada on social media platforms, using artificial intelligence-machine learning techniques. The research further compares these sentiments with non-Sikh Indians and Hindu Bangladeshis based in Canada.

***Navigating the Indo-Pacific: An In-depth Analysis of US-India Relations:*** Vandana Bhatia (Sheridan College)

**Abstract:** In recent years, the Indo-Pacific has emerged as a critical theater of global geopolitics, characterized by evolving power dynamics, economic opportunities, and security challenges. The United States and India, as two prominent actors in the region, have increasingly recognized the strategic importance of their collaboration. This paper proposal aims to provide a comprehensive examination of the multifaceted relationship between the United States and India within the context of the Indo-Pacific region.

The paper will delve into the historical foundations of US-India relations, tracing the trajectory from the Cold War period to the present day, and how these historical dynamics have influenced their interactions in the Indo-Pacific. It will explore the shared values, interests, and challenges that bind the two nations in this crucial maritime domain, encompassing areas such as regional security, economic cooperation, and the promotion of democratic norms. Moreover, the paper will analyze the evolving geopolitical landscape in the Indo-Pacific, taking into account the rising influence of China, maritime disputes, and the need for a rules-based order. It will examine how the United States and India have collaborated on security initiatives, such as the Quad, to address common challenges and promote stability in the region.

Through a comprehensive analysis of diplomatic, security, economic, and cultural aspects, this paper aims to offer a deeper understanding of the complexities and opportunities within US-India relations in the Indo-Pacific. It will shed light on how these two democracies are navigating the changing tides of the Indo-Pacific and contributing to the regional and global order.

***India Pakistan Enduring Rivalry: A Realist Constructivist Explanation:*** Muhammad Arif Khan (Federal Urdu University of Arts Science and Technology, Karachi)

**Abstract:** In 1947, the decolonization process of south Asia paved for the emergence of India Pakistan as separate nations. Since their inception as nation states they locked their horn into an enduring rivalry. Kashmir remained an unfinished plan and rather a bone of contention between both states. India called Kashmir as its 'integral part', however, Pakistan as its 'jugular vein'. Throughout history, their relations remained bumpy and have been marred by the elements of trust deficit, bitter memories and enemy formation-identity issues. Evidently, there is a huge power asymmetry between both states in terms

of economy, military, landmass and population but still they fought three full fledged and one limited war in Kargil, in 1999. Moreover, the 'Pokhran I' paved way for the nuclearization of South Asia and a continuous missile and nuclear arms race between both nations. Their relations are not only affecting them but also the whole South Asia region. This study will address and analyze the following questions; Why India-Pakistan have enduring rivalry? How power politics, identity and bitter memories are affecting the relations of both states? What are the core issues between them? Why could they not manage their conflict?

***The Intractability of India Pakistan Relations and Regional Cooperation in South Asia:*** Safia Arif Khan (Federal Urdu University of Arts Science and Technology, Karachi)

**Abstract:** The decolonization process in the subcontinent paved way for the emergence of India and Pakistan. But, the hasty action of colonial power left a bone of contention between both states. Their relations have been hijacked by power politics, trust deficit, identity issues and bitter memories. There were some occasions when both states tried to add a new chapter into their relations, however, on every occasion instead of moving a step ahead they moved back. Their disputes are not only affecting their bilateral relations but also the whole South. In 1985, for achieving regional cooperation SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) charter was signed by the member states. However, the intractability of India Pakistan relations could not let to achieve the fruits of regional cooperation. Factually, SAARC members have less than 5 percent intra-regional trade while having a potential of much more. Importantly, there is dire need for regional cooperation in the era of trans-boundary crises as like of COVID-19, food insecurity, poverty, climate change etc. There are ample rooms for regional cooperation in other areas as well as like of non-traditional security threats, regional connectivity etc. This paper addresses the following questions; what are the factors responsible for the India-Pakistan enduring rivalry? How can both states mend their relations? What are the common areas of interests among South Asian states? How regional cooperation can be achieved in South Asia?

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## D09 - Public Health Institutions, Evidence and Trust

### Droit et analyse de politiques

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** Hotel Le Cantlie, 1110 Sherbrooke St West/Ouest, salle Mont-Royal room

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Carole Clavier (UQAM)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Carole Clavier (UQAM)

***Institutional Design And Public Trust: Why Independent Public Health Officials Will Be Ineffective and Will Do Little to Rebuild Trust in Public Health:*** Patrick Fafard (University of Ottawa), Jared Wesley (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** The COVID-19 pandemic has politicized as never before the public health function of government. This had led to a decline in public trust in public health institutions. Yet such trust is essential if public health measures are to be effective. To rebuild public trust, the design of the public health function of government is a priority in several Canadian provinces. Because they are the most visible public health official in each province, many critics are calling for the advice that chief medical officers provide to the government should be made public. For others, the role of CMO should be much more independent of the government of the day up to and including making CMOs and officer of the legislature similar to the auditor general. Drawing on research on policy advisory systems, science advice, and the role of senior officials in parliamentary systems, we critically evaluate the arguments made in favour of a more independent chief medical officer and argue that a truly autonomous chief medical officer is both unworkable and undesirable. The paper concludes with a discussion of what institutional design of the public health function of government might contribute to (re)building public trust.

***Decisions in Crisis: Policy Communities and Political Appeals to Evidence-Based Decision-Making During COVID-19:*** Adrienne Davidson (McMaster University), Katherine Boothe (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** School closures were a key element of many Canadian provinces' responses to the COVID-19 pandemic during 2020 and 2021. These decisions have significant impacts on students, educators, and families, and were at times controversial. They varied among Canadian provinces: in spring 2021, Ontario closed schools for more than ten weeks, while Alberta closed for only two weeks.

We found striking differences in officials' communication about school closures in the two provinces, particularly in the ways officials referenced evidence. This led to our central research question: Why do governments differ in their use of evidence in public communication during periods of crisis and uncertainty? The use of evidence can be an important tool to justify contested decisions, and this is complicated when evidence is uncertain or changing rapidly.

Ontario and Alberta vary regarding how often evidence was referenced, what sources of evidence were used, and which actors took main responsibility for communicating with the public. We also find variation in between the two provinces in terms of the alignment between the content of the evidence cited and the way it is used. We examine how these choices about evidence communication are affected by the relative centralization of public health governance, the size and range of the group of legitimated policy actors, and the legacy of communication choices early in the crisis. This research has important implications for our understanding of trust between governments, experts, and the public in the context of high-stakes crisis decision making.

***Populism, Partisanship and Public Trust: The Alberta Chief Medical Officer of Health During COVID-19:*** Lisa Young (University of Calgary), Duane Bratt (Mount Royal University)

**Abstract:** In March of 2020, Alberta's Chief Medical Officer of Health Deena Hinshaw became a celebrity in the province, serving as the public face of the pandemic response. Her catch-phrase "we're all in this together" morphed from a rallying cry in the early days of the pandemic to an empty promise in later months. Eventually, it served as an ironic epitaph when Hinshaw was removed from the post in November of 2022. This paper examines Hinshaw's rise and fall to shed light on the role of the CMOH during a public health emergency. It argues that the role assigned to Hinshaw by the provincial government was part of a broader strategy of blame-shifting. It also examines ways in which populism and partisanship shaped public trust in Hinshaw over the course of the pandemic and reflects on what is required to rebuild trust in the public health system.

***Aging with (In)equality: Hard Lessons from the COVID-19 Pandemic and its Aftermath:*** Poland Lai (York University)

**Abstract:** Older adults, especially older adults with disabilities, have been disproportionately and negatively affected by the COVID-19 pandemic (for example, Lewis et al 2023). Poor (even deadly) care in Canadian long-term care homes (for example B eland and Marier 2020) is just one example of how government action (or lack of it) worsens systemic inequality. There is a growing body of work that addresses how COVID has exacerbated inequalities by attending to gender, race and other factors related to marginalization (Albader 2022; Germain and Yong 2020; Couture-M enard, Bernier, Breton and M enard 2023). Less attention has been devoted to aging and disability. This paper concerns inequality on the basis of age and disability in the health and social care systems in Canada. The focus is on the regulatory aspects of health and social care because states across the globe attempted to respond to the pandemic through rules and regulations. The research methods include review of government documents and legal research. The paper will first highlight measures (implemented via law) that purported to protect older adults. Then it will describe cases where older adults with disabilities and/or their families challenged measures such as 'no visitors' policy in hospitals (e.g. Sprague v. Her Majesty the Queen in right of Ontario) and sought remedies from the courts. It aims to explain how law was mobilized to 'protect' older adults from the spread of the coronavirus while undermining their rights under provincial human rights legislation, the Charter and the Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities.

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## F09(a) - Political Polarizations IV

### Comportement politique/sociologie

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin, 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5020

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Fred Guillaume Dufour (UQAM)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Daniel Stockemer (Université d'Ottawa)

*Is Populism a Phenomenon of the Young or the Old?:* Daniel Stockemer (University of Ottawa), Jean-Nicolas Bordeleau (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** The literature on populism suggests two activation mechanisms for populist attitudes: political discontent or strong host ideologies. These two theoretical frameworks suggest, respectively, that younger and older individuals should be more drawn towards populist ideas. In this short article, we focus on age and try to decipher whether it is the old or the young who are most likely to hold populist attitudes? We are also interested in determining if the effect of age differs in various country context. Using an original survey, which we fielded in December 2022 in six diverse countries (i.e., Australia, Brazil, Canada, Germany, the United States, and South Africa), we do not find any difference in the effect of age on populist attitudes; that is, we find that populist attitudes are for everyone regardless of the country context.

*American and Canadian Far Right Extremism: Similarities, Differences, and Influences:* Leyde Rodriguez Guervos (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** The study of far right extremism suffers from terminological chaos, with scholars using a variety of terms ? such as alt-right, right wing populism, and radical right ? to describe one single phenomenon. Given that research in the field has continued despite this, it is tempting to argue that there is little need to be preoccupied with trying to find a specific definition for the concept. However, definitions do not only convey meaning, they also specify meaning: they not only specify what is included in a concept, but also what is excluded. This is all the more essential when engaging in comparisons of similarities and differences. The present research seeks to differentiate between ?right? and ?left?, ?moderate right? and ?far right?, and radicalism and extremism, to establish a definition of far right extremism that is applicable to cases across different time periods and different locations. Determining what constitutes the core characteristics of the phenomenon then provides a jumping-off point to analyze the sociocultural similarities and differences between American and Canadian far right extremism. So far, the literature has focused on identifying the sociocultural precursors to the rise of far right extremism in specific Western countries; however, there has been no discussions regarding the cultural similarities and differences between movements originating from different states, nor how this relates to the internationalization of far right extremism. The present research would begin filling this gap within the literature with the goal of advancing a more thorough understanding of the phenomenon.

*Une certaine idée du peuple : la thèse de l'exceptionnalisme canadien face à l'hypothèse d'un populisme ordinaire au Québec et au Canada:*

Charles Berthelet (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** La thèse d'un exceptionnalisme canadien (Ambrose&Mudde,2015) établie par comparaison avec la montée des populismes ailleurs dans le monde semble avoir fait son temps. En effet, la pandémie de COVID-19 et la réaction (surtout de droite) face aux mesure sanitaires prises par les gouvernements fédéral (de Justin Trudeau) et provinciaux canadiens, dont le gouvernement québécois (de François Legault), ont révélé un nouveau visage du populisme canadien qui semble d'ailleurs avoir emprunté quelques airs de famille à un certain populisme étatsunien (Dufour,2021;Dufour&Mones,2023). Quoi qu'il en soit, la chose est entendue : le populisme est désormais bien présent au Canada, et ce, jusque dans ses mouvances d'extrême-droite. Pourtant, malgré un résultat globalement appréciable dans le second cas, ni le Parti populaire du Canada (de Maxime Bernier) ni le Parti conservateur du Québec (d'Éric Duhaime) ne sont parvenus à faire élire un seul député lors des élections générales fédérales de 2019 et 2021 ou québécoises de 2022, respectivement. Des tendances ou consonances de type populiste ont toutefois été perçues de la part de politiciens appartenant à des familles ou formations politiques plus conventionnelles (bien que profitant de différents degrés d'institutionnalisation), non seulement de droite conservatrice, mais aussi de gauche progressiste. Ce papier avance l'hypothèse d'un « populisme ordinaire » pour catégoriser spécifiquement la présence de ces traits populistes et pour relativiser plus généralement l'absence de mouvements populistes au Québec et au Canada qui aurait précédée l'arrivée de la pandémie et l'adoption des mesures sanitaires. Le cas du Québec sert d'exemple privilégié à cette conceptualisation.

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## F09(b) - Green Politics, Climate Changes and Political Behaviour

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

Chair/Président/Présidente : Ommar Abbasi (Windsor University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Go Murakami (Ritsumeikan University)

**Industry Identity, Industry Sympathy, and Attitudes Towards Energy Transition:** Melanee Thomas (University of Calgary), Lori Thorlakson (University of Alberta), Brooks DeCillia (Mount Royal University)

**Abstract:** Dominant industries can, when politicized, become a key part of regionalism and regional identity. This is most clear for individuals directly employed in that dominant industry. However, research also suggests that empathetic association can produce strong effects on public opinion and political behaviour as well. Drawing on political science research investigating status threat, polarized partisanship, identity politics, rural resentment and sympathy, we develop new measures of explicit identification with oil and gas for those working in that industry, as well as industry sympathy for those who are not employed in oil and gas. Using data from a population-based survey experiment, we identify which factors best predict industry identity and sympathy, and then identify the effects of that factor with other covariates on attitudes about energy transition from fossil fuels towards more renewable sources of energy. We argue that industry identity serves as a type of place-based resentment (PBR). In this sense, place-based resentment predicts attitudes to energy transition

**?Burning Down A Burning House?: Bases of Support for Environmental Political Violence in Canada:** Alexis Bibeau (University of Virginia), Alexandre Pelletier (Université Laval), Hubert Cadieux (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** The question of "what can be done?" has plagued ecological movements in recent years as climate change has started to have direct consequences on citizens worldwide. The looming threat of an impending climate catastrophe has compelled certain social movements to adapt their strategies, sometimes resorting to tactics such as industrial sabotage, vandalism, property damage, and even targeted violence against individuals. Despite these evolving approaches, we know little about public tolerance, or the lack thereof, for more extreme militant political actions by ecological groups. There is also a shortage of knowledge regarding public attitudes toward politically motivated property destruction, including industrial sabotage. This paper investigates the factors underpinning public tolerance for ecologically motivated political actions involving property damage, destruction, and violence. Our research employs a unique survey featuring an original individual-level measure of ecological preoccupation. It assesses attitudes toward 13 militant political actions, ranging from relatively low-intensity actions like signing a petition to high-intensity activities like sabotaging a pipeline. Our study reveals four key findings. First, tolerance for militant actions varies across different age groups. Second, public tolerance is linked to the perceived "intensity" of the militant actions. Third, respondents' degree of environmental preoccupation constitutes a central determinant of their tolerance for such activities. Finally, respondents' attitudes toward disruptive and destructive political actions are influenced by their attributions of responsibility for climate change, whether to citizens, government entities, or enterprises. Based on these findings, we posit the existence of a critical threshold of "tolerance," beyond which respondents are less inclined to support certain types of militant actions, regardless of their level of ecological preoccupation. Our research, therefore, suggests that a strong commitment to addressing climate change does not necessarily lead respondents to forsake their dedication to nonviolent political methods.

**Fairness and Green Jobs as an Energy Transition Accelerator:** Alexandre Gajevic Sayegh (Université Laval), Catherine Ouellet (Université de Montréal), Hubert Cadieux (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Hypothesis: This paper takes place at the intersection of climate policy, climate justice and public opinion. It answers the following question: can fairness and green jobs reduce the social and political tension surrounding climate policy implementation, and thereby accelerate the green economy transition in Canada? The central hypothesis of this paper is the following: the inclusion of fairness measures in the green economy transition ? especially by targeting workers in the most affected sectors (e.g. those in oil and gas sectors in Alberta and Saskatchewan) ? will impact the political acceptability of climate policy.

**Test and methodology:** This paper formulates just transition measures and then relies on unique survey data to test whether they increase the social acceptability of climate policy. It focuses on two key policies: carbon pricing and a fossil fuel phase-out. A set of survey questions compare social support for these two policies in Canada (a) with and (b) without accompanying fairness provisions for workers, such as green jobs creation, support for retraining and support for relocation. These comparisons cast light on the potential role of fairness as an accelerating device for climate action.

For its preliminary results, this paper uses an exclusive survey (n = 1,500) conducted by the firm Synopsis in Canada between August 10, 2022 and August 15, 2022.

**Preliminary results:** From the survey data, we observed that fairness measures and green jobs both increase the support for a higher price on carbon and for a faster decrease in the production of oil and gas.

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## H09(a) - Theoretical Reflections on Nations and Statehood

### Théorie politique

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 365

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Antonio Franceschet (University of Calgary)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Antonio Franceschet (University of Calgary)

**Rethinking Grounded Normative Theory**: Hazim Ali (University of Toronto)

**Abstract**: Political theory often concerns itself with categories, from freedom and equality to citizenship and social justice, that presume a bounded national setting within which these categories are thought to function. To the extent that a state of closure and pre-given boundaries is taken as an already satisfied condition and an appropriate analytical starting point, it precludes a proper investigation of new categories emerging from global transformations that do not neatly map onto the condition of sovereign territoriality presupposed by political theory. A study of non-citizens for example, cannot appeal to the logic of citizens versus aliens if neoliberal markets today enable temporary residents to live indefinitely without having to apply for naturalization, contradicting the principle that one is either an insider or outsider for political purposes. In my own research on second-generation expatriates in the Persian Gulf, I argue that political theory cannot properly address the experience of such groups without engaging with sociological approaches that capture the complex empirical reality of living in a context in which non-citizens are included through their exclusion. At the same time, sociology is unable to think normatively through this experience due to its heavy reliance on descriptive approaches and must equally engage with political theory to ensure that questions of justice do not escape a new global reality that seems too complex to be fairly represented by questions of right and wrong. I argue therefore that theorists should not allow their fundamental assumptions of political community blind them to how that community is transforming under pressures of globalization yet they should also not abandon the project of identifying what justice requires in this new global reality.

**Spatial International Political Thought**: Marion Trejo (York University)

**Abstract**: Recent scholarship of international relations as put forward by Matthew Specter in "The Atlantic Realists" (2022) suggests that realism and geopolitics share a common intellectual history. According to Specter, there is an entanglement of US and German historical experiences about empire building and empire justification (politically and academically) centered around the concept of lebensraum. The following paper furthers Specter's claims and argues that there has been a resurgence of geopolitical thought in the XXI century, both academically and politically, which uses a racialized (like lebensraum) and gendered concepts of space to justify empire building today. To support this claim, I will analyze the notions of space that define American and Russian foreign policy imaginaries today as seen in the imperial contest over Ukraine.

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## H09(b) - Equality and Community from Different Angles

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 391

*Dispossession from Duties to Care for the Good of Each and All:* Ryan Griffiths (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Grotius supposed that humans own the earth in common. Private property could be justified if the privatization makes more for all and enough for each. If I have a lot but refuse to give to the needy who have little or nothing, then I forfeit my right to my property. These needy people, or someone on their behalf, can take my property as punishment for violating the terms of my ownership of it. Privatization of what was common was only permitted if it supplied enough for each.

Grotius used this argument to justify taking land from indigenous peoples in North America. First, their use of property could, it was believed, be shown to be less productive than Dutch agriculture. Second, they apparently refused to simply give their land to the Dutch. Thus, given that there are needy people and that they are not making more for all by their property practices they could be punished; their land could be taken by anyone on behalf of the needy and the good of all. Locke's arguments are different, but not by much. How was this argument resisted?

The task was to deny the common ownership premise and its attendant principle of the duty to be productive with what is by right common. It was Adam Smith who made this move, untethering property rights from duties, and it undergirds his underappreciated anti-imperialism.

If a community justifies their property on a ground like stewardship, then failure to meet that threatens to justify their dispossession.

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## J09(a) - Roundtable: The Politics of Ontario

Politique provinciale et territoriale au Canada et au-delà

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 395

Chair/Président/Présidente : Cheryl Collier (University of Windsor)

Co-Chair/Président/Présidente : Jonathan Malloy (Carleton University)

Jonathan Malloy (Carleton University)

Martin Horak (Western University)

Tamara Small (University of Guelph)

Peter Graefe (McMaster University)

Julie Simmons (University of Guelph)

Carl James (York University)

Mark Winfield (York University)

Cheryl Collier (Windsor University)

**Abstract:** This roundtable session features discussion by contributors to the new edition of The Politics of Ontario (UTP, 2024). Participants will draw from their individual chapters to speak to broad themes of current Ontario politics, including the state of Ontario political culture, the impact of the Ford government, economic and social policy challenges, and the ever-growing racial diversity of Ontario.

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## J09(b) - Exploring Subnational Abdication of Revenue Authority and Fiscal Centralization in Federal Systems

Politique provinciale et territoriale au Canada et au-delà

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1041

Chair/Président/Présidente : Michael Luoma (Queen's University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Kyle Hanniman (Queen's University)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=164](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=164)

*Delegative Federalism without Centralization? The Case of Joint Decision-Making in Germany:* Jörg Broschek (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** In the context of joint decision-making in Germany, delegative federalism as defined in this panel, never really broke the historical empowerment of the Länder by generating a path dependent, centralizing dynamic. Rather, it reinforced - through a cyclical pattern of dis-entanglement and subsequent re-entanglement - the institutional status quo. This case study demonstrates this dynamic by examining changes to fiscal federalism in four key constitutional reforms. The 1955/1969 fiscal reforms established the shared taxation revenue scheme, and constitutionalized joint decision-making. The three major constitutional reforms since the 1990s sought to partially reverse this historical outcome. Ideational change created pressure for dis-entanglement and decentralization, including taxation competencies. Although the major constitutional reforms of 2006 and, by extension, 2009, resulted in modest dis-entanglement, the 2017 reform reversed this pattern again. Due to the persistence of joint decision-making, German federalism has neither become significantly more centralized nor decentralized over time. The paper argues that ideational and institutional conditions are particularly important to understand this distinct pattern of delegative federalism in Germany.

*In Centralization We Trust: Explaining Subnational Fiscal Abdication in Argentina:* Jorge Gordin (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Abstract:** What level of fiscal centralization is compatible with federal self-rule? Studies of the political determinants of federal revenue authority have usually focused on centripetal inducements of national governments but neglected the incentives of subnational orders for assenting to a reversal of their foundational fiscal empowerment. This paper contributes to this debate by analysing the experience of Argentina, a puzzling case of institutionally strong provinces that have consistently shun revenue responsibility. Using a typology of types and ranges of fiscal delegation and abdication, it assesses dynamically the contrasting evolution of the effects of two central milestones of Argentine fiscal federalism, the 1930s revenue-sharing law and the 1990's fiscal pacts. While in the former case, subnational delegated authority evolved into increasing abdication of tax and borrowing authority, in the latter provinces have shifted erstwhile abdication into more a predictable and formalized federal revenue-burden sharing.

*An Asset or a Liability? Explaining the Absence of Subnational Revenue Authority in Australia and its consequences for Federalism.:* Tracy Fenwick (Australian National University)

**Abstract:** Two definitive characteristics about Australian fiscal federalism are well established in the literature. First, Australia, in contrast to other more decentralised federal systems, has a strong vertical fiscal imbalance (VFI) in this case the Australian Federal Government collects more revenue than it spends. In both theory and in practice, this structural factor preconditions the states to be fiscally dependent on the centre as they have very limited subnational revenue authority. Second, Australia has one of the most egalitarian horizontal fiscal equalisation systems (HFE) in the world, which has historically reduced intergovernmental fiscal relations to low level grumblings. If we analyse the Australia over time however, and we ask how revenue authority was lost, we observe it was originally delegated to the centre by the states themselves through negotiation or vis-à-vis prescription to expert agencies. Eventually, their revenue authority was almost fully abdicated vis-à-vis unilateral and high-court decisions, and even more recently acquiesce on the part of the states. The central claim of this paper, however, is that economic conditions are necessary, but do not sufficiency explain the extent of fiscal centralization over time. I will suggest using specific examples that the states in fact traded their authority as both an asset and a liability with evident consequences on their ability to self-rule.

*No Abdication: The Persistence of Fiscal Decentralization in Canada:* André Lecours (University of Ottawa), Daniel Béland (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Fiscal centralization as a historical process has been the norm in federations, with constituent units often abdicating own-source revenue raising responsibilities. Canada is a notable exception since provinces never abdicated such responsibilities. In fact, aside from a delegation of tax-raising authority during and immediately after the Second World War (the so-called tax rentals), provinces have defended their ability to generate own-source revenues. This paper examines Canada's experience with regard to the non-abdication by provinces of their taxing responsibilities. Coherent with the contribution of second generation fiscal federalism scholars, the paper focuses on the political dynamics of Canadian federalism. More specifically, building on a typology of territorial movements and identities, the paper highlights the importance of nationalism in Québec and sentiments of alienation in Western Canada for explaining the mostly uninterrupted and on-going fiscal strength of Canadian provinces.

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## **L09(a) - Roundtable: History in the (Policy-)Making: Past, Present and Future in Canadian Migration Politics and Scholarship**

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

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1151

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Christopher Anderson (Wilfred Laurier University)

**Co-Chair/Président/Présidente** : Dagmar Soennecken (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Dagmar Soennecken (York University)

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

### **Participants**

Geoffrey Cameron (McMaster University)

Kiran Banerjee (Dalhousie University)

Laura Madokoro (Carleton University)

Krenare Recaj (Carleton University)

Caleb Duffield (McMaster University)

Christopher Anderson (Wilfrid Laurier University)

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## L09(b) - Evaluating Reconciliation

Race, ethnicité, peuples autochtones et politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1055

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Chadwick Cowie (University of Toronto Scarborough)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Daniel Sherwin (University of Toronto)

*Progress? Tracking Settler Denial and Recognition of Colonial Genocide in Canada:* Andrew Basso (Wilfrid Laurier University), Andrea Perrella (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** The Final Report of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission was able to create an authoritative account of Canada's genocidal crimes against Indigenous peoples committed through the Indian Residential School (IRS) system. Combined, institutionalized genocide led to systemic intergenerational traumas. However, since the release of the TRC report, how far has Canadian society come to accept its past wrongs, and how much are Canadians prepared to move forward? This is an important question because Settlers occupy powerful and privileged positions in Canada's settler colonial matrix. They can act as agents of change in the era of Reconciliation, or as obstacles. Using three years of survey data from 2021 to 2023, we explore the prevalence extent of genocide denial among Settlers in Canada. Separately, we also examine the prevalence of the recognition of genocide, since we believe Settlers must move beyond the denial of genocide for there to be any chance of change in Canada. The first move towards justice is not the rejection of denial, but the acceptance of recognition of past crimes and their contemporary implications ? an emerging concept called ?thin sympathy.?

*Criminal Sentencing and the Preservation of the Canadian Colonial Superstructure:* Hannah Rose (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Although multiple levels of government in Canada have committed to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) Calls to Action, the mass incarceration of Indigenous peoples is an ever-worsening issue. With colonial legacies intertwined into the foundation of the Canadian criminal justice system, the subject of the over-representation of Indigenous peoples in the carceral system represents the surrounding obstacles of institutional racism and the unceasing colonial superstructure of Canada that inhibits Indigenous self-determination. This interdisciplinary paper approaches the Canadian criminal justice system from the perspectives of Foucault's biopower and Mbembe's necropolitics. Building on this theoretical framework, this paper examines criminal sentencing discrepancies between Indigenous and Settler populations before and after the release of the TRC's Final Report. This study illuminates whether discrepancies exist and whether the TRC's Calls to Action have been effective in minimizing the over-representation of Indigenous peoples in the carceral system. The central problem addressed in this study is whether criminal sentencing is a determinant of the Canadian colonial superstructure and if this inherent structure within Canada's institutions will inhibit the achievement of the goals set out by the TRC's calls to action.

*Increasing Support for Reconciliation:* Andreea I. Zota (Université de Montréal), Marco M. Aviña (Harvard University)

**Abstract:** Profound inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals persist, suggesting settler colonialism shapes Canadian society to this day. Reconciliation requires that Canadians acknowledge how past harm continues to cause suffering today, which should in turn motivate support for reparative policies to redress these injustices. However, such a process can be challenging as it may draw threatened responses from members of the dominant group, perpetuating prejudice and hindering attitudinal change. We field a survey of 3000 non-Indigenous Canadians to assess whether providing information on how past colonial politics explain inequalities today can reduce negative attitudes toward Indigenous peoples and motivate support for reparative policy reforms. We assess two distinct strategies for overcoming these barriers: corrective information and perspective-getting narratives. While correction leads to factual updating, narratives can reduce identity threats and shift policy preferences. Combining both interventions results in increased recognition of ongoing inequalities and greater support for policy reforms. Neither strategy enhances the effectiveness of the other. Our results have theoretical and practical implications for the politics of reconciliation and reparations.

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

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1051

***?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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## W309 - National Security & Intelligence: Foreign Interference in Elections

Atelier - Sécurité nationale et renseignement : perspectives canadiennes et comparées

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : McGill College 2001 461

Chair/Président/Présidente : Valere Gaspard (Université d'Ottawa)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=152](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=152)

*Public reactions to foreign interference in Canadian elections and society:* Peter Loewen (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Evidence increasingly suggests that foreign governments are actively intervening in Canadian elections, politics, and societies? How does the public react to this interference? Who do they hold responsible, and what do they want done? This presentation will share data from an ongoing large-scale study tracking exposure to and reactions to foreign interference in Canada. The project combines ~25,000 survey responses with multiple survey experiments and extensive social listening data.

*Regulating Election Communication: Policy Responses in 6 Countries:* Chris Tenove (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** Social media platforms expand how citizens can engage in politics, but they may also be used to undermine full and fair democratic participation. In many elections, platforms have enabled foreign interference, threats against politicians, and disinformation campaigns about voting processes and political issues. Governments around the world have responded with policies to protect election integrity and democratic participation. However, government regulations and platforms' own policies have provoked concerns about issues including election fairness and freedom of expression. This paper will analyze compare government policies for social media in elections across 6 case countries. Through this comparison, we ask:

- 1) What policy approaches do governments adopt to regulate communication during elections, including foreign interference?
- 2) How and why do these policies vary across regions and regime types?

*Comparing Foreign Election Interference: strategic containment of foreign influence activities across the Five Eyes security community – the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand:* Christian Leuprecht (RMC/Queen's), Holly Ann Garnett (RMC/Queen's), Sofia Caal-Lam (RMC/Queen's)

**Abstract:** Foreign Interference (FI) is one of the more vexing contemporary challenges to democracy and democratic institutions: Authoritarian state actors engage in subversion, subterfuge and sabotage by coercive, corruptive, clandestine and deceptive means to manipulate, undermine and delegitimize democratic processes and institutions. As such, FI poses a significant, and arguably existential, threat to national security. In recent years the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand have all had to contend with foreign influence in general, and foreign election interference in particular. That is, such activities transpire on a continuum that ranges from influence to interference. Notwithstanding important differences in culture, strategy, geography, constitution and legal frameworks, the Five Eyes are sufficiently similar nonetheless as to offer an opportunity for a most-similar systems design to compare approaches and their effectiveness in containing FI.

After framing the problem of foreign interference, the article offers an environmental scan of foreign influence activities in general, and foreign election interference activities in particular, including tampering, influence and information operations, and the way these have been deployed by adversarial actors across the five country case studies. The following section examines how each country deals with pre-election, election day and post-election cycle threats, as well as measures of effectiveness in each country's approach. The paper concludes on findings and inferences on how to posture electoral integrity more resiliently against foreign influence activities in general that may be problematic but legal, and illegal and criminal foreign interference activities in particular.

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

### A11(a) - Parliament II

#### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Chris Greenaway (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Chris Greenaway (University of Toronto)

**Debating the Voting Age: how Canadian Legislators Grapple with the Federal Voting Age:** Valere Gaspard (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.

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## A11(b) - Roundtable: Mainstreaming Critical Theory in Canadian Politics Graduate Education

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

Chair/Président/Présidente : Michael Murphy (Queen's University)

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

Dennis Pilon (York University)

Megan Aiken (University of Alberta)

Bruce Mckenna (Université du Québec à Montréal)

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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# 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 : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

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

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

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*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 (University of British Columbia), 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 ethno-religious 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 Amidst Declining Economic Policy Saliency:* 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 turnout 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, and whether the offerings of political parties impact these relationships. I find major class-based participatory inequalities in Canada and that 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 and a significant factor is the reduced saliency of economic issues in the party system. The findings contribute to our understanding of how economic inequalities translate into political inequalities and show that rising inequality in turnout between politically relevant cleavages, represents a deterioration of democratic representation.

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## A11(d) - Author Meets Critics: What Women Represent: The Impact of Women in Parliament

### Politique canadienne

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** : MQUP Offices: 1010 Sherbrooke West, 15thFloor Conference Room (enter off of Metcalfe)

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Susan Franceschet (University of Calgary)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Jonathan Malloy (Carleton University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Elizabeth McCallion (University of Toronto)

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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## C11 - Roundtable / Table Ronde: Mobilisation des connaissances

### Relations internationales

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** : UQAM, Pavillon des sciences de la gestion (R), 315 Sainte-Catherine Street E., room/local R-3910 (Chaire FracoPaix)

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Sarah-Myriam Martin-Brûlé (Bishop's University)

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

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Sarah-Myriam Martin-Brûlé (Bishop's University)

Marie-Hélène Boucher (Presses de l'Université Laval)

Félix Mathieu (University of Winnipeg)

Mireille Paquet (Concordia University)

Sule Tomkinson (Université Laval)

Sophie Imbeault (Les éditions du Boréal)

Stéphanie Chouinard (Royal Military College of Canada)

**Abstract:** A French-language panel on knowledge mobilization in French. Why publish or put on a podcast in French? What are the career implications of the decision to publish in French? What does the process look like for French-language book publishers and journals in Canada?

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## D11 - Judicial Decision-Making

### Droit et analyse de politiques

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Emmett Macfarlane (University of Waterloo)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Emmett Macfarlane (University of Waterloo)

***Governing through Intervention? Government Mobilization in the Supreme Court of Canada:*** Brendan Dell (Queen's University), Danielle McNabb (Brock University)

**Abstract:** Studies of the American and Canadian Supreme Courts illustrate that third-party interveners, also called "friends of the court," have a statistically significant impact on judicial decision-making (Hazleton and Hinkle, 2022; Alarie and Green, 2010). Specifically, there is a rich body of empirical evidence to suggest that interveners influence the content of judicial decisions, with respect to legal doctrine, case outcomes, and ideology. At the same time, research shows that in the Canadian context, governments are overwhelmingly the biggest "repeat player" interveners (McNabb, 2023). This context matters because, as Marc Galanter's instructive "haves and have nots" theory (1974) suggests, the more frequently an actor participates in legal cases, the more likely they are to influence judicial decision-making. Put simply, government interveners are likely to have an institutionalized advantage, whereby the Court is more receptive to their interventions compared to other types of actors. There is a scarcity of literature that explores the nature and impact of government interventions (especially provincial governments), and even more, the scholarship that does exist only provides coverage on Charter cases up to 2007 (Radmilovic, 2013). To address this important gap, this paper develops an updated empirical account of government interventions in all constitutional cases (including federalism and Aboriginal and treaty rights cases) at the Supreme Court of Canada during the past decade. In doing so, this paper investigates the success rates of government interventions and the extent to which governments intervene as a unified front in the three areas of constitutional law. Ultimately, this work makes important contributions to the legal mobilization and government strategic behaviour literatures.

***Data-driven Decisions? Empirical Evidence, Interveners, and the Supreme Court of Canada:*** Danielle McNabb (Brock University), Kate Puddister (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** The Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) is frequently called upon to make determinations on contentious issues, with important consequences for politics, law and public policy. Considering the high stakes and possible widespread consequences that can result from its decisions, the SCC allows third-parties or interveners, who are not direct parties to a case, to participate and inform the Court's decision. Interveners, which include governments, business and civil society groups, have become a permanent fixture in the Court, with hundreds of these actors participating annually, and in more than half of all SCC cases. Given this, it is worth investigating the nature of intervener participation, and more specifically the types and sources of information interveners provide to the Court. Do interveners try to persuade the Court to stray from strictly legal sources in reaching its decision? What types of information do interveners provide to the SCC in their attempt to influence and inform the Court? In this paper, we systematically examine the content of written arguments submitted by interveners in the 103 Charter cases heard by the SCC during the past decade. We assess the types of materials, both legal and extralegal, that interveners provide to the Court and in particular, we analyze the use of social science and empirical data by interveners in their arguments. We consider the implications of using empirical evidence by judges, including how empirical data is presented to judges. We situate our findings into wider debates regarding the role of interveners in democratizing judicial decision-making.

***THE INSTITUTIONAL IMPACT OF LANGUAGE ON CASE OUTCOMES AT THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA:*** Jean-Christophe Bédard-Rubin (University of Toronto), Tiago Rubin (Collège Bois-de-Boulogne), David Côté (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) is an officially bilingual institution. However, litigants only obtained the right to be heard by a panel of judges who could understand them directly in English and/or French without simultaneous interpretation in 2022 with the reform of the Official Languages Act. For most of the Court's history, only a handful of judges, generally from Quebec, could hear cases argued in French. The linguistic makeup of the judiciary started to change in the 1970s when new procedural language rights were added to the Criminal Code. Over time, more judges fluent in both English and French were appointed to lower courts and judicial language training programs provided new opportunities for judges to perfect their language skills. Consequently, judges from lower courts elevated to the Supreme Court of Canada have been increasingly fluent in both languages, though very few have been perfectly bilingual. There remain linguistic differences between the judges and these differences continue to have an impact on judicial behavior. Though few qualitative studies have explored the actual impact of language on the Court and on judges individually, anecdotal evidence suggests that language plays an important role in how the Court organizes its work as an institution. Previous quantitative analysis has shown that there are several statistically significant correlations between language and institutional dynamics at the SCC; cases argued in French are heard by smaller panels, unilingual judges are less likely to hear cases argued in French, and, even when they do, they are less assertive than in English cases. Thus, while the Court as whole has become an increasingly bilingual institution, the persistence of observable behavioral differences suggests that even small variations in language proficiency might perpetuate the linguistic division of labour at an institutional level. Taking these empirical findings as its starting point, this article assesses the institutional impact of language on case outcomes. It does so in two ways. First, it considers how the effect of language on panel size and composition affects the ideological composition of panels in cases argued in French and English. It does so by observing how the ideologically median judge on the panel varies depending on the language of the case. Second, it considers how the effect of language on assertiveness affects the degree of collegiality of judges in cases argued in both languages. It does so by looking at how the language of the case affects how far judges deviate from their preferred ideological position as expressed in their written opinions when they join their colleagues in cases argued in either language. While the story needs to be further clarified, the paper shows that this behavioral model better captures the institutional rather than the individual impact of language on case outcomes.

***Applying LLMs at the SCC: A Comparison of Three Approaches:*** Andrew McDougall (University of Toronto Scarborough), Andreea Musulan (University of Toronto), Robert Schertzer (University of Toronto Scarborough)

**Abstract:** Using a corpus of 3,400 Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) case summaries from 1980 to 2021, this study compares three approaches for determining the outcome of decisions: human judgement, traditional machine learning, and large language models (LLMs), specifically ChatGPT. Through this work, we will produce a publicly available dataset of the 3,400 SCC cases with all three sets of annotations for the outcome of appeals. This dataset will also contain metadata on: judge dissent from majority decisions for each case; biographic characteristics of the judges themselves, such as where they studied law and their hometown; and links to the pages on the SCC website that contain other data previously parsed by Lexum, such as subjects pertaining to each case. The goal of this project is to set benchmarks for confidence in applications of LLMs to legal documents, inspiring other scholars to explore their use further. By increasing confidence in the application of LLMs to legal research, we hope to reduce technical barriers for qualitative scholars interested in asking questions that require big data.

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## F11(a) - 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 : UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin, 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5020

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

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Alexandre Rivard (Simon Fraser University)

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*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 University), Luc Turgeon (University of Ottawa)

**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:* ( ), 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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## F11(b) - The Politics of Communication: Silence, Conversation and (In)Visibility

### Comportement politique/sociologie

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :** UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin (A), 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5060

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Kenny Ie (University of British Columbia)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Mathieu Lavigne (Dartmouth University)

*The Effects of Gender and Extraversion in Face-to-Face Political Conversations:* Amanda Friesen (University of Western Ontario), Axel Dery (University of Western Ontario), Jesse Mehravar (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** The political world is rife with conflict, making everyday political discussion a form of social risk-taking. Sometimes people choose to talk politics, but they also may find themselves in conversations with partners that shift into the political. An important element of this interpersonal communication is interaction quality. When people perceive their interactions as being higher in quality, they tend to experience more positive and less negative affect. These conversations may also be less stressful. Interaction quality metrics may be especially important in political discourse, where disagreements can become heated. Using round robin dyadic, in-person conversations with 40 groups of 3-7 participants in Canada during April and October 2023, we randomly assigned political and nonpolitical conversation prompts, following online personality and demographic surveys and preceding post-conversation partner ratings.

*Comparative Analysis of the Use of Foul Language by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan and its Impact on Pakistan's Political Landscape:* Ommar Abbasi (University of Windsor)

**Abstract:** This research article presents a comparative analysis of the use of foul language, including profanity, slander, and swearing, by two prominent Pakistani populist leaders, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, and Imran Khan. It explores the profound effects of such language on the rise and fall of these leaders, consequently reshaping Pakistan's political landscape. This study delves into the creation of opposition alliances, specifically the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) against Bhutto and the Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) against Khan, both of which played pivotal roles in their eventual ouster and opened the door for extensive military involvement in politics, ultimately pushing the nation back to a status quo. The research aims to identify similarities and differences in the use of foul language by these two leaders and how it influenced the political environment. Additionally, it considers the impact of social media on the prevalence and reach of such language during their respective tenures.

The article is structured into four distinct parts:

Part One: Profane Language (Words)

This section provides an in-depth analysis of the profane language employed by both Bhutto and Khan during their political careers, shedding light on the specific words and phrases used against their opponents.

Part Two: Uniting the Opposition

Focusing on the consequences of this language, Part Two explores how it contributed to the formation and unity of opposition alliances, such as the PNA and PDM. It also investigates the language's role in providing a pretext for increased military involvement in Pakistan's political landscape.

Part Three: Effects on Foreign Relations

This segment examines the effects of the leaders' use of foul language on Pakistan's foreign relations and international image. It explores how such language impacted the nation's diplomacy and global standing.

Part Four: Post-Bhutto/Khan Political Landscape

The final part of the article discusses the lasting effects of this language on Pakistan's post-Bhutto/Khan political landscape. It delves into the implications for democracy, democratic values, human rights, and freedom of expression, providing critical insights into the enduring consequences of their rhetoric.

Methods:

To conduct this analysis, the research employs Critical Discourse Analysis and Semantic Network Analysis, utilizing speeches and public statements made by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan. This comparative study contributes to our understanding of the significant role language plays in shaping political destinies and altering the course of nations.

*"People Will Notice That Level of Silence Way More": How Identity-Based Language in School Board EDI Policies Shapes LGBTQ+ Students' Belonging:* Nathan Barnett (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** In recent years, there has been a resurgence of queerphobic rhetoric in the US and UK; however, Canada has not been immune to this. Much of this queerphobic rhetoric begins as "coded language" (i.e., "protecting children?"), which often focuses on how particular language can invoke particular prejudices without specifically mentioning them (for more information on coded language, see Tali Mendelberg's 2001 book *The Race Card*). Though coded language is typically understood in a negative, racial context, I explored how policy writers can use identity-based language (such as LGBTQ+, queer, etc.) can be used to signal support. Ultimately, I investigated three interrelated research questions: is there identity-based language that best resonates for support across diverse queer communities? Is there identity-based language that resonates for particular queer communities? Lastly, if there is identity-based language that improves support for EDI policies (either across communities or within a specific community), why might that be the case? To explore this question, I utilized both a limited number of cognitive interviews as well as a more far-reaching experimental survey design to investigate the impact particular, identity-based language has on policy support.

Many individuals, both LGBTQ+ and not, struggle with knowing what language to use and it often creates a barrier for engagement. In completing this research, I aimed to provide policy writers, in areas across political fields and sectors, with the understanding of how language can impact LGBTQ+ communities and their belonging.

Keywords: identity-based language, sense of belonging, coded language, policy development

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# G11(a) - Navigating the Political Economy of Climate Change: Comparative Insights from Canadian Decarbonization

## Économie politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

Chair/Président/Présidente : Angela Carter (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Erick Lachapelle (Université de Montréal)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Mark Purdon (Université de Québec à Montréal)

*The Comparative Politics of Carbon Taxes:* Kathryn Harrison (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** It is by now a truism that although carbon taxation offers a cost-effective strategy to reduce carbon pollution, it is a politically perilous one. Carbon-intensive businesses and voters both resist visible costs. Yet the World Bank (2023) reports that 52 governments have adopted carbon taxes. Why did politicians in these countries embrace carbon taxes, and how did they overcome political obstacles? The proposed paper will summarize a book project comparing four countries (Australia, Canada, Ireland and France) and two subnational jurisdictions (British Columbia and Alberta) that entertained adoption of carbon taxes in the same period. The project examines three outcomes: adoption or rejection, post-adoption survival or withdrawal, and increases of the carbon price. With complex (even tortured) histories, the cases allow not only cross-jurisdictional but also within-case comparison. Surprisingly, however, the greatest political challenge was not from carbon-intensive industries, but voters. In some jurisdictions, political parties suffered electoral defeat at least in part based on their support for carbon taxes (Australia, Alberta, Canada). In other cases, carbon taxes survived but were frozen at a level too low to drive significant reductions (BC, Ireland, France.) However, all cases of adoption and significant price trajectories share a common element: politicians' willingness to accept political risk to pursue an effective climate policy. Moreover, when carbon taxes survived changes of government (BC, France, Ireland), it was easier to secure multi-party support for increasing the tax level, since opposition parties originally defended the policy.

*Sharpening Both Arms of the Climate Policy Scissors in Canada: Opportunities for Deep Emissions Reductions via a Dual Demand- and Supply-Side Approach:* Sarah Greene (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** In their landmark 2018 article, Green and Denniss called for combining demand and supply side policies to enact deep emissions cuts to respond to the climate crisis, what they called "cutting with both arms of the scissors." Five years on, in this article we assess federal progress in Canada on using "both arms" of climate policy, with a focus on the country's two largest sources of sectoral emissions of emissions: oil and gas production (supply side) and transportation (demand side). We first present the theoretical basis for a dual demand- and supply-side approach to emissions mitigation, noting advances in this debate over the last five years. Next, we provide an overview of the state of play of federal policy in both sectors. We argue that, while Canada has been somewhat successful in applying demand-side measures to foster emissions reductions in the transportation sector, significant gaps exist in limiting emissions at source via phasing down oil and gas exploration and extraction. The article identifies significant political-economic barriers to enacting this two-pronged approach in Canada while presenting opportunities to sharpen both sides of the "scissors," drawing on leading international examples, to enhance climate policy in both sectors in tandem.

*Does Capping Pollution Fuel Discord? How Climate Policy Instruments Affect Support for Canadian Decarbonization:* Sam Rowan (Concordia University), Amy Janzwood (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Decarbonization requires transformational change in the fossil fuel industry and inevitably, a steep decline in production. Existing work has framed climate policy as dividing groups tied to the fossil fuel industry from those vulnerable to environmental harms. We argue that as climate policy advances, it will fracture and divide these groups. We develop theoretical expectations motivated by a new proposal to cap greenhouse gas emissions from the Canadian oil and gas industry. We start from the premise that an industry emissions cap will impact companies based on the emissions intensity of their production, which mostly reflects fixed geographic features. Firms with the most carbon-intensive extraction will face the largest compliance costs and the communities working in these areas will be negatively impacted by this policy. By contrast, firms with lower intensity extraction and the communities in those areas stand to gain, at least in the short- and medium term. We investigate how voters in communities impacted differently by this policy view the post-carbon transition and how they would like governmental revenues to be allocated to support the transition. Our findings help us understand the political economy of decarbonization in fossil-fuel producing democracies.

*The Political Economy of Post-Growth Transition and Canada's Quality of Life Strategy:* Christopher Orr (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** Since WWII, the global political economy has been organized around the pursuit of economic growth. Recently, in light of accelerating climate change and other crises, post-growth alternatives have gained increasing traction. Examples such as the degrowth movement and Wellbeing Economy Governments (WEGo) have presented visions and policies that attempt to navigate from a growth-oriented economy towards alternative visions of prosperity. Having developed its Quality of Life Strategy, Canada is the most recent government to join the WEGo partnership. A central challenge of these movements is how governments can navigate from a growth-oriented economy toward alternative visions of prosperity. This paper explores the political economy of a post-growth transition. Reviewing historical attempts to implement post-growth alternatives, it identifies four challenges related to the reorganization towards socio-ecological sustainability that national governments face: measurement, politics, domestic path dependence, and international political economy. It explores these challenges using WEGo and Canada's Quality of Life Strategy as a case study to illustrate the emerging potential for post-growth alternatives. This analysis reveals potential strategies that governments can use to better navigate the transition to a sustainable, low-carbon economy.

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## G11(b) - Statecraft in Turbulent Times: Global Markets, Political Responses and Transformations

### Économie politique

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :** Hybrid session/session hybride (see Zoom details below/voir détails Zoom ci-dessous).

In-person location/Lieu en présentiel: Mordecai Richler Gazebo/Pavillon Mordecai-Richler, 4060 Park Ave, Montréal

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Brian Bow (Dalhousie University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Zarlisht Muhammad Razeq (University of Warwick)

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

*Whatever Happened to the Post-COVID Developmental State?:* Brian Bow (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** In the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic, in some parts of the world, there was some optimism on the left (and some concern on the right) that reasonably-effective government management of the crisis might foster popular support for government in general, and for developmental-state economic policies in particular. This developmentalist momentum, it was hoped, might be harnessed to build infrastructure and provide public services, combat income inequality, and respond to climate change. But in retrospect we can see that: i. the breadth, depth, and durability of such an effect on public attitudes varied widely across western countries; ii. developmentalist impulses immediately triggered anti-state counter-attacks, esp. after supply-chain disruptions and inflation kicked in; and iii. public attitudes today are hard to fit on the Cold War-era left-right axis, with many respondents holding mixed/muddled attitudes toward the state. As part of a larger comparative project, this paper reports preliminary findings for the Canadian experience, based on opinion surveys, content analysis of media coverage, and issue-framing in political campaigns.

*Anti-Social Europe? Exploring the Resilience of the EU's Market-Based Toolkit:* Nicole Morar (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper seeks to understand the lack of ambitious social policy programs in an increasingly 'anti-social' European Union. To date, EU-wide social policy and welfare reforms have failed to progress beyond limited, largely voluntaristic commitments to social outcomes. In the aftermath of the Covid19 pandemic, European Union officials and members have advanced a novel, and, at least rhetorically, ambitious policy program: The European Green Deal (EGD), its most comprehensive and wide-reaching strategy towards carbon neutrality, paired with a significant Covid relief injection entitled 'Next Generation EU' (NGEU). Of note here is the overtly social emphasis and framing of this proposal, promising to 'leave no man behind' in this journey towards net zero emissions. Despite the many references to inclusivity and fairness, however, early analyses indicate that the specific tools and 'solutions' proposed in these programs are incapable of achieving their stated social objectives, instead containing the same market-based instruments that have dominated EU policy in the past. This reversion to past strategies is surprising, especially in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, which has demanded and often exacted significant political concessions from even the most austerity driven governments.

While most scholars of EU policy explain the absence of extensive social policy as the inevitable outcome of the EU's limited fiscal powers, I argue that this absence extends beyond shaky legal foundations. The EU does indeed have a narrow legal basis to social policy, but it also lacks a shared ideational, political and normative foundation through which to pursue and justify it. Drawing on Anne Swidler's influential notion of culture as a 'toolkit', this paper advances a novel constructivist theory on the resilience of "Economic Europe", a key concept I define as the shared and deeply entrenched belief in the European Union as a primarily economic, not social entity, and the strategic use of this notion to defend the vested interests of powerful actors.

This shared conception of 'Economic Europe' has come to define a distinct European 'toolkit', outlining appropriate 'strategies of action', which in turn have shaped the ways in which social policy is to be conceptualized and implemented in the European context. In this way, Economic Europe has created an ideological path dependence that determines a type of default analysis and solution to policy problems, as the available 'toolkit' prefers and prioritizes solutions associated with 'the market'. In times of crisis, however, when paradigms become susceptible to ideological contestation, some actors seek to challenge this paradigm, and others, in turn, seek to uphold it. It is here that we see 'paradigmatic borrowing' emerge as an important strategy for actors within both camps. I argue that the social emphasis in the EGD, the inclusion of social language with economic tools, is a strategy of paradigm maintenance, not contestation. By incorporating aspects of social demand into highly visible policy goals, while maintaining primarily economic tools and settings, the paradigm may operate as usual. Ultimately, this paper finds that tying European Union activity so directly to the diverse notions of 'the market' drastically expanded the influence of the European Union, but in so doing, arguably reduced the legitimacy and potential for future EU activity outside of this designated area.

*Authoritarian State and Competitive Strategy: Observations from Turkey and Egypt:* Ulas Tastekin (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** In the last decade, it is fair to mention a process of authoritarianism worldwide since many countries have gravitated to more authoritarian rules in different ways and channels. This study claims that the proliferation of authoritarian governments is an international trend taking hold in many countries. Accordingly, we are witnessing an interregnum in international politics where previously agreed paradigms have lost their credibility, but the new paradigms have yet to emerge. In this context, the uncertain nature of transition creates instabilities. This paper argues that this shift in international architecture is an important factor, if not the only one, in understanding the authoritarian turn in the world. Even though the interregnum provides more policy space to developing countries, authoritarian regimes exploit this opportunity for their consolidation. In line with this argument, this study shares evidence from Turkey and Egypt by looking at how the Erdogan and Sisi regimes have responded to the changes in the international political economy. Accordingly, these regimes draw on authoritarian methods like suppression of labor rights and depreciation of national currency to stay within the international competitive game under conditions of instability. Thereby, they aim to protect and even further expand these countries' share in the international economy by attracting

more capital inflows. On the other hand, from a class-based understanding of democracy, these practices further exclude the working classes' interests from the decision-making mechanisms in strictly authoritarian ways.

*New Constitutionalism in Post-Invasion Iraq*: Shehnoor Khurram (York University)

**Abstract:** Iraq's integration into global capitalism has involved a complicated history of multiple unsuccessful attempts at neoliberalizing the economy, including, most notoriously, dismantling the interventionist Ba'athist state through the 2003 US-led intervention. The invasion paved the way for the creation of a neoliberal security state, which was founded on a complete rewriting of the constitution. This neoliberal restructuring took place from April 2003 to June 2004 under the auspices of the Anglo-American occupation's Coalition of Provisional Authority (CPA). During these 14 months, CPA applied 'Shock Therapy,' which included 100 legally binding administrative orders implemented without democratic consent, forming the foundations of Iraq's new governance structure, economy, and criminal justice system. Among the 100, the first three decrees are of the utmost importance because they laid the groundwork to undo the previous political framework of political and economic governance and usher in the superimposition of a new constitutional legal framework to guide macroeconomic, microeconomic, and social policy in line with neoliberalism. Drawing from political economy and state theory, I analyze these three decrees and argue that the CPA followed the script for new constitutionalism of disciplinary neoliberalism by implementing laws that outlasted the CPA and the occupation itself. I investigate how new constitutionalism in Iraq ultimately failed because of the emergence of various classes, social movements, and insurgencies that rose to resist the intensification of dispossession and exploitation. In examining these structural processes, I contribute to ongoing conversations on authoritarian neoliberalism and capitalist development and statehood.

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## J11 - Federalism, Power-sharing and Intergovernmental Relations in Times of Crises ? Canada and Beyond (2)

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

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin (A), 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-1642 and/et Zoom  
(see détails/voir détails)

Chair/Président/Présidente : Paul Anderson (Liverpool John Moores University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : André Lecours (University of Ottawa)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=166](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=166)

*UN Mediations and Peace Settlement Preferences in Cyprus and the Cypriot Transnational Diaspora:* Neophytos Loizides (University of Warwick)

**Abstract:** This article explores how preferences for peace settlements differ between populations living in conflict zones and those living abroad as diasporas. We introduce the concept of 'diaspora home dilemmas' in United Nations-led peace negotiations and present the first conjoint survey experiment to compare public preferences across two deeply divided communities in Cyprus and their overseas diasporas. The Cypriot case is broadly relevant because of the continuous engagement of the United Nations, past UN arbitration and mediation attempts, and precedents the UN has set through a series of unanimous Security Council resolutions. Those reflect shared international norms on otherwise contentious issues such as ethnic federalism, power-sharing and the right of return for victims of displacement as well as citizen engagement in peace settlements and whether peacekeeping norms resonate with communities in conflict and their overseas diasporas. Results show the views of the Cypriot diasporas are either comparable to kin island communities ('mirroring home community views') or in some respects they are even more favourable to a negotiated peace settlement. Furthermore, diaspora members are more likely to consider returning/re-immigrating back to Cyprus if there is a peace agreement suggesting that overseas communities could be critical stakeholders in the Cypriot reunification process. We identify the order of public preferences in multi-issue UN-led mediations across four groups (Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and their respective diasporas) and suggest relevant pathways to maximize diaspora engagement in regional and global politics.

*From Adoptability to Durability ? Developing a Conceptual Framework:* Soeren Keil (University of Fribourg)

**Abstract:** There is a rich body of literature that focuses on power-sharing adoptability ? i.e., how power-sharing arrangements come into being ? and on durability (sometimes also referred to functionality). Yet, while scholars have emphasised the links between what is 'adopted' in a power-sharing negotiations (often as part of a peace agreement), and how power-sharing systems perform in practice, there is yet to emerge a clear classification and framework for the different linkages of adoptability and durability. We develop a first conceptual framework linking these two elements of the power-sharing lifecycle, contending that the specific institutions agreed at the point of adoption and the circumstances under which they are agreed will inform system durability over time. Drawing on elite interviews, process tracing, and constitutional analysis, we identify four intersection of adoptability and durability: provisions which are adoptable and durable; provisions which are agreeable but not implemented; provisions which are adoptable, implemented but not durable, and; provisions which are not adoptable, and consequently, not durable. Not all that could prove durable is agreeable in negotiations, and not everything that is adopted will turn out to be durable. We account for this discrepancy by focusing on the complex configuration of an evolving and varying set of factors, some of which relate to macro-political dynamics, including the role of external involvement, the willingness of the different sides to compromise and work together, and the calculus of battlefield wins and losses. We also highlight a secondary set of more micro-political considerations, related to interpersonal dynamics and features of process design.

*Layers of Power-Sharing: Intra-Communal Power Rivalry and Its Impact on Power-Sharing System in Iraq:* Kamaran Palani (Brandon University/Salahaddin University)

**Abstract:** This year commemorates two decades since the implementation of the ethno-sectarian power-sharing system in Iraq. Much of the existing literature on power-sharing and consociationalism in Iraq has mainly focused on the dynamics of power-sharing among the country's three main ethnic and sectarian groups: Shia Arabs, Sunni Arabs, and Kurds. However, there has been a notable gap in understanding how intra-communal fragmentation influences power-sharing settlements within these communities. This paper seeks to address this gap by empirically examining the dual layers of power-sharing present in Iraq: power-sharing at both communal and macro levels, and power-sharing within individual communities.

I will employ the October 2021 parliamentary elections and the subsequent government formation crisis as a focal point for analysis. The paper will also investigate how the appointment and election processes for Iraq's key positions ? the president, the prime minister, and the parliament speaker ? crucial elements of the power-sharing arrangement in the country, were imperiled by intra-communal divisions.

Drawing from fieldwork observations, interviews with policymakers and academics, as well as focus group discussions involving civil society representatives and citizens from various communities, this paper conceptualizes the intricate interaction between these two layers of power-sharing. It sheds light on how this interaction renders the macro-level power-sharing arrangements inherently unstable. By delving into this nuanced aspect of power-sharing, the paper contributes to a deeper understanding of the complexities inherent in Iraq's post-2003 landscape.

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## Q11 - Media and Political Communication

### Praticiens

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1047

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Will Greaves (University of Victoria)

**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)

**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 socionumériques 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 socionumériques 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), 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)

**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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## R11 - Keynote: Creating Change in the Academy: From Radical Empathy to Comparative Race Theory, My Journey

### Événements spéciaux

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : EV 2.260, EV-Building, Concordia University, 1515 St. Catherine West/Ouest

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=323](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=323)

### Participants

Terri Givens (McGill University)

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## Day 2 - Session 3 (Posters) (10:30am - 12:00pm)

### P11 - Posters Session 2

#### Présentation visuelle

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 10:30am - 12:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West Lobby

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

**Keys to the House: An Analysis of Accessibility in the Queen's Park Building:** Taylor Pizzirusso (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** This paper looks at the history of the Queen's Park's legislative building and analyzes its accessibility features for people with disabilities. In the next few years, the Queen's Park building will be undergoing a massive renovation that will take a decade to complete. It is imperative that accessibility in the current structure is considered, and the renovation considers new ways to provide access to the public and staff. The paper analyzes all the physical and structural changes made to the building for accessibility from the early 1900s-present day. This includes the introduction of elevators, ramps, and accessible bathrooms in the building, as well as changes to the broadcasting or recording services to ensure that the public can engage with provincial politics. These accessibility changes have often been made based on the need of the sitting MPPs or the public for access to the building. Through interviews with current MPPs and legislative assembly staff, the paper will discuss the status of accessibility in Queen's Park and improvements to be made in the renovation. Based on these interviews and literature research, policy recommendations are listed to make the new Queen's Park space accessible to all Ontarians. This paper argues that although Queen's Park has made important accessibility changes, they are primarily reactive changes made based on the needs of staff or MPPs as opposed to proactive changes that consider accessibility for the collective.

**Why don't you trust me?: Ontarian's decreasing trust in government:** Milena Basciano (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** In light of multiple controversies and scandals by the current government regarding delivering promises, people are questioning how trustworthy the politicians who are responsible for representing them are. Politicians make promises, break those promises, and then promise not to break any more promises.

This paper will delve into what trust means for both parties: members of provincial parliament, and the citizens of Ontario. It will argue that Ontarian's trust in their government is continuously decreasing, and it will explore the reasons as to why: whether it be through lack of transparency, lack of accountability, broken promises, etc.

My research will predominantly include interviews with Members of Provincial Parliament. I hope to get proportionate representation from members across all parties. I will ask them questions regarding the significance of being trustworthy, for example, "what does your constituents' trust in you, mean to you?" and "how do you maintain the trust of your constituents?".

Possible outcomes include referring to the dedication and promise elected officials made to their constituents when they were sworn into office. I anticipate Members talking about the importance of amplifying the voices in their ridings to Queen's Park. I am interested in any reference to the Independent Offices of the Assembly. A section of my paper will research the roles of the Independent Offices.

**Party discipline and its impact on legislation, legislators and democracy in Ontario:** Evan Cameron (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Politics is a team sport. Increasingly, in Ontario and across Canada, these teams are becoming more rigid, with politicians who publicly disagree with their party, vote against party legislation, or present a political vulnerability, often being promptly removed from the party. While this hardline party discipline has become commonplace in Canada, with several examples from Ontario since Doug Ford's election in 2018, it is unclear whether this type of partisan politics results in the most effective legislation and representation for citizens. While academics have analyzed the role of party discipline and party unity in Canadian politics, this paper aims to build on this work by asking: is there a viable alternative to Ontario's system of party discipline? To answer this question, this paper analyzes the nature of partisanship in other jurisdictions, the historical trends of partisanship and party discipline in Canada and the firsthand accounts from Ontario's Members of Provincial Parliament on the impact of party discipline in their work. In doing so initially, it becomes clear that the current system of strong party discipline may not always result in the best outcomes for the public, though there is not necessarily a natural alternative within the current system.

**Protesting the Pink Palace: MPPs' Attitudes on Political Demonstrations at Queen's Park:** Astrid Krueger (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** In Toronto, the Ontario Legislature at Queen's Park is a popular site for the expression of public discontent through political demonstrations. Though there is scholarly consensus that the number of protests, globally, has increased over the last decade, disagreement remains about the efficacy of protests in influencing political decisions. Do protests authoritatively affect legislators' policy decisions? Or are they perceived as an essential, if not directly influential, feature of democratic societies? Employing frameworks from the philosophy of language, this paper defines protests as speech acts, and seeks to understand how they are received by policymakers at Queen's Park. This paper asks: what attitudes do Ontario Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs) hold towards protests at Queen's Park? Semi-structured interviews with Ontario MPPs allow for an analysis of the dialectical exchange between protests and legislators in Ontario. This provides insight on the force and effect of protests as speech acts, and how MPPs navigate their legislative responsibility and accountability to public opinion.



***Picking up the Kids from Daycare: Cynicism in Political Staff:*** Steffi Burgi (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** There is a running joke among political staff that waiting for Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs) outside of the Chamber after oral question period is akin to waiting to pick up the kids from daycare. This paper investigates if workplace cynicism impacts political staff and how their role as political staff has affected the way they view politics and democracy. Workplace cynicism can be defined as having negative feelings, such as distrust, towards the organization one works for and a general loss of idealism. Political cynicism takes the form of a lack of confidence in the government, revealing feelings that the government is not functioning as it should, based on the individual's expectations. This study contributes to political discourse as there is limited research on political staff and research thus far has not examined the impact of cynicism on political staff. By using semi-structured interviews with a non-random stratified sample of political staff for backbench Ontario MPPs across political parties, this paper aims to understand if and how cynicism affects political staff and how their view of politics and democracy has shifted due to their job.

***The Committee Conundrum: An Analysis of the Oversight Mechanism of Government Agencies:*** Razan Akiba (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Through an analysis of the Ontario Legislative Assembly's Government Agencies Committee under a majority, and a prior minority government, this paper will consider the effectiveness of the function of the committee as a mechanism of oversight. This conference paper explores the historical evolution of the Committee on Government Agencies, focusing on its mandate, authority, and the balance between appointments and agency autonomy. In 1990, the committee was empowered to review public appointments with the intention of creating greater transparency in the public appointments process. The committee felt that it should not impede on the government's responsibility to make appointments, but rather, implement an approach that would reflect the principles of fairness and openness. I will investigate the Camp Commission and its role in the origins of government agencies, examining the theoretical versus practical functions of oversight. In addition, through interviews with government and opposition Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs), serving during various sessions of the committee, I will consider how the committee's function changed under majority and minority governments, shedding light on the political dynamics at play. This paper contributes to the ongoing discourse surrounding the partisan nature of government appointments, and the general discourse of committee oversight and its implications for modern governance.

***Byte by Byte: The Ontario Legislature's Unstoppable Journey into the Digital Age:*** Olivia Collver (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** In a time where pixels collide with politics, Ontario's Legislature faces an unavoidable challenge: digitization. This paper will explore the complex impact that digitization has on the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

The digital shift of the Ontario Legislature refers to the transformation of traditional paper-based records and communication into digital formats. Debate surrounds the need to preserve historical tradition and the need to modernize processes. Since the COVID-19 pandemic, the urgency of digitization became relevant as the Ontario Legislature needed to adapt to remote working and virtual communication. Through a comparative lens, this paper will assess the current state of digitization within the Ontario Legislature and determine whether it is ahead or behind the global trend, in comparison to other legislatures. Additionally, it will examine the generational divide that exists in the views of older and younger MPPs on digitization. Younger members tend to embrace technology, while older members may be more cautious about the changes brought on by digitization. Given its relatively recent emergence, there has been limited research conducted on the impacts of the digital shift within the Ontario legislative context.

This paper will explore the impact of digitization of the legislature through semi-structured interviews with a non-random stratified sample of Ontario MPPs across political parties and varying in age. The objective is to understand how the digital transformation impacts both MPPs and the overall proceedings of the legislature.

***Paradiplomacy at the Ontario Legislature:*** Bridget Carter-Whitney (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** [tentative] The role that provinces play in foreign affairs has been examined within Canadian political science literature with emphases on international trade, treaties, and investment, on the implications to studies of federalism, and the case of Quebec. Research also shows that provinces' positions on the international stages have only become more important since Canada's independence, resulting in their being perceived as region states due to their high levels of participation in paradiplomacy. This paper builds upon the existing literature on the roles Canadian provinces (and Ontario in particular) play in international affairs to broaden its scope beyond solely considering the economic lens that currently predominates. It strives to when and how foreign matters are politically mobilized by elected members of provincial legislatures by examining the factors that precede the addressing of international issues within the Legislature, both in the House and in other legislative activities. Along with a critical examination of relevant literature, I [will] rely upon the first-hand accounts and perspectives provided through interviews with a sample of Ontario's Members of Provincial Parliament which give insights into the internal processes of decision-making regarding international affairs. It is my hope that the findings of this research will clarify whether the current domination of analyses of provinces' international participation which centre on economic incentives neglect to address other ways that international issues may be invoked within provincial legislatures, particularly when there is no formal economic stake tied to the matter.

***No One Hears A Who! The Curious Case of Selective Hearing Among MPPs in the Ontario Legislature:*** Rhea Saini (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Inscribed on the walls of the Chamber is the official motto of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, "Audi Alteram Partem", serving as a constant reminder to members to "hear the other side". Though members may take this sage advice to hear, how many genuinely listen? Deliberative listening serves key basic functions, such as facilitating collaboration and innovation, and has the potential to advance broader democratic goals, such as decreasing polarization and advancing representative democracy. On the surface, however, members are not always engaged with democratic listening, riddled with distractions from side-conversations to smartphones, that on occasion become so commonplace it brings into question whether activities such as members statements, question period, and house proceedings have any value if they are not actively listened to by other members. This paper will seek to investigate MPP perceptions of distraction in relation to listening during House and committee proceedings, exploring the impact it has on the efficiency

and effectiveness of the work done at the Legislature, partisanship, and on Queens Parks? culture and perceptions by the public more broadly. This will take the form of semi-structured qualitative interviews of a stratified sample of backbench MPPs from all parties, accompanied by a literature review and ethnographic observations. Scholarship in the field has generally focussed on theoretical understandings of listening; as such, this paper will look to further understandings of democratic listening in praxis by understanding members perspectives and experiences on the ground, specifically in relation to distraction which has yet to be explored.

*All in the Family: The Influence of Family Relations Among Ontario?s MPPs:* Kaitlin Gallant (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** It is no secret that many parliamentarians across Canada have relatives who are, or were, elected officials. In Ontario, for instance, 13 per cent of MPPs have a familial connection to politics at the municipal, provincial, or federal level. Similarly, 11 per cent of federal MPs have a familial connection. On the one hand, individuals belonging to a political family have exposure to the realities of public life, pertinent connections, and industry knowledge suitable for public office. On the other hand, given that nomination processes are not always fair and open, they may have an unfair advantage against other candidates due to their connections, knowledge, name recognition, etc. Little research in Canada has explored the implications of family relations in politics. This paper seeks to ask: does having a family member in politics influence one?s interest, skills, knowledge, approach and network in elected office? Using descriptive statistics and semi-structured interviews with Ontario Members of Provincial Parliament, this work seeks to understand the perspectives of legislators on familial exposure to political life and its influence on one?s career path. This paper argues that although having a family member in politics potentially lessens one?s credibility, it is nonetheless advantageous to elected life as it improves one?s political knowledge, approach, skills and network.

### **Participants**

Tyler Chamberlain (Trinity Western University)

Noah Schwartz (University of the Fraser Valley)

Erin Crandall (Acadia University)

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

### B12(a) - Xenophobia, Displacement, Race, and Class

#### Politique comparée

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Marat Akopian (Sheperd University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Marat Akopian (Sheperd University)

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

**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)

**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.

*A unified theory of secession, unification, and sorting: local and national cases from Canada and the United States:* Lawrence Anderson (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater)

**Abstract:** Secession, unification, and sorting fit together naturally: all are responses to some perception of suboptimality in the policy-making environment; all are instances of moving the boundaries of a polity or moving people into or out of a polity. In secession, the size of the government territory is made smaller; in unification, the size of the polity is made larger; in sorting, the population in one polity is made larger and the population of another is made smaller. In all instances, the rationale behind the choice might be the same: escaping lock-in, evading discriminatory redistribution, achieving greater

economies of scale, etc. This paper explores secession, unification, and sorting as functionally equivalent, different means of the same goal: policy optimization.

Most of the existing literature on secession and unification explores these policies in the national context, where new state boundaries are drawn and old state boundaries are revised. With respect to sorting, much of the analysis is at the local or regional level. Why do groups seek to secede or unify? Why do individuals seek to move from one polity to another? What prompts the desire for change? What happens to the new political units created and the old political units left behind?

Secession, unification, and sorting at the local and national levels are similar enough in form, context, origin, and impact to those instances taking place at the local level to allow for fruitful comparison and deeper understanding. This paper will explore cases of secession, unification, and sorting in the US and Canada.

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## B12(b) - Voters, Parties, and Elections

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

Chair/Président/Présidente : Nathan Allen (St. Francis Xavier University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Nathan Allen (St. Francis Xavier University)

*Racial Identity and Attitudes among the North American White Working Class:* Lewis Krashinsky (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.

*The Rural-Urban Cleavage in US Presidential and Congressional Elections: Stability and Change:* Valentin Pautonnier (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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## D12 - Evidence and Rhetoric in Policymaking

### Droit et analyse de politiques

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

Chair/Président/Présidente : Adrienne Davidson (McMaster University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Adrienne Davidson (McMaster University)

*Emotional Discourses of Conservative Opposition to 2SLGBTQ+ Rights in the United States:* Logan Bates (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** 2SLGBTQ+ rights have steadily improved over the past two decades in the United States (US). However, there has recently been a rise in anti-2SLGBTQ+ laws that focus on parental rights and the well-being of children. These laws are increasingly successful despite favorable public opinion towards 2SLGBTQ+ rights and increased protections for queer Americans. Following the legalization of same-sex marriage in the US, conservative opposition to 2SLGBTQ+ rights shifted away from emotional discourses of disgust to legal rights-based discourses of religious freedom and individual liberties. This discursive shift seemingly removed emotional discourses from conservative opposition to 2SLGBTQ+ rights, but this project finds that this is not entirely true. Through a case study of Florida's Don't Say Gay or Trans bill, I ask how emotional discourses are currently being used by conservative opposition to 2SLGBTQ+ rights. I employ emotion discourse analysis (EDA) to analyze the emotional discourses present in social media posts and interviews from Florida politicians in support of the Don't Say Gay or Trans bill. My findings demonstrate that emotional discourses of fear, security, and disgust are still present in contemporary conservative opposition, and that the shift to legal rights-based discourses represents a sanitization of emotional discourses that are unfavorable to an increasingly 2SLGBTQ+ friendly public. In addition to my contributions towards 2SLGBTQ+ studies, this study speaks to the affective turn in political science. This paper agrees with the burgeoning literature that finds emotions ever more present and consequential in the field.

*The Influence of Scientific Expertise on Policy Conflicts in the Context of EU Environmental Policymaking:* Alice Dechamps (Université libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** It is today widely accepted that scientific expertise plays a crucial role in informing and shaping environmental policymaking processes at all levels of governance. The environmental challenges that have to be dealt with have been characterized by high complexity and uncertainty; therefore creating a dependence on scientific advice to identify, understand and predict environmental phenomena. Over the last few years, authors from different strands of literature have been warning about the rise of technocracy in EU environmental policymaking (Accetti 2021, Armeni and Lee 2021). They point out diverse adverse consequences of this trend including fewer opportunities for stakeholder participation as well as depoliticization of the issues at hand - resulting in the impression that governing environmental issues is solely about scientific findings and predictions, and by doing so, often concealing existing debates about contested worldviews. In line with scholars challenging the idea of a rational and linear transfer from science to policy, this paper looks at the impact of scientific expertise on the content of policy conflicts in the context of EU environmental politics. Although the nexus between epistemic politics and policy conflicts has already been explored in the context of local environmental conflicts, empirical research at other levels of governance seems to be scarce. As a first step in that direction, this paper provides a transdisciplinary overview of the relevant literature and offers an empirical framework for future research.

*The Impact of Tough-on-Crime Rhetoric on Bail Policy Under the Trudeau Government:* Nancy Hills (University of Waterloo), Brendan Dell (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Largely advanced by right-wing parties, a 'tough on crime' approach to criminal justice policy is one that focuses on stricter enforcement and harsher penalties to reduce crime. While literature on such approaches has largely focused on the United States, the concept found relevance in Canada under the Harper government which adopted a tough-on-crime approach to criminal justice policy (Kelly and Puddister 2017; Zinger 2016). Despite this, there is little research regarding the impact of tough-on-crime rhetoric on government responses and the development of criminal justice policy itself. Amendments to bail policy under the Trudeau government provides us with an interesting case study to evaluate the impact of tough-on-crime rhetoric. The killing of an OPP officer by an individual who was out on bail (focusing event), subsequent responses by Canadian politicians and news media, and stricter bail laws as proposed in Bill C-48 by the Liberal government allows us to fully track this case study from beginning to end. The analysis in this paper is conducted in two parts. First, a media analysis establishes the parties' stances on the issue and the degree of tough-on-crime rhetoric following the focusing event. Second, the Liberal government's policy response is tracked by analyzing Bill C-48's legislative debates. This paper demonstrates that the Liberal government felt the effect of the tough-on-crime rhetoric, which led them to propose policy that would not typically align with their party's stance. Ultimately, this paper contributes to existing literatures on tough-on-crime approaches, penal populism, and criminal justice policy in Canada.

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## **J12 - Lunch of the Provincial and Territorial Politics Section | Déjeuner de la section Politique provinciale et territoriale**

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

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle** : McGill College 2001 461

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

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## L12 - Equity and Reconciliation in Institutions

### Race, ethnicité, peuples autochtones et politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

Chair/Président/Présidente : Seon Yuzyck (University of Alberta)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Tobin Leblanc Haley (University of New Brunswick)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Leah Levac (University of Guelph)

*Dependency Work as Witnessing: Able-Nationalism and the Limits of Labour Justice in Canadian Healthcare:* Sarah Munawar (University of Houston)

**Abstract:** Hospitals, ICUs, long-term care homes, are not just transitory places, or death-worlds, within colonial systems; for families like mine, in the netherworld of dependency care, and for care-workers, they are a critical setting for our most intimate struggles for labour, gender, racial and disability justice. Through critical auto-ethnography, I outline three anecdotal interactions between my family and healthcare workers, during my father's hospitalization, in which discourses on labour rights are weaponized by healthcare administration to shut down the complaints, and demands of, racialized, disabled, and elderly patients. Families like mine situated within the netherworld of dependency care, challenge the notion that caring labor in carceral healthcare settings, and the harm and neglect justified in care's name to racialized and disabled elders, cannot be accounted for. The impact of medical violence done in care's name is written off as a constitutive feature, or natural consequence, of the racialized, disabled, and elderly patient's body as a body that is chronically risk-prone, unpredictable, damaged, frail and in decay. Healthcare workers have names, faces and institutional and legal roles and responsibilities. Healthcare systems are regulated; there are policies, laws and codes of accountability; yet, medicalized violence remains highly invisible, impersonal and untraceable to a name and face, to specific healthcare workers who perform caring labour in a harmful way. In this paper, I emphasize that a constitutive labour of dependency work is naming, and documenting, policies, practices, actors, systems, and discourses that are used to enact and justify medical violence and carceral practices of care in Canada to create what Sara Ahmed calls, a phenomenology of an institution. Dependency work is knowledge keeping. I explore how institutional hierarchies of labor within settler-colonial healthcare settings are white-orientated and serve as, what Sara Ahmed calls, the postal system by which the complaints of racialized, disabled elders are dismissed, buried and delegitimized.

There is power in naming practices of medical violence, mapping institutional hierarchies, using policy levers, and evoking rights-based legislation in the claims-making process. Black, Indigenous, racialized, disabled and queer scholars, however, have taught us that settler-colonial healthcare systems not only endanger the health and safety of Black, Indigenous and racialized patients and healthcare workers but are also built on theft and appropriation of their caring labour; in this paper, I argue that when Black, Indigenous and racialized patients, and healthcare workers, often work together and mobilize caring labour to create phenomenologies of healthcare institutions for the sake of harm reduction, health equity, and labour justice, they are often punished and disciplined. Such punishment, for example, could mean more medical violence and neglect for patients and, termination of employment and a toxic working environment for healthcare workers.

Conversations on accessibility complaints, especially between patients and healthcare workers, are interpreted as hostile and burdensome demands for more labour and resources to make healthcare service delivery and spaces more accessible. In the context of a pandemic, then, where Canada's healthcare system is collapsing, understaffed and underfunded, what is first to be cut are the demands of disabled, racialized and elderly patients. I argue that demanding just ecologies of labour within settler-colonial healthcare systems requires Black, Indigenous and racialized healthworkers and patients to forge, build and deepen relational affinities, homeplaces, and dissident friendships by resisting anti-relational and white-orientated practices of settler governance within healthcare settings.

*Accessible Canada Act(ing)::* Aaron J. Service (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Passing into law the Accessible Canada Act (ACA) in 2019, the Canadian federal government committed to eradicating ableism within the public service by 2040. Addressing hiring biases and representational asymmetries related to peoples with disabilities in governance, the ACA was to erase barriers for those traditionally excluded from the public service based on their 'disability.' Roughly five years after the ACA was put into law, it is worth asking how does the Canadian federal government understand the problem of ableism in the federal public service?

Traditionally this question was difficult to answer in anything but the abstract. However, with the first 'Accessibility Plans' following the ACA now being published, it has become possible to assess this understanding empirically. This paper mobilizes Carol Bacchi's 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' (WPR) method of qualitative post-structural policy analysis, to establish discursive trends in the classification of 'ableism,' interpretation of 'disability,' and remedy of ableism through 'accessibility' across federal departments' 'Accessibility Plans.' This paper argues two things based on the evidence: 1) despite de-centralization in addressing the ACA, there are a great deal of similarities among departments' representations of problems related to 'disability' and 'accessibility'; and 2) despite rhetoric to the contrary, these discursive trends indicate continuity in ableist presumptions traditionally associated with the ableist 'biomedical model' of disability.

Little has been written about the ACA by political scientists, thus the proposed paper contributes to this literature, while also adding to existing discourses regarding ableism in Canada, and studies of Canadian public policy.

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## M12 - Three Minute Thesis Competition (Preliminary)

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

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

*Suivre la science, ou suivre l'incertitude ? Étude comparative de l'impact de l'incertitude et des émotions sur les politiques sanitaires durant la pandémie de COVID-19 au Québec et en Suède:* Antoine Lemor (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Au commencement de la pandémie de COVID-19 les gouvernements cherchent à mettre en œuvre des mesures efficaces pour protéger les populations. Ils disent « suivre la science ». Les connaissances scientifiques sont pourtant incertaines, et cette incertitude est reproduite avec chaque nouveau variant. On connaît mal le mode de transmission du virus, ses caractéristiques, et même l'efficacité des mesures est incertaine. Sur quelles bases scientifiques les décideurs se sont-ils appuyés lorsqu'ils ont affirmé « suivre la science » ? Ma thèse explore cette problématique en se penchant sur le Québec, particulièrement sévère durant la pandémie, et la Suède, plus permissive. Pourquoi ces différences ? Ma recherche révèle que l'interface science-politique publique c'est-à-dire l'organisation institutionnelle du conseil scientifique et de la décision joue un rôle clé car elle module l'effet de l'incertitude. La littérature montre que l'incertitude produit des comportements de protection. Toutefois, des différences existent entre scientifiques et décideurs. Les décideurs, imputables face au public, peuvent recourir à des réactions préventives sans preuves solides. Les scientifiques, professionnellement habitués à l'incertitude, peuvent adopter une approche plus mesurée fondée sur des preuves. À l'aide de méthodes mixtes composées d'une analyse de réseau décrivant les deux interfaces science-politique publique, et de méthodes poussées d'analyse du langage naturel mesurant l'incertitude, les sentiments négatifs et leurs impacts, ma thèse montre que comparativement à la Suède, l'incertitude a été au Québec le principal moteur de la sévérité des mesures. Dans une interface politiquement centralisée, c'est l'incertitude plutôt que la science qui guide souvent les décisions.

*JustInflated: Pierre Poilievre's Neoliberal Populist Style on YouTube:* Aidan Harris (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** I analyzed Pierre Poilievre's 2022 Conservative leadership campaign videos. My questions were: (1) to what extent did Poilievre perform the populist political style on YouTube during his leadership campaign? (2) If so, was his online style of populism uniquely Canadian? I conducted a qualitative and quantitative content analysis of his YouTube campaign videos. YouTube was chosen for three reasons: (1) it is an understudied platform in the digital politics literature, (2) it is the second most popular social media platform in Canada (only behind Facebook), and (3) it has been identified as a place for right-wing radicalization with a strong affinity towards populism.

The results of my study revealed that Poilievre consistently performed a populist political style unique to the Canadian tradition of neoliberal populism. Unlike the radical-right populism of Europe and the United States, neoliberal populism places a greater emphasis on fiscal restraint, small government, and a free market economy. In this regard, Poilievre spent much of his campaign on national and pocketbook economics while framing these issues under the populist dichotomy of 'the people' versus 'the elite'.

Overall, this paper makes several contributions to the digital politics literature and the Canadian literature on populism. First, it provides an in-depth analysis of YouTube, a social media platform that is understudied in political science. Second, it makes a theoretical contribution by reworking Moffitt's (2016) original approach. Third, it makes a methodological contribution by creating a codebook for populist performances. Lastly, this paper contributes to the Canadian literature on populism.

*First Black Prime Minister: The Five Stages of Representation and Professional Mobility in Canadian Politics:* Eli Rose (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** In a modern liberal democracy, does being Black or perceived as racialized lower one's chance of becoming Prime Minister of Canada? What would it mean for Canada to have its first Black Prime Minister? The paper explores obstacles within Canada's party system preventing more effective and substantive political representation of Black Canadians and their interests, introducing the concept of Black mobility in Canadian politics and exploring the limitations of Black representation. The work takes a theoretical and qualitative approach, while incorporating quantitative analysis published by other scholars, to study and explain the relationship between identity and political career structures. Specifically, the paper discusses how systemic factors related to identity influence and change the trajectory of individual and political careers. The traditional entryway into politics is quite established, but from a theoretical lens, the paper questions if other paths are feasible and desirable, and what the strengths and benefits from alternative pathways to elected office are. Theories of mobility attempt to explain alternatives or adjustments to well-established systems, which are clearly oppressive in nature, to achieve more equitable, diverse, and inclusive political systems, processes, careers, and candidate pools. With no literature and data to rigorously consider the possibility, likelihood, or significance of a Black Canadian elevating to the highest office in Canada, the work is truly novel and not only fills a gap in political science and social science literature but creates a new way of thinking about Canadian politics that takes a more real-world approach.

*Contrasting Conceptions of Nature Expressed by the Aesthetics of Nazism and Surrealism:* Ali Yasin (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Despite being a ubiquitous aspect of all human communities, aesthetic expression and sensibility have traditionally been characterized as peripheral to politics (Mullin, 1996)(Sanders, 1998). However, several political movements have explicitly tied their ideologies to the forms of artistic expression they encouraged and facilitated. This intertwining of aesthetics and political thought was clearly visible in the radical political climate of the early 20th century, particularly in the case of Nazism on the far right, and the Surrealist movement on the radical left. To what extent were these aesthetic considerations of these movements interwoven with their political paradigms? As distinctly modern political ideologies/movements, Surrealism and Nazism were both rooted in a desire to profoundly alter not only the political organization of their surrounding communities, but more fundamentally, their collective

modes of political subjectivity as well (Mosse, 1996). Political subjectivity in this context refers to the dynamic web of normative perspectives and symbolic signification, which structures the collective behavior and culture of a political community and informs the discrete subjectivity of its various constituents (Rahimi, 2016). Both movements recognized that an alteration of this political subjectivity entailed a radical re-imagining of the experiential relationship between the individual and their community, as well that between a community and its wider ontological milieu in "nature". Despite envisioning alternative modernities which were antithetical to one another, Surrealism and Nazism each identified aesthetic sensibility and its immersion in somatic experience, as being the primordial site of these inherently subjective relationships. By analyzing the ideological thought in the political literature of Nazism and Surrealism, as well as the aesthetic approaches, particularly those expressed by the work of Leni Riefenstahl and Toyen respectively, this paper assesses the aesthetic understanding of nature held by each movement, and its intertwining with their political paradigms. By doing so, it demonstrates that the aesthetic dimension of these movements was not simply a means of propagating the new subjectivity they envisioned, but the sphere in which it was conceived and embodied.

***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 (Université Concordia)

**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).

***Uncovering Women's Agency Within India's Plural Legal Setting:*** Sreemoyee Majumder (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** In post-colonial societies like India the complexity of multi-ethnicity and multi-religiosity led to the adoption of legal pluralism; a pluralistic system of personal laws derived from religious customary practices for the governance of the family. Within this setting adjudication in family law disputes especially those involving Gender-Based Domestic Violence (GBDV) is often shared between the Indian State and non-state actors such as women's organisations, Special Cells rendering support to the State police, and local religious tribunals, with significant implications for women's rights. While this is an emerging field of study in India, domestic violence within this context has not been much explored. The present research seeks to fill this gap from within a theoretical framework advancing feminist principles of positionality<sup>1</sup> and agency<sup>2</sup>. Kolkata, West Bengal, has been chosen as a site because under the present Trinamool Congress rule the Government has adopted some noteworthy police reforms and gender sensitive policies. The study also seeks to investigate the role of two understudied yet potential actors in the matter- non-kin neighbours and local clubs<sup>3</sup>. I plan to conduct ethnographic research on women survivors of GBDV and the local clubs based on interviews and non-participant observation from summer 2024 with aid from New Light, a Kolkata-based NGO working in the field of gender violence issues. To interview GBDV survivors with the utmost sensitivity I have undergone a training for feminist counselling with domestic violence case workers of Swayam, a reputed women's organisation in West Bengal.

***Ancestry.com, Big Data, & The Will to Identity: Toward a Genealogy of Genealogy:*** Hailey-Ann Walker (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The advent of genetic testing and ancestry services has transformed personal and familial genealogy from the niche pursuit of family tree hobbyists to a multi-billion-dollar industry. Ancestry.com dominates this industry and has amassed over 22 million DNA samples and an astonishing collection of over 40 billion archival artefacts including international birth, marriage, and death records, census and voter data, immigration and travel records, military enlistment and casualty records, school and church directories, and tax, crime, land, and will records. Increasingly, Ancestry's massive datastores have become embroiled in contemporary controversies around data privacy, genetic science, immigration, and law enforcement. More broadly, Ancestry.com data has become an expedient way for politicians, academics, and citizens alike to historically and scientifically "validate" (or "invalidate") ancestral and ethnic claims in a wider "culture of identity", wherein the will to know, broadcast, and authenticate one's roots and ethnic belonging saturates public life. As such, this project contends that archival relics and genetic material have ascended new status as a mode of political capital (both symbolic and material) which is neither reducible to market logics nor under the exclusive purview of the state. This research examines the emergence and evolution of Ancestry.com and the digital consolidation and deployment of Ancestry data across a transversal and interactive cultural-governmental field. In doing so, the project breaks rich empirical terrain upon which we can better problematize the multitude of practices through which the private and leisurely genealogical pursuits of individuals and families are rendered a convenient assemblage in the management and governing of populations.

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## Day 2 - Session 3 (Lunch) ISA-Canada Business Meeting (12:00pm - 01:30pm)

### C12 - ISA-Canada Business Meeting

Relations internationales

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle** : McGill College 2001 1552

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

**S12 - CPSA Women's Caucus Meeting - AGM / Réunion du caucus des femmes de l'ACSP - AGA**

**CPSA Business and Committee Meetings**

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle** : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

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

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## Day 2 - Special Event (12:30pm - 01:45pm)

### R12 - Keynote: Penser et repenser la protection sociale

#### Événements spéciaux

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 12:30pm - 01:45pm | **Salle** : EV 2.260, EV-Building, Concordia University, 1515 St. Catherine West/Ouest

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=322](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=322)

#### Participants

Daniel Béland (Université McGill)

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## Day 2 - Special Event (01:00pm - 02:30pm)

**R12 - Dispatches from the Backbenches: Research by the 2023-24 Parliamentary Interns**

Événements spéciaux

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 01:00pm - 02:30pm | **Salle** : Tanna Hall

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

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## Day 2 - Session 4 (01:45pm - 03:15pm)

### A13 - Inside the Pink Palace I

#### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Peter P. Constantinou (OLIP Director)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Dennis Pilon (York University)

*Why don't you trust me?: Ontarian's decreasing trust in government:* Milena Basciano (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** In light of multiple controversies and scandals by the current government regarding delivering promises, people are questioning how trustworthy the politicians who are responsible for representing them are. Politicians make promises, break those promises, and then promise not to break any more promises.

This paper will delve into what trust means for both parties: members of provincial parliament, and the citizens of Ontario. It will argue that Ontarian's trust in their government is continuously decreasing, and it will explore the reasons as to why: whether it be through lack of transparency, lack of accountability, broken promises, etc.

My research will predominantly include interviews with Members of Provincial Parliament. I hope to get proportionate representation from members across all parties. I will ask them questions regarding the significance of being trustworthy, for example, "what does your constituents' trust in you, mean to you?" and "how do you maintain the trust of your constituents?".

Possible outcomes include referring to the dedication and promise elected officials made to their constituents when they were sworn into office. I anticipate Members talking about the importance of amplifying the voices in their ridings to Queen's Park. I am interested in any reference to the Independent Offices of the Assembly. A section of my paper will research the roles of the Independent Offices.

*Keys to the House: An Analysis of Accessibility in the Queen's Park Building:* Taylor Pizzirusso (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** This paper looks at the history of the Queen's Park's legislative building and analyzes its accessibility features for people with disabilities. In the next few years, the Queen's Park building will be undergoing a massive renovation that will take a decade to complete. It is imperative that accessibility in the current structure is considered, and the renovation considers new ways to provide access to the public and staff. The paper analyzes all the physical and structural changes made to the building for accessibility from the early 1900s-present day. This includes the introduction of elevators, ramps, and accessible bathrooms in the building, as well as changes to the broadcasting or recording services to ensure that the public can engage with provincial politics. These accessibility changes have often been made based on the need of the sitting MPPs or the public for access to the building. Through interviews with current MPPs and legislative assembly staff, the paper will discuss the status of accessibility in Queen's Park and improvements to be made in the renovation. Based on these interviews and literature research, policy recommendations are listed to make the new Queen's Park space accessible to all Ontarians. This paper argues that although Queen's Park has made important accessibility changes, they are primarily reactive changes made based on the needs of staff or MPPs as opposed to proactive changes that consider accessibility for the collective.

*Byte by Byte: The Ontario Legislature's Unstoppable Journey into the Digital Age:* Olivia Colver (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** In a time where pixels collide with politics, Ontario's Legislature faces an unavoidable challenge: digitization. This paper will explore the complex impact that digitization has on the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

The digital shift of the Ontario Legislature refers to the transformation of traditional paper-based records and communication into digital formats. Debate surrounds the need to preserve historical tradition and the need to modernize processes. Since the COVID-19 pandemic, the urgency of digitization became relevant as the Ontario Legislature needed to adapt to remote working and virtual communication. Through a comparative lens, this paper will assess the current state of digitization within the Ontario Legislature and determine whether it is ahead or behind the global trend, in comparison to other legislatures. Additionally, it will examine the generational divide that exists in the views of older and younger MPPs on digitization. Younger members tend to embrace technology, while older members may be more cautious about the changes brought on by digitization. Given its relatively recent emergence, there has been limited research conducted on the impacts of the digital shift within the Ontario legislative context.

This paper will explore the impact of digitization of the legislature through semi-structured interviews with a non-random stratified sample of Ontario MPPs across political parties and varying in age. The objective is to understand how the digital transformation impacts both MPPs and the overall proceedings of the legislature.

*No One Hears A Who! The Curious Case of Selective Hearing Among MPPs in the Ontario Legislature:* Rhea Saini (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Inscribed on the walls of the Chamber is the official motto of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, "Audi Alteram Partem", serving as a constant reminder to members to "hear the other side". Though members may take this sage advice to hear, how many genuinely listen? Deliberative listening serves key basic functions, such as facilitating collaboration and innovation, and has the potential to advance broader democratic goals, such as decreasing polarization and advancing representative democracy. On the surface, however, members are not always engaged with democratic listening, riddled with distractions from side-conversations to smartphones, that on occasion become so commonplace it brings into question whether activities such as members statements, question period, and house proceedings have any value if they are not actively listened to by other members. This paper will seek to investigate MPP perceptions of distraction in relation to listening during House and committee proceedings, exploring the impact it has on the efficiency

and effectiveness of the work done at the Legislature, partisanship, and on Queens Parks? culture and perceptions by the public more broadly. This will take the form of semi-structured qualitative interviews of a stratified sample of backbench MPPs from all parties, accompanied by a literature review and ethnographic observations. Scholarship in the field has generally focussed on theoretical understandings of listening; as such, this paper will look to further understandings of democratic listening in praxis by understanding members perspectives and experiences on the ground, specifically in relation to distraction which has yet to be explored.

*All in the Family: The Influence of Family Relations Among Ontario?s MPPs:* Kaitlin Gallant (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** It is no secret that many parliamentarians across Canada have relatives who are, or were, elected officials. In Ontario, for instance, 13 per cent of MPPs have a familial connection to politics at the municipal, provincial, or federal level. Similarly, 11 per cent of federal MPs have a familial connection. On the one hand, individuals belonging to a political family have exposure to the realities of public life, pertinent connections, and industry knowledge suitable for public office. On the other hand, given that nomination processes are not always fair and open, they may have an unfair advantage against other candidates due to their connections, knowledge, name recognition, etc. Little research in Canada has explored the implications of family relations in politics. This paper seeks to ask: does having a family member in politics influence one?s interest, skills, knowledge, approach and network in elected office? Using descriptive statistics and semi-structured interviews with Ontario Members of Provincial Parliament, this work seeks to understand the perspectives of legislators on familial exposure to political life and its influence on one?s career path. This paper argues that although having a family member in politics potentially lessens one?s credibility, it is nonetheless advantageous to elected life as it improves one?s political knowledge, approach, skills and network.

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## B13(a) - New Perspectives on the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

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 :

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=82](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=82)

*Explaining Varying Military Support to Ukraine:* Justin Massie (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**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(b) - Constitutions, Conflicts, and Language

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

Chair/Président/Présidente : Kathryn Barber (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Daniel Hopkins (University of Pennsylvania)

**Uncertainty in Canada's Independence Referendums: Past Issues and Future Solutions?:** Sabrina Sotiriu (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:** Nivaldo 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)

**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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## C13(a) - Theories of International Relations (II)

### Relations internationales

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** McGill College 2001 1552 - Hybrid session/session hybride (see Zoom details below/voir détails Zoom ci-dessous)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Laszlo Sarkany (Western University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Laszlo Sarkany (Western University)

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

***Realist Self-Determination and Political Legitimacy:*** Antonio Franceschet (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Building on revisionist scholarship on Realism as a tradition engaged with questions of political legitimacy, the paper asks whether a coherent Realist conception of a right to self-determination is possible, and what that account should look like? Conventional disciplinary histories recount how the most significant mid-20th century Realists included self-determination into a cluster of mistaken efforts to deny power politics leading up to World War 2. The literature on self-determination returns the favour. Realism is viewed as a denial of the moral and legal significance of the principle, and as a theory favouring European great powers that have been the imperialist cause of oppression. This paper argues that many of the most significant political Realists, such as Carr and Morgenthau, were not skeptical about the demands for self-determination, but rather its application through legalistic and moralist political paradigms. I also claim that a new wave of Realist political theory, which focuses on the demand for the legitimization of coercive ruling systems (see Bernard Williams as an inspiration), provides a critical analysis of domination, yet has not provided an account of self-determination rights, and could fruitfully build on insights of earlier waves of Realist analyses of self-determination.

***Don't Believe the Hype: Liberal Ideas, Domestic Politics, and American Hegemony in the 1990s:*** Brian Bow (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Some IR realists have argued that America's decision to pursue "engagement" with Russia and China after the Cold War was driven by runaway liberal ideology, and that recent Russian and Chinese revisionism proves it was naive and self-defeating. "Engagement" may have been misguided, but it would be a mistake to see it as a spontaneous eruption of liberal ideology. Most proponents of these policies were motivated mainly by (realist) determination to maintain US hegemony, worried domestic political pressures -- esp. demand for a "peace dividend" and impatience with European and Japanese free-riding -- would undermine America's alliances, and cynically leaned into liberal ideas as a way to rally Americans around a continued commitment to hegemonic leadership. Here I explore the parallel with the Eisenhower-era effort to rally domestic support for early Cold War military spending and alliances, and work through successive post-Cold War administrations' efforts to manage the built-in hypocrisies surrounding America's deeply-conflicted commitment to the "liberal international order." A close look at the case undercuts both generic realist and liberal accounts, and points toward a more complicated view that emphasizes rhetorical temporizing, as a way to sustain permissive (domestic) support for an expansive form of global hegemony.

***European identity and its geopolitical implications: An analysis of alignment between public attitudes and contested visions of strategic autonomy:*** Benjamin Toetoe (University of Montreal), Florent Guntz (University of Montreal), Richard Turcsanyi (Mendel University Brno)

**Abstract:** Strategic autonomy has become a highly salient buzzword across Europe in recent years. However, the precise definition of the term remains contested and reflects ongoing processes of political contestation from various actors both within and outside of Europe. Regardless, it is clear that ongoing processes of EU integration and cooperation, expressed in both policy and ideational realms, are key to the effective formulation and implementation of any coherent form of European strategic autonomy as a form of foreign strategy.

This article focuses on the latter realm and argues that such a strategy must be consistent with EU citizens' shared sense of identity in order to be politically viable. Using novel public opinion data collected in 19 EU member states in 2020 and 2022, it constructs an index of EU identity and statistically assesses its effects on the foreign alignment preferences of EU citizens. As a result of the data having been collected through two waves carried out before and after the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022, respectively, a differentiation between contextual effects and ones tied to stable and deeply embedded identarian orientation will also be possible. Through this analysis, the article will yield insight into which of the contested visions of European strategic autonomy are most likely to continue being developed and implemented in the near future. From this, a better understanding of the future geopolitical positioning of the European Union will also emerge in today's context of emerging multipolarity and intensifying US-China competition.

***Deterrence Theories and Iranian Calculus of Deterrence a Critical Assessment:*** Ali Dizboni (Royal Military College of Canada and Queen's University), Robert Addinall (Royal Military College of Canada), Peter Gizewski (Royal Military College of Canada)

**Abstract:** This paper offers fresh insights into the concept of deterrence by focusing on the specific characteristics that define Iran's unique calculus of deterrence in contemporary international relations. We begin by revisiting traditional deterrence theories and their limitations in explaining Iran's deterrence strategies. While classical models emphasize the role of military power, our analysis reveals that Iran's calculus extends beyond conventional military capabilities. Furthermore, this paper underscores the importance of understanding Iran's historical experiences, such as the Iran-Iraq War, in shaping its current deterrence posture. These experiences have instilled a deep-seated commitment to self-reliance and resilience, impacting how Iran perceives and responds to external threats. Iran's pursuit of advanced military technologies, including ballistic missiles and its nuclear program, is another focal point. We explore how these capabilities function both defensively and offensively, influencing Iran's regional behavior and the strategies it employs to project power.

In addition, we examine Iran's active role in proxy conflicts across the Middle East, analyzing its support for non-state actors and its ability to leverage these relationships as tools of deterrence. Finally, we discuss Iran's diplomatic and communication strategies, emphasizing its use of rhetoric, information warfare, and negotiation tactics to convey deterrence messages effectively. This paper challenges traditional notions of deterrence by highlighting Iran's multifaceted and adaptive approach, offering a comprehensive understanding of the Iranian calculus of deterrence and its implications for regional and global security. It provides valuable insights for policymakers, analysts, and scholars seeking to navigate the complex dynamics of contemporary international relations.

*ISIS and the Making of a Transnational Ethno-Religious State:* Shehnoor Khurram (York University)

**Abstract:** The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) was officially launched in 2014 to establish a transnational Islamic Caliphate. In the years following, it emerged as a major global actor in world politics, demonstrating significant resilience in constructing an ethno-religious, Westphalian proto-state while fighting a four-pronged war: Iraq to the East, the Kurds to the North, the Assad regime in the West, and airstrikes from above by a US-led coalition. I examine the political-economic logic underpinning ISIS' emergence and statecraft in Iraq. Bridging complex discourses within state theory, critical security studies, and political economy, I examine how neoliberal globalization has undermined national and human security, which created a vacuum that allowed ISIS to emerge. I argue that neoliberal globalization destabilizes and fragments the state while militarizing the state and non-state actors, contributing to intra-and inter-state conflict. Concurrently, neoliberal globalization produces insecurity and structural violence across national borders, politicizing ethnic/cultural/religious identities. Joint national and human-level insecurity generates violent contestations for state power and the use of terrorism as mechanisms of political change. Three processes have state and human insecurity in this context: (1) neoliberalism and the internationalization of class and state in Iraq and Syria; (2) imperialism; and (3) the failures of the Arab Spring, the spread of sectarianism, and the breakdown of social reproduction. It is within this crisis of political economy that ISIS embarked on its state-making project.

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## C13(b) - Canada in the World

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : McGill College 2001 735

Chair/Président/Présidente : Andrew Cooper (University of Waterloo)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Andrew Cooper (University of Waterloo)

*Re-envisioning Canada in Africa: Trudeau's Security Policy in the Post-Pandemic Era:* Edward Akuffo (University of the Fraser Valley)

**Abstract:** Framed within the context of the August 2022 announcement by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's government to develop a new Canada Africa Strategy, this paper will discuss the synergies between the deployment of Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) in support of maritime security, and the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) for peacekeeping operations, including the participation of women in Africa's hotspots. On the face value, the Trudeau government's efforts towards the development of a Canada Africa Strategy not only shows the deepening of Canadian interest in Africa, but also raises important questions about strategic goals given the rise of Canadian economic activities especially in the extractive sector in the region. Accordingly, the paper addresses two central questions. Firstly, why is Canada developing a new strategy towards Africa? Secondly, how are Canadian activities in maritime security and peacekeeping linked to support its strategic goals in Africa? The paper will analyse the issues thereof within the context of Canada's bilateral and multilateral engagements and contributions to addressing multidimensional security threats in Africa.

*Common border, common narratives? Analysis of media coverage of four COVID-19 travel measures implemented between the US and Canada:* Andréanne Bissonnette (Western Washington University), Jennifer Bettis (Western Washington University)

**Abstract:** As part of their respective responses to the COVID-19 pandemic, Canada and the United States implemented measures applying specifically to international travels. While initially viewed as a temporary measure, enacted for 30 days on March 21, 2020, the closure of the Canada-US border extended for over a year. In addition to the land border closure, travelers were later required to quarantine upon arrival, provide a proof of negative COVID-19 test and of full vaccination to be admitted in the other country. Building on an extensive media analysis of newspapers articles published in both countries, in English, French and Spanish, this paper offers an analysis on how the media covered the implementation and consequences of four travel measures restricting travels between Canada and the US. It first offers a qualitative review of articles published between March 10, 2020, and May 31, 2023, on border closure, quarantine, vaccine and testing requirements. It then delves more specifically in three aspects of media coverage: the mentions of the other country in articles; the focus on specific populations; and the specificities of border communities and coverage by local media along the Canada-US border. Part of a larger research project on the equity of COVID-19 travel measures, this paper contributes to our understanding of media coverage of COVID-related travel measures and how they may influence framing and understanding of these measures, as well as their local impacts.

*Fear, hope and disillusion. Rational choice and dynamics of activism of the Tunisian Diaspora in Canada:* Pietro Marzo (TELUQ University)

**Abstract:** Official data estimate the Tunisian diaspora in Canada at around 40,000 individuals, although unofficial sources suggest this number is an underestimation of the Tunisians living permanently in Canada. The Tunisian diaspora is overwhelmingly concentrated in the Canadian francophone province of Quebec. Tunisians started to immigrate to Canada in the decades following the country independence (1956), but the Tunisian diaspora expanded since the 1990s, becoming progressively more visible and active, especially after the 2011 revolution. However, despite its significant presence there are very few research that has investigated the activism of the Tunisian diaspora in Canada and its relationship with homeland politics, both before and after the 2011 revolution. Drawing on semi-structured interviews with Tunisian individuals and activists living permanently in Canada for at least two decades, this paper analyzes pattern of social and political activism of Tunisian diaspora across three recent phases of the country's contemporary history. First, it explores the activism of the Tunisian community in Canada during the Ben Ali authoritarian regime (1987-2011). Second, the paper examines changes in diaspora activism during the "democratization decade" (2011-2021). Finally, the paper studies the behaviors of the diaspora since 2021, when President Saied seized power and drove Tunisia into an authoritarian path. The paper uses rational choice theory to argue that emotions such as fear, hope and disillusion have affected the activism of Tunisians in Canada, and make sense of diverse levels of involvement and participation in homeland politics during the three different phases analyzed.

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## C13(c) - Global Politics in the Indo-Pacific

### Relations internationales

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Shaun Narine (St. Thomas University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Shaun Narine (St. Thomas University)

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

***A Study of the Disparity of the Regional Integration Model of the EU and ASEAN: From the Perspective of ASEAN:*** Rogie Nichole Aquino (Colegio de San Juan de Letran)

**Abstract:** The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) continues to progress as an emerging regional organization capable of changing the flow of the modern foreign policy world, this paper aims to analyze the relevance of the European Union's normative power and regional integration model to the past, present, and future strategies of ASEAN particularly in its three (3) central pillars: the Political, Security, Economic, and Socio-Cultural. Through the lens of social constructivism, state-preference theory, and liberal intergovernmentalism, regional integration and normative power have been defined through a multifaceted approach suited to both the EU and ASEAN. The paper primarily aims to assess the relationship between the two regional organizations and establish a concrete analysis of how they influence one another in terms of their existing and future policies and norms. Secondly, it aims to identify the similarities and hindrances in having full integration of the so-called EU normative power and integration model.

In this paper, the historical, security-political, economic, and socio-cultural factors will be studied to answer the research question involving the ASEAN and the EU. Interviews were also done with experts from the ASEAN Headquarters since the main focus of the paper is to establish clarity from the perspective of ASEAN. As these important integration aspects were studied, differences between the regional focus of the two organizations were carefully singled out to establish a concrete explanation in terms of the integration disparity between the two.

In a regional organization like ASEAN, cooperation, and trade agreements among Member States are often enough for it to establish sustainability. However, based on the data and analysis of this paper, in order for ASEAN to prosper, there are rigorous steps and mechanisms that it needs to implement, not necessarily to become like the EU, but to establish its own model and regional power.

***The Neglected Indian Ocean: Examining Maritime Security Challenges for Canada:*** Vandana Bhatia (Sheridan College)

**Abstract:** Despite Canada's active involvement in humanitarian and coalition missions spanning from East Africa to Southeast Asia, there is a striking absence of comprehensive conceptualization of the IO within the Canadian discourse. Existing references often fragment the region into its sub-regions such as the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea, and now, the broader Indo-Pacific region. This paper proposal seeks to address a significant gap in the Canadian literature concerning the Indian Ocean (IO) region.

While some Canadian scholars have emphasized the strategic importance of the IO, there remains a critical dearth of in-depth research that assesses the implications of maritime security challenges in the IO for Canada. This is particularly pertinent as geostrategic dynamics within the IO region continue to evolve, and transnational maritime threats are on the rise.

This proposed paper aims to shed light on this underexplored topic, with a focus on two key objectives: first, to provide a comprehensive understanding of the Indian Ocean region as a whole, considering its geopolitical, economic, and security dimensions; second, to outline the strategic imperatives for Canada in formulating a coherent policy to effectively address and mitigate the security challenges emanating from this dynamic and vital part of the world. Through a multidisciplinary approach that draws on geopolitics, international relations, and maritime security studies, this paper seeks to contribute to the development of a nuanced and informed Canadian perspective on the IO, fostering the formulation of policies that are responsive to the evolving security landscape of this strategically significant region.

***Rearticulating Regionalism in the New Cold War?: the De/re-securitization of Taiwan's Southward Policies:*** Szu-Yun Hsu (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** The entanglement of geopolitics and geoeconomics has largely defined the contemporary era marked as the great power rivalry or the new Cold War. Against such a backdrop, there has been reviving scholarly interest in the intersection of regionalism, trade, and security agenda, especially regarding the growing strategic importance of Asia in the global political economy and global politics. Drawing on critical geopolitics, geoeconomics, and hegemony theory, this paper investigates Taiwan's (re)articulation of regionalism on the South as a case in point. It first examines Taiwan's Southward policies proposed by different regimes since the 1990s: the two waves of Southward Policies under the KMT regime in the 1990s, the New Southward Policy under the DPP regime in the 2000s, and the modification of the New Southward Policy since the DPP resumed power in 2016. Second, it situates the evolution of such regionalist proposals in the hegemonic transition of the Taiwanese state vis-à-vis broader geopolitical and geoeconomic dynamics. By doing so, the paper explicates how the conjunctural articulation of accumulation and legitimacy crises shaped the trajectory of Taiwan's policies on regionalism. This paper contends that the evolution of the Southward Policies in Taiwan, including its latest pivot to the U.S. Indo-Pacific Strategy, demonstrates the process of de/re-securitization. The paper also seeks to contribute to the critical scholarship on geopolitics and geopolitical economy at large.

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## E13(a) - Housing and Homelessness

### Politique locale et urbaine

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Leah Levac (University of Guelph)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Leah Levac (University of Guelph)

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

***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)

**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.

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## E13(b) - What is ?public? about public transportation?

### Politique locale et urbaine

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

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 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.

*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.

*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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## F13(a) - Methodological Issues in the Study of Political Behaviour I

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin, 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5060

Chair/Président/Présidente : Yu-Chen Chen (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Éric Desrochers (Université d'Ottawa)

**Partisan identification: a more fine grained approach:** Thomas Galipeau (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Examining partisan identification in political behaviour is intriguing and offers a unique perspective that challenges traditional normative theories. While democratic theories propose that the public should hold political elites accountable, empirical accounts reveal a complex reality where political identities often bias voters' reasoning. A wealth of observational and experimental studies have explored this phenomenon deeply. These papers have found many intriguing patterns, but they still debate the extent to which people are biased and under which conditions. The variety of results thus begs the question: is partisan attachment conceptualized carefully enough? For instance, a common underlying assumption in the literature is that all politically affiliated individuals are fundamentally the same. They all possess an affirmatory identity (e.g., "I am a [party name]"), which is the antecedent to partisan bias. This assumption warrants further scrutiny. This study leverages data from Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia to delve into partisanship through a four-category typology: Positive, Closed, Negative, and Apathetic. This approach offers three significant advantages. First, it provides a more nuanced and granular understanding of how different types of partisan attachment manifest within the political landscape. Second, it enhances our comprehension of political behaviour by examining with more scrutiny the mechanisms underlying the diverse impacts of partisan bias. Third, it grounds itself more firmly in self-categorization theory. Overall, this paper contributes to the field by demonstrating that partisan identification may be a more complex concept than initially coined by the American voter or by Partisan Hearts and Minds.

**Mesurer les effets de l'humour : la méthode expérimentale au service de la communication politique:** Emmanuel Choquette (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** La présente communication porte sur le recours à la méthode expérimentale pour mesurer les effets des discours humoristiques sur certaines attitudes sociales et politiques. S'appuyant sur la mobilisation de cette approche pour mener différentes recherches (Choquette 2022; Choquette, Bédard et Ben Ismal 2023, Choquette, Kelbel et Grignard 2023), cette présentation vise à répondre à trois questions principales : 1) Pourquoi mesurer les effets de l'humour et en quoi cette façon de procéder s'inscrit-elle dans le champ de la communication politique? On mettra alors en lumière le manque d'études empiriques sur le rôle et les fonctions de l'humour au Québec en particulier. La pertinence d'investir les « humor studies » à travers la communication politique, notamment dans ses dimensions ?cuménique et instrumentale (Gerstlé et Piar 2016), sera aussi soulignée. 2) Quelles variables peut-on mobiliser et quels effets ont été observés? On présentera ici les principaux résultats de trois études ayant mené des expériences de visionnement de vidéos humoristiques en ligne. Ce faisant, on abordera les défis entourant la création des variables, lesquelles visent notamment à évaluer les impacts de l'humour sur l'alimentation de stéréotypes ou sur l'intérêt politique des individus. 3) La méthode expérimentale peut-elle également générer des données qualitatives éclairantes au sujet du rôle et des fonctions de l'humour? Cette dernière partie de la communication viendra démontrer la pertinence de combiner d'autres stratégies de recherche, en ajoutant des volets à court développement dans les questionnaires d'enquête ou en procédant à des entretiens, afin de mettre en perspective les résultats obtenus.

**Strategic Approach of Group-based Appeals and Party Identity:** Alvaro Pereira Filho (Western University (The University of Western Ontario))

**Abstract:** Partisanship, which is voters' attachment to a political party, is a key element in a democratic regime. Scholars have identified two models of partisanship: a) the instrumental model, a running tally of policy and ideological congruence (e.g., Johnston 2006); b) the expressive model, psychological attachment akin to social identity (e.g., Huddy, Mason, & Aaroe 2015). Why voters develop distinct attachments have been overlooked. Explanations incorporate individual differences and contextual features, but often miss potential differences in partisanship across parties. To understand these disparities, I argue that group-based appeals, which are tailored messages to specific subgroup of voters, can shape one party's image, framing party identity in terms of group ties. Following the strategic approach of party appeals (Hersh & Schaffner 2013), I empirically explore whether appeals to traditional allies promote expressive over instrumental partisanship among partisans in Canada. Using an experimental design, I measure both models of partisanship and manifestations in party evaluations and vote choice. This study contributes identifying mechanisms by which voters develop party identity and discuss the key role of political parties in promoting affection and polarization within the electorate.

**Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from 67 Electoral Studies:** Maxime Coulombe (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** Field experiments such as Gerber et al.'s (2008) Get-Out-the-Vote study provide causal estimates of the mobilizing effects of social pressure to vote. While offering important contributions, these studies leave open questions regarding the prevalence of the social pressure to vote and its importance for the turnout decision in everyday life. Recent observational studies have started to address these questions but are generally limited to one or two elections in one country. In sum, we have little knowledge of how widespread and salient considerations about the social norm of voting are in the general population, and how these considerations can shape the decision to vote or abstain. This article fills these important gaps in the literature. The article draws on a multilevel regression analysis of 67 electoral studies conducted in 11 democracies, encompassing over 1,180,000 measurements of social pressure from 270,000 unique respondents. Preliminary results suggest that social pressure is highly prevalent and confirm its relationship with voter turnout. I discuss how and when social pressure matters the most and its implications for the study of electoral turnout and social norms.

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## F13(b) - 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** : UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin, 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5020

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Alexandre Rivard (Simon Fraser University)

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

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=113](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=113)

**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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## H13(a) - Populism #1: The Populist Challenge to Democracy

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1047

Chair/Président/Présidente : Olivier Ruchet (Paris-Panthéon-Assas University (Paris II))

*Quiet Resignation: Democratic Losers and the Will of the People:* Phil Triadafilopoulos (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** How do we know when 'the People' have spoken? When they stay silent. The quiet resignation of electoral losers is our best evidence of the 'will of the People.' It is expressed most obviously in the concession speeches of losing candidates, who thank their supporters and encourage them to set aside their partisan differences and abide by the democratically revealed 'will of the People.' Indeed, when supporters boo or hiss in the course of their concession speeches, losing candidates usually ask them to quiet down. When this norm breaks down, the necessary myth of a united people is no longer doing its work and democracy faces serious, in some instances potentially existential, challenges. Populism, then, has a two-sided quality. On the one hand, the myth of a united People, expressing its 'general Will,' is needed to lubricate the engine of electoral democracy; on the other hand, efforts on the part of losers to divide the People into 'true' and 'false' segments, and in so doing reject the outcomes of elections, pose a dire threat to the functioning of democratic systems. In developing this argument, I build on insights from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Carl Schmitt, Margaret Canovan, and Adam Przeworski. The paper will be of interest to political theorists and others interested in the democracy and its relation to populism.

« *Un spectre hante le monde* » : *repenser le populisme comme technologie de gouvernement:* Charles Berthelet (Université du Québec à Montréal / École des hautes études en sciences sociales - Paris)

**Abstract:** Le populisme serait ce nouveau « spectre qui hante le monde ». Or, le phénomène populiste semble encore loin de bénéficier d'une définition relativement consensuelle. Tour à tour, en effet, le populisme sera défini, entre autres avenues possibles, soit comme une idéologie peu ou plus substantielle, sinon comme une stratégie politique allant d'une rhétorique discursive assez simple à un style médiatique plus complet et complexe. Tout en s'appuyant sur la première de ces avenues (selon laquelle le populisme s'apparenterait surtout à une idéologie peu substantielle) ainsi que sur la pensée politique de Michel Foucault, ce papier présente une nouvelle façon de concevoir le populisme comme une technologie de gouvernement véritable et inédite. Sur quelle scène de l'histoire cette figure du populiste a-t-elle fait son apparition et a-t-elle connue une si grande diffusion ? Répondre à cette question nécessite d'une part d'examiner les conditions structurelles et la situation historique dans laquelle a émergé et s'est répandu le populisme comme phénomène éventuellement global, et, d'autre part, d'observer par quels dispositifs les dirigeants ou meneurs populistes, qu'ils-elles soient ou non parvenus-es à conquérir le pouvoir spécifique à l'État, se trouvent à même ou font montre d'exercer un pouvoir plus général et un certain gouvernement des hommes et des femmes. Alors que les États possèdent par exemple de moins en moins les leviers de leur politique économique, le pouvoir populiste semble quant à lui passer directement par un contrôle définitionnel sur la notion de « peuple ». Telle est la proposition qu'explore ce papier.

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## H13(b) - Rhetoric and Revolution in Early-Modern French and Anglo-American Political Thought

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

Chair/Président/Présidente : Travis Smith (Concordia University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Travis Smith (Concordia University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Ann Ward (Baylor University)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=284](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=284)

*John Adams and the Conservative Theory of Revolution:* Lee Ward (Baylor University)

**Abstract:** It is well known that John Adams was a hero of the American Revolution and later a severe critic of the French Revolution. In this respect, he differed from his old friend and political rival Thomas Jefferson, and rather resembled the famed British conservative thinker Edmund Burke, who defended the American colonies in their dispute with the British Ministry in the 1760's and 1770's and then to the surprise of many became an early and fierce opponent of the revolution in France. This paper will examine Adams' attitude toward the modern idea of revolution as both a natural right and as historically contingent phenomena by comparing and contrasting Adams' position on revolution with the argument of Burke.

My aim is to reinterpret Adams' treatment of the French Revolution, especially in his *Discourses on Davila* (1791) and his later correspondence with Thomas Jefferson in a series of letters from 1813, 1815, and 1823, as an effort to articulate a conservative theory of revolution that shared Burke's attention to the preservation of the mixed constitution, but in contrast to Burke, confirmed Adams' commitment to natural rights. The connection between Adams' *Discourses on Davila* and Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* was made at the time with many in America including Thomas Jefferson and his supporters associating Adams' position on the French Revolution with that of Burke. As such, I will conclude by examining the extent to which Adams' and Jefferson's differing interpretations of the right to revolution, both generally and in the specific context of France, contributed to the partisan and ideological divisions in the early American Republic.

*Plutarch in drag? The political theory of Scudery's Les Femmes illustres (1642):* Rebecca Kingston (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper offers an account of the conception of the public sphere as found in Scudery's *Les Femmes illustres*, ou harangues historiques. While largely thought to be written by Madeleine de Scudery, the work was published under the name of her brother George. It offers a series of imagined speeches by important women in the history of ancient thought at key moments of crisis or decision-making, as a means to imbue these historical figures with greater moral personality than is given to them in the extant sources where they remain largely silent. Still, the mode and manner of their imagined interventions here often violate expected norms of speech-making and delivery. This paper will explore how the feminist angle contributes to a broader commentary not only on who is to be included but on how to think about the public realm in the context of 17th century French absolutism.

*Hume and Polite Rhetoric:* Ali Elyasi (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** David Hume is well known for his philosophical inquiries concerning morals and human nature; however, his political thoughts are just as valuable as his philosophical endeavours. Perhaps the least studied aspect of the Scot's political philosophy is his discussion on political rhetoric and its impact on factionalism of 18th century politics. To my knowledge, Marc Hanvelt is one of the few scholars who has undertaken a comprehensive study of Hume's conceptualisation of, what Hanvelt calls, polite and eloquent rhetoric. According to Hanvelt, Hume believed that this type of rhetoric can overcome the problems of factional divide plaguing 18th century English politics. Polite and eloquent rhetoric incorporates tactics, such as tolerance, which distinguishes it from vulgar rhetoric used by factional leaders. True to the Socratic maxim of philosophy being a way of life, Hume actively exercised what he preached. The Scot became friends with individuals who had drastically different political principles than he did. From members of the Kirk to Jacobite rebels, Hume had interlocutors and audiences from various political backgrounds. However, it is the contention of this paper that Hume's philosophy of rhetoric falls short of its stated goal: undercutting the foundational philosophical rigidity of the factions based on principle. Factions based on principle were Hume's primary political targets and he aimed to open a philosophical opportunity for challenging these factions' rigid subscription to metaphysical abstractions. In my paper, I aim to show how and why the Scot's theory of polite rhetoric proved insufficient despite his eloquent efforts.

*Contract, Treaty, and Relationship: Collective Debt, Collective Responsibility and Contractarian Confusions:* Robert Sparling (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Among the most important and most widely misunderstood claims of the Indigenous resurgence movement in Canada is the centrality of treaty in defining relationships between nations. Citing Theresa Spence's assertion, "you are treaty, too," Sarah Wiebe has recently demonstrated the degree to which this reminder shakes the foundation of the imaginary of non-Indigenous Canadians, who tend to exhibit both an ignorance of and an indifference to the ongoing relationship that treaty is supposed to entail. This raises a number of fundamental philosophical questions about how communities relate to one another. What are the principles by which collectivities relate to other entities over long periods of time? What type of relationality is entailed by treaties and how do these differ from contractual relationships, and in particular debt relationships? What treaty entails in one imaginary? a kind of long-term, perpetually-enacted bond between peoples? appears radically different from the many agreements between parties that we know of under the concept of "contract". Certainly, when contractarian thinkers describe meaningful, long-term social relations in contractual terms (think of Hobbes's or Kant's descriptions of the family, for instance), readers tend to recoil at the mercenary, transactional nature of the description. Yet many quite meaningful long-term relationships can be described in contractual terms, just as many treaties between nations have something of the mercenary to them. In this paper, we will attempt to gain some insight into the distinction between these phenomena by examining the theory and practice of contract, treaty and

collective debt in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century European political thought. In particular, our focus will be on the phenomenon of long-term public debt, and the manner in which it is distinct from other forms of long-term collective promising. The European incomprehension of treaty as understood by Indigenous nations was and remains tied, I will argue, to confusions in contractarian political thought. Colonial powers have a strangely selective capacity for long-term memory: monetary debts incurred hundreds of years ago continue to be honoured today, yet memories of treaties fade, and ongoing relationships are repeatedly neglected and forgotten. In this paper, the tension between these two forms of collective historical responsibility will be explored.

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## M13 - Reading and Writing in Political Science

### Enseignement

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

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

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

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

*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)

**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.



## Day 2 - Special Event (02:00pm - 03:30pm)

### R13 - Keynote: Trans Panic and the Broader Threat to Equality Rights

#### Événements spéciaux

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 02:00pm - 03:30pm | **Salle** : EV 2.260, EV-Building, Concordia University, 1515 St. Catherine West/Ouest

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=324](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=324)

#### Participants

Samuel Singer (University of Ottawa)

Florence Ashley (University of Alberta)

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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 :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Tamara Small (University of Guelph)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Tamara Small (University of Guelph)

***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.

***Representational Repertoires: Descriptive, Symbolic, and Substantive Representation Among Black Canadian Parliamentarians:*** Erin Tolley (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Much of the scholarship on diversity in politics centres around Hanna Pitkin's (1967) distinction between the descriptive, substantive, and symbolic dimensions of representation. Descriptive representation captures the demographic composition of elected institutions and 'who governs.' Substantive representation focuses on integration of group interests in policymaking and policy outcomes, while symbolic representation captures the potentially transformative effect of more diverse legislatures on attitudes toward historically underrepresented groups. There has been considerable research on the link between these forms of representation in other contexts (e.g., Lowande et al. 2019; Sobolewska et al. 2018; Wallace 2014), but Canadian research has tended to focus primarily on descriptive representation. To the extent that substantive representation has been analyzed in Canadian politics, this work has tended to look at women (e.g., Rayment and McCallion 2023; Tremblay 1998, 2007; Tremblay and Pelletier 2000; Trimble 2006). Very little looks at the representation of racialized Canadians and even less on specific racialized groups (although for exceptions, see Bird 2010; Kwak 2018). As part of a larger project on the experiences of Black Canadians in politics, this paper contributes to this literature through an analysis of parliamentary speeches by Black Canadian Members of Parliament and Senators. Developing the concept of a 'representational repertoire,' the papers

sheds light on the institutional, ideological, geographic, and group-specific factors that shape descriptive, symbolic, and substantive representation. In doing so, it provides a deeper understanding of the opportunities and constraints that Black Canadians confront in their representational work.

*What affects trust in voting online? Evidence from Ontario, Canada:* Nicole Goodman (Brock University), Holly Ann Garnett (Royal Military College)

**Abstract:** In this article we evaluate voter trust in traditional paper ballots and convenience voting methods (telephone, mail) with a specific focus on the most contentious of digital voting modes ? online voting (Hall, 2015). We draw upon two unique data sets of voters in Ontario, Canada ? a representative sample of eligible electors and an exit survey of online voters in the 2022 Ontario municipal elections ? to explore possible covariates of trust in online voting and other voting modes. We then further probe voter trust in online voting by examining whether knowledge about different system variations, and the security they offer, influences voter attitudes and trust. We hypothesize that one way to counter distrust in voting technologies is to use versions that offer greater security and to make the public aware of these features. We consider voter perceptions of several aspects of online voting systems with a specific focus on verifiability, which is regarded as the leading mechanism to check and ensure that election outcomes are correct (Benaloh et al., 2014).

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## A14(b) - Inside the Pink Palace II

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

Chair/Président/Présidente : Peter P. Constantinou (OLIP Director)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Julian Campisi (University of Toronto)

**Paradiplomacy at the Ontario Legislature:** Bridget Carter-Whitney (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** [tentative] The role that provinces play in foreign affairs has been examined within Canadian political science literature with emphases on international trade, treaties, and investment, on the implications to studies of federalism, and the case of Quebec. Research also shows that provinces' positions on the international stages have only become more important since Canada's independence, resulting in their being perceived as region states due to their high levels of participation in paradiplomacy. This paper builds upon the existing literature on the roles Canadian provinces (and Ontario in particular) play in international affairs to broaden its scope beyond solely considering the economic lens that currently predominates. It strives to when and how foreign matters are politically mobilized by elected members of provincial legislatures by examining the factors that precede the addressing of international issues within the Legislature, both in the House and in other legislative activities. Along with a critical examination of relevant literature, I [will] rely upon the first-hand accounts and perspectives provided through interviews with a sample of Ontario's Members of Provincial Parliament which give insights into the internal processes of decision-making regarding international affairs. It is my hope that the findings of this research will clarify whether the current domination of analyses of provinces' international participation which centre on economic incentives neglect to address other ways that international issues may be invoked within provincial legislatures, particularly when there is no formal economic stake tied to the matter.

**The Committee Conundrum: An Analysis of the Oversight Mechanism of Government Agencies:** Razan Akiba (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Through an analysis of the Ontario Legislative Assembly's Government Agencies Committee under a majority, and a prior minority government, this paper will consider the effectiveness of the function of the committee as a mechanism of oversight. This conference paper explores the historical evolution of the Committee on Government Agencies, focusing on its mandate, authority, and the balance between appointments and agency autonomy. In 1990, the committee was empowered to review public appointments with the intention of creating greater transparency in the public appointments process. The committee felt that it should not impede on the government's responsibility to make appointments, but rather, implement an approach that would reflect the principles of fairness and openness. I will investigate the Camp Commission and its role in the origins of government agencies, examining the theoretical versus practical functions of oversight. In addition, through interviews with government and opposition Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs), serving during various sessions of the committee, I will consider how the committee's function changed under majority and minority governments, shedding light on the political dynamics at play. This paper contributes to the ongoing discourse surrounding the partisan nature of government appointments, and the general discourse of committee oversight and its implications for modern governance.

**Party discipline and its impact on legislation, legislators and democracy in Ontario:** Evan Cameron (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Politics is a team sport. Increasingly, in Ontario and across Canada, these teams are becoming more rigid, with politicians who publicly disagree with their party, vote against party legislation, or present a political vulnerability, often being promptly removed from the party. While this hardline party discipline has become commonplace in Canada, with several examples from Ontario since Doug Ford's election in 2018, it is unclear whether this type of partisan politics results in the most effective legislation and representation for citizens. While academics have analyzed the role of party discipline and party unity in Canadian politics, this paper aims to build on this work by asking: is there a viable alternative to Ontario's system of party discipline? To answer this question, this paper analyzes the nature of partisanship in other jurisdictions, the historical trends of partisanship and party discipline in Canada and the firsthand accounts from Ontario's Members of Provincial Parliament on the impact of party discipline in their work. In doing so initially, it becomes clear that the current system of strong party discipline may not always result in the best outcomes for the public, though there is not necessarily a natural alternative within the current system.

**Picking up the Kids from Daycare: Cynicism in Political Staff:** Steffi Burgi (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** There is a running joke among political staff that waiting for Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs) outside of the Chamber after oral question period is akin to waiting to pick up the kids from daycare. This paper investigates if workplace cynicism impacts political staff and how their role as political staff has affected the way they view politics and democracy. Workplace cynicism can be defined as having negative feelings, such as distrust, towards the organization one works for and a general loss of idealism. Political cynicism takes the form of a lack of confidence in the government, revealing feelings that the government is not functioning as it should, based on the individual's expectations. This study contributes to political discourse as there is limited research on political staff and research thus far has not examined the impact of cynicism on political staff. By using semi-structured interviews with a non-random stratified sample of political staff for backbench Ontario MPPs across political parties, this paper aims to understand if and how cynicism affects political staff and how their view of politics and democracy has shifted due to their job.

**Protesting the Pink Palace: MPPs' Attitudes on Political Demonstrations at Queen's Park:** Astrid Krueger (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** In Toronto, the Ontario Legislature at Queen's Park is a popular site for the expression of public discontent through political demonstrations. Though there is scholarly consensus that the number of protests, globally, has increased over the last decade, disagreement remains about the efficacy of



protests in influencing political decisions. Do protests authoritatively affect legislators? policy decisions? Or are they perceived as an essential, if not directly influential, feature of democratic societies? Employing frameworks from the philosophy of language, this paper defines protests as speech acts, and seeks to understand how they are received by policymakers at Queen's Park. This paper asks: what attitudes do Ontario Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs) hold towards protests at Queen's Park? Semi-structured interviews with Ontario MPPs allow for an analysis of the dialectical exchange between protests and legislators in Ontario. This provides insight on the force and effect of protests as speech acts, and how MPPs navigate their legislative responsibility and accountability to public opinion.

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

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

Chair/Président/Présidente : Megan Mattes (Simon Fraser University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Aengus Bridgman (McGill University)

**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), 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(a) - Comparative Populism

### Politique comparée

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Tka Pinnock (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Zeynep Kadirbeyoglu (Brandeis University)

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

*Is there a (universal) right-wing populist voter?:* Kofi Arhin (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: Zémmour'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.

*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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## B14(b) - Author Meets Critic: Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States

### Politique comparée

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1047

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Frédéric Mérand (Université de Montréal)

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

**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-Russia" 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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## C14(a) - La politique étrangère

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : McGill College 2001 1552

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Philippe Lagassé (Carleton University)

**La place de l'Inde dans la stratégie Indopacifique du Canada à l'aune de l'évolution de la relation Inde-Canada:** Nicolas-Francois Perron (Université du Québec à Montréal), Justin Massie (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** L'identité canadienne façonne en partie sa politique étrangère. Elle s'est traduite en différentes cultures stratégiques, soit en différents courants de croyances, normes et cultures hiérarchisant le comportement extérieur. Liée à l'histoire, la géographie et la démographie, cette identité a été influencée par des liens impériaux avec la Grande-Bretagne, un continentalisme nord-américain, ainsi que par un euroatlantisme marqué par l'OTAN. Toutefois, l'élément « Pacifique » du Canada a été relégué au second plan dans la formation de cette identité nationale extérieure. Pourtant, les dernières années ont amené un intérêt nouveau pour la région, notamment avec la publication de la Stratégie Indopacifique en 2022, au sein de laquelle l'Inde y occupe une place prépondérante.

Alors que les diasporas indiennes occupent une place politique croissante au Canada, les révélations du premier ministre Trudeau au sujet de l'assassinat présumé de Hardeep Nijjar, citoyen canadien et leader d'un mouvement indépendantiste sikh, par des agents du gouvernement indien ont entraîné une escalade de tensions entre les deux pays. Dans ce contexte, comment est-ce que l'Inde s'inscrit dans le développement de l'identité indopacifique canadienne en politique étrangère? Nous proposons que la dégradation de ces relations bilatérales pourrait avoir un impact sur cette « identité indopacifique » qui est relativement récente et encore en développement. Nous retraçons le développement de cette identité du Canada et de la place de l'Inde dans celle-ci, à travers une analyse computationnelle des prises de position des élus et des médias canadiens depuis le pivot américain vers l'Asie en 2011, ainsi qu'à travers une série d'entretiens.

**Une politique « post-étrangère » ? Justin Trudeau, l'imaginaire sociétal postnational du Canada et les mythes de la politique étrangère canadienne (2015-2019):** Charles Berthelet (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** L'approche constructiviste a permis d'asseoir le rôle souvent prépondérant de la culture stratégique, de l'identité nationale et d'autres représentations collectives entretenues par les décideurs au sein des États dans la détermination des orientations de leur politique étrangère (PE) respective. Dans ce cadre, des travaux précédents faisant valoir la relation coconstitutive entre identité et intérêts nationaux ont été entrepris afin de cartographier ou de consigner les mythes structurant et agissant la politique étrangère canadienne (PEC), avec pour objectif à la fois d'en éclairer les fonctions premières et d'en révéler la substance même, lesquelles s'avèrent à un certain degré toujours identitaires. Comme le montrent notamment Massie et Roussel (2008), la fonction identitaire de la PEC et de ses mythes constitutifs a pendant très longtemps servi l'objectif et la promotion de l'unité nationale canadienne. Reprenant ce thème, la contribution de ce papier est double : d'une part, il s'agit d'introduire le mythe d'une « nation civique » comme l'une des facettes majeures de l'imaginaire sociétal du Canada ayant opéré en politique intérieure depuis la transformation de l'identité canadienne vers la moitié du 20e siècle ; d'autre part, il s'agit de démontrer (par une analyse des énoncés de PE et de la littérature secondaire pertinente) comment la nouvelle identité dite « postnationale » du Canada proposée par Justin Trudeau lors de son mandat majoritaire initial (2015-2019) procède en fait d'une reconfiguration du mythe de la nation civique tel qu'arrimé au message unificateur plus traditionnel de la PEC et désormais exprimé à travers cette dernière.

**Polarisation, guerre totale, déshumanisation : le discours politique face au terrorisme:** Camille Marquis Bissonnette (Université du Québec en Outaouais)

**Abstract:** La communication proposée présente une analyse comparative des discours politiques ayant suivi les attaques terroristes du 11 septembre 2001 aux États-Unis et du 7 octobre 2023 en Israël. Elle permet d'explorer comment le choc et la sympathie internationale pour les victimes civiles d'une attaque terroriste d'ampleur a dans les deux cas servi de levier à une terminologie justifiant une réponse militaire forte, doublée d'une négation des droits humains des personnes présentées comme étant associées au camp adverses. La présentation trace pour les axes du discours communs à ces deux moments historiques, de la polarisation à la déshumanisation. Elle avance l'idée que la qualification comme terroriste d'une telle attaque, au vu du sens indéterminé, polémique et polarisant de ce mot, contribue à fonder ou à légitimer un telle rhétorique de l'absolu, en contradiction fondamentale de l'esprit du droit international des droits humains; celui-ci ayant à sa base une prise en compte de l'humanité commune et des considérations élémentaires de justice, pour tout être humain.

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## C14(b) - Sino-US Relations

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : McGill College 2001 735

Chair/Président/Présidente : Shehnoor Khurram (York University / Georgetown University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Anessa Kimball (Université Laval)

**Mining, Market and Minds: How US's new lithium mining projects shape foreign Policy Attitudes towards China:** Diya Jiang (McGill University)

**Abstract:** As the US-China rivalry intensifies, the United States and its core allies are becoming increasingly concerned with China's advantageous position in critical mineral supply chains. Indeed, given that minerals such as lithium are critical for the production of batteries, the Biden administration has recently put in place a \$2.8 billion subsidy for the domestic production and processing of critical minerals. The proposed article aims to investigate the effects of recently expanding lithium mining activities on foreign policy attitudes toward China among local populations. Specifically, it will use the Thacker Pass Lithium Mine in Nevada as its main case. The study hypothesizes that economic interests brought by the local lithium production reinforce the China threat perception, fostering more antagonistic foreign policy and trade attitudes towards China locally. These economic considerations may further interact with geopolitical concerns on the national level and thereby contribute to unfavorable public attitude orientations. Adopting a quasi-experimental design, the paper will use time-series public opinion data conducted by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. It identifies several shocks following the approval of the Thacker Pass Lithium Mine and will use them to assess the effect of these shocks on local foreign policy attitudes through a Regression Discontinuity Design. The findings aim to contribute to empirical and theoretical understandings of how local economic projects can shape foreign policy attitudes under the current hegemonic competition.

**?Power? not ?Middle? -middle powers? strategic options in US-China Rivalry:** Yanzhuo Xu (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)

**Abstract:** Great powers transition in international system has brought middle powers into a crossroad. The discussion on middle power's strategic choices between rising power and established power assumed that within a highly asymmetric relationship, middle powers have little autonomy to choose in the great power rivalry. This research investigates three cases, the introduction of Canada's Indo-Pacific Strategy in 2022, South Korea's participation in IPEF in 2022, Turkey's role in Russia-Ukraine War, and argues as US and China continue their competition for influence among other countries?middle powers have increasing autonomy in navigating between great powers. Reliable alliances are not take guaranteed to take sides. The heterogeneity (side with US, side with China, balanced) exhibited by different middle powers in different cases reflexes that middle power affords more leeway in their alignment decisions, rather than strategic dilemma. Self-awareness?threat awareness and self-identity?and subtle calculation of national agendas play more important than geopolitical pressures (regional situation and roles and relationship in alliance) in deciding their strategic choices. Additionally, growing tensions between great powers do not always harm middle powers. Middle powers could be able to gain benefits, rather than damages in take side

**Relationality and Normative Power: China's New International Order:** Theodor Tudoroiu (The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus)

**Abstract:** Using an International Relations Constructivist approach centered on the concepts of normative power and international socialization, this paper argues that the leadership in Beijing has been using a set of Chinese-led multilateral institutions to construct a new international order in the Global South. A key role is played by the Belt and Road Initiative and its prestige infrastructure projects. These projects are used by China as material incentives to socialize the Global South political elites through micro-processes of role playing/mimicking, which add to well-conceived micro-processes of persuasion. The ensuing acceptance of Chinese norms by targeted elites has resulted in the alignment of their states' policies with Beijing's interests and their joining of China's new international order. This is a thick order supported by two Chinese-led globalizations 'from above' and 'from below,' to which a Chinese security community has recently been added. Despite the exploitative nature of the center-periphery relationships established within this order, China's reliance on relationality-based normative power leads to a genuinely cooperative and benevolent attitude that has the potential to create a peaceful and rather humane new international order. However, the multidimensional counteroffensive of the American hegemon is endangering the Chinese socialization process and threatening China militarily. President Xi responded mainly by launching the Global Development and Global Security Initiatives. The latter upgrades China's hard power actorness by establishing a security community. Unfortunately, this is likely to escalate Sino-American tensions and possibly put an end to the cooperative and benevolent nature of the Chinese international order.

**Taiwan: China and the United States political playground:** Clare McKendry (University of Waterloo), Mohamed Elgayar (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** 'He who rides on the back of a tiger is afraid to dismount, for doing so invites its wrath'. This evocative Chinese idiom China observers, in the West, used to understand the challenges of managing the rise of the People's Republic of China (PRC) as a global superpower. China has adopted an increasingly assertive approach to a wide range of issues within the last decade; its self-declared 'core interests' have become a principle of its foreign policy. China's core interest is Taiwan, what it deems a renegade province that must be brought under Beijing's control. Recent tensions have heightened between China and the United States over the 'One China' issue as the former has alleged interference in its internal affairs constituting a violation of its sovereignty. This paper challenges the prevailing view of an imminent U.S.-China conflict over Taiwan, often framed through outdated realist and neorealist paradigms. It challenges the mainstream International Relations theories that cannot account for important cognitive and affective elements in the China-Taiwan issue such as national and civilizational pride, international respect, China's 'century of humiliation', and Confucian values. Exploring these ideational factors and unconventional threats to security overshadowed by mainstream IR theories can help us develop a nuanced understanding of the China-Taiwan issue by incorporating ideational elements into our perspectives. This paper will present what a potential conflict between the United States and China will look like; a conflict of non-confrontation that stems across various domains of politics, technology, and ideological warfare across various proxy conflicts.

*Impacts de la Démocratie et du Socialisme dans la Politique Mondiale Durant les Premières Décennies du XXIe Siècle : une Emphase sur la Chine et les États-Unis d'Amérique: Guy Juillet (Universidad de Belgrano)*

**Abstract:** Durant les premières décennies du XXIe siècle, les deux premières puissances mondiales, principalement en matière d'économie sont les États-Unis d'Amérique et la Chine. Ils ont tous deux une économie qui se base sur le système capitaliste, mais du point de vue politique, la Chine est enracinée par un régime politique socialiste orchestré par le Parti Communiste Chinois qui est le parti unique du pays et celui-ci embrasse les idéologies de Marx et d'Engels. Cependant, du côté des États-Unis d'Amérique, les idéologies politiques se fondent sur la démocratie, là où les leaders politiques doivent mener des luttes pour prendre le pouvoir à travers les élections. Et, d'une manière ou d'une autre ce pays prône les valeurs de base de la démocratie, à savoir : la liberté d'expression, la transparence et les droits humains, tant sur le plan interne qu'externe.

Donc, dans le cadre de ce travail de recherche, nous utiliserons la méthode qualitative en nous appuyant grandement sur la méthode comparative afin de pouvoir identifier et comprendre les impacts du socialisme et de la démocratie dans la politique mondiale. Sans nul doute, le socialisme et la démocratie sont deux grands courants de pensées politiques qui influencent le monde, surtout ils sont pratiqués par deux puissances très fortes sur les plans géopolitique, militaire, économique et autres. En ce sens, l'analyse de ce sujet apportera une nouvelle contribution dans le champ des sciences sociales, principalement la science politique, car il abordera le socialisme et la démocratie tant sur le plan politique que culturel.

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## C14(c) - Generating Environmental Effectiveness

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : McGill College 2001 461

Chair/Président/Présidente : Sam Rowan (Concordia University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Michael Lipson (Concordia University)

*Persuasion and United Nations Environmental Politics:* Michael Manulak (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** As the international community relies increasingly on non-binding political commitments and communications technologies lead international actors to weave ever-denser webs of social interaction, the capacity to persuade in global affairs has never been more important. Yet, as Robert O. Keohane observes, persuasion remains a missing concept within International Relations theory. Drawing on literature on bounded rationality and cognitive psychology, this paper develops a model of persuasion. It uses insights on temporal factors in international affairs to shed light on how actor preferences can shift in response to persuasion attempts, demonstrating the role of 'persuasion windows' and temporal satisficing in shaping preference formation and change. Using interviews and a detailed archival analysis, the plausibility of the model is probed through a qualitative case study analysis of a persuasion attempt by the secretary-general of the 1972 Stockholm Conference, Maurice Strong, toward Brazil. In addition to demonstrating the plausibility of the model, the case makes an important empirical contribution to understanding the history of UN environmental governance. Constructive Brazilian engagement at the UN conference paved the way to success in Stockholm, to the creation of UNEP, and to the subsequent sustainable development agenda.

*A QCA Analysis of the Recipe for Effective Science-Policy Interplay in Multilateral Environmental Agreements:* Véronique Fournier (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** How are effective scientific recommendations produced in multilateral environmental agreements? Effectiveness refers to the level of uptake by decision-makers of the recommendations of their subsidiary scientific bodies. This paper examines how the management of the science-policy relationship by these scientific bodies within MEAs impacts their recommendations uptake. While International Relations literature suggests a separation of science and policy for consensus-building before advising decision-makers, Science and Technology Studies literature offers different insights. National case studies reveal that scientific advice is more influential when scientific bodies draw from diverse knowledge sources and regularly engage with decision-makers. This is contrasted with isolated scientific bodies who only communicate their final results. Factors like power imbalances among Member States and the subsidiary scientific body's mandate can also affect recommendation uptake. This article employs a qualitative comparative analysis to determine how the combinations of these factors impact the effectiveness of recommendations from 14 subsidiary scientific bodies in MEAs. For assessing varying levels of effectiveness, it builds on a questionnaire sent to the decision-makers about their perception of the scientific recommendations. These scientific bodies, as policy-prescriptive entities with direct access to international decision-makers, play a pivotal role in providing evidence-based policies for complex environmental issues. By understanding the factors behind effective scientific recommendations, this paper informs the design of these bodies within international organizations. This also contributes to better comprehend their role in effective MEAs implementation. This research enhances our knowledge of international institution design by incorporating insights from STS scholars regarding effective science-policy interplay.

*Shared Understandings, Legitimacy and Legality: Ingredients to Norm Evolution and Diffusion:* Laurie Durel (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Extensive literature has studied the role of legitimacy in maintaining compliance with international organizations or international norms. Yet, little research has studied the role of legitimacy for the evolution of norms and shared understandings of legality. We combine this literature with the interactional international law framework that provides that the first step of the evolution of international norms can come from shared understandings among actors, which can influence norms' legality and legitimacy. We apply a vector autoregression (VAR) approach to an original dataset covering the evolution of the debate on the legality of the carbon border adjustment mechanism (CBAM) between 2002 and 2021 in the European Union and the legal literature. We find that legal scholarship is particularly influenced by policymakers. In addition, we find strong support that a positive assessment of the legitimacy of the CBAM leads to a positive assessment of its legality. This paper opens a new methodological avenue to apply inferential analysis methods to international law. The results of this research are of interest to scholars looking at the evolution of international norms and institutions and the impact of legitimacy on this process.

*Compliance with Climate Targets:* Sam Rowan (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Empirical research on international cooperation increasingly focuses on how international agreements change states' behaviour rather than earlier questions about compliance. This turn, which is common across diverse issue areas such as finance and human rights, reflects supposedly fundamental theoretical problems with compliance as a concept and empirical problems with disentangling compliant behaviour from other country characteristics. However, developments in the design of international climate agreements provide innovations for re-examining compliance. I explain how climate mitigation targets present methodological advantages, such as providing clear indicators for compliance, prior trends, and observability. At the same time, these targets are also impacted by more general endogeneity and benchmarking issues. Empirically, I demonstrate that compliance to date with climate targets under the Paris Agreement is worse for countries with more ambitious targets. If governments ratchet their targets while failing to meet them, this could increase concerns about hypocrisy in climate politics.



## D14 - Canadian Constitutionalism

### Droit et analyse de politiques

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

Chair/Président/Présidente : Andrea Lawlor (McMaster University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Christa Scholtz (McGill University)

*Judicial Legitimacy in Turbulent Times:* Erin Crandall (Acadia University), Andrea Lawlor (McMaster University), Shauna Hughey (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** There is longstanding public support for the Supreme Court of Canada. However, the sources of this support and how vulnerable it may be to political factors or scandals are not as well understood in contexts outside of the US. In February of 2023, Supreme Court Justice, Russell Brown, took a leave of absence from the Supreme Court following a conduct complaint under review by the Canadian Judicial Council. He stepped down in June of that year. We take advantage of this natural experiment to assess whether perspectives toward Brown's actions hurt (even temporarily) perceptions of the Court's legitimacy. To do so, we provide initial findings from an original two-wave survey experiment (n=2000) from May and November of 2023 that measures public perceptions of the Court and court support more broadly. This work contributes to the growing body of literature that looks at attitudes toward apex courts and how shifting ideological and political landscapes may undermine the longstanding and broad-based support for the Supreme Court of Canada.

*The Federal Principle and Unwritten Constitutionalism:* Emmett Macfarlane (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** Unwritten constitutional principles are said to provide fundamental guidance explaining and underpinning our system of government. The Supreme Court has drawn from a set of principles, including but not limited to federalism, the rule of law, minority rights, and democracy, to fill gaps in the constitutional text. While a majority of the Court recently determined that unwritten principles could not be applied independent of textual provisions of the Constitution to invalidate legislation, they remain of considerable interpretative significance, including in the creation of new constitutional rules. The principle of federalism is arguably the one that sits most uncomfortably as an unwritten principle, or even as a principle. Federalism is a structure literally embodied in the constitutional division of powers, and much of the very purpose of the Constitution Act, 1867 was to entrench its various features in text-based law, not only in the division of powers itself but also in design features of national institutions and various entrenched bargains of Confederation. This paper will examine the federal principle and argue that it ultimately should not be regarded as a principle at all. This is because it does not serve to coherently embody underlying constitutional norms. Instead, it is a device that arises in contexts where fundamental disagreements about the nature of Canadian federalism are brought to the fore, one ultimately employed politically and strategically by courts, and in an inconsistent fashion.

*The Fragmented State and Crown Immunity in Ontario:* Dennis Baker (University of Guelph), Byron Sheldrick (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** A basic precept of the Rule of Law is that it applies universally, even against those who make the law. This principle gives normative support to statutes, like the Proceedings Against the Crown Act, that willingly exposes the state to liability when it would otherwise be immune by common law. However principled, the post-war development of expanded state liability can also be understood as a function of the increasing complexity of the state. If the state were a simple unitary entity, the surrender of immunity might be seen as contrary to obvious self-interest. The fragmentation of the state with its multiple actors often working against each other's interest internally facilitated the legislative curtailment of immunity.

Understanding state fragmentation and distinguishing between state actors holding legislative power from those that do not helps reveal the legal-political dynamics of controversies over state liability in Ontario, including recent attempt to enhance or restore immunity with the 2019 Crown Liabilities and Proceeding Act (found wanting in *Francis v. Ontario*, 2021 ONCA 197, but successfully used in *Bowman v. Ontario*, 2022 ONCA 477). It also helps explain why governments might seek to define and expand core policy immunity (Marchi 2021 SCC 41) in some contexts and why they might be reluctant to do so in others. Further expansion of statutory Crown immunity could encourage courts to regulate the power constitutionally. This prospect, along with other potential outcomes, will be surveyed.

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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 :** UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin, 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5020

**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 :

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=114](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=114)

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

**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)

**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 sur 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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## G14 - New Approaches in Critical Political Economy

### Économie politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

Chair/Président/Présidente : Devin Penner (Trent University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Devin Penner (Trent University)

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

*The Political Economy of Emotion: Unpacking the Affective Dynamics of Mental Health:* A.T. Kingsmith (OCAD University)

**Abstract:** Recent reports from the UN and WHO have called for global reform in mental health treatment practices, which often fail to address the operations of power and inequality in mental health care settings. Amidst this re-evaluation of mental health diagnostics, my paper explores the potentials of an Affective Political Economy (APE) approach ? a novel analytical lens for diagnosing and understanding mental health challenges within the ambit of socio-economic and political determinants. Challenging the current biomedical model?s isolation of mental health from its societal context, APE posits that psychological distress is not merely an individual malfunction, but a manifestation of systemic socio-economic conditions perpetuated by a neoliberal ?structure of feeling? and its commensurate norms and ideologies.

The inquiry employs a multi-layered method of analysis, drawing on ?affective economics,? critical political economy, and psychoanalysis to deconstruct the social and technical configurations of neoliberalism that shape emotional states. In doing so, it critiques the dominant narrative of personal responsibility for one?s well-being, instead highlighting how broader forces of inequality and political disempowerment underlie mental health issues. Juxtaposing the APE framework against the prevailing biomedical emphasis on productivity and self-optimization, the paper advances theoretical discussions on the material underpinnings of widespread anxiety and depression. By re-framing these mental health challenges as materially and historically situated, it underscores the theoretical significance of considering emotional states as intertwined with economic and social structures, offering insights that call for a more holistic policy approach to mental health that is sensitive to everyday political and economic realities.

*Rethinking Equal Footing in Global Digital Tax Governance:* Badriyya Yusuf (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** In line with the conference theme of approaches, knowledges, and methods for the world tomorrow, this paper challenges conventional boundaries in the field of political science. Using an agential constructivist theoretical lens, a framework which breaks free from orthodox international relation theories, the paper explores contestations, debates, and developments in addressing contemporary challenges of taxation in a digital global economy. The paper presents findings from recently conducted research examining significant shifts, the growing influence, and participation of the Global South in international tax, an arena which has traditionally been described as ?an entrenched political space? where privileged positions are maintained by dominating the debate and decision-making procedures. The paper traces how Resolution 77/244 for the promotion of inclusive and effective international tax cooperation at the United Nations was adopted by the General Assembly on 30 December 2022. Support for the resolution was galvanized by the 54 member-country African Group at the UN. The resolution grants the UN a mandate to begin intergovernmental talks on taxation and the creation of new global tax frameworks and institutions. The resolution follows a highly contested but historic global tax agreement brokered by the OECD and G20 countries in October 2021, prior to which international tax rules had largely remained unchanged for over five decades.

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## H14(a) - The Political Theory of Populism #2: Competing Definitions

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 365

Chair/Président/Présidente : Lincoln Rathnam (Duke Kunshan University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : William Gregson (University of Toronto)

*?Populist Backlash? Is an Oxymoron: On Ernesto Laclau's Radical Realism:* Jun-han Yon (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Political theorists (and scientists) today often associate populism with backlash. Populism is considered a reaction to the procedural consensus of constitutional democracy that would undermine citizens' equal political rights and membership in a polity. Through a symptomatic reading of the popular usage of 'populist backlash' in academia, this paper demonstrates an inaptness of the knowledge on democratic politics that political theorists often rely upon to discredit populism's democratic credentials. I argue that the notion of populist backlash exhibits political theory's incapacity to capture (or unwillingness to take seriously) the widespread and frequent tendency in actually-existing democracies to distort, detract, and dismiss the claims made from the margins of society against social and political inequalities. Backlash is a central feature of democratic politics as we know it. This paper turns to Ernesto Laclau's oft-neglected 'radical realist' critique of modern constitutional democracy to substantiate its core argument. Laclau is best known for his theory of populism, where he argues for the necessity of antagonism in promoting democracy's egalitarian cause. While Laclau's position is often denounced by his critical and sympathetic commentators as fundamentally anti-democratic, such an evaluation rather reflects critics' idealized view of democratic politics, which significantly understates power asymmetries within this process. This paper reads Laclau as offering an epistemological-methodological critique of the liberal paradigm of democratic politics to not only shed new light on Laclau's political thought but also call for a renewed understanding of what genuinely democratic politics should be amid persistent and pervasive backlash.

*Something new, something borrowed, something old: A conceptual clarification of classic and contemporary definitions of populism.:* Marc Hooghe (Université de Louvain)

**Abstract:** Already in the 18th and 19th century, the concept of "populism" was used to describe a distinct form of political ideology. In recent decades, however, the concept has acquired a new meaning, with an emphasis on a hostility toward the (political) elite. In the current paper, we first review both these historical and contemporary definitions of the concept, before addressing the theoretical question whether this historical concept is still informative for current theoretical debates about extreme challenger parties in liberal democracies.

*Narrating Stories of Peoplehood: A Scientific or Aesthetic Practice?:* Agnes Tam (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Some political theorists (MacIntyre, 2007; Taylor, 1989) have long argued that narratives play a crucial role in shaping shared identities, which are essential for the orientation of political communities. The central premise of this argument relies on the structural conception of narrative, which posits that a coherent narrative structure has the capacity to unify otherwise disjointed events and fragmented values within a community, forming a meaningful whole. Narrative politics is currently experiencing a resurgence in various subfields of political science. Narrative identity has been shown to fuel populism (Smith, 2021) and extremism (Katsafanas, 2022), forge coalitions (Shenav et al. 2014), sustain movements (Polletta et al., 2011), and facilitate justice (Moody-Adams, 2021) and decolonization (Lu, 2023).

In this paper, I aim to contribute to the ongoing revival of narrative by deepening our understanding of the nature of narrative. Specifically, I contend that the existing structural conception of narrative fails to differentiate between scientific and literary narratives. Although both scientific and literary narratives share a similar structural representation of a sequence of events, they present a certain coherence and implied significance. Literary narratives, however, are distinct works of art, striving for aesthetic qualities. Drawing on the philosophy of literature and history (Danto, 1981; White, 2014; de Bres, 2021), I explore two aesthetic qualities, namely, engagement and sublimity, and analyze how powerful political narratives typically embody these qualities. The paper not only provides more specific guidance on which stories to tell but also clarifies the normative potential and risks associated with narrative politics.

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## H14(b) - Human Rights and Necropolitics

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 391 and/et Zoom (see details/voir détails)

Chair/Président/Présidente : Zarlashat Muhammad Razeq (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Loren King ()

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

*Necropolitics and Authoritarian (Re)making: Putting the Brotherhood ?to Death? and Surveillance Strategies following Egypt?s 2013 Military Takeover:* Sarah Hynek (Sheridan College)

**Abstract:** This proposal contributes to theoretical debates on contemporary formations of biopolitical and necropolitical power, defined as the politics to let live or to constrain (the conditions for) life up to and including death. Drawing inspiration from Michel Foucault and Achille Mbembe, scholars have theorized these power dynamics in the political creation of death-worlds, where certain groups inhabit spaces of exceptionality which shape them in relation to death. However, lacking from this scholarship is theorizing biopolitical/necropolitical power under authoritarian (re)making following a revolutionary period or political transition. This article begins to fill this knowledge gap by examining the reconfiguration of biopolitical/necropolitical space during Egypt?s authoritarian restoration following the 2013 military takeover which violently removed the Muslim Brotherhood from public life. The work draws from fieldwork and interviews conducted with activists in opposition to the military-regime and demonstrates how severe political violence became normalized to craft new necropolitical imaginaries under the military-regime.

*People, (Necro)Politics, AIDS, and the Covid-19 Virus:* Savannah Ribeiro (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** What do the public health responses to HIV/AIDS in the 1980s and COVID-19 in 2020 reveal about necropolitics, and what does this reveal about (neo)liberal politics? Necropolitics is the subjugating of life to the power of death, and is therefore a pertinent theoretical basis through which to examine pandemic responses. Achille Mbembe theoretically grounded necropolitics in Michel Foucault?s biopolitics, which was theorised as an organizing principle that regulates biological life. I link this strand of political theory with Giorgio Agamben and Judith Shklar and use the resulting framework to ground my analysis, which compares the public health responses of each pandemic in Canada. Epidemiology literature, archival material, and government and health authority publications support my argument that a lack of public health measures results in relegating certain populations to exist in a suspended social state and are designated as acceptable losses in service of political and economic concerns. There are certain groups who are more likely to fall ill and die from infection. The effect of leaving a virus unchecked is that these groups are subjugated to the increased possibility of infection and death. This theoretical paper extends necropolitics by showing that a lack of action can be as devastating as direct violence, and it builds upon biopolitical and necropolitical theory through an analysis of the impacts of public health responses. I conclude that neoliberalism constitutes a style of necropolitics because the determination of who may live and who must die is premised on maintaining current socioeconomic and political arrangements.

*What We Owe To The Dead:* Jordan Walters (McGill University)

**Abstract:** What, if anything, do we owe to the dead? The nihilist says: nothing at all, because the dead lack all the morally relevant properties of the living. The extrinsic view says: something, because the living have an interest in how we treat the dead. I reject the nihilist view. But I?m not out to convince the nihilist that they are wrong. My goal is to convince proponents of the extrinsic view to adopt the intrinsic view, which says that we ought to respect the dead, not because the living have an interest in our doing so (for they might not care at all), but rather because of some intrinsic feature of the dead. But what could the intrinsic feature be? I argue that the dead are intrinsically lovable, that being loveable necessarily entails being valuable, and that the dead are worthy of a distinctive kind of love and are thus valuable in a distinctive sort of way.

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## H14(c) - Roundtable: Reading George Grant in the 21st Century

### Théorie politique

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 395

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Tyler Chamberlain (Trinity Western University)

D.H. Forbes (University of Toronto)

Colin Cordner (Carleton University)

Brian Thorn (Nipissing University)

Tim Berk (University of Toronto)

Scott Staring (Georgian College)

Toivo Koivukoski (Nipissing University)

Tyler Chamberlain (Trinity Western University)

David Tabachnick (Nipissing University)

**Abstract:** George Parkin Grant (1918-1988) was one of Canada's foremost public philosophers. Though his thought arose out of reflection on the history of political philosophy, pressing political concerns were never far from view. He was particularly adept at locating the causes of political developments in philosophical movements that were centuries in the making. This roundtable discussion will reassess his ideas in light of philosophical and political developments of recent decades, including the resurgence of nationalism, criticisms of globalization and technocracy, and the ideological realignments having a particularly noticeable effect on right-wing politics.

This roundtable panel features contributors to a recent edited volume on George Grant, *Reading George Grant in the 21st Century* (Tyler Chamberlain, editor). Each chapter in the book looks at Grant from the vantage point of the 21st century, either by putting him in conversation with contemporary thinkers (or thinkers who continue to have an influence in contemporary politics) or by analyzing emerging political issues in light of Grant's ideas or emphases. Each of the speakers on this panel reflects on Grant's broader criticisms of modernity from within a slightly different historical articulation of modernity. Though George Grant died in 1988, the philosophical themes in his work remain relevant into the 21st century.

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## H14(d) - The Politics of Workplaces

### Théorie politique

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** UQAM, Pavillon Paul-Gérin-Lajoie (N), 1205 St-Denis, room/classroom N-4050

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jimmy Lim (National University of Singapore)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** David McGrane (University of Saskatchewan)

***An Epistemological Critique of Pseudo Gig Work: Entitlement Claiming and Unjust Epistemic Burdens:*** Chi Kwok (Lingnan University), On Tai (Lingnan University)

**Abstract:** Recent research indicates that expanding businesses are increasingly utilizing 'pseudo' gig work to avoid providing full benefits to their workers, even when these workers essentially function as regular employees, receiving instructions from the firm and performing routine tasks daily. The existing literature has extensively critiqued this kind of gig work, primarily emphasizing the material deprivations, transfer of risk, and structural inequalities faced by workers. Building on the literature of epistemic injustice, this article introduces an epistemic critique of pseudo gig work, highlighting the unfair knowledge-based challenges workers face when trying to assert their rights and entitlements. This article makes two contributions. First, it introduces an additional normative basis for critiquing pseudo gig work by shedding light on the epistemic burdens borne by workers. Second, it illustrates these challenges and the unfair disadvantages encountered by workers using specific legal cases as examples.

***Compassionate Economy towards Democratic Equality: Rethinking Distributive Justice with Zen Buddhism:*** Yang-Yang Cheng (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Relational egalitarianism challenges distributive conceptions of justice in arguing that the point of equality is not to ensure the equal distribution of certain goods but to eliminate oppression and promote democratic equality where people relate to one another as social equals. Yet, the distributive implications of relational egalitarianism require further investigation, because the ideal of relational equality cannot be achieved without more just economic distribution and redistribution. To better understand what distributive principles and institutions affirm relational egalitarianism's commitment to democratic equality, this paper draws on Zen Buddhist insights into inter-being and suffering to develop an account of a compassionate economy. The paper's central argument is that the practice of compassion further advances relational egalitarianism's project of eliminating oppression. Zen Buddhism is helpful in this regard by uncovering the interplay between the cultivation of the mind (inner transformation) and socioeconomic reform (outer transformation). Specifically, a compassionate economy involves overcoming three unwholesome mental states on both personal and institutional levels: Greed, hatred, and delusion not only cause personal suffering but are also institutionalized in the capitalistic economy, which reproduces social suffering. A compassionate economy fosters social relations in which people seek to transcend self-attachment and care for one another as equals. The paper's normative intervention is twofold: The first is to join the endeavors of Comparative Political Theory to decolonize and democratize Political Theory by thinking with marginalized traditions of thought to address contemporary political issues. The second is to make a case for compassion's critical role in promoting democratic equality.

***Customers and Worker Freedom:*** Spencer McKay (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** The domination of workers is a major concern for political theorists. While much has been said about the relationship between firms and workers, much less consideration has been given to the relationship between workers and the clients or customers that they encounter. Workers often mediate the relationship between their employer and its customers. Customers can leverage various mechanisms – including money, reputation, and authority – to enable or undermine the standing and autonomy of workers. I consider how workers might effectively set boundaries on customer control. This might include reshaping their direct relationships with customers by shirking, sharing information, or making themselves illegible. It may also include contesting the conditions of their employment through unionization or other mechanisms of collective action.

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## J14 - Roundtable: Big Worlds ? Politics and Elections in the Canadian Provinces and Territories

Politique provinciale et territoriale au Canada et au-delà

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1041

J.P. Lewis (University of New Brunswick)

Loleen Berdahl (University of Saskatchewan)

Jim Farney (University of Regina)

Royce Koop (University of Manitoba)

Bryan Peeler (University of Manitoba)

Don Desserud (University of Prince Edward Island)

Lisa Young (University of Calgary)

Bianca Jamal (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** Supported by data and funding from C-Dem, the purpose of Big Worlds Second Edition is to update 2016?s Big Worlds: Politics and Elections in the Canadian Provinces and Territories with new data, a revised contributor roster and up-to-date depictions of the respective provincial political landscapes. The collection will continue to be inspired by Christopher Dunn?s lament that ?there has clearly been an ebb from the high tide of comparative provincial studies in the 1970s and early 1980s? (2001: 441). Since 2016 much has changed in the political world that provides reason for an updated examination of provincial politics. The rise of populism, the global COVID-19 pandemic and major upheavals in provincial party systems and leadership have contributed to a dramatic decade in provincial politics since the initial prospectus for the first edition was written in 2013. The roundtable will feature select contributors to the collection with a discussion of the provincial politics and elections with a focus on the province?s political culture, party system and the most recent provincial/territorial election.

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## L14 - Contested and Selective Openings and Closures: Immigration and Refugee Politics and Policy Legacies in Canada

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

**Date** : Jun 13 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Gerald Kernerman (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Gerald Kernerman (York University)

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

***Competing Moral Economies of Migration in Canada:*** John Carlaw (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper maps and offers assessment of competing political projects of migration and belonging in Canada through the lens of competing moral economies of migration (Ambrosini 2022) using a critical discourse policy analysis (CDPA) approach to examine publicly available documents produced by a wide variety of political actors across the country's settler colonial political landscape (Montesano Montessori, Farrelly, and Mulderrig 2019). It examines projects and approaches to migration and belonging in civil society, political parties, and the state to identify emerging threats to, and possibilities for a more inclusive politics of belonging in Canada at a discursive and policy level. From the far right to centre of Canadian politics, this includes both 'extreme' and mainstreamed discourses and policies of exclusion. In the contested political centre and from migrant-led movements, this includes examining approaches to policy and language amidst Canada's shifting immigration model, particularly conceptions and critiques of (the limits of) policies of conditional 'pathways' to permanent residence, unprecedented increases in permanent and temporary migration, and policy changes concerning access to refugee protection that have been increasingly contested and hold particular and tremendous importance for members of society with precarious, temporary and uncertain migration statuses and futures.

***An (Old/) New Approach to Refugees? From Token Humanitarianism to Commodification:*** Sedef Arat-Koç (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** This paper explores and interrogates what may be crystallizing as an (old/) new pattern in refugee selection policies and practices in Canada. Starting with the Covid 19 pandemic, we have seen the emergence of 'guardian angels' programs, whereby some provincial governments responded to labour shortages in the healthcare sector by recruiting asylum seekers already in Canada and promising them potential refugee status. More recently, the Economic Mobility Pathways Pilot (EMPP) Project is used to hand-pick and import healthcare workers from refugee camps around the world. The Canadian Government, along with some other governments and international organizations, is now one of the founding members of a Global Task Force on Refugee Labour Mobility. The paper suggests that in an international climate of anti-refugee attitudes and policies, these new practices seem to represent increasing commodification of refugees. The Canadian Government frames its new programs in a (partially) charitable discourse, presenting them as a 'win win' case, mutually beneficial to refugees and to Canada. The paper interrogates the nature and various implications of the new trend in refugee selection: for the refugees themselves as well as for the integrity of an already fragile refugee protection regime nationally and internationally.

***Crafting Procedural Hurdles: How Bureaucratic Norms Contribute to Immigration Policy Legacies:*** Nicholas Fraser (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Can liberal states control immigration? The 'no,' side of this debate emphasizes lobbying and litigation used to create formal rights for immigrants. While the 'yes,' side focuses on policy learning triggered by the political salience of public opposition. Yet, liberal states have simultaneously admitted asylum seekers based on norms and learned how to effectively deter them to maximize control over immigration. Challenging the assumption that policy legacies stem from choices between formal rights or control measures, this paper theorizes the role of bureaucratic discretion in explaining policy outcomes. It shows how immigration agencies' reputation and decision-making practices account for why similar policy reforms led to higher (Canada) or lower asylum recognition rates (Ireland, Japan) absent politically mobilized opposition and despite similar applicant pools, geographic buffers with sending countries, and successful rights advocacy. Drawing on unique qualitative data, the author demonstrates how bureaucratic culture influences liberal states' ability to control immigration.

***Contemporary Trajectories of the Politics of Refugee Protection and Resettlement in Canada:*** Kushan Azadah (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the state of Canada's 'battleground' of refugee resettlement and asylum from 2016-2023 in the country's settler colonial context. In the political centre, despite discursive and some policy shifts with the change from a Conservative (2006-2015) to a Liberal government in 2015, decision-making has resulted in continued precarity for many asylum-seekers and refugees, as evidenced by their COVID-19 experiences and the differential treatment they receive by form of arrival and national origin, such as intensified state efforts to prevent claimants from entering Canada via the United States and stark disparities in access to refugee resettlement to the country. Asylum seekers have been the targets not only of discursive exclusion from the far and mainstream political right in a manner influenced by exclusionary transnational discourses, but in policy terms from the centrist Liberal government. This study employs a critical discourse policy analysis (CDPA) of civil society, political party, and government actors based on analyses of their platforms, manifestos, and policy stances promulgated amidst this turmoil. This study investigates currents of political polarization and contestation pushing in both exclusionary and inclusive directions. It elucidates the substantive politics of migration and societal membership on offer for asylum seekers and refugees at this important juncture, as well as its normative horizons and trajectories moving forward.

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## N14(a) - Gender Based Violence and Secrecy

### Femmes, genre et politique

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Christina Doonan (Memorial University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Christina Doonan (Memorial University)

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

***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?

***How do Canadian Political Parties Respond to Allegations of Sexual Violence: To Sanction or Not to Sanction?:*** Claire Mountford (16cim1@queensu.ca)

**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.

***Women leaders' roles in disaster management:*** 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. 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.

***The Stereotypical Media Representation in the Context of Combating Gender-Based Violence Related to Refugee Women: a Study Through the Newspaper Le Monde.:*** Gabriela Rabello de Lima (Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM))

**Abstract:** Feminist media framing studies have been conducted to examine how stereotypes created by mass media contribute to popular understandings of rape culture (Durocher, 2020). Because of a lack of empirical research on gender violence in the context of migration, this article seeks to understand how the representation of refugee women in media may reinforce stigmas associated with immigration. Based on the researches of media framing

(Benedict, 1992) and coverage of violence against women (LeBlanc, 2021 ; Sampert, 2010 ; Zaccour & Lessard, 2021), we focused on examining the stereotypes present in this area of research, adopting the principles of intersectional feminist media analysis (Harvey, 2020) and feminist critical discourse analysis (Lazar, 2018). In order to achieve this goal, this study used the method of discourse analysis, focusing on enunciative techniques (Turbide et al., 2019). The study is based on a news article published by the French newspaper Le Monde on September 18, 2023. The findings revealed a dichotomy in the representation of women, highlighting the importance of the active voice of French workers, as opposed to the tendency to portray refugee women as passive victims of violence. Furthermore, the functions of the discourse reported in the news, with emphases on nationality and the violence suffered by these women, contribute to the construction of a certain portrait of these women while ignoring the centrality of their condition as asylum seekers in France. As its main contribution, this article focuses on how media produces stereotypes (Amossy & Pierrot, 1997/2021), using intersectional dimensions.

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## N14(b) - GBA+ in Policy Analysis I

### Femmes, genre et politique

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Baowen Liang (Université de Montréal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Candace Johnson (University of Guelph)

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

***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)

**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)

**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.

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

### Praticiens

**Date :** Jun 13 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1165

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Carol-Ann Rouillard (Université de Sherbrooke)

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

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[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=105](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=105)

*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.

*The Construction of Climate Change in Canadian National Print Media:* Alizee Pillod (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Formulating effective climate policies requires support from the population, which is often difficult to obtain. For many, climate change remains a psychologically distant issue, with its most significant impacts thought to be far from home. People often struggle to translate their self-declared intentions into concrete actions, and climate policies are still considered a contentious subject. Researchers have focused on communication strategies to increase the social acceptability of climate action. Framing, or the act of highlighting certain aspects of an issue to promote a particular definition of it, plays a key role. A problem can be defined or framed in different ways, and those retained frequently determine the choice of solutions. The media can play a crucial role in the public's understanding of the issue and their adherence to pro-climate policies. However, to our knowledge, there is no study that comprehensively explores climate change framing in the Canadian print newspapers and how their characteristics and visibility have evolved over time since the problem was established on public and political agendas in the late 1980s. This study introduces a comprehensive database of climate change-related articles from eight major Canadian newspapers. Using NLP techniques, we analyze the prevalence of different frames, their visibility, and characteristics across geographical, temporal, and linguistic dimensions. This research sheds light on framing dynamics that could inform climate communication practices in different cultural settings.

*Multilevel Climate Governance: Assessing Citizen Perspectives on Governmental Responsibility:* Jérémy Gilbert (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.

**Abstract:** I compare climate policy experimentation in BC and Quebec, drawing on fifteen key informant interviews conducted between 2020-2023. As is perhaps well known, the BC carbon tax, adopted in 2008, is widely acknowledged as having applied a textbook version of the instrument, that achieved parity with the Canadian federal carbon pricing backstop of \$65 CDN per tCO<sub>2</sub>e in 2023. In contrast, Quebec introduced an emissions trading system in 2013 that has been linked with a similar system in California since 2014. Prices obtained on the California-Quebec carbon market have attained \$47 CDN in late 2023 which, while considerably higher than the market's price floor, is significantly less than in BC. Despite this, emissions in BC have grown 15% since 1990 (1% below 2007 levels) whereas in Quebec, emissions within provincial boundaries have declined 13% below 1990 levels over the same period and by as much as 27% below when including emission reduction allowances purchased from California via the carbon market. What explains such divergent outcomes? A focus on carbon pricing alone does not do justice to the broad array of different policies deployed in the two jurisdictions to reign in emissions as well as historically stronger support for industrial policy in Quebec. Comparison of Quebec and BC climate policy over the longue durée supports the identification of a broad policy sequence for successful decarbonization, whereby strong state-led efforts for transformation of the energy sector create positive political feed-back effects that allow for the acceleration of decarbonization actions later on.

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## Day 2 - CPSA President's Dinner / Dîner du président de l'ACSP (06:30pm - 11:59pm)

### R15 - CPSA President's Dinner / Dîner de la présidente de l'ACSP

#### Événements spéciaux

Date : Jun 13 2023 | Heure : 06:30pm - 11:59pm | Salle : Restaurant Ruby Rouge, 1008 Rue Clark, Montreal, Quebec. H2Z 1J9

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

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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 :** J-1187 (accessible via J-1200) Pavillon Judith-Jasmin, Université du Québec à Montréal (405, rue Sainte-Catherine Est)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Dominic Duval (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Lisa Birch (Université Laval)

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*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) - Une convergence des luttes? Le complotisme au c?ur de l'écossystème réactionnaire de droite

### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1041

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** David Morin (Université de Sherbrooke, Chaire UNESCO en prévention de la radicalisation et de l'extrémisme violents)

**Co-Chair/Président/Présidente :** Marie-Eve Carignan (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)

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**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 métropolitique 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 (Karlof 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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## A16(c) - Candidate Diversity in Canadian Politics

### Politique canadienne

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Jacob Robbins-Kanter (Bishop's University)

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

*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(d) - Opportunities for and Challenges of Reconciliation in Canada

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

Chair/Président/Présidente : Karen Bird (McMaster University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Karen Bird (McMaster University)

*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 Côté (Memorial University), Matthew Mitchell (University of Saskatchewan), Andrew Grant (Queen's University), Dimitri Panagos (Memorial University), Louis-Charles Vaillancourt (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:* 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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## B16(a) - Multilevel Governance, Policy, and Participation

### Politique comparée

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Manon Laurent (Collège de France)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Lauchlan Munro (University of Ottawa)

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

*Innovation in Korea and Sweden: Policies and Pathways:* Shirley Anne Scharf (Centre for International Governance Innovation)

**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'.

*Implementation of EU Data Protection Instruments: Compliance and Discretion at the Subnational Level:* Matthieu Niederhauser (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)

**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 policymakers 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.



*Just Urban Futures? Examining Canadian Participation in the 100 Resilient Cities Network*: Marlene Terstiege (University of Toronto), Sarah E. Sharma (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** 100 Resilient Cities (100RC), established by the Rockefeller Foundation in 2013, sought to lead urban centers in a transnational resilience network. The 100RC Network aimed to change the way municipalities address contemporary risks posed by the physical, economic, and social challenges of the 21st century. In 2019, the Network was abruptly concluded, leading us to examine the outcomes of the 100RC approach in four participating Canadian cities: Calgary, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. We ask: how did Canadian cities design and implement resilience through the 100RC in terms of two vital focuses of the network, namely climate and social equity/justice? We employ mixed-methods, including a large-N policy database and interviews, to understand how the four Canadian 100RC cities understood and pursued resilience policy as well as the extent of ongoing commitment to the 100RC approach to resilience. We argue that resilience was leveraged to suit individual municipal agendas in Canada, reflecting the malleability of this policy approach. Moreover, our analysis indicates that not only local, but also provincial and national politics influenced whether each of the four cities fully realized 100RC's potential for a resilience-focused policy-lens enabling effective and equitable urban climate futures.

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## B16(b) - Political Leaders, Power, and Presentation

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

Chair/Président/Présidente : Alex Marland (Acadia University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Amir Abdul Reda (Mohammed VI Polytechnic University)

*Picture-perfect: On the relationship between party leader visibility and voting during party leader elections:* Clint Claessen (University of Basel)

**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-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-quicken 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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## C16(a) - Theories of International Relations (III)

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : McGill College 2001 461

Chair/Président/Présidente : Ariel Reichard (Charles University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Lana Wylie (McMaster University)

*Kinship and International Relations:* Carla Barqueiro (Widener University)

**Abstract:** The project focuses on an examination of the concept of kinship in international relations. Kinship relations remain the foundational organizing principal of human life, yet, there has been very little attention given to this concept in international relations. Scholarship in the field has given much attention to those processes that divide people and states, particularly those associated with nationalism, war, and interstate competition. At the heart of these scholarly inquiries there remains a fundamental dichotomy that is related very closely to how human beings, particularly in the West, understand in-group and out-group dynamics, specifically how we define the fundamentals of "like-ness" in world politics. Critical IR theorists have pointed out the ways in which particular dominant discourses reify the in-group and out-group dynamics that fuel cooperation and conflict around the world. What is missing is an examination of the ways in which rudimentary understandings of kinship are at the heart of these discourses, and more specifically, how these discourses are reflective of the political strategic interests and goals of elite practitioners. Some important and fundamental questions need to be posed surrounding the relationship between kinship and international relations: (1) how is kinship understood and used in international relations?, (2) what do discourses and practices of kinship produce for those in power (in-group), and those being targeted or excluded (out-group)?, (3) How can a racialized, gendered, and intersectional approach to analyzing kinship discourse/practices and behaviors--illuminate trends in the production of power in world politics?

*A never-ending story: Vattel's declarations of war and the nuclear threat:* Rebekah Pullen (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Vattel's "The Law of Nations" is credited with significantly influencing our conceptualization of modern states. Fundamentally, Vattel describes how states best serve their own self-interest by pursuing perfect happiness, stressing that a constitutive element is the happiness of other states. His work explains the corresponding importance of communication between states and counsels that power is best demonstrated through how states relate to each other within an international community.

Accordingly, for Vattel, declarations of war serve a critical function for states and are designed to preserve communication under the most extreme circumstances. A distinct form of state speech, the conclusion of a declaration of war precipitates a penultimate space wherein both receiving states and "neutral" witnesses are compelled to reflect on how their interests are served by the anticipated violence. Vattel frames this judgement as an expression of state duty that corroborates their orientation towards perfect happiness, even when facing the potential for great violence.

Vattel's legacy persists in our nuclear age; and while formal declarations of war are rare, the fundamental components of communications between states forerunning violence are still signals of principle if not convention. Given the amplified modernization of nuclear arsenals around the world, it is important to consider how the ostensibly passive "use" of nuclear weapons within deterrence theory could be framed as a declaration of war that never ends. Doing so allows us to reflect on the communicative expectations upon which states have relied for centuries in order to anticipate their interests and defend tomorrow's happiness.

*Beyond Western Perspectives: Chinese IR Theories and the Quest for Universality:* Xinyu Gong (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** This research examines the development of International Relations (IR) theory in China and its relationship with Western IR theories. It highlights the challenges faced by Chinese scholars in the field, including the lack of original theoretical research and the dominance of West- and US- centralism in the discourse. Chinese IR scholars have struggled to explain the rise of China and its unique characteristics, as well as respond to challenges from the West. This review explores three main theories that have emerged in Chinese IR: the Tianxia System, Moral Realism, and Relational Theory. The Tianxia System reflects Chinese traditional culture and proposes a world order that goes beyond the nation-state system. Moral Realism combines realist theoretical frameworks with Chinese traditional thoughts on morality to explain the relationship between power, morality, and global leadership. Relational Theory emphasizes relationality and draws on Chinese societal practices to understand international relations from a different perspective. These theories demonstrate the cultural inspiration, cross-cultural communication, and globalization that characterize Chinese IR. They seek to break the core-periphery structure of IR studies and contribute to the construction of Global IR. While these theories have gained attention worldwide and enriched the field of IR, they have also faced criticism for cultural essentialism and binary thinking. However, this paper argues that the generation of Chinese IR theory is a process of acculturation, which should be rooted in localized culture while engaging with other cultures.

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## C16(b) - Security Studies

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : McGill College 2001 735

Chair/Président/Présidente : Philippe Awono Eyebe (Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Mark Salter (University of Ottawa)

*Prerogative, statute, and national security discretion in Westminster states:* Philippe Lagassé (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** This paper examines patterns of executive discretion for national security in Westminster states. Until the end of the Cold War, Westminster governments relied on the royal prerogative --powers the Crown possesses in its own right at common law-- as their primary source of discretionary authority for national security. In recent decades, parliamentary statute has gradually displaced the prerogative for national security matters in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. Based on legal literature and the historic relationship between prerogative and statute, it might be assumed that this displacement would lead to narrower executive discretion and greater parliamentary control. This paper challenges this assumption. While statutory displacements have led to increased judicial oversight of national security decisions, statute has tended to expand executive discretion in national security, rather than constrain it. The royal prerogative, in effect, has been replaced by 'statutory prerogatives' that grant the executive wider and deeper discretion. The paper thus concludes that statutory displacements of the prerogative can empower as much as constrain, and that increased legislative activity in the area of national security has become an enabler of executive discretion in Westminster states.

*Comparing Arctic Security Public Opinion: Climate Change, Great Power Competition, and the Future of Arctic Cooperation:* Wilfrid Greaves (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** Experts have widely debated the changing nature of in/security in the Arctic, but cross-national and sub-regional variations in Arctic security public opinion are significantly under-studied. This includes basic questions such as: How do national Arctic publics perceive security threats in and to the region? How does Arctic security public opinion vary across time and sub-regional groupings within the Arctic? What do patterns of security public opinion suggest for the future of Arctic politics? To answer these, this article presents a dataset and analysis of security public opinion in the eight Arctic states between 2007-2023. Based on these data, we make four primary claims about Arctic security: 1. Climate change is seen as the most pressing security concern in the region; 2. Russia is widely seen as a threat by people in the other Arctic states; 3. China is not seen as a major threat by most Arctic publics or as central to Arctic security; 4. The Arctic is better analyzed as distinct sub-regions rather than as a single security region.

*From Feminist Foreign Policy to Feminist National Security:* Veronica Kitchen (University of Waterloo), Tetyana Narozhna (University of Winnipeg)

**Abstract:** How do feminist foreign policies conceptualize security? What might a feminist national security policy look like? In both academic and policy circles, the conversations about advancing a feminist foreign policy continue. In September 2023, the 'Feminist Foreign Policy +' group released a statement as part of the UN General Assembly, affirming a commitment to 'feminist, intersectional and gender-transformative approaches to our foreign policies, based on mainstreaming gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls in all their diversity.' In this paper, we compare how various countries who have self-declared as having feminist foreign policies have conceptualized security in their official statements on feminist foreign policy. Further, we compare their official national security policies to see whether (and how) a gendered focus has permeated this aspect of feminist foreign policy. Where are the gendered silences? What power dynamics do they uphold? How do the militarization and securitization of gender play out in these documents?

*Clinging to The Past: Evaluating the relevance of the Security Dilemma in the 21st Century:* Mohamed Elgayar (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** The security dilemma for all its claims as a causal relationship of state behaviour fails in explaining post-Cold War politics. It tells a realist tale of states being locked into a vicious cycle that ends only in war ? a theory that is both vague and reductionist in its explanation of any causal relationship (Mitchell, 2019; Visser & Duyvesteyn, 2014). This paper will evaluate the literature on the security dilemma arguing that its relevance fell with the Berlin Wall in 1989. Proponents of realist theory have sought to address the limitations of the security dilemma's explanatory power by positing the mitigating influence of geographical features such as substantial bodies of water (Mearsheimer, 2003). While this assertion may appear contentious on its surface, it warrants examination within the context of international conflict dynamics. This paper will evaluate 2 states in proximity that have a history of violence ? Egypt and Israel ? to control for this realist assumption. The purpose of this research is to re-evaluate the security dilemma as an analytical tool of conflict and state behaviour.

The paper shall examine the case of Egypt and Israel, situating it within both historical and contemporary contexts of the realist perspective. It will then apply both security dilemma frameworks to the case study, arguing the framework's failures at explaining and predicting state behavior.

*The Manhattan Project and the birth of transactional secrecy:* William Walters (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The Manhattan Project saw the invention of new forms of secrecy including the 'born secret' and the 'need to know' organization of security work. Less noted, until recent work by historians of nuclear secrecy (eg, Wellerstein), is that it also saw the invention of a procedure of 'declassification?', a term coined by some of its leading scientists. Drawing on declassified archives from the Manhattan Project, this paper examines this early history of declassification policy and asks what role it played in forging a post-WWII framework for governing national security secrets. The paper pays special attention to mechanisms by which non-state actors ? mostly large corporations but also scientists ? were accorded space to make requests for the declassification and public release of particular records. Can we see in this event the prehistory of the policy that would by the 1960s become institutionalized as 'freedom of information'? More significantly, can we see in this arrangement a new kind of secrecy: a transactional secrecy in which

state secrecy is partially reorganized in terms of a contact zone between the state and civil society, a zone where the secret is no longer permanent or certain but an object to be routinely subjected to tests, challenges, and requests; a zone where secrecy becomes formally institutionalized as ?a play between actors? (de Certeau)? By developing a concept of transactional secrecy the paper will offer a new way to theorize freedom of information, hitherto a practice largely interpreted only from the angle of openness and transparency.

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## C16(c) - Global Governance and International Institutions: From Technical to Political

### Relations internationales

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** William D. O'Connell (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** David Black (Dalhousie University)

***Translating Politics into Technocracy: An Agential Theory of Institutional Design in Global Governance:*** William D. O'Connell (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** While much has been written about the role of transnational regulatory cooperation in solving routine technical problems, much less is understood about how technocratic networks conceptualize and design novel international institutions to address fundamentally political challenges. This paper constructs a theory of institutional design which emphasizes the agency of transnational regulatory networks in global governance. I argue that when faced with novel policy challenges, these networks engage in a process of issue translation where political problems are reformulated into technical puzzles that are within the remit of bureaucratic agencies. They do so by designing policies which circumscribe non-cooperative behaviour by states through altering costs and benefits, or through establishing practices which socialize principals into routine forms of cooperation. I develop these insights through a case study of the Financial Stability Board's efforts to design international standards for ending the too-big-to-fail problem associated with systemically important bank failures. Drawing from semi-structured interviews with regulators in the United States, the United Kingdom, the European Union, and Switzerland, I demonstrate the process through which a small network of transnational bureaucrats created a set of novel institutions for resolving cross-border bank failures by creatively re-purposing existing policy tools. The result has been the development of a transnational policy science which has successfully provided states with the technical ability to cooperatively resolve banking crises, but whose success is mitigated by the difficulty of achieving the political willingness to implement the tools now available.

***Follow the Money: Institutional Investors and the Global Orchestration for Net Zero:*** Christian Elliott (Brown University)

**Abstract:** In the last five years, the United Nations Environment Programme has been at the forefront of orchestrating market actors in the drive towards net zero emissions goals. Despite the relatively distant relationship banks and insurers have with real-world emissions, the lack of upward customer pressure typically faced by major consumer brands, and a normally challenging relationship with high-salience political environments, finance has been a significant part of the UN's broader orchestration efforts, drawing in the collective commitment of USD trillions of assets under management. How should we understand this counter-intuitive trend? In this paper, I argue that Net Zero commitments are not motivated by compliance with UN agencies but rather act as a communicative device to curry favour with asset owners who wield the power of exit (in the case of asset managers who service them) or voice (given their ownership positions in publicly traded companies). To test this argument, I use the commitment of pensions to net zero initiatives as a proxy for audience pressure and analyze correlations at the country level between pension dollars committed and the total assets under management in the Net Zero Banking Alliance and the Net Zero Asset Managers Initiative between 2020-2023, controlling for relevant confounders. The analysis and discussion offer new insights into the roles of public and private authorities in the growth of global governance.

***Lies, Damn Lies, and Statistics: Deception of International Organizations:*** Michaela Pederson-Macnab (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Why do international organizations (IOs) tolerate deception by member states? What are the conditions under which IOs choose to tolerate, cover up, expose, or punish deception? Conventional wisdom in the field of International Relations is that IOs facilitate cooperation among states by increasing transparency. In contrast, I argue that cooperation and transparency are distinct and sometimes competing objectives. Drawing on elite interviews with staff from four IOs, I show that these organizations avoid holding member states accountable for deception to preserve the possibility of future cooperation even when doing so puts important global objectives at risk. Further, IOs are only likely to expose deception if doing so creates a strategic opportunity to expand the organization's authority over the data of its member states. This paper is based on research at four technical IOs (UNFCCC, IMF, EU Commission, and the WHO) but focuses specifically on WHO's delayed condemnation of China during the 2003 SARS outbreak and 2020 COVID-19 pandemic as a paradigmatic case to illustrate the argument.

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## D16(a) - American Constitutionalism

### Droit et analyse de politiques

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Mark Rush (Washington and Lee University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Dennis Baker (University of Guelph)

**Judicial Stare Decisis v. Legislative Rigor Mortis: The U.S. Supreme Court Precipitates a Constitutional Paradigm Crisis:** Mark Rush (Washington and Lee University)

**Abstract:** In this article, I draw upon several recent free speech decisions by the US Supreme Court to demonstrate that, the court is preventing legislatures from addressing new challenges posed by technologically-enhanced speech. In so doing, the court is precipitating a constitutional paradigm crisis akin to what Thomas Kuhn described in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. In requiring Congress and state legislatures to abide by long-standing traditions? when restricting harmful speech, the court renders them unable and ill-equipped to address challenges and harm posed by technologically enhanced speech.

I focus principally on *U.S. v. Stevens* and *Brown v. Entertainment Merchants Association* to demonstrate the Roberts court's backwards-facing approach to harmful speech. I then contrast these cases with other case law in which SCOTUS has embraced technological change (or changes caused by other constitutionally-exogenous phenomena such as wealth, industrialization, or demographic change) and allowed the elective branches to legislate in a forward-looking manner in response to new social challenges.

My conclusion is speculative and tentative. Insofar as the constitutionally-exogenous phenomena that I discuss are transforming the social structure in which courts, legislatures, and democracy operate, I argue that courts must allow legislatures to take risks in exploring new measures to protect the general welfare even if they impinge upon prevailing notions of constitutional rights. Constitutionalism and democracy must evolve to meet new challenges with appropriate?not out-of-date?measures.

**Recent Trends in the Regulation of Academic Speech in American Higher Ed:** Jeffrey Sachs (Acadia University, Senior Researcher for PEN America)

**Abstract:** Since January 2021, just over 100 educational gag orders -- state-level bills or executive orders restricting academic speech in higher education -- have been introduced in the United States. Few of these bills have become law and fewer still have had their intended effect, but supporters of these restrictions are undeterred. In 2023, they adopted a new legislative strategy focused on eroding the "academic freedom support network" that sustains academic freedom when it is under attack -- that is, faculty unions, accreditation bodies, and institutions of shared governance. Drawing on an original dataset of legislation as well as interviews, this paper examines that strategy and evaluates its prospects for success.

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## D16(b) - Issues in Policy Implementation

### Droit et analyse de politiques

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Poland Lai (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Charles Conteh (Brock University)

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

***Policy Objection: Studying How Citizens Challenge Policy Implementation:*** Sule Tomkinson (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** This paper defines and examines the concept of policy objection, a vital facet of public policy that remains overlooked in policy process research. Policy objection is an institutionalized mechanism that allows decisions made under a specific policy to be revisited or re-evaluated based on the concerns of those affected. This mechanism spans multiple sectors, from health care and social benefits to immigration and education, acting as a crucial device for citizens (and non-citizens) to ensure that their rights and interests are recognized and protected. While this topic has largely been the domain of legal and socio-legal studies, its absence in policy process research is noteworthy. Policy objection carries profound implications for both policy and political dynamics and its study is relevant for policy process research, combining a focus on target populations, policy actors, design, and instruments. Concluding with examples from empirical research, this paper emphasizes the potential of policy objection for bridging the gap between theory and practice.

***Managing Complaint Mechanisms for Regulatory Enforcement: Evidence from Canada's Human Rights Institutions During the COVID-19 Pandemic:*** Nicole De Silva (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** In the scholarship on regulatory governance, the beneficiaries of regulation typically are not incorporated into theories of regulatory processes and outcomes. When regulators establish regulatory complaint mechanisms, however, they expect regulatory beneficiaries to monitor and report noncompliance to enforcement institutions in this decentralized regulatory governance arrangement. Institutions, based on beneficiary complaints, can then take enforcement action, using cooperative or deterrent approaches with targets. How do relations between regulatory beneficiaries and enforcement institutions influence governance processes and outcomes? This paper argues that enforcement institutions, given their dependence on beneficiaries, can seek to regulate beneficiary behaviour to improve both the institution's and beneficiaries' performance of their regulatory functions. The characteristics of both institutions and beneficiaries will influence approaches to regulating beneficiaries' complaints (e.g., educating beneficiaries, changing procedures). Case studies of two Canadian human rights institutions that received an influx of complaints during the COVID-19 pandemic (the New Brunswick Human Rights Commission and British Columbia Human Rights Tribunal) reveal how regulatory institutions are driven to regulate beneficiaries, and thus preserve their operational capacity and legitimacy for performing their regulatory mandate. Both institutions used strategies to increase beneficiaries' expertise for submitting relevant complaints and to deter beneficiaries' perceived misuse of complaint mechanisms. Overall, the paper shows how relations between regulatory beneficiaries and enforcement institutions matter for the effectiveness and legitimacy of decentralized regulatory governance processes and outcomes.

***Assessing the Impact of Enforcement on LTC homes: Evidence from Ontario:*** Poland Lai (York University)

**Abstract:** In light of the catastrophic results in long-term care (LTC) during COVID, all levels of government have used fiscal transfer and regulation to try to fix the sector. The federal government is developing a Safe LTC Act. Based on a review of the government's discussion paper, a key shortcoming of the proposed Act is lack of clear mechanism to ensure the spirit and the letter of the law will be followed across Canada. This paper uses Ontario's experience to illustrate why regulatory compliance remains a key (but not the only) problem in LTC. This research is situated in the regulation and governance literature, in particular theories about the rise of the regulatory state (Levi-Faur 2014) and compliance (Van Rooij and Sokol 2021). This paper reports on the quantitative analysis of inspection reports of LTC homes in Ontario. A dataset of ~ 626 homes was created. The dataset includes: 1) background information about the homes (such as number of beds, location, ownership status); 2) information extracted from inspection reports released in 2021, 2022 and 2023 (such as the sanctions issued by inspectors). All the data was retrieved from the Ontario Government website. Data entry was done by a team of research assistants. The data will be used to examine factors that are positively and significantly correlated with non-compliance (as evidenced by the number of sanctions). In addition to empirical contribution, this research has implications for understanding regulatory expansion in the welfare state (Benish, Halevy and Spiro 2018; Benish and Levi-Faur 2020).

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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 : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1047

Chair/Président/Présidente : Jack Lucas (University of Calgary)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Martin Horak (University of Western Ontario)

**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 concerningly, 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)

**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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## F16 - The Politics and Consequences of AI

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

*The Multidimensional Structure of Risk: How Dread and Controllability Perceptions Shape Opinions About Artificial Intelligence:* Mathieu Turgeon (University of Western Ontario), Tyler Romualdi (University of Western Ontario), Tyler Girard (Purdue University)

**Abstract:** Studies of public opinion about new and emerging technologies are gaining momentum. The rise of ChatGPT and other artificial intelligence (A.I.) programs has raised meaningful concerns about academic integrity, personal security, and the spread of misinformation. However, questions about how one's judgement about the seriousness or pervasiveness of new technologies affects public acceptance persist. Previous work suggests that individual risk evaluations have become increasingly multidimensional, with beliefs about familiarity and the technology's degree of danger often serving as primary concerns. Yet, two overlooked dimensions with meaningful implications for opinions about the acceptance and support of new technologies in society include perceived dread and controllability. These refer to beliefs about the perceived magnitude of the risk posed by the technology (e.g., dread) and its controllability – the suspected capacity to control the growth and outcome of the technology. We leverage an original cross-national survey with an embedded experiment to examine three primary research questions. First, what is the extent of dread and controllability concerns regarding A.I. technology in Canada and Japan? Second, who is most susceptible to dread and controllability concerns posed by A.I. technology in these contexts? Lastly, how do frames showing varying degrees of the perceived magnitude and controllability of technological risks impact public opinion about adopting A.I.-based technology in society? And, does it vary by policy domain? The results demonstrate the importance of evaluating the multidimensional nature of citizens' technological risks and how these threats get communicated to the public.

*Contingent Public Support for Artificial Intelligence? Evidence from 6 survey vignette experiments:* John McAndrews (McMaster University), Ori Freiman (McMaster University), Jordan Mansell (McMaster University), Clifton van der Linden (McMaster University), Anwar Sheluchin (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Citizens who are both potential users of AI and potentially subject to public and private decisions made with AI have an important role to play in the emerging conversation about how to regulate AI. This paper contributes to this fast-developing public conversation about regulation by exploring how public support for AI, as well as the restrictions placed on it, may depend on three factors: domain of use, motivation, and degree of autonomous decision-making. To test these three factors, we designed six vignette experiments that were fielded in 2023 as part of an online survey to a large opt-in sample of Toronto residents.

The paper extends existing research in several ways. First, it unpacks the motivations for AI adoption that the public finds most compelling – comparing support for adoption prompted by accuracy, speed, or cost-cutting. Second, it leverages the large survey sample to explore the interactions between factors – specifically whether the effects of motivation and autonomous decision-making on public support depend on a wide range of public and private domains, allowing for a more nuanced assessment of the generalizability of public attitudes across contexts. Third, it integrates individual-level psychological traits – such as optimism and openness to experience – allowing the evaluation of how effects may be moderated by individual dispositions.

*Who Benefits and who Loses? The perceived effects of generative AI on labour markets:* Sophie Borwein (University of British Columbia), Beatrice Magistro (Caltech), R. Michael Alvarez (Caltech), Peter Loewen (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The rapid diffusion of generative artificial intelligence (AI) has the potential to transform labour markets, yet it will take time to uncover the broader impacts of this technology on labour productivity and inequality. In the meantime, how governments and workplaces approach the use and regulation of generative AI will depend on how people perceive its benefits and costs. Given the broader uncertainty around these technologies, this paper asks: how do people reason about the effects of these new technologies on labour markets? Who do people perceive will be the beneficiaries of these technologies, and moreover, can providing them with information about the possible benefits for certain groups of workers shift their attitudes? Finally, this paper asks what policies people support in response to generative AI. We answer these questions by drawing on two pre-registered survey experiments of respondents in Canada and the United States.

*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 servant's adoption of AI in their work and understand its impact on both public and private organizations.

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## G16 - Methodological Debates and Frontiers in Political Economy

### Économie politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 365

Chair/Président/Présidente : A.T. Kingsmith (OCAD University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : A.T. Kingsmith (OCAD University)

*Shelling out in Solidarity: Assessing the Impact of Labour Experience on Support for Enhancement of Labour Protections in International Trade:* John Hicks (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Solidarity with foreign labour is conventionally viewed as restricted to the well-off. Because globalization has heightened tradeoffs between productive conditions and prices, research in consumer politics suggests that supporting conditions of foreign workers is restricted to those capable of bearing the cost of price increases (Hainmueller and Hiscox, 2015). Conversely, economically disadvantaged voters disregard foreign workers' conditions in order to prioritize their own access to cheap goods.

I contest the assumption that economically disadvantaged groups are predisposed to lower support for foreign labor standards by proposing a sociotropic model that accounts for surrounding labour conditions. I argue voters' own experience with unsuitable labour conditions creates solidarity with foreign workers facing similar circumstances. Such identification with foreign populations can potentially overcome the limitative effect of poverty ? itself correlated with poor labour conditions ? on support for foreign labour enhancement.

I assess this relationship using data from Eurobarometer special editions (2010, 2019) that gauge respondent's support for the EU lobbying trade partners to enhance labour standards ? even at the cost of domestic prices ? and multiple EWCS (European Working Conditions Surveys) waves, which offer measures of labour conditions including safety hazards, overwork rates, compensation fairness, etc. I pair these datasets via geocoding at the NUTS-2 level to establish aggregated labour condition profiles for each European subnational region and perform regression analysis to identify not only whether regions with harsher labour conditions exhibit higher demand for foreign labour reform, but also which components of labour experience prove most salient. My modelling implements country fixed effects alongside controls for regional industry composition and other determinants of voter attitudes that intervene in the conversion of labour experience to trade preferences. This analysis reveals solidarity with foreign labor as not a luxury restricted to monied altruists, but a politics equally derived from one's labour experience.

*From Social Science to Natural Science: The Methodological Transformation of Economics and its Limitations:* Harry Deng (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** This research seeks to locate the methodological limitations of the field of economics. Since the 1980's, economics has become virtually a purely quantitative field that relies on large-N and small-N studies, regressions, and other empirical models to explain the complex ways in which scarce resources are allocated among a large number of agents. In this sense, economics now largely subscribes to positivist approaches that draws upon the scientific method to find mechanistic causal relations between variables. This approach to economics is only applicable when there are slow, predictable changes in accordance with very specific rules and only allows dynamism within a defined system if the available dynamics conform to the rules of neoclassical economic theory. It has already been well-established by economic thinkers, such as Adolph Lowe and Daniel Hausman, that the practice of economics has been too restrictive and unreliable for inquiries into dynamic social processes. As such, this research seeks to add tangible substance to this debate by surveying the primary methodological approaches to the study of economics as it relates to 1) supply and demand and 2) money and prices. By doing so, I will also examine their limitations and shortcomings. As such, I argue that an approach to economics insofar as it aims to explain complex socio-political processes is only satisfactory when it accounts for the political economy and that our current era of productive incoherence is the result of the methodological transformation of economics from a social science to a natural science.

*Digitizing Genealogy: Governing Archival Access in the Age of Ancestry.com:* Hailey Walker (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The advent of marketized ancestry services has transformed personal and familial genealogy from the niche pursuit of family tree hobbyists into a multi-billion-dollar industry attracting millions of international consumers. Instead of perusing dusty rolls of microfilm, however, the genealogically curious masses want to craft their family trees and solve ancestral mysteries from the comfort of their home, on a smartphone or laptop. As such, collective conceptions of public records access are transforming, and so too is the substantive form of archival data itself. Hard copies of historical documents are no longer simply state artifacts, waiting in archival institutions to be discovered by patient historians, researchers, genealogists, and citizens. These archival relics have ascended new status as a mode of capital (both symbolic and material) over which state archives preside and negotiate conditions for digital access. Activists see digitization as a means of democratizing archival access beyond the confines of institutional corridors. However, the marketization of genealogical research and the subsequent race by private genealogy companies like Ancestry.com to sell ?exclusive? and ?customizable? access to ever-expanding online databases complicates things. This paper examines how public and private forces, political and commercial interests, and archival and corporate objectives, are not merely in contest with one another, but deeply entangled on the question of archival access. By analyzing the multilateral efforts to digitize archival data and the competing justifications for such efforts, the paper illuminates a rich empirical terrain upon which we might more critically examine the government, ownership, and use of population data today.

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## H16 - The Methodology of Political Theory

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 391

Chair/Président/Présidente : Eric Adamo (McMaster University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Rebecca Kingston (University of Toronto)

*Towards an Ethnographic Sensibility: the Archival Turn in Political Theory and its Ethical Implications:* Olivier Ruchet (Université Paris 2)

**Abstract:** The use of archival material is becoming increasingly prevalent in contemporary political theory, especially in studies on important academic figures of the XXth century ? recent work on Rawls (Hawi, 2016; Forrester, 2019), Foucault (Elden, 2021; Behrent, 2023), Arendt (Hill, 2021), or Habermas (Verovsek, forthcoming), for instance, heavily draw on unpublished material to offer renewed perspectives on the political theories examined. Picking up on the trend, Alexander Livingstone launched a seminar series on ?The Archival turn in political theory? at Cornell in 2021. Archival research was also instrumental in my own study of Sheldon Wolin?s political thought (Ruchet, 2023). Most existing reflections on the role of archives in political science research, however, tend to concentrate on comparative politics or political behavior (Skemer, 1991; Frisch et al., 2012; Lee, 2014; Soboti?, 2021) and very little exists concerning political theory (see Hazareesingh & Nabulsi, 2008). This contribution aims to participate in filling that gap. It asks what the different methods used by the authors of these texts are, what different sets of practices drawing on archives can induce, and what the results have been in the different texts cited. Attention to the archive seems to proceed from a different kind of reflexivity (Zacka speaks of an ?ethnographic sensibility?) which I explore in the paper. Finally, the presentation addresses the ethics of archival research in political theory.

*Practical Past(s): Koselleck, White and the Politics of History:* Sophie Marcotte Chénard (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** In an essay on history, Michael Oakeshott distinguishes between the ?historical? and the ?practical? past. The former is a specific mode of intellectual engagement, exclusively concerned with the past and regulated by specific methodological procedures. The latter, also referred to as the ?living past?, can include artefacts, reports of experiences, stories of past human circumstances, and is mostly praised for its usefulness. While the ?practical? past can teach by example and contribute to our self-understanding, it is not, in Oakeshott?s view, history. By enlisting the past for a specific cause, we run the risk of reducing and simplifying history as it happened (Oakeshott, 1983). Hayden White and Reinhart Koselleck, two major figures in contemporary theory of history, both take issue with the notion of an independent historical past that should be preserved from contamination by practical considerations. Despite major differences in their respective projects, White and Koselleck expand the realm of the theory of historiography to include existential attitudes toward the past, the political role of traditions, and a consideration for the moral dimension of historical knowledge (Paul, 2011). I argue that Koselleck and White provide resources to elaborate a vision of a ?practical past? that does not stand in contradiction with the ?historical past?, but rather leads to interrogate the very distinction between the two modes of understanding. While there are risks involved in moving from ?was? to ?ought? (Blau, 2021), both Koselleck and White develop a politically relevant conception of history that is normative without being explicitly prescriptive. As I show in the paper, their respective projects also bring to light the potentially damaging effects of a strictly scientific concern with the past and the importance of poetic imagination within the historical discipline. Ultimately, rehabilitating the concept of a 'practical past' allows to reconsider the relationship between political theory and history.

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## J16(a) - Contention and Coalitions in Provincial Environmental Politics

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

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 395

Chair/Président/Présidente : Heather Millar (University of New Brunswick)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Elizabeth Schwartz (Memorial University)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=167](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=167)

*Framing Our Future: Analyzing Energy Transition Discourses in New Brunswick:* Janice Harvey (St. Thomas University), Emma Fackenthal (St. Thomas University), Erin Hurley (St. Thomas University)

**Abstract:** Our systems and processes of communication are at the centre of a struggle over whether we continue with our energy fantasies or begin to tear them down (Gunster et al, 2018, p. 3). As energy transition discourses compete for space and influence in the public sphere, the assumptions underlying them are typically unexamined, each prefiguring a type of future that is also unexamined yet materially significant. Our research is concerned with transparency which is essential to participatory democratic decision-making about which transition pathway will best meet ecological-climate and social goals. Applying three broad theoretical frameworks - climate capitalism, ecomodernism, and climate justice (after Helker Nygren and Katz-Rosene, 2021), we analyze hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses represented in media sources in New Brunswick to reveal i) their embedded assumptions about desired futures; ii) the advocacy coalitions promoting them and their stake in the outcome; and iii) the justice implications of each in terms of the distribution of benefits and risks. This is the first of four studies in the research project Contesting Energy Discourses through Action Research (CEDAR) based at St. Thomas University.

*Toward a Blue or Green Future? Provincial hydrogen politics and the decarbonization of the trucking sector in Canada.:* Orland Clark (University of New Brunswick), Heather Millar (University of New Brunswick)

**Abstract:** Canada's transport sector is the second largest emitting industry in the country, contributing 22% to the country's overall GHG emissions. Despite substantial uptake of electric passenger vehicles, electrification of long-haul transportation has been slow to unfold, in part due to the challenges of battery weight and cold weather. An emerging solution at both federal and provincial levels has been to invest in the development of hydrogen, a fuel alternative that does not produce GHG emissions during use. Although the production of traditional 'grey' hydrogen has been fossil fuel intensive, both 'blue hydrogen,' which is generated by natural gas and mitigated through carbon capture and storage, and 'green hydrogen' which is produced through electrolysis have the potential to catalyze deep decarbonization. Yet both 'blue' and 'green' hydrogen technologies also demonstrate potential opportunities for ongoing climate delay: on the one hand, blue hydrogen has the potential to lock-in dependency on natural gas, while the scaling up of green hydrogen depends on the speed of decarbonization in provincial electricity sectors. Drawing on recent studies on the politics of mid-transitions (Bernstein & Hoffmann, 2019; Breetz et al., 2018; Janzwood & Millar, 2022; Rosenbloom, 2017), this paper explores the degree to which blue hydrogen coalitions hinder decarbonization in the transport sector. Using a cross-provincial comparison of hydrogen development in British Columbia, Alberta, and Quebec, this study draws on a combination of process tracing, document analysis, and key informant interviews conducted in 2023 and 2024, contributing to a burgeoning literature on Canadian climate delay.

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## J16(b) - Regions and Regionalism in Canada

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

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 451

Chair/Président/Présidente : Mark Purdon (Université du Québec à Montréal)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Mark Purdon (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Is Buffalo a Region? Exploring Alberta and Saskatchewan Public Attitudes:** Bianca Jamal (University of Saskatchewan), Loleen Berdahl (University of Saskatchewan), Lisa Young (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Analyses of regions and regionalism in Canadian political science have tended to either posit the existence of 'the west' as a region or to group together Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba as the 'prairie' region. Analyses of public opinion data tend to group Saskatchewan and Manitoba as one unit and Alberta as another.

In this paper, we test the hypothesis that Saskatchewan and Alberta should be understood as a single political region that is distinct from the rest of Canada, and from the 'the West.' (We call this region 'Buffalo' making reference to a proposal prior to the creation of these provinces that a single province of Buffalo be created in the geographic space that is now called Alberta and Saskatchewan).

To test this hypothesis, we analyze data from the 2021 Canada Election Study. We employ measures of political culture as well as regional alienation to determine whether Buffalo should be understood as one region within the broader Canadian context.

If survey data suggests that Buffalo should be considered a region, this has implications for Canada. Distinct patterns of right-wing populist public opinion in Buffalo may help explain why both provincial governments are using right-wing populist frames to justify their pursuit of greater provincial autonomy.

**Prairie Paradiplomacy: Why do the Canadian Prairie Provinces Adopt Different Approaches to International Economic Development?:** Lucia Kovacikova (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Despite sharing the same constitution and having similar geographic, socio-economic, and cultural characteristics, the three Canadian Prairie provinces have approached their international relations (i.e., paradiplomacy) and international economic development (IED) in vastly different ways. This is especially true when looking at the provinces' international offices for promoting trade, investment, and tourism within their borders - a policy referred to here as sub-state government internationalization (SGI). Alberta has consistently maintained its international presence, while Saskatchewan has intermittently opened and closed its offices over the last five decades. Meanwhile, Manitoba's SGI policy seems to have come to a permanent end. Why do we see such stark variation in internationalization among such similar provinces? Moving away from the traditional autonomy-focused explanations, I argue that these differences stem from the provinces' varying levels of capacity as defined by Lindvall and Toerell (2016). Using archival and interview data, I track the provinces' SGI policies from 1945 onwards, showing how revenue, human capital, and information capacities dictated provincial decision-making throughout the decades.

**False Sense of Social Reality: An Alberta Case Study:** Rissa Reist (University of Alberta), Jared Wesley (University of Alberta), Evan Walker (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the impact of misjudging public opinion on political behavior in Alberta. The study is based on a growing body of literature examining how people often adjust their beliefs based on social cues and the broader political environment, which are often based on a distorted view of public sentiment. We investigate two key concepts: pluralistic ignorance, where people tend to underestimate shared opinions, and false consensus, where individuals overestimate agreement with their beliefs. These biases contribute to a skewed perception of social reality. Our study focuses on Alberta, a province with a history of conservative political dominance. Using innovative survey data from the University of Alberta's Viewpoint Alberta survey, we assess the size of the social reality gap in Alberta, identifying who is most susceptible and how it affects political outcomes. Preliminary findings reveal a significant disconnect between perceived and actual public support for policy issues. While this disconnect has limited impact on election results, it significantly influences other political attitudes and behaviors, such as regionalism. We also identify how individual traits correlate with the tendency to misjudge public opinion. Our study sheds light on the complex interplay between public perception and political behavior in Alberta, offering insights into how what we think we know about the broader community shapes how we act within it.

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## L16 - Workshop: Solidarity, Coalition-Building, and Radical Futurities - Race, Technology, Politics and Radical Futures

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

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1051

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Hannah Wylie (University of Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Hannah Wylie (University of Ottawa)

**Indigenizing the Quantum Future of Artificial Intelligence with ?Big Kinosoo?: Quantum Computers, Settler (In)Stability and Personal (In)Security:** Micheal Ziegler (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** The posthuman world of the AI future is one premised upon the complexity and chaotic exogeneity (external to the observer's environment) of quantum mechanics. In the posthuman world, the secure boundaries of human affairs are undone by the speed and power of AI, especially quantum AI. E.g., cryptology experts warn us that functional quantum computing will overcome all binary computing security protocols within minutes. Information Scholar Ron Eglash argues Western society is ill-prepared for the future of quantum computing because quantum understanding is misunderstood. This misunderstanding leads to fears of lost control, and desires for increased security and surveillance?settler domination is poised to grow exponentially. Eglash and others argue Western metaphysics causes a tendency to reduce complexity to simplistic endogenous models (closed systems) that ultimately obfuscate the true nature of reality, which causes these fears and desires to increase settler control that unravels any progress toward postcolonial futures. Thus, in line with Eglash and Cherokee philosopher Brian Burkhart, I argue Indigenizing posthuman science and politics in order to accept the limited control ?human? creatures have over reality and the future. Indigenous scientific orientations begin and end in accepting exogenous forces and see humans not as arbiters of destiny but as one collaborator among (in)determinant others. To do this, I begin with the Cold Lake Cree First Nation's myth, ?Big Kinosoo.? This myth speaks of an unseen but known entity that has the power to destroy the canoe of a warrior. A primary lesson I see is: to not give into human exceptionalism and accept human powerlessness in the face of exogenous forces. The purpose of myth here is to develop an underlying metaphysics to reorient away from reductive Western ideals and to accept the instability of settler orders?orders that require costly, iterative, perpetual redesigning. Indigenous orientations to an intelligent universe better understand the quantum reality that underlies our socio-political world, which invites collaborative metaphysics instead of reductive metaphysics premised on control and domination of others. Ultimately, only in accepting the power of quantum indifference can we challenge the simplicity of settler instability and personal insecurity, allowing us to create a complex and collaborative future.

**What is the (Political) Mainstream?:** Taha Badaoui (York University)

**Abstract:** In politics, the concept of ?mainstream? is often used and assumed but little analyzed. Its popularity and lack of definition may be attributed to its obviousness, arousing little inquiry beyond first glance. But what assumptions and constructions underlie ?mainstream?? Why does it appear to be fixed when it is vague and fluid?

I contend that unpacking these constructions might shed light on processes of mainstreaming a range of political issues, as in: the mainstreaming of intersectional approaches; building alliances and common grounds among different groups; maintaining or re-configuring an existing status quo; the inching of far-right movements towards society's mainstream; or addressing structural issues such as racism in my on-going research on Multiculturalism, Canadian Muslims, and Islamophobia in Canadian society.

I propose a discourse-based analysis of ?mainstream? as it appears in the Canadian Journal of Political Science since 2000 for understanding the concept. Second, I draw on recent scholarship on analogical thinking as a core cognitive process rather than metaphor to grapple with questions relating to mainstreaming above. As metaphor took political analysis by storm, analogy took a back seat. But its recent resurgence might help us recast structures between profoundly non-analogical relations, or similarity-in-difference, in order to understand how agendas, ideas, groups, or movements, in view of their differences, aim at ?common grounds?. What can this analogical approach say about approaching or re-imagining society's mainstream? Arguably, I focus on analogy as a highly effective cognitive process, and a crucial one, in times of conflict and post-truths.

**?A Failure to Launch? or Playing in sandboxes with radical futures, alliances, decolonization, an ethic of restoration, future-proofing and sovereignty:** Keira Ladner (University of Manitoba)

**Abstract:** Conceived of as a hybrid or multi-platform research note which explores the failures that I have confronted alongside multiple research partners in a decade long struggle with sandboxes, systems developers and digital archival systems in an attempt to create digital bundles across a number of research projects. While the initial goal of creating a database (then several databases) which could facilitate community-oriented knowledge mobilization seemed simple, it quickly became evident that it was not. Simply stated, existing digital archival software lacks the flexibility to facilitate the imagining of digital futures beyond what these platforms already do and have thus, been unable to make existing software work in a way that addresses community needs and concerns. Working with designers and developers has not overcome these challenges as a new digital divide seems to be continuously reified as software developers demonstrate an inability to reimagine their digital sandboxed in a manner which embraces the philosophical and epistemological foundations of my research program including relationality (grounded in miyo we?citowin), decolonization (increasingly understood through an ethic of restoration), Indigenous sovereignties, transformative reconciliation (alliances) and envisioning radical futures. While I have presented on my digital sovereignties research previously at the CPSA, this presentation will provide an opportunity to workshop a research note which focusses both on the technological challenges of creating future-proof digital bundles and on the non-technological challenge of doing research in either MMIWG or comparative constitutional politics using digital bundles to advance Indigenous sovereignty, decolonization, radical futures and global networks (Indigenous and allied).



## N16 - Women, Disaster Management, and Uprising

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1065

Chair/Président/Présidente : Iris Bradford (Concordia University)

**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.

**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 - Business and Committee Meetings (09:30am - 12:00pm)

### S16 - (New) CPSA Board of Directors / (Nouveau) Conseil d'administration de l'ACSP

#### CPSA Business and Committee Meetings

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 09:30am - 12:00pm | **Salle** : 1455 De Maisonneuve Blvd. W. CONCORDIA University - Conference Room 1220 (12th floor)/Salle de conférence 1220 - (12e étage)

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

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#### Participants

Nikola Brassard-Dion (University of Ottawa)

Erin Crandall (Acadia University)

Anne-Marie D'Aoust (University of Quebec in Montreal)

Aude-Claire Fourot (Simon Fraser University)

Megan Gaucher (Carleton University)

Amy Janzwood (McGill University)

Genevieve Fuji Johnson (Simon Fraser University)

Jonathan Malloy (Carleton University)

Julia Rodgers (Dalhousie University)

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## Day 3 - Session 2 (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 :** J-1187 (accessible via J-1200), Pavillon Judith-Jasmin, Université du Québec à Montréal (05, rue Sainte-Catherine Est)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Lisa Birch (Université Laval)

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

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**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:** 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.

**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.

**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.

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## A17(b) - Misinformation in Canadian Politics

### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1055

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Mackenzie Lockhart (Yale University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** John McAndrews (McMaster University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Andrew Heffernan (University of Ottawa)

*?We Didn't Start the Fire, It was Always Burning?: Wildfires, Misinformation Ecosystems and Political Consequences in Canada:* Thomas Bergeron (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.

*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.

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## A17(c) - Quebec Elections and Parties

### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :** 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Joanie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Joanie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke)

**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), 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 sociaux 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 réalignment 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)

**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 :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Lisa Young (University of Calgary)

**Co-Chair/Président/Présidente :** Angelia Wagner (University of Alberta)

**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 :**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=13](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=13)

***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:*** Evan Walker (University of Alberta), Jared Wesley (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(a) - Parties, Populism, and Protest

### Politique comparée

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Dolunay Bulut (University of Arizona)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Steven Eichenberger (Université de Genève)

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

*Clarifying the Threat of Populism: Place and Party Organizational Strength:* Jiajia Zhou (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.

*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)

**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(b) - Development, Sustainability, and Political Parties

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

Chair/Président/Présidente : Evangeline Kroon (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Lauchlan Munro (Ottawa University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Evangeline Kroon (York University)

*Beyond the Dichotomy: A Typology of Direct Public Funding:* Tobias Gerhard Schminke (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)

**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 disproportionately 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.



## C17(a) - Roundtable:

### Relations internationales

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** : McGill College 2001 735

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Rebekah Pullen (McMaster University)

Rebekah Pullen (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** When looking to pursue a scholarly career in international studies, one crucial question is: how? How do you decide where you want to live? How do you determine what you'll study? Teach? How do you remain a whole person in a job that can demand ever-increasing amounts of your time? And how have others made these decisions? This series of interviews, organized by the ISA-Canada Professional Development Committee and distributed via a podcast, will look at how people have built and sustained a career in international studies. In particular, these interviews are a way of sharing collective and collected knowledges regarding how our identity as researchers is tied to what we study, and how we study it. Aimed at those early in their careers (graduate students, post-doctoral fellows and ECRs), there will be lessons for those at any stage, from senior researchers to those just beginning to consider what the career of a scholar focused on international studies could look like, and what potentials and pitfalls may await.

The CPSA 2024 session will feature live interviews that will make up part of this podcast series, "Acting Like a Doctor?". Hosted by Rebekah Pullen, the series will be made available through Buzzsprout. Each episode will feature an interview with a scholar who will discuss their experience and offer advice to others on a specific theme, including:

- ? Why academia?
  - ? Why this job?
  - ? A day in the life
  - ? Learning on the job
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## C17(b) - Human Rights and Justice

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1047

Chair/Président/Présidente : Karl Trautman (Central Maine Community College)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Karl Trautman (Central Maine Community College)

**FOR an Inclusive Borderland Discourse: Assessing Developmental Paradigm in India's Northeast TERRITORIES:** Soham Das (O.P. Jindal Global University), Sreeradha Datta (O.P. Jindal Global University)

**Abstract:** Understanding borderlands through the lens of traditional securities espouses the conflict management approaches of suppression, sometimes assimilation, but rarely integration. While the strategic goals of a state in administering borderlands are to ensure connectivity, develop effective regionalism and sub regionalism, and warranty internal stability, we argue that they cannot be successful without addressing the non-traditional security aspects. To verify this theoretical argument normatively and empirically, we assess the infrastructural and developmental aspects of India's Northeast territories in this paper. While the structural aspect of difficult terrain in the northeast has been detrimental for trade and economic opportunities, the aspects of security perceptions, socio-political isolations, alongside ethno-lingual complexities gave rise to furthermore challenges. Earlier northeast India was the domain for the security establishment to engage with, but this narrative changed with the advent of India's 'Look East Policy' in 1991 and boosted thereafter with 'Act East Policy' in 2014. Since then, the developmental programs, including infrastructure and economic initiatives directly impacting the non-state actors, organizations, and political entities have been playing a significant role in ensuring security of the area. The two border towns of Moreh and Tamu between India and Myanmar respectively are the reference cases in this study. This international border follows a liberal regime allowing free peoples' movement without visas up to 16 kilometres on both sides without any security apprehensions. We argue that the developmental programs and the interconnected international boundary organically develops cooperation between the communities, correlating with relatively lower instances of violences in these areas.

**Justice Delayed: Exploring Barriers of Transitional Justice Practices in Sri Lanka:** Mythreyi Vijayakulan (Ontario Tech University)

**Abstract:** Sri Lanka's civil war, with its catastrophic bloodshed and violence, ended 14 years ago, but grievance and injustice has not. The nation's ethnically polarized government continues to subjugate the Tamil population and there has been minimal attention to transitional justice practices, such as truth and reconciliation commissions. Although there is substantial literature which explores the mixed effectiveness of transitional justice practices in states such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, South Africa, and Sierra Leone, this research is more limited for cases in South Asia, including Sri Lanka. This gap in the research prompts the question: What barriers and opportunities exist to the development of effective transitional justice practices in Sri Lanka? This research is interested in understanding why there has not been a push for transitional justice in Sri Lanka as well as exploring what these practices could achieve there. Through a qualitative systematic review, this proposed study identifies three barriers to transitional justice in Sri Lanka: (1) fundamental inequalities persistent within the state; (2) a lack of international pressure stemming from Sri Lanka's geopolitical position; and (3) the state's emphasis on political development. This analysis will explore opportunities to overcome these barriers and the role transitional justice mechanisms could have in the Sri Lankan context. Furthermore, this study will identify factors that contribute to the success and failures of these mechanisms while evaluating their appropriateness to differing post-conflict environments.

**Failures of Reform: Overlapping Systems of Human Rights Violations During The War in Afghanistan (2001-2021) and the Undermining of Rights Reforms:** Ahmad Sadam Siam Panah (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** The backdrop of the United States (US)-led intervention in 2001 in Afghanistan was marked by promises of democratization, the establishment of a just society, and the protection of human rights. However, despite these intentions, the decades-long endeavor witnessed the development of a persistent vicious cycle of human rights abuses, raising critical questions about the efficacy of the reform agenda. This paper asks: 'why did post-2001 human rights reforms fail in Afghanistan?' The intricate web of human rights violations, encompassing issues such as civilian casualties, torture programs, governmental corruption, lack of due process, and the impact on vulnerable populations, that persisted throughout the War in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2021 which undermined human rights reform efforts. By analyzing the actions and policies of the US coalition forces and the Afghan government, this paper uncovers underlying factors that contributed to the failure of post-2001 human rights reform efforts. Importantly, to help explain and predict failures of human rights reforms in Afghanistan and other conflict-divided societies, this paper introduces new conceptualizations of human rights hypocrisy. This paper shed light on the intricate dynamics at play during the implementation of human rights reform efforts, and posits on the root causes of why rights reforms can fail.

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## C17(c) - IAPSS (International Association for Political Science Students) - Digital Methods in Political Science Research

### Relations internationales

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Piers Eaton (University of Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Justin Patrick (University of Toronto)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=319](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=319)

*Policy Forecasting in Political Science Research: Introduction to Digital Research Methods.*: Lloyd George Banda (Stellenbosch University)

**Abstract:** In a 2022 publication that appeared in the International Journal of Forecasting published by Elsevier, a total of 80 researchers representing 72 affiliations teamed up in a single paper to emphasize the need for every social scientist, at least, to use digital information to conduct forecasting. Forecasting has always been at the forefront of decision-making and planning but hugely missing in mainstream political science. Except in public policy discourse, most studies, digital econometric or otherwise statistical research alike, are policy appended. The importance of statistical research continues to rise, for example, backed by the increased accuracy of prediction of election results worldwide. Political scientists have to know the basics of forecasting political phenomena. This study introduces individual and aggregated data sources and the use thereof in forecasting using non-complex statistical approaches. The study highlights how digital research in political science can make sense of publicly available data from global research tanks without deploying complex econometric or statistical models. The paper aims to contribute to policy forecasting in policy science discourse and other political science fields.

*Brokerage Politics, Catch-all Parties, and Canada's Contemporary Political Parties:* Colby Gauthier (University of Manitoba)

**Abstract:** In Canada, the term "brokerage party" is colloquially used to describe the two largest contemporary parties, the CPC and the LPC. Authors in Canadian politics have done work in determining the defining characteristics of not only "brokerage parties", but the closely related term, "catch-all parties". One of the most prominent academics in the study of party politics, Dr. R.K. Carty, made the case in 2013 that the Canadian parties have been at best catch-all parties that have used brokerage politics in their past. In this research, I go even further to analyze today's parties using a slightly modified version of Carty's definition model and suggest that they do not make very good catch-all parties either. I examine the parties by observing party/leadership behaviour, campaigning, and policies. The paper provides us with a contemporary analysis of party politics in Canada and coins two terms, "brokerage moments," a concept that better describes moments in time when political parties who do not fit the definition of a brokerage party engage in brokerage politics and the term, "quasi catch-all party," a concept that better describes the politics of today's CPC and LPC. All of this work supports further research into the ever-changing nature of Canadian politics and political parties.

*Digital Dynamics: Unveiling Public Opinion in the Era of Transformation:* Jhonatan Rafael Poppe Tamayo (Universidad Privada Boliviana)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the transformative impact of digital methods on political research, focusing on mapping public opinion. Online interactions, vital to political discourse, offer a unique perspective through methods like big data analysis and social media opinion mining. The paper assesses their efficacy in capturing opinion complexity, illustrating how they unveil thought patterns, identify trends, and inform policy formulation. The study also explores the link between online citizen participation and diverse opinion representation, and their role shaping political agendas. The paper advocates for integration of digital methods into political research, recognizing their capacity to enhance informed decision-making and foster inclusive citizen participation.

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## C17(d) - International Organization(s)

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

Chair/Président/Présidente : Tay Jeong (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Michael Lipson (Concordia University)

**Burns from BREXIT and NATO Common Funding agreements: A universal comparative analysis of recent bargains confirms the loss of British position in Common Funding negotiations:** Anessa Kimball (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** NATO Common Funding agreements serve as regular bargaining opportunities among partners to re-slice the burdens of managing its household budgets. This article demonstrates the continued slippage of the UK in terms of relative contributions over the last several decades. Moreover, the 2021 agreement confirms that French contributions no longer closely track with the UK both of which may be externalities of the UK exiting the EU. The consequences of the UK's reduction of central role in NATO burden discussions alongside its economic stagnation offers several interesting, and unanticipated, consequences of exiting the European Union which bled into the transatlantic defence Alliance. The observation German and US contributions are set to equal since the 2021-2024 negotiations merits discussion. The implications of a 'universal comparative' analysis of the last funding agreement using publicly available data on economic capacity are discussed with attention to the crisis in Ukraine and the impending US Presidential election season which coincides with NATO's 75th anniversary alongside enlargement to Finland (and Sweden). With Washington hosting the 2024 NATO Summit next summer while US Presidential primary campaigns should be in full swing, the chances of conservatives instrumentalizing the alliance, its funding and the crisis in Ukraine increase, therefore this article closes with recommendations for stakeholders.

**UNDRIP, State Sovereignty, & Indigenous Collective Rights to Self-Determination:** Makonen Bondoc (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Makonen E.G. Bondoc, PhD Candidate, McGill University

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Supervisor: Professor Catherine Lu

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The paper I wish to present for the Canadian Political Science Association 2024 Annual Conference is a chapter from my current dissertation project. This research project potentially aligns with requests for contributions that address the visibility of some issues and the silence of others both within the fields of international relations theory, international law, and human rights. The paper itself can be considered an analysis of the global and domestic silencing of issues surrounding Indigenous human rights recognition, protection, and implementation. The main problem explored in this paper is: how international law fails to affirm Indigenous collective rights to self-determination (CRSD). International law historically has accorded Indigenous peoples' inferior status within international law, with implications for both Indigenous peoples' exclusion from sovereignty recognition and from Indigenous peoples' human rights realization. I will show how, beginning in the late 15th century, and continuing to this day, international law and the international system continuously evolved to create legal doctrines, categories, and mechanisms that closed off viable opportunities for Indigenous CRSD recognition from nation-states and international society at large. I will diagnose how international law continuously reproduces exclusionary dichotomies that serve to deny Indigenous peoples' CRSD. Specifically, how these legal and rhetorical dichotomies establish and uphold sovereign exclusion and non-recognition of Indigenous peoples as legislative and diplomatic equals within nation-states and the international community. While the rise and development of international human rights has challenged sovereign domination in some forms, I show that, despite its promise and emancipatory potential, international human rights law, similar to international law, has failed to remedy the denial of Indigenous peoples' CRSD in the international system. In so doing, I outline significant problems of international order in relation to Indigenous peoples' CRSD, providing the background context for the central questions guiding my dissertation research project surrounding effective implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).

**'We're an organization that does stuff': The International Organization for Migration, Logistics and Expert Authority in Migration Governance:** Megan Bradley (McGill University)

**Abstract:** This paper advances accounts of expertise as a source of power in migration governance by examining how the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has cultivated authority as a logistical expert. Accounts of expert authority in global governance have traditionally focused on the production and control of information, particularly research and data. In contrast, this study demonstrates that logistical expertise was pivotal to the organization's early successes and long-term survival, and shows how logistical prowess and values associated with the logistical frame—such as efficiency, flexibility, nimbleness and 'value for money'—have underpinned IOM's expansion in significant ways. Drawing on extensive archival research and in-depth interviews, the paper traces how IOM's logistical operations have diversified over time, from interventions explicitly intended to facilitate the movement of (selected) migrants to a contemporary focus on a much wider range of activities such as humanitarian aid, returns, and data collection, that apply logistical techniques to manage or control mobility. The contribution is two-fold. First, the article advances understanding of IOM as an increasingly influential player in global migration governance by offering a concertedly historicized perspective focused on its logistical activities and identity. Second, by bringing scholarship on expertise and critical logistics into conversation, this work illuminates how logistics functions as a form of expertise, and demonstrates the power, risks and limitations of logistics as a source of expert authority in migration governance.

**EVALUATING THE DOMESTIC IMPACT OF JOINING THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT: A 'BOTTOM-UP' VIEW:** Laszlo Sarkany (Huron University College)

**Abstract:** The aim of this paper is to evaluate what the operation of domestic political and bureaucratic programs reveal about state commitment to the International Criminal Court (ICC). The research will begin by analyzing programs established in Canada, and then will focus on evaluating similar programs in the United Kingdom, Belgium, Argentina, and Kenya. States join the ICC by passing domestic implementing legislation which obliges them to cooperate with the Court. The scholarly literature discussing why states comply with the ICC falls within the broader discussion on state cooperation and compliance with international organizations. The discussion, however, tends to focus on those initial reasons and processes of joining. Even the literature that focuses on domestic politics ? by Hillebrandt, 2014 ; Dukakis and Johansen, 2013 ; Alter, 2014 ; and Simmons, 2009 ; and others ? seem to focus solely on how those initial efforts to join an organization are determined by domestic political actors. Much less emphasis is placed on understanding what the domestic practices ? once states have joined an IO ? reveal about the commitment of states to these IOs. This paper seeks to begin to fill this gap in the literature by focusing on already established programs and gauging the long-term impact of domestic initiatives on commitment and compliance using comparative analyses. In a broader sense, this research seeks to add a much needed comparative dimension to the scholarly discussion about compliance and cooperation with international organizations.

***Mending the Fences: Re-Examining Africa and International Criminal Court (ICC) Relationship:*** Eugene Danso (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** The refusal of some African states to cooperate with the International Criminal Court (ICC) has been an obstacle in the adjudication of justice, especially in seeking fair trials and the presentation of substantive evidence for the prosecution of suspects. In response to these challenges, the International Criminal Court (ICC) has introduced some institutional reforms geared towards promoting cooperation. Despite the broad array of literature on the relationship between African states and the International Criminal Court (ICC), scholars tend to narrowly focus on African states resistance to the ICC without paying much attention to how institutional reforms adopted by the Court have contributed towards improving cooperation between the two (Kerr 2020; Rukooko and Silverman 2019; Vilmer 2016). The international law and politics literature narrowly explains state and international institutions? relations on grounds of sovereignty (Clarke 2010; Oates 2019; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998) and legitimacy (Barnett and Finnemore 1999; Oates 2017), without placing emphasis on institutional reforms. This limits researchers? capacity to understand the institutional mechanisms of the ICC and the extent to which cooperation is achieved in the adjudication of justice.

Using a within-case analysis, the proposed study seeks to test the liberal institutionalist framework by empirically examining institutional reforms adopted by the ICC and their impact on the Court?s relationship with African states.

The proposed study, therefore, goes beyond the standard narratives and seeks to assess the institutional reforms adopted by the ICC, and further advance academic knowledge on state resistance to international institutions and the approaches adopted towards cooperation.

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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 : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 365

Chair/Président/Présidente : Kate Graham (Western University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Kristin Good (Dalhousie University)

**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 mid-sized 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)

**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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## F17(a) - Political Sociology and Citizenship

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 391

Chair/Président/Présidente : Seyoung Jung (UQAM)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Vincent Raynauld (Emerson College)

*Citizen Representation in Federal States:* Éric Desrochers (Université d'Ottawa / University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** My paper will focus on the relationship between citizens' preferred policies and those enacted by their governments. I will examine how citizens' substantive representation differs across federations' subnational units, with a particular attention to the effects of some of federalism's associated characteristics (fiscal decentralization, shared jurisdictions, social heterogeneity, bicameralism, and party system incongruence). I will rely on literatures with different approaches to political representation, particularly on studies on substantive representation and on federalism. While previous studies of substantive representation have usually focused on the public opinion of states as a whole, I should be able to offer insights into some of the inequalities of representation present within federations.

The first contribution that I make is to better connect the literature on substantive representation to the vast federalism literature. On the one hand, studies of substantive representation have developed clear concepts and measures of representation, namely citizens-elites congruence and responsiveness, but they have failed to capture the peculiarities of political representation inherent to federations. On the other hand, the literature on federalism proposed normative insights with respect to representation but has failed to grasp the recent developments characterizing studies of substantive representation. My objective in this paper is thus to propose new conceptualizations of substantive representation that better consider the normative expectations associated with federalism and develop theoretical expectations explaining the role of federalism on citizens' substantive representation within (and across) federations.

*Trudeau, Trump, Thunberg: What political content do teenagers view online?:* Nicole Gallant (INRS)

**Abstract:** Traditional political science tools prove insufficient to grasp how online conversations and content contribute to the political socialisation of young people (alongside better-known agents like family, peers, schools, etc.). Two shortcomings arise in the existing quantitative and qualitative literature: the questions tend to imply intent (e.g. 'looking for' information) and answers vary along subjective definitions of information and politics.

To observe what type of political information young people effectively see online (whether or not they actively seek it), we conducted innovative qualitative interviews with fifteen teenagers (aged 15 to 17) in Québec in 2020. After establishing together what 'counts' as politics/news through curated examples including memes, we observed their digital practices in context, as they scrolled their accounts on the various platforms they regularly use. Each occurrence of political/news content was discussed (whom it came from, how they usually react) and captured through screenshots for further analysis (manually coding 281 items for themes, geography, source, etc.).

Political content was generally sparse, and topics ranged from covid, social debates (environment, inequalities, feminism), to news about celebrities, and seldom government action. Many were humour about political personalities which did not reference their political views. Most importantly, it emerges that algorithms seem to reinforce and exacerbate the divide between young people who are politically aware and others. The latter view very little political content, generally suggested by algorithms: either sponsored local information or popular non-Québécois, non-Canadian humor, often from unreliable sources. This likely impacts their representations of the scale and geography of the political sphere.

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## F17(b) - Narratives, Identity and Counter-Narratives

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin, 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5020

Chair/Président/Présidente : Fred Guillaume Dufour (UQAM)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Daniel Stockemer (Université d'Ottawa)

*Far from Home: Stories of immigrant soldiers in the New Zealand Defence Force:* Grazia Scoppio (Royal Military College of Canada), Aimee Vieira (Independent Scholar), Sawyer Hogenkamp (University of California Los Angeles)

**Abstract:** Immigrants leave their homes in search of a better life, to reunite with family, for economic or humanitarian reasons, and they bring to their new country much needed human capital to fill workforce gaps, including serving in their new country's military. Due to the paucity of research on immigrants in the armed forces (see Scoppio & Greco, 2022; Aptekar, 2023) we embarked on a qualitative study to explore different immigration and military service experiences, using narrative inquiry to elicit the stories of immigrant soldiers, aviators and sailors serving in the militaries of the Five Eyes countries: Canada, the US, Australia, the UK and New Zealand. This paper focuses on interviews with foreign-born members of the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) with prior military experience. Additionally, we draw on quantitative data by the NZDF on prior military service immigrants recruited to serve in their ranks. However, as a small military, in a geographically remote location, this organization contrasts significantly with those of larger countries. Indeed, as the smallest military in the Five Eyes, the NZDF has only 15,191 regular, reserve and civilian personnel. The reality of military service in New Zealand, as reflected in individual migration experiences provides evidence of the significant challenges these migrants face in their arrival experiences, sense of belonging, expressions of loyalty, familiarity with the receiving country, experiences of exclusion, and in the institutional efforts (or lack thereof) to facilitate the transition of lateral transfer members and effectively leverage their skills. Ultimately, these narratives uncover extraordinary stories about the impact of migration on these immigrant soldiers and their families.

*It's hard to be it if you can't see it?: Racialized Affinity and Interest in Running for Office in Canada:* Kenny Le (University of New Brunswick - Saint John), Joanna Everitt (University of New Brunswick - Saint John), Karen Bird (McMaster University), Angelia Wagner (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Racialized minorities continue to be underrepresented in Canadian politics, though recent decades have seen improvement. Studies of legislative recruitment of underrepresented groups, such as women and minorities, identify three stages at which representation can narrow: aspirants?, those who seek party nominations, candidates?, those successfully selected as party nominees, and legislators?, those who successfully win office (Tolley 2023). Our paper focuses on the aspirant stage, examining the question of how contexts of local candidate diversity motivate interest in running for office. We ask first about a co-ethnic affinity? effect: do racialized individuals express greater interest in running for office when they see candidates that look like? them? Second, we know that there are aggregate differences in political engagement across racialized minorities in Canada at all stages of legislative recruitment. To the extent affinity is present, how does it differ across racialized groups in Canada (South Asian, Chinese, and Black, in particular)? Finally, we consider other sociodemographic individual-level characteristics that may impact interest in running for office, including gender, and the intersections between these characteristics and race. We investigate these questions with data from a survey which oversampled racialized respondents (N = 2242) and contained an experiment presenting respondents with comparisons between candidate slates of varying diversity and a question probing interest in running for office. Our study contributes to the scant literature on race and legislative recruitment in Canada, and our understanding of how minority presence activates electoral engagement.

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## J17 - Centralization, Decentralization and Fiscal Federalism

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

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 395

Chair/Président/Présidente : Patrick DesJardins (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Julie Simmons (University of Guelph)

**Beyond Centralization vs. Decentralization: Examining Autonomy in Interdependent Austria:** Petr Konecny (University of Alberta (Visiting Fellow) / Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic)

**Abstract:** Recent multiple crises brought new dynamics to the debate on federalism. There is pressure on the autonomy of subnational decision-making in various areas of governance, including fiscal, security and environmental. Following the debate on the sources of interdependence, based on the distinction of centralization?decentralization and autonomy?interdependence dimensions, this paper examines the relationship between institutional restraints, party competition and autonomy of decision-making. It focuses on Austria, arguably the most interdependent and centralized federation. Two recent conflictual policies on the state level were selected as significant cases: transport emissions policy in Salzburg 2013?2022, with the Greens pushing for strict road traffic regulation, and security policy in Carinthia 2009?2013, where post-Haider right-wing populists sought to reduce immigration. As a method, the two decision-making processes were qualitatively examined via analysis of related legal, official and political documents. Attention was paid to the relationships among regional political actors and between the federal and provincial levels, and the influence of informal institutions (e.g. the State Governors Conference). The preliminary results show that conflictual politics does not lead to greater regional autonomy if institutional and procedural sources of interdependence dominate. On the contrary, by inferencing the empirical evidence, more autonomous decision-making cannot be expected in any area of governance ? regardless of the climate, economic or security crisis ? unless the sources of autonomy prevail. Furthermore, the results support the theory associating autonomy and regionalism, applicable at least in highly interdependent systems.

**Fiscal federalism in an era of financialization:** Kyle Hanniman (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** In the normative fiscal federalism literature, central governments are generally assigned three tasks: risk sharing, redistribution, and macroeconomic stabilization. But the recent efforts of central banks, and governments to stabilize domestic financial markets in the wake of volatility in global financial markets clearly suggests a fourth. This paper describes, and documents a number of these stabilization efforts in wealthy countries since 2008, with a special emphasis on direct efforts of central banks to stabilize subnational bond markets. It also explores the origins, or implications of these policies from three perspectives: (1) an economic perspective ? broadly aligned with the priorities of a first-generation of fiscal federal scholars ? exploring their implications for the country?s economic, and fiscal health; (2) a political perspective ? broadly aligned with the priorities of second-generation fiscal federal scholars ? exploring variation in these measures across federal systems; and (3) and a deeper historical perspective ? which might become a key component of a third-generation of fiscal federal research ? explaining why the measures have become so prevalent now.

**Rent banks in Canada: Comparing the impact of provincial social policy regimes on housing stability and eviction prevention through an intersectional lens:** Tobin Haley (University of New Brunswick), Laura Pin (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Rent banks are publicly-funded, eviction prevention and housing stabilization programs that provide no-interest loans, forgivable loans and/or grants to tenants who need assistance with rental arrears, rental deposits and utilities. Rent banks are a relatively new policy intervention, recently attracting increased public investment in Canada with province-wide rent banks recently financed by British Columbia (2019), Manitoba (2021), and New Brunswick (2024), and locally based rent banks supported by a variety of municipalities across Canada.

Despite the increased prevalence of rent banks as a public housing stability intervention, little is known about 1) the variation in rent bank models across the country 2) how different provincial/territorial social policy regimes impact rent bank efficacy (e.g., the structure of income-support programs, private market rental regulation and social housing subsidies), and 3) how variation in rent bank models and social policy context impacts the ability of these programs to meet the needs of diverse constituencies. Drawing on two years of data from a community-engaged research project with the Canadian Rent Bank Coalition, this paper attends to rent bank operations in four case-study sites across the country, seeking to place these operations into the context of broader social policy regimes. Through this work identify a cohesive set of shared characteristics of that distinguish rent banks from private microfinance lenders. Yet we find substantial differentiation in rent bank eligibility, lending, and granting practices, as individual rent banks have adapted to diverse policy contexts. Mobilizing an intersectional framing, attentive to the relationship between social location and policy experience, we document how these variations in practice impact the efficacy of rent banks as housing housing stability and eviction prevention programs.

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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 :** UQAM, Pavillon des sciences de la gestion (R), 315 Sainte-Catherine Street E., room/local R-3540

**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 democratising 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.

**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.

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## N17 - Roundtable: Parent Politics and Trans Youth: Contesting the Anti-Gender Ideology Movement

### Femmes, genre et politique

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** : Concordia University, Simone de Beauvoir Institute classroom, 2155 Guy Street, 6th Floor, Room 672

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

Marc Lafrance (Concordia University)

Florence Ashley (University of Alberta)

Samuel Singer (University of Ottawa)

Francesco MacAllister-Caruso (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Despite their critical role in advocating for the rights of transgender youth, parents of gender-diverse children remain understudied in the contemporary literature on Canadian politics. As debates over affirming policies for gender-diverse youth in primary and secondary schools spread across the country, there is a pressing need for scholarship that can speak to the ways in which these understudied actors influence the political process. This roundtable will draw on the collective experience of a multidisciplinary team of scholars who have been working over the past decade to advance the well-being of transgender and nonbinary youth in Ontario, Quebec, and Newfoundland. Complementing participants' past advocacy experience and research, the roundtable will offer an opportunity to present preliminary findings from interviews with 55 parents who advocate for their transgender, nonbinary, or Two-Spirit children (aged 4-26) in Canada. Using content analysis, this study will elucidate the social and political mobilization strategies used to contest discourses on parental rights which often serve as a dog whistle for anti-trans policies in schools.

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## **W317 - National Security & Intelligence: Special Session on Research Security**

**Atelier - Sécurité nationale et renseignement : perspectives canadiennes et comparées**

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle** : McGill College 2001 461

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Christian Leuprecht (Royal Military College & Queen's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Martha Crago (McGill University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Benjamin Fung (McGill University)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=150](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=150)

### **Participants**

Richard Baylin (RCMP)

Colin MacSween (Public Safety Canada)

Shawn M. (Canadian Security Intelligence Service)

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## 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?

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### Table ronde : Les 10 ans du Polimètre : Une approche multiforme de la collecte de connaissances, de l'enseignement de la méthodologie des sciences politiques et de l'agilité dans la diffusion des connaissances?

#### Politique canadienne

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle** : J-1187 (accessible via J-1200), Pavillon Judith-Jasmin, Université du Québec à Montréal (05, rue Sainte-Catherine Est)

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Frédéric Bastien (Université de Montréal)

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

Dominic Duval (UQAM)

Lisa Birch (Université Laval)

Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (University of Toronto)

Benjamin Carignan (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. /

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**Description** : « Lorsque le Polimètre (<https://www.polimetre.org/fr>) a été inventé il y a 10 ans au Centre d'analyse des politiques publiques de Québec, il avait quatre objectifs principaux : (1) suivre en temps réel les promesses électorales au Québec (à partir de 2013) et au Canada (à partir de 2014) afin de fournir aux citoyens, aux journalistes, aux politiciens et aux experts des données fiables et indépendantes sur les promesses électorales et leur réalisation; (2) générer des données pour la recherche comparative concernant la réalisation des promesses au Canada et à l'étranger; (3) publier des livres édités sur chaque mandat ainsi que des articles de revues universitaires; et (4) fournir aux jeunes chercheurs une formation et, si possible, une première expérience en matière de publication à la fois pour le public universitaire et le grand public. Le Polimètre est fondé sur la méthodologie du Comparative Pledges Project (<https://comparativepledges.net/>) pour permettre le suivi et le partage des données pendant les mandats, puis la finalisation des verdicts et la fin des mandats. En 2019-2020, le Polimètre a été élargi pour suivre les promesses au Nouveau-Brunswick et en Ontario, générant ainsi des données supplémentaires. Les données du Polimètre ont contribué à divers articles de revues universitaires, à des chapitres de livres publiés avec le CPP, à des documents de conférence et à une série de livres édités évaluant les mandats des gouvernements au Québec (Couillard/PLQ, Legault/CAQ) et au Canada (Trudeau I publié en 2019 et Trudeau II & III à venir). Des thèses de doctorat ont également été réalisées à partir de ces données. Les panélistes sont invités à présenter leurs réflexions sur le Polimètre, sa réalisation de ses propres objectifs, ses forces, ses faiblesses et ses défis futurs. Ils sont invités à réfléchir à des considérations plus larges sur l'impact potentiel de l'outil sur la démocratie à travers les réponses des citoyens, des journalistes et des politiciens. »

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## B18(a) - Ethics, Trust and Political Leadership

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1055

Chair/Président/Présidente : Neil Thomlinson (Toronto Metropolitan University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Alex Marland (Acadia University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Stéphane Paquin (National School of Public Administration (ENAP))

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=80](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=80)

*Populism, Leader Character and Trust: How Female Populist Voters Judge the Character of Political Leaders.*: Cristine de Clercy (Trent University), Gerard Seijts (Western University), Ana Pardo ()

**Abstract:** Many voters choose to follow political leaders based on an assessment of particular attributes of a leader's character. However, political scientists employ relatively few tools to measure leader character precisely, and there is even less study of the key factors that influence such voter assessments. We employ an analytical framework drawn from the management sciences to examine how a sample of voting-age, anglophone Canadians judged the character of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau during the COVID-19 pandemic. We propose that gender and right-side populism are important explanatory variables, and our findings confirm this. Importantly, the interaction of gender and populism suggests that particularly among female voters, subscription to right-side populist ideology may more significantly corrode leader character evaluations than for male right-side populist voters.

*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 examines 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:** 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.

*Epistemic Trust and Effective Leadership*: Susan Dieleman (University of Lethbridge)

**Abstract:** Evidence shows that political trust, i.e., citizens' trust in political leaders, is important for effective leadership (Seijts et al. 2022). My aim is to investigate what specific role the epistemic dimension of political trust plays in securing effective leadership. In the fields of social and political epistemology, epistemic trust refers to trust and trustworthiness as it relates to our roles as knowers and, most commonly, to questions about whether and when we do or should trust the testimony of others. Two dimensions of this issue have received increased attention in the philosophical literature recently, in particular because of the risk they pose to contemporary democratic practice. The first is evidence of declining citizen trust in the testimony of experts, including scientific and medical experts (Douglas 2021; Rolin 2020; Watson 2020). The second is insufficient trust in the testimony of traditionally oppressed groups, i.e., epistemic injustice, owing to deflated credibility attributions (Fricker 2007; Medina 2020). In my presentation, I will add another dimension to this inquiry, namely, trust in the testimony of political leaders, with the goal of determining how important it is for effective leadership.

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## B18(b) - Nationalism, Ethnic or Religious Minorities, and Protest

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

Chair/Président/Présidente : André Lecours (Université d'Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : André Lecours (Université d'Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Aubrey Westfall (Wheaton College)

*American Nationalism, Puerto Rico, and Latinos:* André Lecours (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** This paper examines how the new inflection given to American nationalism by the Trump administration was deployed against an ethnic group (Latinos) and a minority nation (Puerto Rico) and it analyzes the consequences of such inflection. Ridden with discriminatory rhetoric and hate speech, the Trump administration promoted policies that deeply harmed Latinos as well as those seeking asylum in the U.S. (mainly Central and South Americans). In addition, Trump's abysmal response to Puerto Rico after hurricane María and the COVID pandemic ravaged the island showed his deep despise for that territory and its people. The new nationalism of Trump "othered" those deemed different and nefarious for the return of America to "greatness," and consequently sought to throw them into darkness or expel them altogether. However, Latinos and Puerto Ricans (and their allies) responded to Trump's attacks by becoming more politically involved both at the polls and through activism and public demonstrations. Ultimately, the paper makes a case for how this new form of ethnonationalist impetus ironically placed Latinos "back on the map" of political contestation, elevating their voices and plights for their place in America and against racism and xenophobia.

*People engagement in direct democracy comparison of italian referendum with uk and canada.:* Umme Ummara (University of Molise)

**Abstract:** Direct democracy is a form of governance in which citizens have a direct, equal, decisive role in public policy formation and governance. In a direct democracy, citizens participate directly in the decision-making process, usually through meetings, referendums, or initiatives, instead of relying on representatives to make decisions on their behalf. Referendums are a tool used in direct democracy, allowing citizens to vote directly on specific issues. This comparative study examines the referendums in Italy, the UK and Canada based on people engagement (turnout and voting behavior). It consists of a mixed approach research method; data collection conducted through a primary source, which included literature reviews, surveys and interviews, as well as secondary sources.

Italy, the United Kingdom, and Canada have their own unique political, social, and cultural context thus; different public approach to direct democracy exists in each country. In Italy, referendums are a well-established part of the political landscape and has used to address important constitutional and political issues. The most recent one, in 2016, saw a low voter turnout of around 59% with a majority vote against proposed constitutional reforms. In the United Kingdom, the use of direct democracy is limited, and citizens' engagement in decision-making is mainly through indirect methods such as elections and representation. Referendums are a relatively recent addition to the political system in the UK and have been used only twice in modern history. The first was the Brexit referendum in 2016, which saw a high level of voter engagement and a close result, and the second was the Scottish independence referendum in 2014, which saw a voter turnout of around 84%. In Canada, direct democracy is used in the form of citizen-initiated referendums at the provincial level. In conclusion, people's engagement in referendums varies between Italy, the United Kingdom, and Canada, with each country having its own unique political, cultural, and social context that influences participation. Our study would help in policy-making related to the negotiation process and policy decisions to restore better process of conflict resolution.

Nevertheless, while referendums can play a role in the negotiation process by giving citizens a direct say in important decisions, they should be used judiciously and in conjunction with other methods of public consultation and engagement.

*Ideological Transformation After Patron Cooptation? The Resilience of Ethno-Clientelist Ties Amid Hindu Nationalism in a Scheduled Tribe Constituency in India:* Pratik Mahajan (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Ethno-majoritarian parties in multi-ethnic democracies need to gain ground among ethnic minority voters to be electorally viable. Strategies deployed by such parties focus on non-state service provision and narrative reconstruction. Where these parties lack prior organizational capacity, they coopt local elites with the capacity for patronage provision to gain votes. While co-opting local patrons leads to electoral support, can such parties transform this into ideological support for their ethno-majoritarianism? I focus on the shift of the Bhils, a Scheduled Tribe minority in western India, toward the Hindu nationalist Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP). Using a mixed-methods design in the Nandurbar federal constituency, including a novel visual conjoint survey experiment with 678 voters from 40 Bhil villages and intensive interviews with a sub-sample of 80 voters in 10 villages, I find Bhil voters prefer party platforms favouring tribal and material provision over Hindu nationalism. Exploratory results show this difference is particularly driven by BJP-leaning voters in state assembly constituencies where the BJP coopted a local patron to win the seat. Interviews corroborate these findings, showing a continued attachment to tribal identity and reluctance to support Hindu-nationalist mobilization. The interviews also suggest an enduring ethno-clientelist loyalty to local patrons, particularly among BJP-voting Bhils, rather than party affiliation determining their vote. Drawing on the literature on ethno-clientelism and Lawler's nested identity theory, I identify the mechanism by which the local patron, sharing a lower-order ethnic identity with the voters, mediates the relationship between ethno-majoritarian parties and their ethnic minority voters. The upshot is that such parties continue to rely on coopted patrons to retain the electoral support of ethnic minority voters, at least in the near term.

*The Political and Social Character of Mosques in Europe and North America:* Aubrey Westfall (Wheaton College)

**Abstract:** Empirical research consistently demonstrates that mosque attendance is associated with higher levels of civic engagement for Muslims North America and Europe. However, some results hint at important conditions for this relationship. For example, Read (2015) found positive effects between mosque involvement and civic engagement for men, but not for women in the United States. I have found that the relationship is limited to attendance that

engages congregants in activities other than prayer (Westfall 2018). Jamal (2005) and Simmons (2008) argue that the congregational diversity in American mosques provides a unique opportunity for the development of a pan-ethnic Muslim identity. These findings beg the question of how the mosque promotes engagement, and for whom? Do similar relationships appear cross-nationally? This paper engages with original survey data from Muslims in Canada, the United States, France, Germany, and the UK, to explore social and political dynamics within mosques, and their connection with congregants? political activity and social engagement outside the mosque. It considers the composition of the mosque community (ethnically, socioeconomically, demographically), the mosque decision making structure, and congregant satisfaction with their mosque. It compares these attributes across different national contexts where distinct histories of colonization and patterns of immigration have shaped the relationships between the mosques and the national governments. The results enhance our understanding of how the mosque provides political and social resources that encourage different types of civic engagement.

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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 : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

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

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Tom Urbaniak (Cape Breton University)

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

#### *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.

#### *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.



## F18 - Digital Democracy and the Politics of Technology

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

Chair/Président/Présidente : Eric Desrochers (Université d'Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Mathieu Turgeon (Western University)

*Concern, indifference or something else? Analysing attitudes of party staff towards digital campaign tools in Belgium:* Lucas Kins (Université libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** Literature on the process of incorporation of new digital tools and practices within party organisations is scarce, mainly because of the difficulty to access data from political parties. Existing research has mainly focused on the overall professionalisation of digital campaigns (Mykkänen, et al., 2022), or on the end product (i.e. digitalized campaigns), but much less is known about how the two interact (Neihouser 2020; Ostrá 2021). We wish to address this gap in our research by investigating the attitudes of staff within political parties towards digital campaign tools. To do so, we draw from the literature on political parties, as well as sociology of organisations and political communication literatures. We opt for a qualitative and inductive approach, with interviews with various staff that are in charge of managing and running the digital campaigns of Belgian political actors at both regional and national levels. We analyse attitudes and opinions of interviewees towards the strategy of their party online, their reported interactions with party hierarchy and other party branches and most importantly their personal take on the use of digital tools for campaign purposes. The aim of this research is hence to provide a deeper understanding of the interaction between the individual and organisational levels (micro, meso), which is especially relevant considering the importance of individual attitudes (and capabilities), the communication, the structure as well as the frequency of self-reflectivity of the party in the current context of permanent campaign and ever-changing media environment (Ostrá 2021).

*Translation or Strategic Adaptation? Culture, Language, and Digital Constituent Communication in Canada:* Vincent Raynauld (Emerson College), Emmanuelle Richez (University of Windsor)

**Abstract:** While much scholarly work has been conducted on strategic uses of language for political outreach and mobilization internationally, much less attention has been given on its impact on the tone, structure, and focus of political messaging. Critically, due to a wide range of socio-cultural factors, members of different linguistic communities within a country can have different political and policy priorities and goals, which can in turn impact broader dynamics of constituent communication. This exploratory paper unpacks how elected officials communicating with their constituents adjust the tone, structure, and focus of their outreach and engagement depending on the language they use to appeal to the preferences and objectives of their audience. It is hypothesized that a divide exists between the messages shared with different socio-linguistic groups of a population within a national context. In order to examine this phenomenon, this paper takes interest in the bilingual (French and English) constituent communication activities of Canadian elected officials representing ridings with a strong official language minority (more than 25% of the population). It will examine specific elements of political messaging and compare the English and French versions of the messages. Among them include the political and policy matters discussed, the words and expressions used by the elected officials, the tone of the message, and the communication channels utilized to circulate the political messages. This paper provides insights into how language is becoming an additional tool for audience targeting and may be contributing to the identity-based and political polarization in Canada.

*Diffuse platforms, common actors: A multi-platform method of mapping the (Canadian) information ecosystem:* Aengus Bridgman (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Mapping the digital information environment of any given polity has overwhelmingly focused on single-platform approaches. However, audiences and information consumption patterns are importantly diffused across platforms, which makes any single platform view provide a very narrow window into overall system-level communities and consumption patterns. This paper demonstrates the feasibility and desirability of developing a multi-platform network, or multigraph, map of a country's media and political commentariat. In our approach, politicians, news organisations, journalists, influencers, and elements of civil society, together constitute the nodes of the multigraph, while engagement with their various social media personas across multiple platforms constitute the edges. Using the Canadian case, we illustrate a set of explicit and implicit edges available to researchers and demonstrate several use cases of the multigraph. Specifically, we highlight automatic community detection, topic centrality and polarisation, and emergence of new actors in the information ecosystem. Researchers have long called for multi-platform research but have generally been missing a key insight: that actors are active across platforms and, under the assumption of a similar persona across platforms, this multi-platform activity can be used to anchor the overall social media information environment.

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## G18 - Neoliberalism, Austerity and the Political Economy of Social Change in Labour, Health, and Education

### Économie politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

Chair/Président/Présidente : Olivier Jacques (École de santé publique de l'Université de Montréal)

**La politique partisane des réformes des politiques de santé dans les pays de l'OCDE:** Olivier Jacques (École de santé publique de l'Université de Montréal), Emna Ben Jelli (École de santé publique de l'Université de Montréal), Emmanuelle Arpin (McGill)

**Abstract:** Cet article se penche sur l'impact de l'orientation idéologique du gouvernement sur les réformes de politiques de santé dans les pays de l'OCDE. Nous appuyant sur le concept de partage et de concentration des risques sociaux (Jensen, 2014 ; Rehm, 2016), nous avançons que l'idéologie des partis politiques a plus d'impact sur les réformes de politiques sociales que sur les réformes de politiques de santé. En effet, les soins de santé répondent à un risque influencé par le cycle de vie, dont l'incidence est déterminée davantage par l'âge que par le statut socio-économique (Jensen, 2014). De plus, la perception du risque de tomber malade est partagée par les citoyens de différentes classes sociales et les bénéficiaires des services de santé sont perçus comme méritant des prestations publiques, bien plus que les bénéficiaires des politiques de protection du revenu (Jensen et Petersen, 2017). Ainsi, la plupart des citoyens, quel que soit leur revenu ou leur idéologie, privilégient des dépenses supplémentaires pour les soins de santé, de sorte que la différence entre les choix de différents gouvernements concernant le niveau de dépense en santé est nulle (Jensen, 2014). En comparaison, les politiques sociales de protection du revenu couvrent les personnes les plus vulnérables qui ont un risque plus élevé de perdre leur emploi (Jensen, 2014 ; Rehm, 2016). Elles sont donc plus susceptibles d'être soutenues par les électeurs et les partis de gauche. Nous avançons toutefois que les partis de droite sont plus susceptibles de favoriser des réformes qui laissent une place plus grande au privé dans les soins de santé pour favoriser leur électorat plus aisé, sans toutefois diminuer la dépense publique. Finalement, nous proposons que l'idéologie du gouvernement ait plus d'impact sur les réformes de santé dans les systèmes de santé centralisés où l'État peut plus facilement imposer des changements que dans les systèmes décentralisés où la gestion est effectuée par des acteurs sociaux.

Pour tester ces hypothèses, nous assemblons une base de données regroupant 22 pays de l'OCDE de 1980 à 2017. Nous mesurons les réformes de santé de deux manières : le changement dans la dépense publique de santé per capita et nous utiliserons une analyse factorielle pour créer un nouvel indice de démarchandisation des soins de santé, inspiré par Clare Bamba (2005). Celui-ci se base sur la proportion des dépenses privées de santé, l'accès au système et la couverture des besoins de la population. Nous mesurons les réformes de politiques sociales de protection du revenu par la dépense publique per capita et par l'indice de démarchandisation développé par Lyle Scruggs. À l'aide de techniques statistiques d'analyse de séries temporelles, nous comparons l'impact d'un changement dans l'idéologie d'un gouvernement, mesurée à partir des manifestes des partis politiques composant le gouvernement, sur un changement dans les politiques sociales et de santé, en fonction du type d'institutions du système de santé dans un pays donné. Grâce à la comparaison de l'impact partisan sur différentes mesures novatrices de dépenses sociales et de santé, cet article représente une contribution importante à la littérature sur l'économie politique des réformes des politiques de santé.

**Neoliberal Austerity and the Role of Philanthropy: A Study of Ontario Health and Education Funding, 1990-2021:** Devin Penner (Trent University)

**Abstract:** Neoliberal austerity has taken different guises in Ontario's health and education sectors, though the private role grown continuously in both. Post-secondary institutions have faced a direct form of austerity, with significant cuts to government funding since the 1990s and a resulting trend of rapidly rising tuition fees. In health, cuts have involved a more "creeping" form of privatization, for instance allowing private clinics to perform certain surgeries. This paper focuses on a less-studied aspect of the privatization of health and post-secondary education: increased charitable donations. Neoliberalism in Canada has involved the deliberate shifting of responsibility to the voluntary sector through measures such as more generous donation tax credits. Big, institutionalized charities with a professionalized staff, administrative capacity, and sizable donor lists have a distinct advantage in this context, leading to what Peter Elson describes as a growing "bifurcation" of voluntary organizations. With this in mind, the paper examines the role that "big" philanthropy has played in compensating for austerity in health and post-secondary education in Ontario.

## M18 - Three Minute Thesis Competition (Final)

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

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

*JustInflated: Pierre Poilievre's Neoliberal Populist Style on YouTube:* Aidan Harris (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** I analyzed Pierre Poilievre's 2022 Conservative leadership campaign videos. My questions were: (1) to what extent did Poilievre perform the populist political style on YouTube during his leadership campaign? (2) If so, was his online style of populism uniquely Canadian? I conducted a qualitative and quantitative content analysis of his YouTube campaign videos. YouTube was chosen for three reasons: (1) it is an understudied platform in the digital politics literature, (2) it is the second most popular social media platform in Canada (only behind Facebook), and (3) it has been identified as a place for right-wing radicalization with a strong affinity towards populism.

The results of my study revealed that Poilievre consistently performed a populist political style unique to the Canadian tradition of neoliberal populism. Unlike the radical-right populism of Europe and the United States, neoliberal populism places a greater emphasis on fiscal restraint, small government, and a free market economy. In this regard, Poilievre spent much of his campaign on national and pocketbook economics while framing these issues under the populist dichotomy of 'the people' versus 'the elite'.

Overall, this paper makes several contributions to the digital politics literature and the Canadian literature on populism. First, it provides an in-depth analysis of YouTube, a social media platform that is understudied in political science. Second, it makes a theoretical contribution by reworking Moffitt's (2016) original approach. Third, it makes a methodological contribution by creating a codebook for populist performances. Lastly, this paper contributes to the Canadian literature on populism.

*Suivre la science, ou suivre l'incertitude ? Étude comparative de l'impact de l'incertitude et des émotions sur les politiques sanitaires durant la pandémie de COVID-19 au Québec et en Suède:* Antoine Lemor (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Au commencement de la pandémie de COVID-19 les gouvernements cherchent à mettre en œuvre des mesures efficaces pour protéger les populations. Ils disent « suivre la science ». Les connaissances scientifiques sont pourtant incertaines, et cette incertitude est reproduite avec chaque nouveau variant. On connaît mal le mode de transmission du virus, ses caractéristiques, et même l'efficacité des mesures est incertaine. Sur quelles bases scientifiques les décideurs se sont-ils appuyés lorsqu'ils ont affirmé « suivre la science » ? Ma thèse explore cette problématique en se penchant sur le Québec, particulièrement sévère durant la pandémie, et la Suède, plus permissive. Pourquoi ces différences ? Ma recherche révèle que l'interface science-politique publique c'est-à-dire l'organisation institutionnelle du conseil scientifique et de la décision joue un rôle clé car elle module l'effet de l'incertitude. La littérature montre que l'incertitude produit des comportements de protection. Toutefois, des différences existent entre scientifiques et décideurs. Les décideurs, imputables face au public, peuvent recourir à des réactions préventives sans preuves solides. Les scientifiques, professionnellement habitués à l'incertitude, peuvent adopter une approche plus mesurée fondée sur des preuves. À l'aide de méthodes mixtes composées d'une analyse de réseau décrivant les deux interfaces science-politique publique, et de méthodes poussées d'analyse du langage naturel mesurant l'incertitude, les sentiments négatifs et leurs impacts, ma thèse montre que comparativement à la Suède, l'incertitude a été au Québec le principal moteur de la sévérité des mesures. Dans une interface politiquement centralisée, c'est l'incertitude plutôt que la science qui guide souvent les décisions.

*Ancestry.com, Big Data, & The Will to Identity: Toward a Genealogy of Genealogy:* Hailey-Ann Walker (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The advent of genetic testing and ancestry services has transformed personal and familial genealogy from the niche pursuit of family tree hobbyists to a multi-billion-dollar industry. Ancestry.com dominates this industry and has amassed over 22 million DNA samples and an astonishing collection of over 40 billion archival artefacts including international birth, marriage, and death records, census and voter data, immigration and travel records, military enlistment and casualty records, school and church directories, and tax, crime, land, and will records. Increasingly, Ancestry's massive data stores have become embroiled in contemporary controversies around data privacy, genetic science, immigration, and law enforcement. More broadly, Ancestry.com data has become an expedient way for politicians, academics, and citizens alike to historically and scientifically validate (or invalidate) ancestral and ethnic claims in a wider culture of identity, wherein the will to know, broadcast, and authenticate one's roots and ethnic belonging saturates public life. As such, this project contends that archival relics and genetic material have ascended new status as a mode of political capital (both symbolic and material) which is neither reducible to market logics nor under the exclusive purview of the state. This research examines the emergence and evolution of Ancestry.com and the digital consolidation and deployment of Ancestry data across a transversal and interactive cultural-governmental field. In doing so, the project breaks rich empirical terrain upon which we can better problematize the multitude of practices through which the private and leisurely genealogical pursuits of individuals and families are rendered a convenient assemblage in the management and governing of populations.

## **W318 - National Security & Intelligence: Plenary Session on Foreign Interference**

**Atelier - Sécurité nationale et renseignement : perspectives canadiennes et comparées**

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle** : McGill College 2001 461

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Christian Leuprecht (Royal Military College & Queen's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Benjamin Fung (McGill University)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=302](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=302)

### **Participants**

Michael Chong (Member of Parliament)

Sam Cooper (The Bureau)

Sarah-Maude Lefebvre (Journal de Montréal)

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## Day 3 - Business and Committee Meetings (01:30pm - 03:00pm)

### S18 - 2025 CPSA Programme Committee Planning Meeting / Réunion de planification du comité de programme de l'ACSP 2025

#### CPSA Business and Committee Meetings

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Salle** : 1455 De Maisonneuve Blvd. W. - CONCORDIA University - Conference Room 1220 (12th floor) / Salle de conférence 1220 - (12e étage)

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

#### Participants

Isabelle Côté (Programme Co-Chair | Co-Présidente de programme - Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Matthew I. Mitchell (Programme Co-Chair | Co-Président de programme - University of Saskatchewan)

Luc Turgeon (University of Ottawa)

Alexandre Pelletier (Université Laval)

Aaron Ettinger (Carleton University)

Sophie Borwein (University of British Columbia)

Heather Millar (University of New Brunswick)

Minh Do (Guelph University)

Evelyne Brie (Western University)

Antulio Rosales (York University)

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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 :** J-1187 (accessible via J-1200), Pavillon Judith-Jasmin, Université du Québec à Montréal (05, rue Sainte-Catherine Est)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Lisa Birch (Université Laval)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (University of Toronto)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=11](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=11)

*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 :** Room R-3230, Pavillon Science de la gestion, UQAM (315 St. Catherine St. E)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Holly Ann Garnett (Royal Military College of Canada/Queen's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Holly Ann Garnett (Royal Military College of Canada/Queen's University)

**Women and Political Participation During the COVID-19 Pandemic:** Patricia Mockler (Queen's University), Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant (Queen's University), Laura Stephenson (Western University), Allison Harell (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**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), 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.

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## B19(a) - Politics and Social Media

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

Chair/Président/Présidente : Kenya Thompson (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Simon Vodrey (Carleton University)

***Policymaking to the Tempo? Timing, Policy Implementation & Protest Cycle during the Covid-19 Pandemic:*** Amir Abdul Reda (Université Mohammed VI Polytechnique)

**Abstract:** 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? In this paper, we challenge the conventional wisdom about the reasons why people protest against Covid-19 policies. We argue that civil unrest against pandemic related policies are mainly a factor of the material pain caused by the containment policies themselves, more so than the political factors outlined by others in the literature. We develop a theory of civil unrest to stringency policies during the pandemic by reengaging with a well trodden, decades old literature on material pain and protests. To test our theory, we use time series cross section data for 22 European countries spanning 2020 to 2022 (inclusive) and disaggregated at the region level. Based on this new data, we show that protests rise in relation to an intricate relationship between the severity of policies implemented to fight Covid-19, and a range of material pain (or support) variables. This is substantial for policymakers, as we show that economic support policies can effectively mitigate the propensity for protests at very specific times in the pandemic, being otherwise potentially wasted money. Our results are significant because they highlight the importance of timely and adequate governmental intervention during crises to optimize social cohesion against a common threat, and optimal use of public funds.

***Appropriately Angry? Emotion Norms in Online Political Communication:*** Jessica Burch (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)

**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), 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.

***Patterns and Predictors of Geopolitical Sentiments about the 2023 Israel-Gaza War: A Cross-Country Analysis of X Trends Data:*** Tay Jeong (Unaffiliated)

**Abstract:** The ongoing war between Israel and Gaza ( Hamas) has been at the center of political communication in a large portion of the world, often invoking strong emotions even in populations previously uninterested in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The current conflict is vitally consequential for the



?reputational security? of both belligerents as well as their international backers. This study aims to analyze the patterns and determinants of global public sentiment about the conflict through a cross-country analysis of X (Twitter) trends for the first month of the war. The data, which I have already procured, is a demi-hourly record of the top 10 X trends in 62 countries. For most keywords, it is relatively clear whether it is about the War and which side it supports. The paper therefore takes interest in three outcome variables: Overall interest in the War, support for Gaza, and support for Israel. Three types of analyses will be conducted. The first is a descriptive examination and visualization of each of the outcome variables by country and time, with specific attention to how those patterns overlap with major events that happened during the first month of the war. The second analysis examines the global spread of popular trends, with particular attention to geographic patterns in their emergence, spread, and duration. The third analysis is a cross-sectional exploratory analysis of macrohistorical predictors of each of the three outcome variables, paying attention to factors including geographical distance, cultural and religious characteristics, democracy, wealth, history of colonialism, and geopolitical bloc.

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## B19(b) - Democracy, Representation and Institutions: Cases in Canada and Japan

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

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 :

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=81](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=81)

*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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## C19(a) - Norms and Global Politics

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : McGill College 2001 735

Chair/Président/Présidente : Carla Barqueiro (Widener University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Carla Barqueiro (Widener University)

***Egypt's Soft Power in Africa: The Shift from a Norm-Based Approach to Developmental Diplomacy:*** Gamal Selim (The British University in Egypt)

**Abstract:** Ever since Egypt's full independence in 1956, the concept of soft power has represented an integral part of Egyptian foreign policy in dealing with actual and/or perceived threats at the regional and global levels. During the 1950s and 1960s, Egypt adopted a norm-based approach to soft power in the domain of foreign policy. This was manifest in Egypt's reliance on a wide array of normative instruments which acted as sources of inspiration within the traditional domains of Egyptian foreign policy, namely the African, the Arab and the Islamic domains. In the African domain, Egypt projected itself as a major champion of the principle of 'self-determination' through its substantive support of Africa's national liberation movements in their struggle for independence and its contribution in the founding of the Organization for African Unity (OAU) in 1963. This anti-imperialist role provided Egypt with substantive political leverage in the African continent. Nevertheless, Egypt's soft power gradually lost its appeal following a number of major turbulent episodes from the late 1960s onward, chiefly among them were the 1967 Egypt military defeat, the change of political leadership in 1970, and the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. These episodes and their subsequent developments, coupled with Egypt's acute economic crises at home, were instrumental in undermining Egypt's influence in Africa. Over next four decades, Egypt became more preoccupied with domestic issues at the expense of external causes, leading it to lose much of its regional and international influence, in addition to its social, political, economic and cultural persuasiveness abroad.

However, with the rise of President Sisi to power in 2014, Egypt, for the first time in four decades, has formulated a proactive foreign policy doctrine based on a nationalistic reassertion of Egypt's national interests and freedom of maneuver within region. In Africa, the new foreign policy doctrine has been manifest in Egypt's attempt to restore its soft power influence in the African continent in response to a number of emerging threats, chiefly among them is the Ethiopian 'Renaissance Dam' project and its potential threat to Egypt's water security. Nevertheless, in divergence from the historical norm-based approach, Egypt has recently adopted a development-based approach, or developmental diplomacy, to the exercise and projection of its soft power in Africa. In the context of this new approach, Egypt has sought to project itself as a reliable partner for African states in the area of development. This role has been exercised through Egypt's active participation in implementing of a wide range of infrastructure development projects across the continent, as well as mobilizing necessary financial resources in areas of priority for Africa in a way that ensures the achievement of the goals of Africa Development Agenda 2063.

In this context, this paper seeks to critically analyze the evolution and dynamics of Egypt's soft power diplomacy in Africa since independence. Towards this end, the following questions require investigation: What is the Egyptian perception of soft power in the domain of foreign policy? What are the main pillars, both historically and contemporarily, of Egypt's soft power diplomacy in Africa? What are the elements of continuity and change in the Egyptian approach to soft power towards the African continent? What are the potential challenges and/or limitations on Egyptian soft power in Africa?

***Gender Equality in the Refugee Regime: Whose Practices, Whose Norms?:*** Merve Erdilmen (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Gender equality norms have critical implications for the governance of forced migration. Scholars have paid close attention to states and international organizations' gender equality policies. Yet, these policies have contributed to longstanding helper-victim binary in humanitarian responses to displacement, and hence have neglected refugees' agency in shaping and challenging gendered power asymmetries embedded in the global refugee regime - an ironic outcome as one of the central goals of these policies has been to tackle and overcome these binaries. To unpack how helper-victim binary has reproduced on everyday basis in the refugee regime, I focus on the case of gender equality practices of refugee-led organizations, that are both subject and target of gender equality programs. Drawing upon multi-sited ethnographic research conducted in Turkey, I show that refugee-led organizations not only uphold gender equality practices promoted by donors and international organizations, but also advance and advocate for more culturally sensitive practices of gender equality. I argue for re-orienting the outlook of global governance of forced migration, and instead for approaching the norms of gender equality from the perspective of refugee-led organizations to unpack power relations embedded in humanitarian governance. A close examination of refugee-led organizations' distinct gender equality practices and other humanitarian actors' perceptions of these practices further demonstrates contestations of refugee agency in the refugee regime.

***Security Shifts and Public Sentiment: How the Recent Shifts in East Asia Geopolitics Affect Japanese Pacifist Norms:*** Jozef Rivest (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Do the recent changes in the East Asian security environment affect Japanese public opinion toward military institutions (i.e., Article 9 of the Constitution and the Self-Defense Forces)? This study seeks to understand if the rise of China's military power and assertiveness, but also the development of North Korea's ballistic and nuclear capabilities influence the pacifist and non-militaristic norms in Japan's population. Prior studies have mainly focused on endogenous factors to explain their roots and the variation in attitudes (e.g., Machida 2021; 2023). Others have demonstrated how these norms have 'defined the policy interests and the standards of appropriateness for specific policy choices' (Katzenstein and Okawara 1993, 6). Thus, these researches have implicitly treated these norms as relatively immune to the changes on the international level. Using a range of survey data (Todai-Asahi, NHK, Yomiuri, Asahi, Pewresearch Center, Jiji Press) relative to the revision of the Article 9 and the Self-Defense Forces, we empirically evaluate the recent evolution in public opinion from 2000 to 2023. Through time series analysis, this paper focus on the contrast before and after 2011-2012, marked by the arrival of Kim Jong-Un as leader of North Korea, Xi Jinping as head of China, and the reelection of Shinzo Abe as Prime Minister of Japan. Quantifying

these changes will shed light on how international events may shape domestic public opinion, contributing to debates on public opinion's influence in international relations and its role in foreign policy decision-making beyond the United States.

***Agency of the Post-Colonial State: Beyond Western Sovereignty Through Inhabiting the International Norm:*** Tomas Hatala (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** This paper contributes to the long-standing agency/structure debate within International Relations literature by problematizing the concept of agency through the lens of postcolonial resilience. The traditional understanding of state sovereignty as a structural constituent of the international, where it manifests as autonomy and self-determination and resistance vis-a-vis the international order, has been increasingly problematized through post-colonial literature which questions how postcolonial subjects experience agency itself. However, such challenges have remained focused on the subaltern, embodied subject and rarely been applied to the concept of the state/sovereign and the international. Thus, within Eurocentric IR, the ability of sovereign states to resist and challenge the existing normative structure of the international is often read as agentic, while those that do not have such an ability ? such as postcolonial states ? as lacking in agency, or non-agentic. This paper argues we need to move beyond this limited vision of agency to capture the experience of postcolonial states in the current international order, which in many cases experience sovereignty as a contingent norm rather than a given, structural attribute of the international. Consequently, Saba Mahmood?s notion of agency as ?inhabiting the norm? allows us to explore the subjectivity of postcolonial states as those which operate agentively but without being able to articulate their own sovereignty within the international domain. Deploying Achille Mbembe?s necropolitics and Michel Foucault?s biopolitics, this paper ultimately concludes that sovereignty of the post-colonial states serves to reaffirm the Western states? ability to shape and condition the international.

***Old Foes in A New 'Conflict': Neoliberalism, Ultra-nationalism, and Anti-Immigrant Sentiments in the Digital Age in Africa:*** Surulola Eke (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** International Relations Constructivism offers extensive insights into the processes of social learning and persuasion that facilitate norm diffusion and localization among state and (corporate) non-state actors. However, there's a lot more to learn about how and why norms travel from global cores and are adopted and/or localized in global peripheries, especially in the context of individual citizens. How and why, for instance, do global migration norms influence immigration sentiments in high migrant-receiving African cities, such as Johannesburg, Durban, Nairobi, Mombasa, Accra, and Kumasi? I explore this question based on over 300 qualitative interviews and a dozen regression tests, which demonstrate that pro- and anti-immigrant sentiments in Africa are shaped by global migration norms that have been appropriated wittingly or unwittingly to advance domestic political agenda or no agenda at all. Contrary to the Eurocentric theses on the mobilization of political cues from partisan political leaders in the development of anti-immigrant sentiments in Europe, the mainstream English and Vernacular media in Africa are the central factor shaping migration attitudes one way or the other owing to the popular perception of their high professional ethos.

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## C19(b) - Theories of International Relations (IV)

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 491

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Brian Bow (Dalhousie University)

*Old versus New Institutionalism and the Debate between Formal/Informal institutions: Hedley Bull as foil to Rationalist International Relations with respect to the privileging of Concertation:* Andrew Cooper (University of Waterloo/Balsillie School of International Affairs.)

**Abstract:** Alexander Wendt and Raymond Duvall distinguish between "old" and "new" institutionalists. In the first category the work by the prominent English School scholar Hedley Bull is highlighted. In the latter it is the extended contribution of Robert Keohane that is given pride of place along with other rationalist international relations (IR) scholars. As teased out by Wendt and Duvall several distinctive features separate the two literatures. One of the most striking points of divergence, however, is overlooked: the contrasting positioning between Bull and rationalist IR in terms of the debate over the preference for formal and informal institutions. In Bull's case informality, as represented particularly by concertation – an institutional format designed as a self-selective hierarchical global management design – remained central to his understanding of the nature and impact of institutions. The rationalist IR "family" by way of contrast stands out as converts to the import of informal institutions on a diffuse and uneven basis only after a sustained endorsement with respect to the superiority of formal multilateral international institutions (IOs).

Conceptually, it is argued in this paper that the emphasis given by the Bull to informal institutions with special reference to concertation recalibrates the categorization of fundamental institution: with concertation elevated to a similar status as multilateralism as positioned in an established fashion by rationalist IR. In terms of operational practice, the paper demonstrates that the lack of an appreciation of concertation opens gaps in rationalist IR analysis that prevent any serious engagement with core 21st informal institutions notably the G20 and the BRICS.

*Ignoring inequality: Economists in the struggle for postcolonial development:* Alice Chessé (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Including transnational experts into the everyday work of IOs has become an anchoring practice of contemporary global governance. This paper argues that it has simultaneously transformed multilateral diplomacy and maintained colonial structures of power in the global economic order. I study the role transnational economic professionals from the Global South and the Global North have played in the design of multilateral development policies in the 1940s and 1950s. Practices of knowledge production among Western economists at the OEEC/OECD produced ignorance on the causes of global inequality by silencing the role that colonial extraction played in post-WWII European economic recovery. A partial interpretation of the success story of the Marshall Plan effectively ignored the structural and historical causes of national prosperity highlighted by Global South economists. As a result, questions of economic development were effectively removed from the decolonization process underway at the UN, and postcolonial countries became excluded from the multilateral coordination of development assistance.

*Claims of Hypocrisy, double standards and measuring the strength of the liberal Order:* Ariel Reichard (Charles University, Prague), Or Honig (Hampden-Sydney College)

**Abstract:** National leaders routinely criticize Western powers and international institutions (UN, ICC) as being unfair towards their countries. Many argue that the current liberal order is deliberately biased against specific actors, usually due to identity traits (e.g., out of racism, cultural phobia). Critics of global institutions point to several behaviors that supposedly prove hypocrisy on the part of the liberal world, essentially claiming that IO's single out some countries for criticism and punishment while shielding others, thus showing double standards. In some cases, such claims are made by conflicting actors (e.g., Israelis vs. Palestinian). These claims are surprising as classic IR theory traditionally views politics as separate from fairness, while popular notions of politics likewise view it as an a-moral (for some, immoral) activity. Leaders are thus not expected to be motivated by such grievances. The fact that some claims are made by leaders who exploit power relations while ignoring international legal customs suggests claims are merely rhetoric. But if so, what makes them resonate so widely among global audiences?

We examine when and why claims of hypocrisy are made and are accepted/rejected by different audiences. We find that while the international community does behave inconsistently in applying international norms this is often done non-deliberately/without malice. This suggests national elites are either misperceiving international behavior or are deliberately espousing populist rhetoric for their own purposes. We discuss the implications of both options and explore how perceptions of international behavior can be utilized to measure support for liberal norms among global publics, as well as how global institutions should respond to changing popular expectations of their performance.

*Alternative Futures and the Evolving Security Environment Implications for Decision-Makers:* Ali Dizboni (Royal Military College of Canada and Queen's University), Robert Addinall (Royal Military College of Canada), Peter Gizewski (Royal Military College of Canada)

**Abstract:** The future security environment is riddled with uncertainty. Foresight methods, despite their limitations, offer a framework for planners to assess the significance of various drivers and their potential interactions, leading to the identification of various security requirements. To effectively navigate this evolving landscape, it is essential to understand the underlying factors contributing to the increase in international geopolitical tensions and fragmentation. In 2017, the Canadian Forces published a comprehensive three-volume Future Army Process in 2025 that utilized various methods, including environmental scanning, the futures wheel, hindsight, and red teaming. This publication introduced four alternative future scenarios: High-Octane "Green" World (HOGW), Global Quagmire (GQ), Materialism Gone Mad (MGM), and Recyclable Society (RS). The primary objective of this paper is to evaluate the extent to which these alternative future scenarios, with a particular focus on the Global Quagmire (GQ) scenario, can provide insights into the reasons behind the current international geopolitical tensions and fragmentation taking place in the international security environment. By so doing this paper not only offers a deeper understanding of the key forces driving international tensions and instability but also highlights both the benefits and limitations of strategic foresight as an approach capable of supporting military planners and decision-makers as they attempt to address the challenges of a highly

uncertain and rapidly changing security landscape.

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## D19 - Courts and Judicialized Policy Making 2.0: Taking the Policy Process Seriously (Policy Implementation)

### Droit et analyse de politiques

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

Chair/Président/Présidente : Christine Rothmayr Allison (Université de Montréal)

Co-Chair/Président/Présidente : Dagmar Soennecken (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Martin Papillon (Université de Montréal)

*Understanding Judicial Power and Policy Implementation in the Charter Era:* James Kelly (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** A nuanced and an important scholarly debate in Canada has come to understand judicial power and the Charter. This debate has produced important findings on the counter-majoritarian difficulty that the Charter poses for Canadian constitutionalism, the reasons why bills of rights are adopted in advanced liberal democracies, and how the legislative process has changed within government. What the Charter debate has not fully understood, and perhaps, was not particularly concerned with, is the policy impact of judicial decisions. In many ways, the early debate assumed that the Supreme Court of Canada had policy influence because it ruled on important policy issues under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and that these decisions would be faithfully implemented by the responsible legislature. There is no denying that the Supreme Court of Canada is a powerful institution. It would be folly to suggest otherwise. What is less clear is whether powerful judicial decisions have a clear and unfettered policy impact. This is particularly important when the policy stakes are high, and governments are opposed to the direction suggested by the Supreme Court of Canada. Courts can have policy impact. And they may not have any policy impact at all, if judicial decisions produce sustained legislative disagreements that structure a legislative response. In addition, if a complex implementation chain is present in a judicialized area of public policy, this can further diminish judicial impact, particularly in a federation such as Canada's.

The purpose of this paper is to understand judicial impact, and to map out when judicial decisions do not fundamentally change policy direction, despite the Court issuing powerful rebukes of government action. This paper conceptualizes the Supreme Court of Canada as an 'implementer-dependent' institution when it invalidates statutes and requires a legislative response on the part of Parliament, a provincial or territorial assembly, or all three, when a collaborative response is needed. Three variables are identified that directly affect judicial policy impact in this implementer-dependent

context: first, issue salience of the issue of public policy; second, the popularity of a judicial ruling and evidence of legislative disagreement; and finally, the implementation context. These variables can significantly reduce judicial impact in the post-agenda setting phase. By the popularity of a judicial decision, I am referring to its acceptance by either the government with statutory responsibility for an invalidated statute, or any of the governments or actors in the implementation chain, once the statutory framework is enacted into law. If any of these actors disagrees with judicial policy preferences, judicial impact is compromised, particularly if a government legislates in opposition to the judicial decision or invokes the notwithstanding clause in section 33 of the Charter of Rights. However, the popularity of a judicial decision and its importance is intensified in Canada because of a diverse implementation context, as a breakdown in the implementation chain reduces judicial impact. Although federalism is premised on divided jurisdictional responsibilities, many of the issues judicialized under the Charter of Rights, such as health care policy (abortion, medical assistance in dying, supervised consumption sites, etc.), are, from an implementation perspective, shared responsibilities between the two orders of governments – one to legislate (Parliament) and one to provide access (provincial and territorial legislatures). The paper will draw upon salient issues of public policy judicialized in the Charter era to understand the degree of policy impact of judicial decisions and whether these decisions are fully implemented.

*Shaping Administrative Policies: Using Freedom of Information to Evaluate the Supreme Court of Canada's Impact on Tribunals' Discretionary Authority over Human Rights Codes in Canada:* David Said (Guelph University)

**Abstract:** The influence of judicial decisions on the exercise of administrative tribunals' discretionary powers is often overlooked in the public policy and public administration literature. Despite the interactive and dynamic relationship that takes place between courts and tribunals, there is a shortage of empirical work that evaluates the influence of judicial decisions on the legal instruments (i.e., soft laws, rules, and policy guidelines) that govern administrative agencies. This paper aims to address this gap in part through an analysis of these legal instruments and the impact the Supreme Court of Canada had on the application of human rights codes by tribunals in Canada. The aim of this study is to evaluate the impact of the Court's *Tranchemontagne* decision on the exercise of tribunals' discretionary authority over human rights codes by conducting a qualitative comparative case study involving the Ontario Landlord and Tenant Board and the Workplace Safety and Insurance Appeals Tribunal. The findings from this study, which relies on primary data collected through freedom of information requests, reveals that the Supreme Court's decision played an important role in shaping the tribunal's policy guidelines on the application and interpretation of human rights codes. The findings further shed light on the dynamics of policy learning that is exhibited by tribunals when responding to judicial decisions in the absence of clear legislative interventions.

*Judicial Review, Policy Capacity and the Scope of Accountability: The Impact of Courts on Administrative Tribunals after Vavilov:* Greg Flynn (McMaster), David Said (Guelph)

**Abstract:** The 2019 Supreme Court of Canada's decision in *Canada v. Vavilov* made fundamental changes to the common law guiding judicial review of administrative tribunals' decisions. *Vavilov* instructed reviewing courts to apply the more deferential reasonableness standard of review and established exceptional circumstances where the correctness standard should be applied. Although the Court's decision has received extensive attention by legal scholars interested in the doctrinal developments, it has yet to capture the attention of policy scholars and political scientists interested in the relationship between law and politics. We take an exploratory approach to develop a better understanding about the potential policy impact of the standard of review considerations conducted by courts post-*Vavilov* on the policy capacity and scope of accountability of administrative tribunals operating within a variety of



policy spaces. We employ precedent tracing and content analysis approaches of all final court decisions in Ontario citing Vavilov to determine the potential impact on the policy capacity and the corresponding accountability constraints of administrative tribunals. Policy impact is assessed by accounting for a variety of variables including the policy area, nature of the tribunal and the issues contested. We anticipate finding that tribunal policy capacity has been broadened and accountability narrowed by reviewing courts? interpretation of the appropriate standards of review. The findings further highlight the dynamic interinstitutional relationship between courts and tribunals in the policy process.

*Testimony Variations and Post-Traumatic Distress among Trauma Survivors in Legal Proceedings: The Case of Transitional Justice:* Mariana Pinzon-Caicedo (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** The potential of retraumatization of victims in legal proceedings is a longstanding question in the study of legal systems. This paper provides a conceptual and theoretical framework to understand the ways in which participation in transitional justice prosecution trials enhances posttraumatic distress among trauma survivors. Through content analysis of victims' testimonies before Colombia's transitional justice trial, I find that victim-witnesses of similar war-related traumatic events produce different forms of rhetorical structures that ultimately mediate their experience and perception of the transitional justice process. Two distinct types of testimonies emerge in these legal proceedings (i.e. spasmodic and intentional storytellers) that are a product of victims' assimilation of the traumatic experience. In one of these structures, victims' utterances seem to successfully fulfill the roles of witness and victim. In the second form, the storytelling style and language deviate from the norms and expectations of the trial, potentially placing victims at risk of reactivating traumatic distress as their narrative style collides with the genre of discourse of the tribunal. Acknowledging the presence of diverse rhetorical structures in victims' testimonies will improve our understanding of why some victims are ignored by legal proceedings even after providing testimonies. This recognition also highlights the need to revise studies on the effects of legal proceedings, especially transitional justice trials, on the emotional healing of victims. Many of these studies often treat survivors as a uniform or homogeneous group.

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## F19(a) - Methodological Issues in the Study of Political Behaviour II

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin, 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5060

Chair/Président/Présidente : Mathieu Lizotte (Université d'Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Mathieu Lizotte (Université d'Ottawa)

**Comprendre l'interaction entre les enjeux politiques, la cognition et le vote:** Marc A. Bodet (Université Laval), Lauriane Blanchette (Université Laval), François Vachon (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Il existe une abondante littérature en science politique et en psychologie sur le rôle des enjeux dans le comportement électoral. Bien que les objets d'étude soient souvent les mêmes, les politologues tendent à mobiliser des concepts théoriques issus des travaux classiques en opinion publique (ex. saillance, biais partisan, etc.) alors que les psychologues approchent l'étude des enjeux en s'intéressant davantage aux processus cognitifs mesurés à l'aide de méthodes appliquées (ex. oculométrie, réactions physiologiques, etc.). Lors des campagnes électorales, plusieurs applications mobilisent le positionnement des partis et de l'électorat sur des enjeux de politiques publiques pour éclairer les individus appelés à voter. Dans le cadre de cette expérience en ligne, nous étudions les conséquences sur le vote de partager ce type d'information dans un environnement contrôlé. Après une série de questions pré-traitement touchant notamment leurs préférences politiques et partisans, les répondant.es sont amené.es à réfléchir à leur positionnement politique relatif à ceux des partis provinciaux et surtout à la distance potentielle entre leurs propres positionnements sur deux dimensions (identitaire et socio-économique) et le positionnement de leur parti préféré. Ces travaux s'inscrivent dans une nouvelle démarche en science politique visant à intégrer les recherches et les méthodes des sciences cognitives dans l'étude de l'opinion publique.

**INATTENTIVES AND HOW TO FIND THEM:** William Poirier (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** How can one measure inattention in second-hand data cases where attention checks and response time are unavailable? This research explores the performance of Guttman errors, Mahalanobis distance and the novel Downsian errors from Fowler et al. (2023)'s Moderates in emulating RTAC scores. We leverage the reproduction data from Read, Wolters and Berinsky (2022)'s work in order to construct a vast array of cases from which metrics are computed. We find poor performance across all metrics and suggestive evidence that response pattern strategies do not seem to capture satisficing behavior. Rather, it seems more appropriate for alternative forms of inattention.

**Beyond Multiple Choice: Capturing Nuanced Public Opinion with Large Language Models:** Laurence-Olivier M. Foisy (Université Laval), Hubert Cadieux (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Traditional survey analysis often relies on the limited scope of closed-ended questions, potentially neglecting the rich, nuanced insights that open-ended responses provide. Addressing this gap, our study introduces an innovative use of Large Language Models (LLMs) to analyze and encode open-ended survey data. This methodology enhances the quantification of qualitative feedback, revealing real-time shifts in public opinion and reducing biases inherent in question design. We demonstrate how LLMs can capture the subtleties of respondent sentiment, leading to a deeper and more adaptable comprehension of population trends. The study also advances the application of AI for response weighting and data imputation, offering a refined analysis that more accurately reflects the collective viewpoint. By comparing traditional sampling methods with our LLM-augmented approach, we expect that integrating LLMs with nonprobability samples markedly improves their precision, challenging previous reservations about the validity of online, opt-in surveys. Additionally, we examine the role of poststratification adjustments, and how they can be effectively enhanced by the analytic power of LLMs. Our contribution is twofold: we provide a model for incorporating LLMs into survey methodologies, and we introduce an R package that operationalizes LLMs for survey data interpretation within the R environment, utilizing open-source models to facilitate access and integration. This tool empowers researchers to apply LLM capabilities directly in their existing workflows, reducing the costs, thus democratizing the advanced analysis of open responses. This work reimagines the potential of open-ended survey questions, advocating for a new standard in survey research that prioritizes accuracy and temporal sensitivity, thereby informing more effective policy and strategic decisions.

**Will You Please Participate? Strategies and Pitfalls in Recruiting Committed Survey Participants:** Callie Mathieson (Carleton University), Paloma Raggo (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The long-standing needs to develop and evaluate evidence-based solutions, programs, and services to effectively address complex social and environmental challenges became more urgent following the COVID-19 pandemic. The data collected by governments and researchers on the nonprofit sector and the needs of those it serves is subject to a stark publishing lag ? typically being released 18 months after their initial collection ? and thus offering limited insights on real-time issues and trends affecting charities? activities, especially in times of crisis where they often serve as front line responders. Researchers at the Charity Insights Canada Project based at Carleton University recruited a representative rapid response panel of over 1000 charities across the country aimed at providing weekly insights on the needs of the charitable sector in Canada. The randomly selected participants, i.e. the highest-ranking executive available for each organization contacted, agreed to answer weekly surveys about their activities, challenges, and the trends they saw emerging for one full year. The literature offers limited insights on panel recruitment outside STEM-related fields and even less on surveying nonprofit organizations and their staff. How do we convince extremely busy, often under-resourced staff of organizations to participate in a yearlong study without any monetary compensation? In this paper, we review the various recruitment strategies we tested and reflect on the efficiency of surveying nonprofit/civil society organizations. Unexpectedly, we have been able to sustain an average response rate of 67% (n=948). Recruitment strategies and commitment have varied considerably based on the formal nature of the organization, their perception of the nonprofit sector as well as our ability to reach people within some of the hard-to-reach target groups. The lessons from our recruiting effort speak to scholars interested in studying hard-to-reach organizations and more generally suggest finding innovative ways to increase participant commitment to our studies.



## F19(b) - Democracy and Social Movements

### Comportement politique/sociologie

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :** UQAM, Pavillon Hubert-Aquin (A), 400 Ste-Catherine E., classroom/local A-5020

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Efe Peker (Université d'Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Efe Peker (Université d'Ottawa)

**Opinion dynamics on morality issues: party competition or culture shift?:** Hugo Machado (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** Morality issues contrast opinions about the appropriate level of regulation of controversial behaviours, typically involving value disputes over life and death, sex, and addictive behaviours. Much has changed in the last 60 years, but we still lack a general theory to understand opinion dynamics on these issues. Why does permissiveness vary between similar cultural or political contexts? Atkinson et al. (2021) propose that opinion change varies according to three issue types: partisan, nonpartisan, and cultural shift. Partisan issues are those for which the main parties offer opposing issue stances and frequent cues. Nonpartisan issues lack clear partisan division and movements in opinion either don't happen or are affected by considerations other than party cues. In contrast, cultural shift issues reflect changing social norms that lead to a long-term reappraisal of previous policies and commonly accepted ideas. This leads to a monotonic trend that affects the entire party system over time. Instead of relative change that cycles based on party competition, cultural shift represents absolute opinion change that moves in only one direction. Since the original model was developed in the bipartisan context of American politics, an important test is to verify whether the same patterns appear in multiparty systems and under different cultural contexts. This project will use European Values Survey data spanning five decades (1981-2022) and 36 countries to investigate patterns of opinion movement on morality issues. This macro-analysis serves the purpose of identifying whether moral permissiveness is better explained by a cultural shift or by partisan/social dynamics model.

**Délibérons ! Les organismes de la communauté franco-colombienne et la délibération démocratique dans l'environnement numérique:** Aliyah Dato (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** Ce projet interprétatif explore le rôle des organismes communautaires dans la structuration des discussions en ligne au sein des communautés francophones en Colombie-Britannique. Il y a des limites en place dans le monde physique pour ces communautés, telles que la domination de l'anglais et la dispersion territoriale. Les réseaux sociaux reflètent en partie ces mêmes réalités mais permettent aussi dans une certaine mesure de leur échapper. Ils offrent aux utilisateurs non seulement la possibilité d'entrer en dialogue avec d'autres, mais aussi de définir collectivement leur communauté d'appartenance. La théorie de la délibération démocratique et les sphères publiques telles que conçues par Habermas servent de cadre théorique pour analyser la nature plus ou moins démocratique des discours en ligne. À travers des entretiens semi-dirigés avec des employé.es des organismes à but non-lucratif de la communauté franco-colombienne qui contribuent au dialogue sur les réseaux sociaux, je vise à comprendre la façon dont les communications (re)produisent la communauté en ligne. La recherche explorera dans quelle mesure les réseaux sociaux offrent un espace pour les utilisateurs dans cette communauté de se parler entre eux, et le rôle des organisations communautaires dans ces discussions.

**Protest with Canadian Characteristics: Comparing post-Umbrella Movement Activism among the Hong Kong Diaspora in Canada:** Yu-Chen Chen (York University)

**Abstract:** The Chinese regime's anti-democracy crackdowns of 2019-2020 generated an upsurge in Hong Kongers seeking to leave their homeland; and the Canadian authorities opened the door to them in 2021. Unlike previous generations of the Hong Kong diaspora, this wave is faced with the challenges of how to preserve Hong Kong's unique culture and maintain the momentum of their protest movement while living in Canada. Consequently, since 2019, several new NGOs and grassroots groups related to Hong Kong contemporary issues, such as language, human rights and political autonomy, emerged in different major cities across the country.

This research aims to explore how these grassroots groups seek to mobilize the Hong Kong diaspora and advance their political and cultural agenda in Canada. By surveying events hosted in Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton, and Montreal and interviewing activists and organizers who have been politically active in Canada since 2019, this research examines and compares how diaspora groups adapt their strategies to local political and cultural realities. The study will enrich the Canadian literature on Hong Kong diaspora studies and fill a longstanding gap; where the Hong Kong diaspora is typically represented in the literature as one united bloc, a survey of the contemporary field of new grassroots movements reveals a rich diversity of beliefs and modes of protest, all of which are heavily influenced by personal experiences, socioeconomic backgrounds, and most importantly: interactions with the authorities back in Hong Kong.

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## F19(c) - Narratives, Empathy and (In)Differences

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1047

Chair/Président/Présidente : Daniel Stockemer (Université d'Ottawa)

*Choosing to Feel: The Political Costs of Empathy:* Thomas Bergeron (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Social and political divisions have increased steadily in the last decades, affecting individuals' engagement with politics and governmental (in)action on important issues. Empathy is often discussed as a possible solution to reduce polarization. Research shows that empathy can indeed increase prosocial behaviour and reduce prejudice. Yet, scholars have also argued that it is biased toward the in-group. To date, the scarce literature observes that empathy can fuel polarization because individuals will feel less empathic for members of the out-party. What remains unclear are the drivers of this gap. This research examines whether empathy avoidance might be the source of this trend. This research thus intends to address three questions using evidence from a survey experiment in Canada (N = 1,199) and in the United States (N = 750). First, do people avoid empathy? Replicating the findings of previous studies, we show that, on average, respondents avoid empathy. Second, are people more likely to avoid empathy when the target is from a political out-group? Contrary to the expectations, I find that partisans are not more likely to avoid empathy when the target is from the political outgroup. Third, does empathy avoidance have incidences of political polarization? The results show that empathy avoidance influences polarization, but not in the expected way. Replicating recent findings (Simas et al. 2021), I show that people that are motivated to feel empathy are more affectively polarized and hold more polarized attitudes. These results demonstrate that motivational empathy can increase polarized attitudes.

*Accepting them hurts our bargaining power: Diplomatic relations and attitudes towards immigration:* Go Murakami (Ritsumeikan University), Nicholas Fraser (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Studies on public attitudes toward immigration find that immigrants' origin significantly influences the level of support (opposition). We examine why by exploring Japanese attitudes. First, we argue that the differentiated threat model well explains how differently people oppose immigrants of different origins. Second, we use this theory to explain Japanese people's attitudes toward immigration, but we face several challenges in this application. Most notably, it makes no logical sense to suppose that the Japanese public associates immigrants from China, South Korea and Taiwan with either one of economic, cultural or law and order threat, and that such an association determines the level of their opposition. Thus, we introduce a new concept of diplomatic threat that accepting the immigrants is perceived to hurt their state's capacity to negotiate with the immigrant-sending state. We theorize that the diplomatic threat explains how differently the public support accepting immigrants of different origins.

To test our theory, we used a rating-based conjoint survey experiment, in which we randomly assigned immigrants' origin and a threat type in our vignette. We expect that the respondents who perceived a diplomatic threat from immigrants of any origins, particularly China and South Korea, opposed immigrant admission the most. Our results refute the differentiated threat model, and clearly denied that the Japanese public perceive diplomatic threats the most from the immigrants from China and South Korea. Nonetheless, the results also validated the concept of a diplomatic threat and its influence, when it stirred up the strongest opposition to immigration.

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## G19 - Global Political Economy & Trade in Agricultural Commodities

### Économie politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

Chair/Président/Présidente : Ulas Tastekin (McMaster University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Michèle Rioux (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Wine Sector Regulation: A Case of What?:** Patricia Goff (Wilfrid Laurier University), Leah Alvares Cabral (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Why does the wine industry typically get special treatment from governments at the sub-national, national, and global levels? The wine sector enjoys measures that protect it from foreign competition in many national and sub-national jurisdictions. This is puzzling because the sector is no more important economically than some others that do not enjoy the same protections. Furthermore, the wine sector has been singled out at the global level. Article 22 of the World Trade Organization's agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) provides protections for geographical indications, those goods where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin. These can include a range of foodstuffs and artisanal products, yet Article 23 singles out wines and spirits for a higher level of protection. Why would this be? This paper engages with literature on economic nationalism, regulatory capture, industrial policy, and international organizations to understand the multilevel politics of governance in the wine sector. Economic nationalism, regulatory capture, and industrial policy explanations do not normally explain outcomes at the global level. While they provide some insight into policies at the national and sub-national levels, they do not explain the variation in wine sector policies. This paper seeks to address these gaps.

**A Standard-Setting Conundrum: Codex Alimentarius and the International Organization of Vine and Wine:** Leah Alvares Cabral (Balsillie School of International Affairs (Wilfrid Laurier University))

**Abstract:** Organizations with power are reluctant to cede power to others. Why would the preeminent, UN sponsored, globally recognized authority on food standard-setting, Codex Alimentarius (Codex), defer to the International Organization of Vine and Wine (OIV), a smaller, sectoral, international organization that does not even have universal membership? Scholarship in international relations suggests that it would not. However, in 1976, Codex made the decision not to produce standards on wine, and to this day cedes this power to the OIV. Not only does the OIV lack universal membership, missing notable countries such as Canada, USA, and China, but France and the EU exert a stronger influence on the organization. Furthermore, key characteristics make it difficult to categorize it as either a public or private governance organization. The unique qualities that should disqualify the OIV as a global standard setter have not hindered its role as a powerful actor and the recognized standard-setter for the wine sector. Theoretical literature on international organizations, such as legitimation theory, principal agent theory and orchestration theory cannot account for this. This paper will analyze a unique case of organizational relationships that are not yet well understood. In so doing, it fills theoretical and empirical gaps by addressing why an organization with both private and public attributes, that is sectoral and non-universal in membership, exercises influence where neither practitioners nor the academic literature would expect it to.

**The Political Economy of Cannabis in the Caribbean: Jamaican Ganja Farmers fighting Extinctions:** Toby Leon Moorsom (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the impacts of Canadian investments in Jamaican cannabis upon the livelihoods of small-scale farmers who, for at least 100 years, relied on the crop for essential supplementary income to provide basic needs. It provides an overview of the changing legal and regulatory framework as well as the wider, national political and economic conditions of the country in emerging global markets. With archival evidence I challenge accepted histories of the plant's origins in Jamaica, and explain why farmers turned to the plant in the early 20th century. I then critically examine the 'Alternative Development' projects initiated by the Jamaican Labour Party (contrary to the name; the party of big business) in government, and the alternative production and marketing models proposed by the opposition People's National Party. Both align on 'nucleus-outgrower' schemes, which I critically evaluate in light of an expanding literature documenting experiences with such schemes in Africa. Finally, I examine alternative forms of trade not considered, and the applicability of agricultural marketing board strategies proposed by the Saint Lucian development economist Arthur Lewis between 1939 and 1960s. Lewis believed, in the Jamaican context, such boards should be financed in the initial years by British and American reparations payments. Jamaican growers, traders, and others in the industry, could benefit from considering the relevance of his arguments in this time. There are strong psychological, social, economic/developmental and environmental benefits to be gained from such an approach, while such a structure could also strengthen the long-term environmental security of an industry threatened by declining biodiversity.

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## H19(a) - Consciousness, Knowledge, and Psychology

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 365

Chair/Président/Présidente : Matthew McManus (University of Michigan)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Yann Allard-Tremblay (McGill University)

*The Sprouts of Benevolence in Comparative Perspective: Liberalism, Confucianism, and Moral Psychology:* Lincoln Rathnam (Duke Kunshan University)

**Abstract:** While the disagreements between the liberal and Confucian traditions have been some of the most frequently explored topics in comparative political theory, how and even whether one can move past them remains unclear. On the other hand, recent work on moral psychology has found considerable similarities in the accounts of the affective basis for the moral life across these traditions, particularly with regard to the ideas of Adam Smith and David Hume, on the liberal side, and Confucius (Kongzi) and Mencius (Mengzi), on the Confucian one (Liu 2003; Mower 2016; Cary and Vitz 2020).

In this paper, I argue that we are better able to assess the prospects for a productive dialogue between Confucianism and liberalism if we use their partially overlapping views in moral psychology as a starting point. I take the works of Mengzi and David Hume as my primary subject. I contend that, while the thinkers in question agree that the moral basis for human society is the cultivation of our capacity for sympathetic concern for other human beings, they disagree regarding the way in which this cultivation ought to take place. While Mencius and Hume both urge us to extend our sympathies outward, Hume urges us to do this through a theoretical understanding of economics and political science. On this basis, I argue that the disagreement between Confucianism and liberalism is best understood not as a matter of pure value conflict, but also as a consequence of divergent empirical views.

*Putting Political Theory On the Hook: Philosophers as Listeners and Knowledge Producers:* Kaitie Jourdeuil (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** In a series of recent articles, political theorist Emily Beausoleil (2019; 2020a; 2020b; 2021) has developed a theoretical framework that uses listening as a "martial art" that can help privileged individuals (specifically, settlers) respond to structural injustice. Listening, she argues, is an active practice of continual negotiation through which dominant views can be heard without being centred and normalised (Beausoleil, 2020b).

This article applies Beausoleil's framework to liberal political theory. I argue that liberal theorists, as structurally-privileged knowledge producers, must centre their responsibilities as listeners in their normative work. This has two dimensions (a) reflecting on the consequences of their normative arguments for real-world actors and (b) responding to the demands of marginalized thinkers.

I illustrate this argument through critical analysis of an ongoing debate about the wrongs associated with colonialism (Moore 2019; Nine 2020; Valentini 2015; Weltman 2020; Ypi 2013). I suggest that the potential normative contributions of this debate are outweighed by the detrimental consequences of these arguments for those currently resisting settler colonialism. By focusing on what ought to have happened at the moment of settler-Indigenous contact, the debate reifies dominant settler narratives of colonialism as "in the past"; likewise allowing that colonialism may be morally permissible in some abstract cases can normalise settler denialism. Understanding ourselves as listeners, I suggest, can reorient this debate to respond to calls of Indigenous scholars and activists for decolonization, and call other liberal theorists into a broader conversation on how our discipline replicates and sustains structural injustices and colonial attitudes.

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## H19(b) - Ancient and Medieval Philosophy

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 391

Chair/Président/Présidente : Xinyi Cai (McGill University)

*Herodotus and Hannah Arendt: philosophy, history, and judgment:* Lindsay Mahon Rathnam (Duke Kunshan University)

**Abstract:** The question of whether values can ever be truly universal is endlessly contested. History is littered with awful injustices committed in the name of the good; yet it is questionable whether it is even possible to resist oppression and injustice without recourse to any form of universal. Hannah Arendt's influential (yet unwritten) theory of judgment attempted to resolve this dilemma by positing judgment as a way of "thinking the particular" and thus avoiding the pitfalls of both relativism and universalism. Her theory has thus enjoyed a renaissance amidst the contemporary interest in judgment. While much work has shown the way Arendt's theory of judgment rests on her reading of Kant, little attention has been paid to the importance of ancient Greek historiography to her account. I will excavate the place Herodotus' *Histories* plays in Arendt's account of judgment. I argue that, while Herodotus is formative to her conception of judging without rules, it rests on a fundamental misreading of Herodotus' practice of inquiry. I will turn to what Ronald Beiner has called Arendt's "tacit dialogue" with Leo Strauss in order to show how Arendt misses out on the philosophic aspect of Herodotus' *Histories*- which are not merely a record or a chronicle, but rather an exploration into the nature of human beings and their communities, one that offers textured and careful non-ideal ideals of human flourishing. Herodotus' example suggests that the quest to understand nature motivates us to take each other seriously, and is essential for resisting injustice.

*Democracy and the unfolding of being in Plato's Sophist:* Ann Ward (Baylor University)

**Abstract:** In Plato's *Sophist*, the Eleatic Stranger argues that the philosopher encounters non-being not as the opposite of being but as the difference or diversity of being. The philosopher then tries to communicate the truth of the different beings by using dialectic to create "likenesses" of them. In contrast the sophist believes non-being signifies falsehood and uses deceptive speech to communicate "appearances" that distort the truth of being. The sophist deceives because human reason cannot comprehend the totality of the being of things such as justice all at once. Rather, the mind's grasp of beings such as justice is disproportionate: the more obvious parts seem larger and nearer at hand, the more difficult or less obvious seem smaller and more distant. The sophist, however, abandons truth and creates a false image of proportionality; they deceive the public into thinking that how justice appears now is not a part but rather the totality of its being, and hence that beings such as justice are unchanging or at rest. Atypical of the scholarly consensus on the Platonic understanding of being, I will argue that Plato suggests that being can change or is in motion. Being is in motion in the sense that its parts unfold over time, and in the sense that what it is changes over time. According to the Stranger, when the being of things such as justice is known, it is moved. I conclude by arguing that the understanding of being as unfolding and changing is more suited to democracy.

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## H19(c) - Federalism, Constitutionalism, Republicanism, and Sovereignty

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : Zoom (see details/voir détails) - 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1051

Chair/Président/Présidente : Chris Barker (The American University in Cairo)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Chris Barker (The American University in Cairo)

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

*The Birth of the Concept of the Federal State During the Constitutional Debates in the Antebellum United States:* Jan Smolenski (University of Warsaw)

**Abstract:** In this paper I argue that the concept of the federal state emerged during the constitutional theoretical and political struggles in antebellum United States. Contrary to the popular narrative stating that the concept emerged together with the United States Constitution as a result of the Philadelphia convention, I demonstrate that the ratification of the Constitution put to rest the debates regarding the institutional architecture of the Union and allowed the key issue of the locus of constituent power to come to the fore. Ambiguity of the justification for the Constitutions and the Union allowed diverging interpretation to emerge. Overtime, over the course of constitutional debates first between the proponents and opponents of nullification, and later between defenders of secession of the South and those who denied the legality of this move, these diverging interpretations of the United States Constitution allowed to clarify the distinction between the federal state and the confederation qua treaty organization.

*Images of Westphalia: Beyond Absolute Sovereignty:* Nancy Bertoldi (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Sovereignty is a foundational concept for international relations (IR) and provides the primary moral and institutional architecture for our contemporary world order. A central normative function of the idea of sovereignty is presumably to render imperial expansion and conquest illegitimate. Yet historically, the opposite has been true: the evolution of the modern state system has coincided with European imperial expansion, with devastating consequences for Indigenous peoples upon whom European sovereignty was forcefully imposed. This makes it urgent to uncover avenues of resistance to concepts of sovereignty that have been used to justify European imperialism, as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) has emphasized. The TRC singles out the doctrines of discovery and terra nullius, given the prominent historical roles played by these ideological frames in colonization. If the goal is to repudiate all concepts of sovereignty that have facilitated imperialism, repudiating the doctrines of discovery and terra nullius can only be a start. I respond to the TRC's call to action by problematizing the idea of absolute sovereignty that is commonly associated with Westphalia in IR. I argue that this dominant discourse about Westphalia must be replaced by an alternative narrative of sovereignty grounded in toleration and minority rights. This rival image of sovereignty can be traced back to less noticed aspects of the Westphalian settlement itself. I then consider whether this revisionist account of Westphalian sovereignty can provide the conceptual resources for theorizing Indigenous self-determination.

*Qui Aujourd'hui a Encore Besoin de la Souveraineté ? Une Contribution Républicaine pour Penser les Enjeux Constitutionnels Canadiens Contemporains:* Sylvain Bérubé (Université d'Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Peter H. Russell avançait récemment que le fédéralisme soulage les maux de la souveraineté en permettant de vivre dans un État souverain dont la souveraineté même se révèle être divisée. (2021 : 85) Selon cette proposition, le fédéralisme, en instaurant un véritable fédéralisme de traités (treaty federalism), pourrait faire place à une reconnaissance accrue de l'autodétermination des peuples autochtones (et autres nations minoritaires). Pourtant, vu toutes les critiques formulées contre le concept de la souveraineté, incluant celle développer par Russell lui-même, qui aujourd'hui a encore besoin de la souveraineté pour penser à l'État ?

Inspiré des approches du « constitutionnalisme ancien » tel que décrit par James Tully (1995), je suggère dans un premier temps que la tradition républicaine de la constitution mixte et des théories de la séparation du pouvoir offre des outils pour penser le fondement d'un État fédéral à l'extérieur du langage de la souveraineté. Dans un deuxième temps, je mettrai en dialogue les travaux de Philip Pettit (1997, 2012, 2023) et ceux d'Iris Marion Young (2005, 2006) autour de la non-domination afin d'illustrer en quoi cet idéal permet d'articuler une conception plus relationnelle du fédéralisme. L'objectif de cette communication est d'établir la forme que peut prendre une conception (néo)républicaine du fédéralisme qui, en renonçant entièrement à la catégorie de souveraineté, répond aux écueils de la proposition de Russell à l'égard de l'autodétermination des nations minoritaires.

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## H19(d) - Memory and Political Critique: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations

Théorie politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 395

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=283](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=283)

*‘The story of the St. Louis and its passengers is no isolated incident’: Canadian Memory of the Voyage of the St. Louis in a Multidirectional Memoryscape*: Elise Sammons (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** In 1939, the Mackenzie King government ignored calls to provide safety to Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi Germany aboard the M.S. St. Louis. The ship was refused entry in Cuba and the United States, and a group of Canadians petitioned the government to accept the refugees. The Canadian government made no public response and the refugees returned to Europe where 254 of the 907 passengers died in the Holocaust. When Canada’s rejection of the passengers was brought into public memory in 1979 (Abella & Troper, 1979; 1983), it offered an important critique of the contemporary government narrative of Canada as a welcoming, multicultural society. Since then, various Canadian governments have engaged with the memory of the voyage, agreeing with a critical interpretation of the memory of the event, remembering the St. Louis as emblematic of discriminatory decisions and policies on the part of Canada’s government; however, at times, this is used to construct a problematic narrative that puts racism and discrimination firmly in Canada’s past. By tracing the memory of the voyage of the M.S. St. Louis over time and analyzing key commemorative efforts (including the 2018 official apology and the Community Historical Recognition Program which ran from 2008-2013), this paper examines how political memories are shaped and reshaped over time to serve different purposes, at times challenging power structures, at times reinforcing them. The paper argues for more attention to memory as a site of political contestation and demonstrates the valuable insights that multidirectional (Rothberg, 2009) and longitudinal (Conway, 2010) approaches to studying memory can offer.

*Settler colonialism, the category of religion, and strategic forgetfulness in the Canadian Courts*: Stacie Swain (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** In the Supreme Court of Canada case *Ktunaxa Nation v. B.C.*, the Ktunaxa First Nation fought to prevent a sacred mountain, Qat’muk, from being developed into a ski resort. To do so, they sought a declaration that ‘the Ktunaxa people’s freedom to learn, engage in, teach and transmit to future generations their traditional religious beliefs and practices involving grizzly bears and Grizzly Bear Spirit’ be considered a fundamental freedom protected by section 2(a) of the Charter. While Ktunaxa Nation was unsuccessful in the courts, Qat’muk was later declared an Indigenous Protected and Conserved Area. In this paper, I perform a discursive analysis of Ktunaxa Nation that draws on the anthropocentric study of religion and relational Indigenous social research paradigms. According to the latter, ceremonies and songs that relate to Qat’muk should be understood not solely as ‘religious beliefs and practices,’ but as modalities that constitute and perpetuate Ktunaxa nationhood and place-based governance. Drawing on the former, I show how the court’s construction of the category of religion as distinct from that of politics was instrumental to the depoliticization of the Ktunaxa Nation and the legitimization of Canadian governance over ‘Crown land.’ Canadian claims to power, however, rely upon what Klassen (2015) calls a ‘selective forgetting’ of the state’s own metaphysical foundations. Ktunaxa Nation therefore offers an example of how the category of religion serves as a technique of settler colonial statecraft, where a politics of strategic forgetfulness can be deployed to domesticate Indigenous claims and consolidate settler authority.

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## J19 - Heterogeneity, Minority Nationalism in Scotland, Catalonia, Canada Australia

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

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 451

Chair/Président/Présidente : Nadia Verrelli (Laurentian University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Neil Cruickshank (North Island College)

*Should We Stay or Should We Go? Exploring Justifications for Independence and Union in the Scottish Election Study:* Paul Anderson (Liverpool John Moores University)

**Abstract:** Almost two decades after the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, and ten years since the referendum on Scottish independence, the debate on independence is far from settled. Support for Scottish statehood has remained steady since 2014, with polls regularly showing an almost 50:50 split between pro-independence and pro-union voters.

Using qualitative data from the 2021 Scottish Election Study, this paper examines the reasons citizens provide for their constitutional preference to either remain or leave the United Kingdom. Making use of this data, the paper analyses the prevalence of the different types of argument among respondents and compares the centrality of these arguments among pro-independence and pro-Union voters. Following an inductive coding process, ten categories were identified, including economic arguments, identity and constitutional arguments, EU/Brexit and Good Governance and Democracy. The aim of the paper is to understand the stated motivation of unionist and independentist voters in the Scottish context.

*The Relationship between Regional Language Use in Scotland and Catalonia and Support for Independence:* Mare Ushkovska (International Balkan University)

**Abstract:** Language is closely interlinked with the formation of national identities and the promotion of some regional languages in Europe has been associated with separatist movements, such as those in Corsica, Catalonia, the Basque Region, and Scotland. This paper analyses how regional language use in Scotland and Catalonia relates to support for their national independence. Through survey data and quantitative descriptive method, this research finds that, despite the comparable history of Catalonia and Scotland, use of the regional language affects views on territorial separatism differently in each region. Successive Scottish governments have stated that raising the status of the Gaelic language is important for the promotion of the Scottish cultural heritage and for language preservation. However, disproving widely held beliefs that speaking the Gaelic or Scots language translates into support for Scottish independence, the areas where these languages are most used have overwhelmingly voted against separating from the UK in the 2014 referendum. This indicates that language in Scotland is not a determinant of preference for national independence. Alternatively, this research finds that the dispute on the status of Catalonia, is not only political, but also demographical and anthropological. The increase in Catalan language users among the younger generations in the past decades and the rising number of descendants of Spanish immigrants in Catalonia self-identifying as Catalan correspond to a growing support for Catalan independence in recent years.

*?Don't Touch the Third Rail!? Explaining the Puzzling Divergence Between Australian and Canadian Rail Networks.:* Patrick Desjardins (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Though both continental sized Westminster federations, Australia and Canada's rail transportation network diverge significantly. Australia's is exceptionally fragmented for an advanced industrial country, featuring three major, and largely incompatible, track gauges, yet Canada has, by contrast, developed a highly integrated rail network based on a single gauge. This is a counterintuitive outcome given a longstanding assumption held by many scholars of comparative federalism that the presence of linguistic heterogeneity and minority nationalism is expected to lead to constituent-unit policy divergence and political decentralization (Simeon 1972; Erk 2008), suggesting that, as a largely unilingual country, it is Australia, and not Canada, that should have the more centralized rail network. This paper thus presents an alternate explanation for this counterintuitive policy divergence, one based on the concept of the infrastructural capacity (Ziblat 2006) of constituent units at the time of federation. Using a comparative historical methodology, this paper argues that the relatively more developed capacities of Ontario and Québec at confederation meant they could impose a standard on the much weaker provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. By contrast, in Australia, the infrastructural capacities of South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland at the time of the federation were equivalent, meaning neither could impose its preferred standard on the other's. These patterns of policymaking, it is argued, can be understood to have had a lasting influence on the dynamics of Australian and Canadian federalism, illuminating the tendency of egalitarian centralization in Australia, and of somewhat resentful decentralization in Canada.

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## L19 - The Politics of Refuge and Belonging

Race, ethnicité, peuples autochtones et politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

Chair/Président/Présidente : Megan Gaucher (Carleton University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Megan Gaucher (Carleton University)

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

*From Kabul to Turtle Island: Analyzing Canada's Afghan Resettlement Programs in the Context of Settler Colonialism:* Kushan Azadah (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the politics of Canada's Afghan resettlement programs and the extent to which they exhibit (dis-)continuities with the state's broader histories of displacement and (re)settlement in the settler colonial context. At the end of October 2023, Canada announced that it met its commitment to resettle 40 thousand Afghan refugees in the wake of NATO withdrawal and the Taliban's subsequent return to power in August of 2021. The resettlement efforts spanned over two years and faced many challenges including legal-administrative hurdles and slow processing and arrival speeds. The state's response to these challenges attracted varying degrees of praise and grievance across civil society, political parties, and government actors. Many Canadians expressed a national responsibility and obligation to Afghan resettlement, especially for those at risk of Taliban reprisal for working alongside NATO troops in its nation-building efforts. This raised questions about who was deemed (un-)deserving of refugee status and resettlement based on their proximity to the settler state's missions abroad. Drawing on a discourse-historical approach (DHA) and critical discourse policy analysis (CDPA) of press releases, speeches, committee reports, and public statements, this paper examines the complexities involved in the politics of recognition concerning Afghan refugees and the terms of their acceptance into the Canadian settler polity.

*Who Is Deserving? The Coloniality of Canada's Response to Afghan and Ukrainian Refugees:* Zuhra Abawi (Niagara University)

**Abstract:** Two refugee crises have recently unfolded with markedly different responses by the West. The first involves the swift 2021 evacuation of U.S and allied troops in Afghanistan and resurgence of the Taliban; the second being the 2022 Russian invasion of the Ukraine. While Afghans and Ukrainians alike were forced to flee violent conflict; the collective Western response to Ukrainian refugees has been vastly different than that of Afghan refugees, with Canada being no exception (De Conick 2022; Garnier et al, 2022; Howard et al, 2022; Khan, 2022; Pardy, 2023). Canada's immigration policies stark preferential treatment of Ukrainian refugees speaks to the historic and ongoing settler-colonial and racist undertones that privilege whiteness (Al Jazeera, 2022; Kelley & Treblicock, 2010). While Canada is often portrayed as a bastion of human rights through the eyes of the international community; the country continues to fall short on commitments to humanitarian law both abroad and at home; notably through epidemic levels of violence against Indigenous people (Human Rights Watch, 2023). The history of Canada's immigration policies is fraught with Eurocentrism and the deliberate exclusion of people of the Global South; whilst simultaneously commissioning state-sponsored genocide against Indigenous peoples and lands. This paper seeks to explore the racialized hierarchies and coloniality undergirding the embrace of Ukrainian refugees within the Canadian context juxtaposed against the marginalization and dehumanization of Afghan refugees by employing Fricker's concept of epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2017) as a conceptual lens to frame this study.

*Social Inclusion and 'The Right to Have Rights': Perspectives from Resettled Refugees:* Laila Khoshkar (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Hannah Arendt's concept 'the right to have rights' is arguably the starting point for political theorists interested in human rights. This phrase is understood to express two distinct notions of 'right': the first is the right to belong to a political community in which one's speech and action is meaningful (i.e. political membership), and the second indicates the civic rights one has, by virtue of political membership, that are provided and protected by the political community to which one belongs. While resettled refugees in Canada do not have full state membership (citizenship), they are entitled to a wide set of civic rights by virtue of their legal status. Resettled refugees in Canada ostensibly, therefore, have 'the right to have rights'. My question is: do resettled refugees in Canada experience their right to have rights meaningfully?

My theoretical framework is premised on my contention that legal status is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the right to have rights to be experienced meaningfully. In addition to legal belonging, social belonging is required. In my proposed paper, I will consider how the lived experiences of resettled refugees in Canada inform my theoretical framework. To this end, I am conducting interviews with resettled refugees, to learn from them how their sense of social belonging in Canada impacts their experience of their rights in this country. Ultimately, consideration of individuals' phenomenological experience of their rights can bolster our understanding of the conditions required for a meaningful right to have rights.

*The Uncanny Journey of Remembering between Past, Present, and Future: Generational Remembering among Turkish Cypriot Families:* Beyza Hatun Kiziltepe (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** An unresolved state of conflict has continued in Cyprus since the 1950s. Today, there are countless accounts of memory narratives about the Cyprus ethnic conflict. Drawing on the ethnographic research conducted in the Northern Part of Cyprus with native Turkish Cypriots, this paper endeavors to understand how different generations of Turkish Cypriot families remember the ethnic conflict and make sense of their experiences regarding the politicization of memory and history-making of nation-states. In doing so, I argue that remembering becomes political through intentional, selective, and conscious acts of individuals. Accordingly, memories are grounded upon the interrelation of past experiences, present life situations, and anticipated future

imaginations. To interpret the differences and similarities in memory narratives, I ask: could divergent but entangled memory narratives be considered one of the constituents of the othering formations among the Turkish Cypriot community? This paper hopes to deliver a fresh dimension to the Cyprus ethnic conflict analysis in IR by emphasizing that individuals' memories are also inclined to function as ideological tools of some local and international political forces and hegemonic ideologies of specific eras. Concomitantly, not only the native but also the settler Turkish Cypriots should be considered the primary power forces in historiography and conflict resolution discussions.

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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 : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1055

*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.

*Diversifying the Discipline: Establishing a Baseline to Support the Evolution of Inclusive Syllabi Development in Political Scien:* Griselda Asamoah-Gyadu (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.

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## N19 - Security and Foreign Policy

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1065

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Leigh Spanner (MSVU)

**Troubling Feminist Policies: Assessing the (in)securities of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy:** Juliana Crema (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.

**Perpetrators, silencers, and oppressors: A transnational feminist assessment of Men's roles in the FIAP:** Brianna Parent Long (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.

**Fostering Change: WPS Initiatives and Collaborations Between Academia and Security Organizations:** Stéfanie 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.

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## **W319 - National Security & Intelligence: Special Session on Foreign Interference**

**Atelier - Sécurité nationale et renseignement : perspectives canadiennes et comparées**

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle** : McGill College 2001 461

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Christian Leuprecht (Queen's University / Royal Military College)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Benjamin Fung (McGill University)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=151](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=151)

### **Participants**

Richard Baylin (RCMP)

Shawn M. (Canadian Security Intelligence Service)

Colin MacSween (Public Safety Canada)

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## **R19 - Reconciliation Committee Keynote Panel: The Legacy of Deskaheh, Cayuga Chief: a Haudenosaunee Perspective**

### **Événements spéciaux**

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle** : 303 - Centre St. Pierre, 1212, rue Panet street, Montréal, H2L 2Y7

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Daniel Sherwin (University of Toronto)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=320](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=320)

### **Participants**

Kenneth Deer (Kahnawake) (Haudenosaunee External Relations Committee)

Dr. Susan Hill (Six Nations of the Grand River) (University of Toronto)

Dr. Beverly Jacobs (Six Nations of the Grand River) (University of Windsor)

Carol Jacobs, Clanmother (Six Nations of the Grand River) (Haudenosaunee Confederacy)

Deskaheh Steve Jacobs, Chief (Six Nations of the Grand River) (Haudenosaunee Confederacy)

Dr. Rick Monture (Six Nations of the Grand River) (McMaster University)

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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 :** J-1187 (accessible via J-1200), Pavillon Judith-Jasmin, Université du Québec à Montréal (05, rue Sainte-Catherine Est)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Lisa Birch (Université Laval)

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

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions\\_details?id=12](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/sessions_details?id=12)

*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 : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 355

Chair/Président/Présidente : Spencer McKay (University of British Columbia)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Spencer McKay (University of British Columbia)

*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)

**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 : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 361

Chair/Président/Présidente : Mackenzie Lockhart (Yale University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Mackenzie Lockhart (Yale University)

**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)

**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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## C21(a) - Multilevel Diplomacy

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : Zoom (see details/voir détails)

Chair/Président/Présidente : Basileus Zeno (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Basileus Zeno (York University)

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

*Multilevel diplomacy in the Canadian Federation: Seeking Unity in Diversity in Global Environmental Governance:* Marjolaine Lamontagne (McGill University)

**Abstract:** In an era of globalization and anthropogenic climate change, federal systems face the complex task of addressing global challenges while upholding the principles of federated autonomy and jurisdiction. Global environmental politics, in particular, exert significant pressure on federal arrangements due to the necessity for state parties to international environmental conventions to align with global targets or voluntarily establish nationally determined goals. Federal governments are called upon to negotiate on behalf of their constituent units, despite lacking the internal competences and unilateral authority to implement environmental agreements.

From a practical standpoint and the perspective of federated state leaders, these dynamics raise questions of effectiveness, implementation, and legitimacy. This paper delves into the intricate challenge of achieving "unity in diversity" within the context of global environmental governance, focusing on the emerging phenomenon of ?multilevel diplomacy??the increasingly normalized incorporation of substate and indigenous delegates within national delegations to global summits.

This study employs a "multi-sited" ethnography methodology to conduct an in-depth investigation of the political and practical aspects of multilevel environmental diplomacy in Canada, a multinational federation and a settler colonial state comprising over 50 Indigenous Nations. The research combines direct participant observation at international conferences, such as the Adaptation Futures Conference in Montreal (2023) and COP28 in Dubai, with interviews of civil servants and elected officials from the federal ministries of Global Affairs and the Environment, the environmental ministries of the provinces of Québec, Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia, and Indigenous communities.

(Supervisor: Vincent Pouliot, vincent.pouliot@mcgill.ca)

*Creating Value from Qubits: Exploring the Commercialization of Quantum Technology as Foreign Policy:* Kristen Csenkey (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** All things quantum have a value. Canada has committed \$360 million to further the development of quantum technologies through the National Quantum Strategy (NSQ). One of the pillars of the NSQ is the commercialization of Canadian quantum technologies in the global market. Yet, the fully formed capabilities of many of these technologies are yet to reach their expected potential. Despite this reality, formal and informal international partnerships include quantum technologies as a point of economic and security cooperation. Set in this context, I explore how the ?value? of quantum technologies are defined through international cooperations on technology governance. I accomplish this by analyzing strategy documents, programs, and identifying key actors involved in its definition process. I employ the analytical framework of financialization and apply it to the study of international technology cooperations in place of a Canadian foreign policy. The financialization literature is largely focused on the extraction of value and profit creation from physical spaces, people, labour and other resources (Ahlers and Merme 2016; Ouma et al. 2018; Horton 2022). In this paper, I attempt to integrate this literature into the study of IR and foreign policy through the lens of commodity governance (van der Ven and Barmes 2023). Through this application, I seek to study how the NQS could be framed as accumulation strategy whereby value is extracted from future quantum technologies. By focusing on the framing of the NSQ, especially the commercialization pillar, this paper examines how commercial products are the processes made from partnerships, people and expertise (Ims et al. 2015) with broader implications for understanding their governance through the construction of profit extraction.

## C21(b) - Russia and the World

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : McGill College 2001 735

Chair/Président/Présidente : Ali Dizboni (Royal Military College of Canada)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Ali Dizboni (Royal Military College of Canada)

*Civilizational Status-seeking: Explaining Risk-Acceptant Turkish and Russian Foreign Policies:* Muhammed Yusuf Yilmaz (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Recently, Turkish and Russian foreign policies have been increasingly referred to as 'assertive' and the major decisions like Russia's war against Ukraine or Turkey's purchase of the S-400 air defense systems were delineated as major junctures in their directions (Götz, 2016; Kutlay & Öni, 2021). While these policies are undoubtedly risk-acceptant, I argue that the shift in these post-imperial states' foreign policies has started much earlier. To explain the causes of these states' unprecedented willingness to take risks, I introduce civilizational status-seeking, a theoretical approach that brings focus to these states' collective memories of their imperial pasts and their concerns for higher status in international society. Under this approach, I put forth three propositions that locate the roots of these overambitious behaviors in the post-imperial states' concern for a higher position in international society, a position that was once held by their predecessor. First, I argue that, after going through a period of relative international rise and uninterrupted governments, the post-imperial states start questioning the dominant national narratives about their imperial pasts, the ones that were adopted after the dissolution of their empires. Second, as the challenges to the post-imperial national identity narratives grow, these rising post-imperial states begin identifying as imperial successors rather than as their current state. These states' changing self-images alter the national collective perceptions about their states' deserved international position. Finally, as the newfound self-ascribed status is not recognized internationally, the post-imperial state leaders experience a constant perception of loss. Drawing on prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979), I argue that the perception of loss prompts the post-imperial state leaders to pursue risky foreign policies as the actors are risk-acceptant with respect to losses. To test the hypotheses in this interdisciplinary approach, I apply mixed-method research. By conducting qualitative and quantitative textual analysis of the official and unofficial articulations of the imperial past (Jo, 2022), I analyze the evolution of Turkish and Russian collective memories. By combining field research in Turkey and Eastern Europe with framing analysis (McGlynn, 2022), I examine the extent to which these collective memories impact these states' risk-taking foreign policies. With this theoretically and methodologically eclectic approach, I demonstrate the impact of aspirational status concerns and loss aversion in the post-imperial states' overambitious foreign policy agendas.

*Liberal IR Theory and the War in Ukraine:* Michael Lipson (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** This paper develops a liberal IR theory explanation for Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine, contrasting it with alternative realist, bargaining theory, and ontological security explanations. Liberal IR theory is often regarded as a theory of peace and cooperation, leaving to other approaches the analysis of international conflict and war. Yet, analytical liberalism (Moravcsik 1997) offers a distinctive theory of war that has not to date been subjected to systematic empirical evaluation. According to Moravcsik's liberal theory, war results from strong and conflicting state preferences, reflecting the interests and influence of domestic social groups mediated by domestic institutions. According to ideational, commercial, and republican variants of liberalism, war is caused, respectively, by conflicts over mismatch between national identity and borders or perceived threat to domestic order from foreign political ideologies, by domestic economic interests standing to benefit from war, and by domestic institutions empowering risk-acceptant leaders and potential beneficiaries of war over those who bear its costs. The paper proposes an 'ideational-republican' liberal explanation for Russia's invasion, as a product of Russian personalist dictatorship coupled to Putin's conception of Russian national identity and borders as rightfully subsuming Ukraine.

*Gendering Hybrid Warfare: Russia's Gendered Disinformation Campaign:* Owen Wong (Queen's University), Stéphanie von Hlatky (Queen's University), Claire Mountford (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** States are increasingly using disinformation and propaganda to undermine their foreign adversaries. While scholars have analyzed how and why states use propaganda, it is unclear how gender norms are used in hybrid warfare propaganda campaigns. How do states use gender norms in their propaganda and disinformation campaigns to polarize the populations of foreign adversaries? Although anecdotes suggest that state-sponsored disinformation campaigns appeal to gender norms/stereotypes to divide and polarize societies, little empirical research has been done to support this claim. In this article, we analyze Russian state-sponsored news media to determine how the tension between progressive and regressive gender norms has been used to generate support for Russia's invasion of Ukraine among foreign publics. We apply a qualitative content analysis to an original database constructed with funding from the Department of National Defence. Our research has implications for academics studying hybrid warfare, Canadian defence policy, and the Women, Peace, and Security agenda. Additionally, the project contributes best practices for Canada to respond to grey-zone disinformation and hybrid warfare. By understanding the gendered nature of hybrid warfare, Canada can respond effectively and equitably to this emerging threat.

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## C21(c) - Diplomacy

### Relations internationales

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jérémie Cornut (Simon Fraser University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jérémie Cornut (Simon Fraser University)

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

*India's Democratic Recession and the Rise of Nationalist Foreign Policy:* Saira Bano (Thompson Rivers University)

**Abstract:** India has been known for its vibrant and diverse democracy. However, the country's reputation as a democratic role model for other developing nations is increasingly under threat due to the nationalist policies of the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), rising polarization along religious lines, and weakening of democratic institutions. This erosion of democratic values has led to a more assertive and nationalist foreign policy, with India adopting a confrontational stance towards its neighbors, particularly Pakistan and China. India has sought to align itself more closely with the US and other democracies to counter the rise of China. The United States and other democratic nations have partnered with India based on shared democratic values and institutions. Ironically, the erosion of democratic values and institutions could ultimately undermine India's alignment with other democracies. This paper argues that India's shift towards authoritarian tendency is likely to shape the country's nationalist foreign policy and its interactions with other democratic states, making it less powerful and unpredictable international actor. This has significant implications for the stability of the global order, as India is a major player in the region and a key partner for many democratic countries.

*Sino-Russian public diplomacy in a Changing World Order after Russia-Ukraine crisis:* Xuan Li (Jinan University)

**Abstract:** After the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022, "hot wars" occurred frequently around the world. In 2023, the border crisis between Azerbaijan and Armenia and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict showed the intensification of global geopolitical games and conflicts. In this context, China is trying to participate in conflict mediation and work with Russia to promote the reconstruction of the global order after the epidemic. In internal exchange activities, in addition to head-of-state diplomacy, China and Russia also continue to promote public diplomacy in economic, trade and cultural aspects. However, at the 10th anniversary meeting of the "Belt and Road Initiative", Russian experts expressed concerns that the "Belt and Road Initiative" is mainly economic in nature and that the "Belt and Road Initiative" is insufficiently connected with the Eurasian Economic Union. Sino-Russian public diplomacy in cultural aspects also encountered insufficient audience interest. On the other hand, in terms of external cooperation especially international communication, Russia and China uphold different perspectives. Russia has concluded information confrontation from the "information warfare" based on the experience of collapse of Soviet Union, while China tried to use traditional culture to refine Chinese international communication that serves the "Community of Common Destiny" after Xi's "531" speech. This difference makes it difficult for China and Russia to coordinate in the field of international communication. Although there are difficulties, in view of the deteriorating attitudes towards China and Russia in the international public opinion, China and Russia will promote the diversification and in-depth public diplomacy under the guidance of head-of-state diplomacy in the future.

*Emerging Southern Powers? Scientific Diplomacy: Shaping Global Relations:* Amabilly Bonacina (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** In the post-COVID-19 era, the importance of science, technology, and innovation (STI) in transnational relations has increased. Promote STI capabilities, coordinated public policies, together with diplomacy, are key to achieving national development goals. The subfield that studies these relationships is science diplomacy (SD). SD, as a field, has traditionally focused on the experiences of the North, with little attention paid to the nations of the South until recently. Seeking to contribute to this growing literature, my objective is to investigate the motivation behind emerging Southern nations' investment in science diplomacy. Through documentary analysis and archival research, we sought to answer the following question: why do emerging powers of the South invest specifically in science diplomacy programs? The study posits that these southern powers strategically use this type of diplomacy to impact global multipolarity, placing themselves as an agent in the international system. Using a global IR framework, this work investigates the experiences of these countries through three levels: local, national, and international, decentralizing the state as the sole actor in this complex context of science diplomacy relations. The study will focus on two case studies: Brazil and South Africa. By dissecting how these emerging powers use these programs to influence the global order and drive their national agendas, this research aims to reveal the intricate pathways and complexities that Southern nations face within the global system.

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## D21 - Policy Analysis and Policy Design

### Droit et analyse de politiques

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 495

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

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Olivier Jacques (Université de Montréal)

**The Digital Canadian Dollar: A Survey Experiment on Democratic Risks and Public Trust:** Ori Freiman (McMaster University), John McAndrews (McMaster University), Jordan Mansell (McMaster University), Anwar Sheluchin (McMaster University), Clifton van der Linden (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Central bank digital currencies (CBDCs) are a new form of money that has the potential to significantly affect the economy and society. Implementation and adoption require the public's trust, however, public trust in CBDCs is not well understood. Here, the Bank of Canada has recently concluded a public consultation about the possibility of issuing a CBDC - the digital Canadian dollar. This paper discusses an online survey experiment (n=1000) that examines how different governance and technological mechanisms affect public trust in the digital Canadian dollar and the Bank of Canada. The survey consists of a baseline assessment of the knowledge and awareness about the digital Canadian dollar; a vignette priming subjects to democratic risks; a vignette that presents the different mechanisms of trust, followed by the questions about trust; and a trolley-style question to understand the tradeoff between personal financial privacy and public safety. The paper analyzes the causal effects of CBDC trust mechanisms on public trust, as well as the preferences and attitudes of the respondents towards various aspects of the Canadian CBDC. The paper contributes to the global literature on CBDCs and democracy by providing empirical evidence and local policy recommendations for implementing a CBDC that respects and protects democratic values and principles.

**Rent banks as a tool of eviction prevention in Canada:** Alison Smith (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Protecting the housing rights of people who are currently housed is an important part of an equitable response to the housing crisis, especially as the price of rent soars in cities across the country. In the landscape of homelessness prevention in Canada, eviction prevention is recognized as an important emergency-level strategy for keeping financially precarious households from losing their dwelling. One tactic under this strategy is a rent bank: emergency funds allocated to people at-risk of losing their dwelling to supplement their rent and cover rent arrears. Despite their role in eviction prevention, there has been little comparative research to better understand how different models of rent banks function and to assess their ability to keep households stably housed. In this presentation I describe different models of rent banks in Canada, the US, and Europe, their respective political contexts, their perceived effectiveness, and discuss how rent banks fit within a broader homelessness prevention typology. By comparing these different models, I intervene in literature on homelessness prevention in Canada, specifically by highlighting the role that emergency interventions can play when more structural measures to prevent homelessness are unsuccessful. I also propose a broader conversation on eviction prevention where tangible solutions to preventing homelessness are proposed through promising practices in rent banks.

**Drivers of tax evasion in the construction and renovation industry: opportunities, beliefs and justifications of consumers:** Antoine

Genest-Grégoire (Université de Sherbrooke), Masarah Paquet-Clouston (Université de Montréal), Lyne Latulippe (Université de Sherbrooke), Luc Godbout (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** Tax evasion is considered as very common in the home renovation and construction industry of Quebec. The province's tax collection agency has identified it as one of the main areas of focus for increased enforcement in the future. This study takes the posture of consumers of such services and tries to understand why many of their transactions are done without proper payment of sales taxes (GST and QST). Using data from focus groups as well as a representative survey, it documents the extent of such evasion and the main pathways that explain it. Attention is given to the importance of opportunity coming from service providers themselves, selfish economical reasoning and motivational scales of attitudes such as risk aversion, altruism and in-group solidarity. Borrowing from criminology, we also document the justifications consumers invoke to reconcile their past behaviour with their values and thus manage any remorse they may feel. We look at individual versus redistributive political postures as such possible pathways for justification, along with reference to peer groups and general trust in society. It appears that evasion in this field is generally mostly explained by desires to save money, and that is not generally perceived very negatively, even amongst non-evaders. Evaders do not markedly differ from non-evaders in terms of attitudes and most do not feel enough remorse to need justification strategies. Evaders are generally more hostile to redistribution, but this might be more directly explained by their relative wealth compared to non-evaders.

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## F21 - Methodological Issues in the Study of Political Behaviour III

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1047

Chair/Président/Présidente : Allison Harell (UQAM)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Allison Harell (UQAM)

**Understanding Social and Political Attitudes in Rural Canada via Ethnography: Interim Reflections on Method and Purpose:** Laticia Chapman (University of Alberta), Dionne Pohler (University of Saskatchewan), Clark Banack (University of Alberta, Augustana Campus)

**Abstract:** Our SSHRC-funded project, Understanding Social and Political Attitudes in Rural Canada, employs ethnographic methods, including periods of intense, short-term immersion in selected communities, interviews, and participant-observation at local events, to explore the roots of political, social, and economic beliefs and attitudes across rural Canada. Our project responds to the significant body of recent political science research investigating rural attitudes. Much of this scholarship relies on positivist methods including surveys and opinion polling. Because positivist methods cannot capture reasoning and meaning-making, they exclude rural people's interpretations of their experiences. Positivist methods also leave out the meaning-making space of the community. Our research highlights the social element of meaning-making, and includes the community as a space where people "make sense" of what is, develop opinions and attitudes about what events in and beyond their communities. Ethnographic research also reveals important ambiguities in the relationship between researcher and research subjects in rural settings. For example, because researcher presence is readily observable to all community members, the researcher is incorporated into the community's sense-making and meaning-making processes. This paper focuses on the methodological approach informing and developing from our community visits, including questions the research team worked through regarding the "two-way" nature of interpersonal communication and the balance between empathy and critical distance in research interactions. Extensive self- and joint reflections on our field work experiences clarified our ethnographic practice, and sharpened the goals of this unique approach to research aimed at understanding how things come to matter to rural people in Canada.

**Partisan Bias of Non-Voters in Canada and the Consequences for Representative Democracy:** Matthew Polacko (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Voter turnout has declined substantially over the past generation in Canada. The closeness of the last two federal elections, where the popular vote margin of victory was less than 1.25 percentage points, raises the question of whether such a large pool of potential voters could have changed the outcome of recent elections under a compulsory voting regime. The comparative and Canadian evidence is mixed as to whether turnout carries a partisan bias and there is little work focusing on the consequences of low turnout in Canada. I explore the relationship between partisan bias of non-voters using the Canadian Election Study (CES). The large online sample size of the 2019 (n= 37,822) and 2021 (n= 20,968) CES surveys, provides for the first time a large enough sample of non-voters to undertake detailed analysis beyond simulations of party voting. Relying on vote intention from the campaign portion of the CES, I find that non-voters have a significantly predicted higher likelihood of voting for leftist parties (NDP and Greens). There are also large differences in the demographic composition of non-voters, as lower earners, women, and the young are significantly over-represented among non-voters, which are three constituencies that significantly vote for the NDP. The findings reveal that turnout incurs a partisan bias in Canada, which carries important implications for partisanship. Inequalities in turnout also raise questions about the representativeness of Canada's electoral system, as election outcomes and subsequent policy outcomes are likely to look much different under an electoral system with universal turnout.

**How the sociology of deception can contribute to explaining the enduring careers and upward mobility of corrupt senior law enforcement officers: The case of Genaro García Luna:** Valentin Pereda (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Scholarly dialogues concerning high-tier police corruption within the Global South have predominantly focused on unravelling the drivers of corruption and its consequent effect on the robustness and functionality of civic and corporate institutions. Complementing this purview, certain analyses have adopted a more descriptive stance, aiming to gauge corruption or its perceived extent across varying nation-states. Specifically, inquiries into police corruption have centered around metrics for, and strategies toward, its deterrence and diminution. Yet, the persistent enigma of how senior officers embroiled in corruption navigate and ascend the echelons of law enforcement, despite ample and accessible evidence of their illicit involvements, has seldom been addressed.

Through the interpretive prism of the sociology of deception, this study posits that traditional factors associated with corruption fall short of clarifying the enduring careers and upward mobility of such officials. We delve into the illustrative case of Genaro Garcia Luna, Mexico's notorious ex-police chief and his entanglements with international drug cartels, to anchor our analysis. By thematically dissecting witness testimonies from Garcia Luna's trial and subsequent conviction in a U.S. federal court, we reveal that conventional institutional explanations alone do not suffice.

Our findings illuminate the necessity for a broader analytical framework to grasp the full spectrum of elements that safeguard the professional trajectories of figures like Garcia Luna. This narrative not only refines the understanding of corruption dynamics but also pinpoints the sophisticated matrix of factors that enable the perpetuation of corruption at the highest levels of policing.

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## H21(a) - Author Meets Critics: Moderate Liberalism and the Scottish Enlightenment: Montesquieu, Hume, Smith and Ferguson by Constantine Christos Vassiliou

**Théorie politique**

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 1085

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Rebecca Kingston (University of Toronto)

Vassiliou (The University of Texas at Austin)

Lindsay Mahon Rathnam (Duke Kunshan University)

Emma Planinc (University of Notre Dame)

Lee Ward (Baylor University)

Catherine Power (York University-Glendon)

**Abstract:** Constantine Vassiliou's book, *Moderate Liberalism and the Scottish Enlightenment: Montesquieu, Hume, Smith and Ferguson*, responds to a perennial problem in political theory: how to balance commercial considerations with the public good. It investigates this dilemma through the lenses of Enlightenment thinkers whose liberal theories responded to the hazards of commercial innovation during early capitalism. Vassiliou argues that Montesquieu and his Scottish counterparts represent a moderate perspective in foundational liberal thought, emphasizing the critical importance of honour. He shows how their respective liberal theories uniquely channel human beings' desire for honour to nourish a sense of interpersonal magnanimity within an inward-looking commercial world. In an age of polarized extremes, we have witnessed restive democracies flirting with illiberal responses for managing the hazards of capitalist innovation. Vassiliou shows how Montesquieu and his Scottish counterparts offer us more viable, middle-ground prescriptions which are sensitive to the emotional constitution of a liberal society.

The book recaptures a conceptual space in the famous eighteenth-century commerce and virtue debates. Vassiliou presents Montesquieu as a pivotal figure in these debates whose theoretical assessment of commerce made him a powerful interlocutor with his Scottish contemporaries. Montesquieu was a promoter of commerce who nonetheless observed how it could become a handmaid of despotism if left unchecked. Throughout the book, Vassiliou compares Montesquieu to Hume, Smith, and Ferguson, on questions concerning commerce, liberty, and the role of religion in market society to highlight how their theories uniquely aimed to accommodate virtue in a society preoccupied with self-interested commerce.

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## H21(b) - Federalism and the Siren Song of the Sovereign Center

### Théorie politique

**Date** : Jun 14 2023 | **Heure** : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle** : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 365

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Loren King (Wilfrid Laurier University)

Thomas Hueglin (Wilfrid Laurier University)

Alan Fenna (Curtin University)

Jörg Broschek (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Federalism has almost always been a counter-paradigm, a strategy against dominant ideas of empire, despotism, and majority rule. Indeed, these dominant ideas were themselves always tenuous in practice: ancient empires claimed universality, yet in practice prudently left in place local laws and customs. Federalism has always been a durable antidote to despotism. And in a diverse postmodern world, there may be considerable virtue to resisting the siren songs of sovereignty and republican unity. Our conceptual vocabulary and understandings should more aggressively reflect this theme of resistance.

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## M21 - Challenging Silences in the Student Experience

### Enseignement

**Date :** Jun 14 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :** Monument à sir Wilfrid Laurier Statue, Square Dorchester Square (weather dependent/selon la température) OR Zoom (see details/voir détails)

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Veronica Kitchen (University of Waterloo)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Veronica Kitchen (University of Waterloo)

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

***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)

**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 - Gender and Party Politics

### Femmes, genre et politique

Date : Jun 14 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle : 680 Sherbrooke St. West 391

Chair/Président/Présidente : Erin Tolley (Carleton University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Anna Esselment (University of Waterloo)

**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)

**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.

**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)

**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.

**What's the Consensus on Women Candidates?: Women's Representation in Northern Canadian Politics:** 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.





