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**Canadian Political Science Association**  
**2023 Annual Conference Programme**  
**Territory, Place, and Power**  
**Hosted at York University**  
May 30 to June 1, 2023

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**Real-time Data**

This PDF contains the conference's schedule updated

at the time of your download.

Session times and locations are subject to change.

## CPSA Pre-Conference Event (09:00am - 04:30pm)

### 00 - EDID Pre-conference Workshop on Creating Brave and Safe Spaces for Indigenous, Black, and Racialized Scholars in Political Science

CPSA Pre-Conference Event

Date: May 28 2023 | Time: 09:00am - 04:30pm | Room:

Click the following link for complete session information:

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=257](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=257)

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## CPSA Pre-Conference Event (09:00am - 04:00pm)

**00 - EDID Pre-conference Workshop - Equity, Diversity, Inclusion and Decolonization in Political Science: Opportunities, Challenges and Best Practices?**

**CPSA Pre-Conference Event**

**Date:** May 29 2023 | **Time:** 09:00am - 04:00pm | **Room:** HYBRID / hybride

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=258](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=258)

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# Day 1 - Session 1 (08:45am - 10:15am)

## A01(a) - Fiscal Federalism in Canada

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** André Lecours (University of Ottawa)

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Hamish Telford (University of the Fraser Valley)

*The Struggle for Equity that Saved the Federation:* Mary Janigan (Independent researcher)

**Abstract:** This paper looks at the origins of equalization. The federal equalization program of 1957 was an inventive resolution to the acrimonious and ongoing debates over revenue-sharing among the poorer and richer provinces. Such debates had almost scuttled Confederation in 1867. The Maritime provinces lost their principal source of revenue when Ottawa took over the collection of tariffs and customs duties. Such discontent spread as new provinces joined the federation ? and all provinces competed for more federal subsidies. In response, throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the patchwork of federal statutory subsidies and special grants became increasingly complicated and idiosyncratic. Federal funding was never enough to meet provincial needs, especially those of the poorer provinces. But equality of the provinces was the accepted political norm. With the Great Depression, the situation became desperate. Ottawa funneled subsidies along with disparate grants and loans for relief and public works into the provinces. But it could not remedy the profound underlying differences in provincial fiscal capacity. In 1937, the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations outlined the regional disparities in wealth and income, and the ?chaotic and illogical? network of subsidies. But its report, which debuted in wartime, required constitutional change. Instead, Ottawa forged deals with individual provinces to collect key taxes in return for a percentage of the revenue and compensatory grants. Quebec would not renew those deals in the postwar era, and it lost substantial revenue.

*Cities in Canadian Fiscal Federalism: The Forgotten Partner:* Enid Slack (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper explores the fiscal gap between cities and federal and provincial governments. The paper shows that cities have increasing responsibilities that require resources that largely exceed their fiscal capacity. Its main argument is that, given their increasing responsibilities, cities rely too much on property taxes and intergovernmental transfers. The paper suggests it is time to review the roles and responsibilities of all levels of government to ensure that cities have the fiscal instruments they need to match their expenditures responsibilities.

*Long-Term Care Reform in Canada in the wake of COVID-19: The Poverty of the National Standards Solution:* Anthony Breton (Concordia University), Patrik Marier (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** The paper analyzes the management of long-term care services that were a massive challenge for many provinces during the pandemic. It observes that such services are not formally a federal responsibility, although, during the pandemic, the military was called upon to help out some provinces. The pandemic has led the federal government to contemplate intervening more significantly in long-term care by formulating new conditions for provinces accessing federal funds. This paper puts into perspective the historical role of the provinces in this sector by proposing alternative solutions to improving the quality of long-term care in Canada.

*Public Infrastructure Financing and Multilevel Governance in Canada:* Eric Champagne (University of Ottawa), Aracelly Denise Granja (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** This paper examines public infrastructure financing in Canada from a multilevel governance perspective. It describes how basic infrastructure financing requires shared contributions from all three levels of government, which makes financing packages and project implementation much more complicated. It also proposes a typology of the most prominent financing instruments and notes the pressure on Canadian municipalities to maintain infrastructure over the medium and long term.

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## A01(b) - Political Parties and Representation

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Nathan Allen (St Francis Xavier University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Keith Brownsey (Mount Royal University)

***The Context of Party Defections in Canada:*** Jared Wesley (University of Alberta), Mireille Lalancette (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières), Alex Marland (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

**Abstract:** This paper highlights the broader political forces that impact politicians' decisions to stay or depart political parties, or to remove members from caucus. Certain provinces like Alberta and Quebec feature a high rate of partisan defections, for instance, while others like Manitoba and Prince Edward Island have experienced exceptionally few. We examine the dynamics of each province's political economy, party system, and the values embedded in its political culture to suggest some environments are friendlier to promiscuous partisanship than others.

***Party Discipline, Partisanship, and the Substantive Representation of Women: The Case of the Canadian Senate:*** Elizabeth McCallion (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Around the world, party discipline mediates women's substantive representation. But in Canada, the Senate recently underwent reforms to reduce party discipline, resulting in the emergence of a large contingent of independent senators. As such, the Canadian Senate provides a useful case for studying the effects of party discipline and partisanship on the substantive representation of women. This paper analyses senators' representation of women's interests using a quantitative content analysis of Canadian Senate committee meetings. It uses discussions of women to indicate senators' concern for how policies affect women's lives. The paper finds that sex is a primary indicator of legislators' propensity to speak about women, demonstrating the importance of gender diversity among the newly appointed independent senators. Moreover, men in national party caucuses are less likely to speak about women than their women colleagues, suggesting that formal party discipline may be affecting men's interests in women's issues. When men senators left the national Liberal party caucus and became the Senate Liberal caucus, they began to speak about women as much as their women colleagues did. These findings paint the Canadian Senate as a valuable venue for the substantive representation of women. Moreover, these are promising results with regard to other legislatures around the world with low party discipline, such as the British House of Lords, the European parliament, and nonpartisan municipal councils in North America. The findings from this paper can enable women's groups to strategically engage with legislators who are more likely to respond to their interests.

***A Blocked Pipeline: Women's Descriptive Underrepresentation in Canadian Federal Politics:*** Michael Wigginton (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Despite making up approximately half of Canada's population, women have always been a minority in Parliament, currently holding less than 30% of seats in the House of Commons, putting Canada well below the majority of OECD countries. While the imbalanced result of this process is clearly observable, research points not to electoral discrimination as the source, but rather the small number of women candidates. The point in the multi-step process of political candidacy at which this imbalance arises, however, is less clear; are women not being selected as candidates by political parties, or not being considered at all? In this paper I present the results of an original survey of candidates vying for the nomination of major Canadian political parties in the 2019 general elections. Combined with analyses of aggregate data on nomination contests from Elections Canada, my results demonstrate that women's underrepresentation in Canadian politics begins at the earliest stages of the process, with women accounting for only 30% of nomination candidates for major federal parties. While men and women win contested nominations at comparable rates, women are far less likely to report entering nomination contests without encouragement from party members, pointing to the importance of active recruitment to counteract the current gender imbalance.

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## B01(a) - Party Politics & Voter Support

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jan Erk (Université Mohammed VI Polytechnique)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jan Erk (Université Mohammed VI Polytechnique)

*The Attitudes of Party Actors towards the Digital Transformation of Their Party: Eagerness or Reluctance?:* Lucas Kins (Université libre de Bruxelles), Emilien Paulis (Université du Luxembourg)

**Abstract:** The process of the digitalization of party organizations has caught increasing scholarly attention in recent years. While existing studies have informed that parties are adapting their intra-party functioning to the new digital reality to a different degree, we still lack knowledge of the potential explanations for such variations among parties. The main argument has emphasized the material incentives and obstacles, which roughly correspond to the resources that a party relies on to effectively incorporate digital tools in its infrastructure. In this paper, we bring a complementary view that relates to the psychological motivations and barriers emanating from individual party actors. Indeed, individuals' attitudes towards digital transformation and how they perceive the implications of these changes for the functioning of their party could be crucial for the implementation of digital tools serving organizational purposes. Hence, relying on survey data gathered in 2021 in Belgium, Italy, and Spain (N=238), our analyses examine the drivers of positive and negative stances on the use of digital tools for intra-party purposes. We then discuss the implications of our findings for studying the process of party digitalization.

*Fear and Loathing in Europe: Investigating the Ideological Characteristics of the Rassemblement National and the United Kingdom Independence Party:* Savannah Ribeiro (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** This paper deconstructs and analyzes the discursive underpinnings of far right ideology and if these discursive choices change over time following major political ruptures. It takes a comparative approach, focusing on Britain's United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) and Rassemblement National (RN) in France. It focuses on two essential ideological characteristics of far right political parties: authoritarianism and ethnonationalism. I employ critical discourse analysis (CDA) theory and discourse tracing to analyze the meaning and utilitarian functions of discourse over time. CDA enables the researcher to demonstrate how discourses are shaped by ideology, how ideology is manifested discursively, and illuminates how structural inequality is expressed through language. Discourse tracing addresses key temporal shifts of party discourse. Data is pulled primarily from party manifestos from 2002 to 2017 and parties' social media accounts. I argue that both parties have remained steadfast in their ideologies, and consistently use the same talking points, strategies, and policies to express the core characteristics of far right ideology. The RN expresses ethnonationalist sentiment more openly, whereas UKIP veils it behind platitudes of civic inclusiveness and integration. Authoritarianism is frequently expressed in aggressive criminal, legal, and immigration policies, ostensibly using 'defense of the nation' as justification for such policies. Conceptually, the far right is frequently contested and difficult to define. My work further refines understandings of the far right, its ideology, and adds clarity to the definition of each. It also demonstrates the continued value of CDA as an analytical framework for understanding how ideologies are constructed through language.

*It Goes Both Ways Now? Non-Value Neutral Marketing in Commercial Marketing & Political Marketing:* Simon Vodrey (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Political marketing contends that marketing has systemically penetrated politics. While this pattern of influence is well established, some have suggested that it is evolving. With that in mind, I examine whether or not commercial marketers are also learning from political practitioners and, more specifically, from political marketers. I examine the extent to which the flow of influence and innovation between commercial and political marketers is a two-way street with bidirectional traffic between commercial and political marketers rather than a one-way street with one-way traffic from commercial to political marketers. The example I use to investigate this subject matter is that of value neutral marketing or, put more accurately, non-value neutral marketing.

Recognizing that the political is transitioning into more parts of modern life ? and that this is particularly advantageous for political marketers ? I use the results from more than thirty elite interviews with political marketers, market researchers, political researchers, pollsters and commercial marketers from Canada and the United States to examine whether or not the long-standing political marketing practice of producing non-value neutral marketing campaigns is becoming more commonplace in commercial marketing.

*Does the Concept of Affective Polarization make Sense in a Multiparty System? The case of Belgium.:* Marc Hooghe (University of Leuven)

**Abstract:** In recent years, research has focused on the concept of 'affective polarization', indicating an active dislike for supporters of other political parties. The concept originated in the United States, and can rather easily be constructed and measured in a two party system, where there is only one "other" party. There is far more debate, however, about the question whether the concept can in fact be used in multiparty systems (cfr. Wagner in Electoral Studies, 2021). In more fragmented party system, the question is not just to know whom should be disliked, but as these party systems also typically produce coalition governments, disliking another party often is not sustainable. In this paper we test whether the concept of polarization also travels to a highly fragmented party system like Belgium. Based on the survey results of CSES-Belgium, we determine to what extent voters feel distant from supporters of other political parties. Subsequently we also investigate to what extent the concept seems to contain different (or additional) information than simply measuring the ideological distance between different party electorates.

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## B01(b) - Institutions & Representation

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 005

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Julia Coyoli (Harvard University)

***Collateral Damage? The Consequences of Brexit for Crown Dependencies in the British Isles:*** Gary Wilson (University of Northern British Columbia)

**Abstract:** In January 2020, the United Kingdom (UK) formally ceased to be a member state of the European Union (EU), following a national referendum and a protracted series of negotiations, a process that has come to be known as Brexit. Self-governing Crown Dependencies in the British Isles, such as the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, did not participate in the referendum but were affected by the UK's decision to leave the EU. Even though they were not members of the EU, their access to the European Single Market was facilitated and governed by protocol arrangements that were tied to the UK's 1973 accession agreement and membership in the EU. This paper will explore the consequences of Brexit for Crown Dependencies, including the immediate economic impacts of losing tariff-free access to the European Single Market and the longer-term processes that could change their political and legal relationship with the UK. The paper will be grounded in the literature on federalism and federacies (Watts, 1999), island autonomy and governance (Baldacchino, 2010) and the existing and emerging literature on Crown Dependencies and their future in a post-Brexit era (Wilson, 2005; Benwell et al, 2022; Mut Bosque, 2020). The paper topic fits well with the overall theme for the conference because it focuses on the relationship between different territorial entities and changing power arrangements at the regional, national and supranational levels in the British Isles and Europe.

***Représentation aux Champs-Élysées: Racial minorities in the French National Assembly:*** Anna Johnson (University of Toronto), Marcus Clösen (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** With the election of Emmanuel Macron and La République en Marche in 2017, France saw a record number of Black and racialized individuals elected to its National Assembly. While this is so, due to the limited availability of data on the racial and ethnic diversity of French representatives, to date, establishing clear longitudinal trends on representational diversity in the French case has been difficult. In this paper, we introduce novel data which suggests that, since the early 2000s, France has had a relatively strong record of selecting Black and racialized members compared to other advanced Western democracies.

However, these trends in the data are partially propped up by France's continued possession of overseas territories and the elevated standing of these former colonies as electoral districts for the French National Assembly. This paper evaluates the descriptive representation of Black and racialized members in mainland France and in its overseas territories to gain a more complete understanding of France's standing as a leader in racially diverse representation. We find that the colonial context of the overseas constituencies casts a different light onto the levels of diversity in the French legislature, as these overseas jurisdictions are responsible for most of the non-white deputies in the National Assembly. Thus, the longstanding 'colourblind' Republican approach to representation has done little to improve the descriptive representation of historically underrepresented racial groups in France.

***Understanding Chile's Constitution-Making Conundrum: From Political Representation and Participation to Political Rejection.:*** Nibaldo Galleguillos (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Understanding Chile's Constitution-Making Conundrum: From Political Representation and Participation to Political Rejection.

Nibaldo Galleguillos ? McMaster University

On 18 October 2019, a social explosion sent ripples throughout Chile's political establishment. A political system carefully choreographed since 1989 was rocked by massive social mobilization, accompanied by violence and destruction of private and public property. The political class's response to stop popular protests was to offer to replace the 1980 constitution imposed by the military government. Popular pressures forced government and Congress to establish a constitutional convention with representatives directly elected by the people, fully based on gender parity, and with representation from indigenous communities.

On September 4, 2022, 62 % of the electorate rejected the new constitution, a document acknowledged by some experts as the most post-modern, progressive, and inclusive constitution ever written, while others saw it as a delusional, unrealistic, and impractical document.

The paper evaluates the reasons, and interpretations, that may explain the rejection of the proposed constitution. The research question is: Why did Chileans reject a new constitution that would have replaced the authoritarian, guarded, protected, and exclusionary political system created in 1980? A secondary question is: Why Chileans from all ideological persuasions who wanted the 'Pinochet Constitution' to be replaced chose to reject the new document and stick with one that they abhorred? The chosen methodology includes the author's interviews with Chilean politicians and activists, the analysis of the constitutional draft, and an examination of the role the media played in influencing the electorate to reject the draft.

***Citizen Representation and Federalism:*** Eric Desrochers (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** My paper will focus on an issue at the heart of the democratic process: the relationship between citizens' preferred policies and those enacted by their governments. I examine how federalism influences citizens' substantive representation at the national and regional levels. I will seek to demonstrate how federalism affects policy congruence between citizens and their central governments and the extent to which this differs across regions within a state. To answer these questions, I will rely on literatures with different approaches to political representation, particularly on studies on substantive representation and on federalism.

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.

Through this project, I aspire to contribute to normative discussions about the conditions that favour political representation and government accountability in unitary and federal states.

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## C01 - International Organizations: Impacts and Interactions

### International Relations

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 006

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Alicja Krubnik (McMaster University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Ali Dizboni (Royal Military College)

*(De)colonial Power through International Organizations: Indigenous Peoples and Forests:* Chen Zhong (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples Platform of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) held its first group meeting in 2019, twenty-seven years after the UNFCCC was established. International organizations (IOs) can be interpreted as sites of contestation between settler states and Indigenous peoples from diverse Indigenous communities and nations. As a racialized settler scholar, I ask the research question: how have colonial and decolonial power been disseminated through IOs? Employing automated text analysis techniques and in-depth discourse analysis, I study forestry-related texts issued by Indigenous communities-led conferences and IOs between the 1990s and 2020s. Most studies on Indigenous peoples and forestry-related climate politics rely on analytical frameworks from Foucauldian traditions. These studies often overlook the competing narratives from Indigenous communities outside of IOs. The agency of various Indigenous communities is often undertheorized. First, I theorize colonial power by referencing Elizabeth Povinelli's conceptualization of "geotopower". Diverging from biopolitics? analytical focus on living beings, "geotopower" captures how colonial power works through the construction of "Life" and "Nonlife". Second, I discuss the multiplicity of decolonial power by putting Povinelli and Indigenous environmental justice (IEJ) scholars into a conversation. I argue that settler states schematized the multiple relations between Indigenous peoples and forests. IOs' discourses legitimize the commodification and "carbonification" of forests. Indigenous peoples from various Indigenous communities highlight a relational ontology of nature, the indispensability of Indigenous governance, and intellectual traditions. Some specific Indigenous communities see forests as teachers and relatives, challenging the nature-human dualism in IOs' narratives.

*Promoting State Commitment to International Courts: Evidence from the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights:* Nicole De Silva (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** In a consent-based international legal system, international courts' authority and influence significantly depends on states' willingness to delegate authority to them. States may resist committing to international courts, and those that do may subsequently limit or revoke their commitment as part of the so-called "backlash" against international courts. Like many other international courts that have struggled with gaining and retaining states' delegation of authority, the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (African Court) has conducted outreach activities to increase state commitment to the Court. The African Court's outreach activities have sought to promote states' consent to the Court's authority, and to allowing individuals and nongovernmental organizations to directly access the Court. This paper theorizes the determinants of the effectiveness of international courts' outreach strategies, drawing on the experience of the African Court. Case studies process-trace, based on original data from interviews with African Court and state officials, the factors leading to variable state responses to the African Court's outreach strategies. This analysis contributes to our understanding of international courts' non-adjudicative activities and influence over states' commitment to them, even amid state resistance and backlash.

*Performing Peace: Security Sector Reform and Discourses of Progress and Professionalism in United Nations Peace Operations:* Marion Laurence (Royal Military College of Canada)

**Abstract:** The United Nations views an effective and accountable security sector as critical for conflict prevention and post-conflict peacebuilding. Security sector reform (SSR) has therefore become a core responsibility for many UN peace operations. Blue helmets are tasked with fostering respect for human rights and the rule of law through training for police and military personnel in host states. Discourses about progress and professionalism figure prominently in this work. UN officials, member states, troop-contributing countries, and peacekeepers themselves tend to frame SSR as a critical step toward political change and durable peace. Security sector actors in war-affected countries are supposed to be trained, "professionalized," then used to extend the authority of a liberal, democratic state.

This raises questions about peacekeepers' image as agents of normative transformation. How are discourses about progress and professionalism deployed in their SSR work, and to what effect? Hierarchical assumptions about peacekeepers' own expertise and professionalism often reinforce unequal power relations with host communities. Yet there is a further dynamic at play. Narratives about progress and professionalism also serve to enhance peacekeepers' status and rebuff criticism. For blue helmets, they are ready-made discursive tools, which can be invoked to assert their own professionalism, even in the face of misconduct allegations. For troop contributing countries, they provide scripts that are used to support domestic claims about effectiveness and accountability in the security sector. Drawing on interviews and UN documents, this paper uses discourse-analytical methods to examine these dynamics and assess their political implications within the UN system.

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## D01(a) - Policy-Making and Policy Process Theory

### Law and Public Policy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Anika Ganness (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Brendan Boyd (MacEwan University)

**Policy Feedback & Research Methods: How Qualitative Methods Inform Theory, Causal Claims, and New Insights:** Anna Kopec (Carleton)

**Abstract:** Existing policy feedback literature relies heavily on US case studies and quantitative methods (Béland & Schlager, 2019). Canadian policy feedback research, furthermore, argues for more in-depth qualitative studies (see for example Gidengil, 2020). This paper presents a project that examines the effects of policies on the political participation of individuals experiencing homelessness. I argue that qualitative methods were necessary for the research question and application of policy feedback theory. An abductive approach, furthermore, allowed for the consideration of policy design characteristics, interactions between policies, and multiple forms of participation. As a result, the research uncovered vital relationships and mechanisms that contribute to policy feedback theory. The theory benefits from abductive and qualitative examinations where methods are informed by community partners. Careful applications with different populations ? and vulnerable groups in particular ? are needed. Qualitative methods can therefore expand applications of the theory and lead to critical insights. Policy feedback theory, after all, raises vital questions of democratic legitimacy and policy effectiveness that will benefit from research conducted with and informed by marginalized populations.

**Institutional factors and policy feedbacks in the decarbonization of New Brunswick's electricity sector 2010-2020:** Heather Millar (UNB), Lee Whelan (UNB)

**Abstract:** Comparative environmental politics scholars are increasingly turning to theories of policy feedback to explain the dynamics of energy transitions, examining the conditions under which climate policies might destabilize carbon lock-in (Rosenbloom, Meadowcroft, and Cashore 2019; Bernstein and Hoffmann 2019; Paterson, Tobin, and VanDeveer 2022). Scholarship on positive, or self-reinforcing feedbacks has explicated the rapid scaling up of renewable energy markets (Jordan and Matt 2014; Schmid, Sewerin, and Schmidt 2020), while research on negative, or self-undermining feedbacks has explained climate policy reversals and retrenchment (Stokes 2020; Millar et al. 2021; Skogstad 2017). More recently, scholars have turned to the intermediating impact of political and economic institutions, exploring the ways in which systems of interest intermediation and federalism shape the strength and direction of feedback effects (Lockwood 2022; Mildemberger 2020). This study examines the impact of institutional factors on climate policy feedbacks in the electricity sector in the province of New Brunswick, Canada. Since implementing a renewable procurement standard in 2010, New Brunswick has transitioned to 80% non-emitting sources for electricity generation. But although the provincial utility has developed new wind generation in partnership with Indigenous communities in the province, it has struggled to facilitate similar uptake among local municipalities. Drawing on process tracing, document analysis, and key informant interviews, this study examines the role of policy feedbacks in limiting decarbonization in the province, with close attention to the impact of vertically integrated governance structures in amplifying climate delay.

**Advocacy Coalitions and Montana's Bison policy:** Andrea Olive (UTM), Vanita Clare (UTM), Emmanuel Osei (U of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Bison reintroduction is occurring across the Great Plains of Canada and the United States. Most jurisdictions are looking for ways to bring bison back onto the landscape with support from conservation groups, Indigenous Peoples, and federal government agencies (namely, National Parks). Montana is an outlier in this effort as it recently changed long-standing policy so as to make wild bison a virtual impossibility on private or public lands. This paper uses the Advocacy Coalition Framework to explain policy change in Montana. Through an examination of pro-bison and anti-bison coalitions over the past decade, the paper demonstrates how the cattle industry was able to wield powerful narratives around wildlife disease science to stoke fear. The policy change in Montana is significant because without wild bison in the state, migratory bison in the West is an unlike future.

**ACF Policy Change Theory and the Method of Sequence Elaboration: The Case of Cannabis Legalization in Canada:** Tim Heinmiller (Brock)

**Abstract:** ACF policy change theory is comprised of two hypotheses, each specifying a necessary condition for major policy change. The first hypothesis outlines four ?policy change pathways,? and posits that one or more of them is necessary for major policy change. The second hypothesis outlines two coalition power scenarios and proposes that one of these scenarios is also necessary for major policy change. While the first hypothesis has been widely investigated and the second hypothesis has been somewhat investigated in the ACF literature, little consideration has been given to how the hypotheses interact or intersect in effecting major policy change. Using cannabis legalization in Canada as an exploratory case, this paper uses set theoretic sequence analysis to investigate the variables in the two hypotheses, their chronological presence, and their causal interaction in the passage of the 2018 Cannabis Act. The findings suggest that sequencing matters in the ACF explanation of major policy change, and should be considered as ACF policy change theory is developed further.

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## D01(b) - Workshop: Public Agencies I

### Law and Public Policy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 304

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Sule Tomkinson (Université Laval)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Kate Puddister (University of Guelph)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Sule Tomkinson (Université Laval)

*The 'Present Futures' of Research Grants: Anticipatory Governance and the Global Security Entanglements of Emerging Technologies in Canada:* Kristen Csenkey (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Publicly-funded grant programs are essential to academic research. They are often launched by government departments to anticipate and address future challenges areas or sector-specific problems. Grants can shed light on the politics of solving societal problems, including the governance arrangements between actors. Yet, future-oriented grant programs anticipate solutions to challenge areas based on present problems. This paper explores the 'present future' (Adam and Groves 2007; Jönsson 2020) of problems posed in federal grant programs as instruments of governance whereby grants are 'anticipatory practices' aimed at mobilizing specific effects (Konrad and Alvial-Palavicino 2017). I explore how these practices materialize expectations about futures associated with current emerging technologies. Analytically, I employ an anticipatory governance framework that focuses on the management of emerging societal problems by encouraging capability-building activities. Contrary to other governance frameworks, anticipation is not a prediction or defined by a government's top-down policy practices, but a future-oriented action. I use practices as the unit of analysis to examine the global security entanglements beyond and within the state. I focus on the Canadian Department of Defence as the funder of two grants. After analyzing data from semi-structured interviews with industry, academic, and government actors, I show that these grants are governance practices used to anticipate the 'present futures' of global conflict and challenges of emerging technologies in the defence sector. This research illuminates the types of governance of conflict and technologies in Canada, and contributes to the growing body of intersecting IR and Global Governance literature on technologies, and Public Governance.

*Participation publique et effets sur la décision : le BAPE comme espace récurrent d'échange d'idées, de principes et de pratiques en environnement:* Louis Simard (Université d'Ottawa), Mario Gauthier (Université du Québec en Outaouais)

**Abstract:** Le Bureau d'audiences publiques sur l'environnement est un organisme public et indépendant qui jouit d'une réputation internationale. Prévu par la Loi sur la qualité de l'Environnement (LQE) et plus précisément dans le cadre de la Procédure d'évaluation et d'examen des impacts sur l'environnement, il mène des enquêtes et des audiences publiques en matière d'environnement, d'énergie, d'extraction des ressources et d'aménagement du territoire. Les travaux de chacune des commissions du BAPE sont des occasions de rencontres récurrentes d'acteurs et d'organisations diversifiées dans toutes les régions. Les audiences publiques du BAPE sont non seulement un lieu privilégié d'apprentissage et de mise à jour des connaissances et des pratiques pour l'ensemble des parties prenantes concernant une grande diversité de projets, mais surtout, pour les fins qui nous intéressent, une source d'influence sur la décision et l'action publiques notamment par les recommandations et les avis formulées par commissions. Après avoir brièvement décrit l'histoire du BAPE et les principales étapes de son évolution, notre contribution vise à cerner la mesure de son influence de manière quantitative sur la décision depuis sa création en 1978, par l'analyse de plus de 400 projets grâce à une vaste banque de données et plusieurs variables. Adoptant une perspective théorique par les instruments (Halpern et al., 2014), la contribution propose également de répertorier, de manière qualitative les autres types d'effets que peut générer cet instrument participatif sur les acteurs et les organisations, sur les principes et les normes, et sur les dispositifs participatifs eux-mêmes et ce tant en amont et en aval des projets qu'à l'échelle d'autres paliers gouvernementaux. Des exemples représentatifs seront proposés pour illustrer ces types d'effets.

*Assessing the Promise and Performance of Agencies in the Government of Canada over time:* Carey Doberstein (UBC)

**Abstract:** Canada has not escaped trends in most liberal democracies with the rapid growth of arms-length agencies created by government to deliver public goods, often justified on elements of their mandate's service delivery, adjudication of disputes, regulatory oversight, among others'benefiting from an arms-length relationship to the government of the day. Yet Canadian studies of this phenomenon remain mostly absent from the robust comparative literature theorizing and documenting the emergence of widespread 'agencification' and its relationship to performance. This article draws on the Government of Canada's Public Service Employee Survey (PSES) microdata from 2017, 2011, 2005, and 1999 to test key hypotheses advanced by proponents of agencification, specifically that agencies are more innovative, autonomous, and efficient public organizations. We discover that over time, the story of agencies is conditional on agency type, with some (such as regulatory agencies) exhibiting more innovative, autonomous and efficient climates whereas others (such as enforcement agencies) showing marked declines in innovation, autonomy and efficiency metrics.

*The Importance of Legal Representation in Early Dismissal Requests in the Ontario Human Rights Determination Process:* David Said (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** Navigating and accessing the administrative justice system is highly complex. To do so without the proper resources and legal expertise is practically impossible. This is especially true in human rights decision-making processes at the Ontario Human Rights tribunal when litigants request to have their human rights matters examined because they were not appropriately addressed in another forum. Under section 45.1 of the Ontario Human Rights Code, Human Rights adjudicators may dismiss alleged human rights claims if they are convinced that the matter has already been dealt with in another proceeding. This broad discretionary power appears to be exercised differently amongst adjudicators. Using new and original empirical data on all early dismissal cases under section 45.1 (N = 1479) from 2008-2021, this paper conducts a multivariate correlation analysis to examine the grant rate variations in early dismissal requests and the importance of legal counsel during these hearings. The findings in this paper demonstrate that litigants

without legal counsel are disproportionately disadvantaged and are more likely to lose their legal battle than those with proper representation. The findings further shed light on the dynamics and complexities of accessing administrative justice.

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## E01 - Local Elections - Voting

### Local and Urban Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 009

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Joanie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Kristin Good (Dalhousie University)

**The variable geometry of democracy: The evolution of electoral parameters at the municipal level in Quebec since 1855:** Sandra Breux (INRS), Harold Bérubé (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** In Canada, the evolution of the right to vote, the nomination process and the frequency and organization of elections are not the same at the municipal, provincial and federal levels, even though they share the same democratic foundations. In Quebec, more specifically, there is a clear gap between the municipal level and the higher levels of government. Among the municipalities themselves, statutes differed significantly between the mid- and late-19th century, and still do to this day as concerns Montreal and the rest of the municipalities. Apart from the works of Baccigaluppo (1984), Saint-Pierre (1994) and Baillargeon (2019), there is no research on the evolution of the differences between these three levels of government or between Montreal and the other municipalities. Based on the analysis of more than twenty laws, from 1855 to the present, we will show 1) the democratic advances and sometimes setbacks of the municipal level in comparison with the other levels of government, and between Montreal and other municipalities and 2) the way in which certain contemporary characteristics of the municipal scene, both in Montreal and within other municipalities, reflect the stigma of the past, allowing us to better grasp the current political dynamics.

**Profils et enjeux des jeunes élu.e.s municipaux québécois:** anne Mevellec (Université d'Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Au Québec, au lendemain des dernières élections municipales de 2021, la moyenne d'âge des élu.e.s municipaux était de 53,3 ans (57,8 ans pour les maires et 52,6 pour les conseillers). Les élu.e.s. de moins de 35 ans ne représentaient que 3 % des maires et 9,7 % des conseillers. Des études préliminaires ont toutefois montré que ce groupe d'élu.e.s, même peu nombreux, révélait au moins deux caractéristiques d'intérêt. D'une part, c'est dans ce seul groupe que la parité est atteinte et d'autre part, ces élu.e.s sont plus souvent membres de partis politiques municipaux que leurs aînés. Leur présence semble ainsi en décalage avec un entre-soi masculin, apolitique et d'âge mature qui caractérise souvent le palier municipal canadien.

Afin de mieux comprendre cette réalité, nous avons mené une étude exploratoire en partenariat avec l'Union des municipalités du Québec (UMQ). À l'aide d'un questionnaire administré à leurs 135 membres de moins de 35 ans, nous avons ainsi pu documenter quatre principaux éléments : leur profil sociodémographique, leur trajectoire d'engagement, les opportunités et obstacles qu'elles et ils rencontrent au moment de la campagne électorale et au cours de l'exercice de leur mandat. Bien que préliminaires, ces données permettent de mieux comprendre les différentes facettes de leur réalité, d'entamer la discussion avec un corpus de travaux encore restreint sur la présence des jeunes dans les instances traditionnelles de représentation politique et d'interroger les logiques de professionnalisation et de carrière politique en contexte canadien.

**A theory of municipal voting for seniors: the importance of proximity:** Salomé Vallette (INRS-UCS)

**Abstract:** Studies suggest that the informational context at the municipal level is deficient (Cutler and Matthews 2005; Breux and Bherer 2011; Breux and Couture 2022). This informational deficit would be reflected in the fact that, in general, political information is less available and of lower quality than at other levels of government (Breux and Couture, 2018; Cutler and Matthews 2005). However, the idea of proximity associated with the municipal level would be a feature that could limit the informational deficiency of this level of government. Indeed, the seniors I met mentioned that being able to communicate and also to "influence" elected officials are important values for their vote at the municipal level. Indeed, they cannot associate these values and the proximity with elected officials at other levels of government. In this way, seniors can get the policy information they need directly from their elected representatives. In addition, knowledge of municipal services, such as the municipal newsletter, the local newspaper, or key people in the municipality, helps seniors find the political information that will lead them to make their choice during elections.

Based on the results of my thesis, I will present that proximity to elected officials and municipal services are the two main issues that can explain a theory of voting at the municipal level among seniors.

**Légitimité Plurielle et autochtonie : émergence d'un champ Rural de compétition Politique au Cameroun.:** Théodore AMBASSA AKOA (Université de Lille/CERAPS)

**Abstract:** La libéralisation qui survient au début des années 90 au Cameroun marque le début de l'ère multi partisane dans ce pays. Elle consacre les premières élections municipales concurrentielles en 1996. Avant cela, le rural comme centre d'expression politique est peu attrayant. Les maires étaient nommés dans la majorité des communes rurales et étaient principalement issus de la préfecturale. Pourtant les communes rurales qui sont des regroupements de plusieurs villages ont en leur sein des groupes ethno-tribaux qui souhaitent tous être représentés dans les fonctions politiques dominantes de leur localité. Ils établissent des accords officieux entre eux afin de partager ces différentes fonctions (les postes de maire, de député, ainsi que de président de la section locale du parti dominant). De même, autant le maire est l'édile de sa localité, autant, il est également le représentant de sa tribu. Après lui, ce sera le représentant d'une autre tribu. De même, le maire, le député ne peuvent pas être de la même tribu. Chaque groupe, souhaite garder les fonctions dominantes du champ politique rural le plus longtemps possible au détriment des autres. La question principale est celle de savoir comment l'accès à une fonction dominante du champ politique rural suscite la mobilisation d'identités plurielles pour l'accès à un poste ? Comment celles-ci sont mises en scène en fonction des circonstances et du moment électoral ? Pour y répondre notre matériau sera composé essentiellement d'entretiens et d'observations issues de notre terrain de thèse dans les régions du centre et du Sud Cameroun.



## F01 - Workshop: Empirical Explorations of Polarization and Partisanship

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 104

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Melanee Thomas (University of Calgary)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Scott Matthews (Memorial University)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=229](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=229)

*Disentangling Perceptual and Affective Polarization in Canada:* Eric Merkley (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Scholars and commentators alike have observed growing polarization in the Canadian mass public. Supporters of Canada's major parties are further apart from one another in ideological terms more so than at any point in Canadian history and, perhaps as a consequence, increasing dislike partisan outgroups, known as affective polarization. However, it is also true, at least in the United States, that people tend to perceive parties as being more ideologically and socially distinct than is actually the case. These misperceptions can further fuel affective polarization. At the same time, affective polarization can also be a cause of these misperceptions as well. Causal direction is not well established, nor has this research been extended into the Canadian context. This paper illustrates the scale and scope of perceptual (in)accuracy related to social and ideological party polarization in Canada and presents the results of an experiment conducted in a two-wave panel survey that randomizes exposure to corrective information about partisan social and ideological differences in Canada and the priming of partisan identity to tease out the causal direction between affective and perceptual polarization.

*Faultlines in Canadian Electoral Politics:* Allison Harell (Université du Québec à Montréal), Laura Stephenson (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** Political polarization has the potential to divide societies; when polarization overlaps with other social identities, it can become dangerous for social harmony. The more partisan sorting coincides with social cleavages, the more politics threatens to take on a far more contentious and adversarial tone. This appears to have happened in the United States, where political divisions create partisan bias and stereotypes that inform (and even constrain) social relationships. To what extent is the same happening in Canada? Answering this query requires assessing three questions. First, does partisanship map onto social identities? Second, how well do citizens recognize this mapping? Third, is this mapping shared across partisan groups? Drawing on large datasets from the 2019 and 2021 Canadian federal elections that enable subgroup analysis, we utilize survey questions on partisanship, affective partisanship, party stereotypes and social group associations to develop a clear picture of the support bases of political parties as well as how well public perceptions match up with reality.

*Motivation or Information?: Disentangling Sources of Partisan Difference in Political Judgment:* Scott Matthews (MUN), Eric Merkeley (Toronto)

**Abstract:** That committed partisans consistently differ with regard to a host of political attitudes and beliefs is close to a truism among political scientists, yet the sources of these differences are widely debated. The dominant view is that partisan differences derive from divergent partisan motivations: whereas government partisans wish to perceive the world in a way that reflects positively on government, opposition partisans wish just the opposite. The principal alternative view is that partisan differences in attitudes and beliefs reflect divergent partisan information: partisans are endowed with diverging stores of perceptually relevant information, and also diverge in their assessments of the validity of new information that they encounter. While these theoretical possibilities are hopelessly confounded in much existing work, we disentangle them with a combination of experimental and observational designs. In two experiments with Canadian samples, we decouple partisan information and motivation, holding the former constant while manipulating the latter. In an observational study of the 2021 Canadian federal election, we leverage considerable geographic variation in the competitiveness of the major parties to identify the impact of differential electoral threat on the motivation to view out-parties negatively. The findings have implications for the study of partisanship in Canada and beyond.

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## G01 - Author Meets Critics? Session Global Libidinal Economy

### Political Economy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 204

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Gavin Fridell (Saint Mary's University)

Ilan Kapoor (York University)

Gavin Fridell (Saint Mary's University)

Maureen Sioh (DePaul University)

Pieter de Vries (Wageningen University)

Erin Hannah (King's University College at the University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** This session consist of an Author Meets Critics panel on the new book, Global Libidinal Economy (SUNY Press: 2023), co-authored by Ilan Kapoor, Gavin Fridell, Maureen Sioh, and Peter de Vries. The book claims that the libidinal?the site of unconscious desire?plays not a supplementary or trivial, but a constitutive role in global political economy. Consumption, for example, is not simply a way of satisfying a material or biological need, but a doomed attempt at soothing our deeply held sense of loss; and capital is not just a means to material growth and prosperity, but is invested with ?drive? that seduces, beguiles, and manipulates in the service of unending accumulation. Thus, in contrast to political economy, which tends to assume a rational subject, libidinal economy is founded on the notion of a desiring subject, which obeys a logic not of good sense or self-interest but profligacy and irrationality. By applying a psychoanalytic lens, Global Libidinal Economy thereby seeks to uncover the unconscious excesses and antagonisms emergent in such key political economy categories as ?production,? ?consumption,? ?informal economy,? ?trade,? ?financialization,? ?ecology?, and ?state,? while also bringing out significant contemporary themes relating to ?gender? and ?race.?

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## H01(a) - Author Meets Critics - Alexandre Kojève, A Man of Influence

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** VPDB-DB 0011 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Igor Shoikhedbrod (St. Francis Xavier University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Mariana Valverde (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Neil Robertson (University of King's College)

Igor Shoikhedbrod (St. Francis Xavier University)

Jeff Love (Clemson University )

Bryan-Paul Frost (University of Louisiana )

Jose Daniel Parra (Universidad Externado de Colombia)

Neil Robertson (University of King's College)

Mariana Valverde (University of Toronto)

Luis J. Pedrazuela (University Carlos III)

**Abstract:** This edited volume addresses Alexandre Kojève's work from different perspectives, emphasizing the continuity between his early reception of a set of non-philosophical and philosophical influences and that which he might have sought himself to exercise in a pedagogical and practical manner. The first part of the book comprises six essays in which their authors explore Kojève's understanding of art, religion and atheism, and his reception of the thought of Hegel, Marx, and Carl Schmitt. The book's second part is made up by two contributions that tackle respectively Kojève's conceptions of the "end of history" and "empire" in the light of his notion of Sophia or "Wisdom", and his understanding of the relationship between philosophy and power in the light of an exegetical reading of the debate he held with Leo Strauss. The authors of the final three essays set out to explore the extent to which Kojève's previous processing of a set of non-philosophical and philosophical influences might have resulted in three increasingly concrete outcomes, namely: his notion of authority; the Lacanian mirror-stage; and global trade.

Endorsements:

"This is a wide-ranging, informative, and provocative collection of essays, well organized and integrated so as to shed much needed light on the thought of the greatest Hegelian of the twentieth century."

? Thomas L. Pangle, University of Texas at Austin

"This is a stimulating collection that sheds new light on Kojève's thought and activity. The contributions do justice to the remarkable range and continued relevance of the enigmatic figure."

? Svetozar Minkov, Roosevelt University

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## H01(b) - Problems of Leadership

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 205

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jordan Ouellette (University of British Columbia)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jun-han Yon (McGill University)

***Populism on the Prairies: Place, Status Envy and Constituent Power:*** Luke Sandle (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Radical democratic theorists have turned to the concept "anti-populism" to highlight the ways in which progressive populist movements are unjustly collapsed into other more obviously retrograde forms of populist politics. Scholars wishing to provide more nuance in analysis of populist movements have thus shown how invocations of popular sovereignty: calls for politics to embody the will of the "true" people, and expressions of antagonistic divisions between "us" and "them" are intrinsic to the democratic experience and thus tell us little about the potentialities of populism. I contribute to this discussion by drawing on the specific form of anti-populism directed at the American and Canadian Populists of the 1890s and 1920s by 1950s Cold War liberals Richard Hofstadter and Victor Ferkiss. Both Hofstadter and Ferkiss delegitimized these rural uprisings by claiming their view of peoplehood was too rooted, static, and provided a nostalgic attachment to place that would prefigure the fascism that would surface in Europe and North America in the 1930s. Dispelling these criticisms, I argue we can trace in these Populist uprisings moments of democratic promise wherein an understanding of the people - localized, self-authorizing, self-legitimizing - was formed. This was a populist politics that rejected the comforts of a people's champion, devoting itself to discovering the cause of its grievances, making it open, grassroots, and participatory. Recovering this mode of populist politics is vital for thinking populism not just as a reaction to machinations of elites, but as a political experience with an in-built rationality.

***Why are You Voting for That Guy? Euripidean Tragedy on Political Leadership:*** Marlene Sokolon (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** There is no shortage of concern over the dearth of good political leadership in contemporary democracies. On the one hand, contemporary political leaders are handled by a team of public relations experts who manage the leader as "brand" that appeals to the public in order to deliver elections. On the other hand, there has been an alarming rise in the paradigm of a "strong-man autocratic" ruler as an alternative to perceived weak leadership. Both types represent a crisis in leaderless democracy. The question of what makes a good democratic ruler, however, is as old as democracy itself. Drawing on three of Euripides's tragedies -- the Bacchae, the Alcestis, and the Andromache -- this paper explores Euripides's characterization of the qualities of good and poor political leadership. Importantly, many of Euripides's political leaders are deeply flawed to the point of ultimately destroying the political community; yet, because the tragic festival was a community event, such flawed examples invited the audience to think about what qualities a good leader would possess to avoid such disaster. His stories also engaged with the philosophic question of whether, and how, moral leadership can be learned. As Euripides's dramatizations reveal, democracies require political leadership that can guide and constrain our natural democratic desire for excess, but, most importantly, such leaders can only be successful if we, the democratic people, develop a kind of moral leadership within ourselves.

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## H01(c) - Reason, Perception, & Understanding

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 206

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Hugo Bonin (University of Jyväskylä)

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

*Mary Astell and the Reasonable Anglican Supremacy:* William Little (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** A philosopher of the early-modern period, Mary Astell (1666-1731) wrote on politics, epistemology, and the role of women in society. In anticipation of much Enlightenment thinking, Astell relied on ideas of reason and rationality to challenge what she understood to be irrational customs and traditions. However, in the existing scholarship there is a debate as to how reason operated in Astell's philosophy. One approach is to argue that Astell deployed reason in order to defend a feminist account of rationality. These scholars focus on how Astell argued for the rational capacities of women amid a culture that mitigated their intellectual abilities. The second approach is to argue that Astell used reason to defend social and political hierarchies. According to this account, while Astell argued for a species-based equality based on the capacity for rationality, she also argued that differences in rationality justified differences in political and social class. Neither approach, however, connects Astell's deployment of reason to issues of religious dissent nor Astell's commitment to the Church of England. I argue that Astell did not deploy reason as a tool to defend a feminist account of rationality nor to defend social and political hierarchies. Rather, it was deployed to outline the rationality of Anglicanism and defend the Church of England. This conclusion further complicates the standard account of Enlightenment as it illustrates how ideas of reason and rationality were not only used to defend ideals of freedom and equality but were also deployed to justify illiberal and undemocratic political institutions.

*Notes on Arendt's Sensorium:* Alberto Alcaraz (Brown University)

**Abstract:** In this paper, I offer a reading of Hannah Arendt's engagement with the sensorium. I argue that a reading of Arendt's sensorium enables us to theorize her account of politics as being predicated on what we might call an adequate functioning of our sense-perceptions. By sense-perception I mean the entwining between our bodily sensorial apparatus and the historically situated and culturally specific web of intersubjective meaning-making that aids us in "making sense" out of our sensorial stimuli. The qualifier adequate functioning is a normative claim related to Arendt's ontology of plurality. For Arendt, we can say that our senses function adequately if they "implicate, relate to, or sustain plurality" (Sjöholm 2015, 4). A democratic politics, therefore, establishes the conditions for sensing plurality. To establish these, Arendt deploys a novel conception of the sensorium, what I call the six-sense sensorium. To the five we are familiar with, Arendt adds another: common sense. Common sense is precisely that which fits us for life in plurality by bringing together, on the one hand, our distinct individual senses and, on the other, a community of sensors that have "a context in common" (Arendt 1977[1971], 50). In a modern world without the universal pillars that had previously secured its foundation, common sense might do the crucial task of world-making.

*Hobbes's Judges: Civil War in the Kingdom of God:* Asher Wycoff (The City University of New York)

**Abstract:** In the political imaginary of seventeenth century England, the Hebrew Bible was a ubiquitous resource for conceptions of popular sovereignty and civic order. In Thomas Hobbes's biblical history, modern monarchical power can be traced back to anointment of Saul in I Samuel 8, which binds ecclesiastical and sovereign power. The significance of the Samuelic transition for Hobbes is generally appreciated. There is much less literature, however, on Hobbes's reading of the Book of Judges, which immediately precedes it. Judges, in which the people of Israel live under the unmediated political kingship of God, receives extended attention in De Cive, with several major points refined or recapitulated in Leviathan. I argue that the cyclical pattern of "remembering" and "forgetting" in Judges, through which the people of Israel move toward and away from God, is "secularized" into the cycle of commonwealth and civil war that animates Hobbes's post-Samuelic biblical history.

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## **L01 - Workshop: Microlectures on Insurgent Resurgent Knowledges: What are your lineages of insurgent and resurgent knowledges?**

### **Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics**

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 209

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Davina Bhandar (Athabasca University)

**Co-Chair/Président/Présidente :** Nisha Nath (Athabasca University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Ethel Tungohan (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Debra Thompson (McGill University)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

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### **Participants**

Mariam Georgis (University of Manitoba)

Rita Dhamoon (University of Victoria)

Anita Girvan (UBC Okanagan)

Tka Pinnock (York University)

Sarah Munawar (University of Houston)

Lynn Ng (University of Victoria)

Guntas Kaur (University of Victoria)

Joyce Green (University of Regina)

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## N01 - Activism, Community and Sustainability: New Insights and Future Directions

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 303

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jenna Qulech (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Sarah Marie Wiebe (University of Victoria)

***Unhoused Women in Niagara: Lived Expertise of Homelessness in Community-Engaged Research:*** Joanne Heritz (Brock University)

**Abstract:** How do we apply a gender lens to the housing needs of vulnerable women? is the question asked by the YWCA Niagara Region (YWCA). YWCA is the leading provider of shelter, supportive and transitional housing for women and gender diverse people in Niagara. Brock University's Niagara Community Observatory (NCO) partnered with the YWCA to identify the barriers to accessing affordable housing initiatives in one of the regions with the highest need in Canada, with priority placed on community engagement and inclusive access to housing. The paper argues for the importance of community engagement and partnered research in the area of housing affordability. It does this across three sections.

First, the paper provides an overview of community-engaged research, focusing on the key principles and practices involved in listening to stories of women with lived expertise of homelessness facing discrimination or disadvantage compounded by intersectional identities of Indigeneity, race, gender and ability. Second, the challenges faced in putting together community-engaged projects during the COVID-19 pandemic are discussed. Finally, the value brought to partnered research by amplifying research findings in and beyond Niagara is highlighted and designed to bring increased awareness and action to improve safe and affordable housing for women in Niagara.

***Prefigurative Care: Everyday Activism in Nova Scotia's Childcare Deserts:*** Kenya Thompson (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper, preliminary PhD work based on MA research conducted at Carleton University, investigates care as an inherently political act, by exploring the experiences of mothers and caregivers in Nova Scotia's 'childcare deserts', focusing on how they navigate childcare, and care for themselves and their families, when formal childcare options (and other supports for families) are sparse or unavailable. Using Photovoice methodology, with a participatory action research approach, I worked alongside participants over a two-week period as they visually and textually documented moments of caregiving in their everyday lives. In follow-up interviews, they expounded upon their entries, providing vital context and insight into their experiences of care and caring. Considering these experiences, as they captured them, through a narrative inquiry lens reveals the dynamic, innovative solutions caregivers, families, and communities employ (and have employed, across generations) to coordinate and navigate childcare, domestic labour, and other affective care, while working to make ends meet in the face of various social and economic realities. As the Canadian government develops its national childcare strategy, it is critical that existing strategies employed by mothers and caregivers to meet their care needs in their homes and communities are considered. Understanding these efforts as prefigurative activism as enacting future childcare and social policy they want to see, now sheds light on strategies that could be publicly supported to create an inclusive, accessible social policy framework that supports caregivers, families, and communities in a sustainable, holistic way, in Nova Scotia and across Turtle Island.

***Energy Transition Projects: Mapping Sustainability, Extraction and Contesting Geographies.:*** Zhi Ming Sim (York University)

**Abstract:** Discussions of sustainable development are at the core of energy transition projects globally. Yet, how sustainable are energy transition projects? What does 'sustainable development' mean to the everyday lives of implicated communities? Engaging with oral histories, archival stories, grassroots testimonies, state policies and reports, I explore the cases of Singapore's Southern islands and Canada's Atlantic provinces to 1) map out processes that co-produce and constitute the expansion of energy transition projects, 2) locate how the projects implicate gender, racial and ecological relations, and 3) compare the entanglements of colonialisms and imperialisms at different localities. This paper speaks with and through Black and Indigenous feminisms (Andrea Davis, Robyn Maynard, Eve Tuck, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson and Octavia E. Butler) to rethink 'sustainability' as an end goal of energy transition projects, critically reflecting on transnational capacities for subversive decolonial articulations, knowledges and mobilizations toward imagining a world beyond conquest and ecological degradations (Agathangelou and Killian, 2021).

***Right to Housing, Right to Care: A Critical Examination of How Housing Policy Impacts Care Practices of Single Mothers in Canada:*** Lori Oliver (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** The newly recognized right to adequate housing in Canada's National Housing Strategy Act represents a significant policy shift. The commitment to the progressive realization of this right could help facilitate a democratization of care (Tronto 2013). Adequate housing? affordable, habitable, connected to infrastructure, secure, accessible, culturally appropriate, and in proximity to work/supports? provides the ideal conditions for caring for oneself and others. Implementing this right, however, is difficult. This paper examines the specific problem of how the fragmented institutional arrangement that housing policy operates within results in a gap between policy goals and policy outcomes. Responsibility for housing, not mentioned within the formal constitutional division of powers, remains contested. As a result, the various components of adequate housing span federal, provincial, and municipal jurisdiction. Yet there is little coordination across jurisdictions and no consequences for provinces and municipalities failing to work towards the progressive realization of this federally recognized right. This paper draws on 12-semi structured interviews with single mothers experiencing housing insecurity to highlight the current relationship between housing policy and caring abilities. In particular, this paper critically examines three housing-related disruptions to caring practices for single mother-led families: unaffordable housing/sacrificed care, housing in disrepair/redirected care, and temporary shelter/monitored care. The paper thus concludes that there needs to be a clearer division of powers and stronger coordination between all levels of government to overcome the gap between policy goals and policy outcomes. Closing this gap will be an important first step to ensuring single mothers have adequate caring conditions.



## Day 1 - Session 2 (10:30am - 12:00pm)

### B02(a) - Roundtable: 50 Shades of Federalism

#### Comparative Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Soeren Keil (Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg)

Soeren Keil (Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg)

Allison McCulloch (Brandon University)

Dawn Walsh (University College Dublin)

Jörg Broschek (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** The "50 Shades of Federalism" project -- see [www.50shadesoffederalism.com](http://www.50shadesoffederalism.com) -- started in 2018 with short contributions on federalism and decentralization. Since then, the website has become a vital source for researchers, teachers, civil society activists and decision-makers alike, who are looking for case studies, comparative insights and theoretical models on issues related to federalism, decentralization and good governance. What started as an academic exercise to support ongoing consultancy work in Myanmar has since become a multi-lingual global project, that has found access to university education from India to Brazil and has attracted contributions from the world's leading researchers on the topic.

This roundtable will assess the academic and policy value of 50 Shades of Federalism ? and its limits. Contributors, founders and supporters of 50 Shades of Federalism will discuss its merit as a tool for teaching in higher education, and its opportunities for researchers across the globe.

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## B02(b) - Perceptions, Programs, & Polarization

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Brent Toye (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Clareta Treger (University Of Toronto)

***The Trilogy of Insecurity: Terrorism, Banditry, Kidnapping and its impact on the Nigeria's Image:*** John Shola (Landmark University)

**Abstract:** The declaration of Nigeria as a sovereign state in 1960, snowballed to different internal contradictions that threatened the internal cohesion of Nigerian state. From 1960 to 1998, Nigerian governments under the different military regimes and aborted republics confronted the agony of civil war, serial coups and counter coups. Nigeria's new political trajectory began in 1999 with the election of President Olusegun Obasanjo as the first president of fourth republic. At the dawn of fourth republic, the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo contended with the crisis in the Niger Delta which president Umaru Musa Yar'Adua inherited. In 2009, Boko Haram emerged in the North East, within the few months of Boko Haram outbreak in the North East, it conducted different obnoxious attacks in the region that threatened the sovereignty of Nigerian states. The administration of Yar'Adua confronted the emerging threats from Boko Haram till his death in 2010. President Goodluck Jonathan was sworn in 2010. Under his second administration, Boko Haram was designated as one of the most lethal terrorist organizations on the global scale. The inability of President Jonathan to decimate Boko Haram provided an opportunity for Muhammadu Buhari during his electioneering campaigns. He campaigned with the promise to crush Boko Haram upon his election as the president of Federal Republic of Nigeria. The promise brightened his electoral fortune and he was elected as the president of Nigeria in 2015. From 2015 to 2022, Buhari's administration became infamous in the area of insecurity and misgovernance. Unlike the previous administration that was confronted majorly with terrorism, insecurity under the Buhari administration is rife across most Nigerian states. Unwittingly to his administration, insecurity created an ecosystem where terrorism, banditry and kidnaping thrive. However, the study intends to examine the trilogy of insecurity in Nigeria within the frameworks of terrorism, banditry, kidnapping and its impact on the Nigerian image. The study utilizes the primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data will be generated through the Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), while the secondary data are to be generated through journals, books, newspapers and web-based materials. The data generated are analyzed using thematic analysis.

***Massive Attack? Negative Campaigning in Online Political Communication of Parties in Belgium: Bringing in the Role of Issue Ownership and Competition:*** Lucas Kins (Université libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** The dynamics of electoral campaigns have been reshaped by the rise of digital communication and social media, and are now characterized by a shift to permanent campaigning, and an increasingly harsh political arena. In this study, we complement prior research on the rise of negative campaigning by ?in addition to party features? bringing in the role of issue ownership. We argue that political actors adapt their attack strategy in function of competition over issues. More specifically, we expect that some issues ??owned? issues or issues with clear competition between parties? will be more prone to negative appeals. Hence, the objective is to explore how issue ownership shapes negative campaigning on social media, shedding light on the dynamics of parties? digital communication. We test our hypotheses in Belgium, a multiparty system with high levels of fragmentation and party competition, which is ruled by a permanent campaigning logic. We conducted a longitudinal, quantitative content analysis of Twitter claims of all parties and their presidents in Belgium for an eight-month period (January-August 2022, N = 8,166). Findings suggest that political actors attack specific rivals depending on the issues at stake, with some issues (e.g., climate, immigration) being linked more to political attacks than others. This enables us to highlight the importance of issue ownership and competition over issues between parties as additional determinant of negative campaigning.

***Programmatic Linkages and Democratic Erosion:*** Marina Popescu (Median Research Centre), Gabor Toka (Central European University), Raluca Toma (Median Research Centre)

**Abstract:** Our paper explores if the recent rise of electoral authoritarianism across competitive political systems may have something to do with parties' success in establishing programmatic linkages with their electorates (either by attracting voters with a particular attitude profile or persuading their voters about the merits of certain policy/ideological positions).

Our first pair of hypotheses is that party systems that strengthen programmatic party-voter linkages lead to a decline/increase in the level of democracy. The first may be true if deep value/attitude/issue differences between supporters increase party polarization, and polarization in turn undermines democracy (e.g. Broockman et al 2022). The opposite expectation underlines Kitschelt et al.'s (1999) proposition that strong programmatic linkages between parties and their supporters increase popular support for democracy both via increasing the legitimacy of there being a rival political side to ours (more than clientelistic competition would), and via increasing the political efficacy and empowerment of citizens.

A rival hypothesis submits that the consequences of political polarization and the stability of the democratic system depend on the nature of electorally relevant cleavages. Almond and Lipset, for instance, argued that party differentiation and polarization along socio-economic issues is far more compatible with democratic rule than party polarization along ethno-religious or religious-secular lines.

We test these expectations with a secondary analysis of major cross-national survey data sets from CSES, ISSP, WVS-EVS and the Pew Research Center and the V-Dem time series on the state of democracy around the world.

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## C02(a) - Roundtable: ISA-Canada Professional Development Workshop: The Ins and Outs of Getting Published in IR

### International Relations

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0015

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Liam Midzain-Gobin (Brock University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Rebekah Pullen (McMaster University)

Philippe Frowd (University of Ottawa)

J. Andrew Grant (Queen's University )

Asa McKercher (Royal Military College)

**Abstract:** Publishing is central to professional success in IR. This workshop offers opportunities for participants to gain insight on how best to undertake this endeavour. Instead of the typical Q&A format, graduate students and early career researchers who sign up will be paired with faculty members who have experience serving on editorial boards of an IR/IPE/Global Development journals, who can provide feedback on a paper that is nearly ready for submission (i.e. two faculty members per group of four to six papers). Rather than detailed feedback on empirical or theoretical parts of the paper, mentors will focus on framing and contributions within the field, helping prepare the manuscripts for desk and peer review. This will help young scholars better understand what journal editors, who are responsible for the initial examination of papers, do in order to decide whether or not to proceed to peer review. This workshop will provide participants with insights as to what to expect when approaching their chosen journals as well as pointing to potential avenues for publishing their work. The workshop will conclude with everyone coming together to discuss general ?do?s and don?ts? that have emerged from the mentorship activity and how to navigate the terrain of academic publishing in IR. This segment of the workshop will broadly discuss strategies to overcome challenges related to publishing. Free registration will be limited to a set deadline to ensure papers are submitted to faculty reviewers/mentors and pairing will be done at least one week before the workshop.

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## C02(b) - Author Meets Critics: Mojtaba Mahdavi, Ed., *The Myth of Middle East Exceptionalism: Unfinished Social Movements*

### International Relations

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Sasha Skaidra (University of Alberta)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Nader Hashemi (University of Denver)

Mojtaba Mahdavi (University of Alberta)

Bessma Momani (University of Waterloo)

Abigail B Bakan (University of Toronto)

Mariam Georgis (University of Manitoba)

**Abstract:** A balanced collection of the work of both well-established and emerging scholars, this edited volume, in sixteen chapters and divided into three parts, offers theory-oriented and case-study chapters. Inspired by critical postcolonial/decolonial studies and the interdisciplinary perspectives of social movement theories, gender studies, Islamic studies, and critical race theory, it challenges and demystifies the myth of MENA exceptionalism, which have been revived in the post-Arab Spring era.

The first part, in six chapters, places MENA in the larger global context, challenges the alleged cultural exceptionalism of the region, and sheds light on the impact of geopolitics on the current crises and how it may shape the interactions of global, regional, and local actors and factors.

The second part, in five chapters, focuses on the unfinished projects of contemporary MENA social movements and their quest for freedom, social justice, and human dignity. It examines different case studies in the Arab world and Iran to showcase the dynamism of MENA civil societies in their enduring resistance to the status quo and persistence in pushing for change.

A major pillar of the Orientalist discourse of 'MENA exceptionalism' is the idea of gender passivity and women's exclusion/exceptionalism, which reduces the reality of gender injustice to some eternal and essentialized Muslim/MENA mindset. The third part, in five chapters, takes up this challenge seriously by placing gender as an independent category of thought and action, demonstrating the presence of MENA women's movements, and providing contexts to the cases of gender injustice to debunk such culturalist assumptions.

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## D02(a) - The Politics of Policymaking I

### Law and Public Policy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** VPDB-DB 0013 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Heather Millar (University of New Brunswick)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Elizabeth Schwartz (Memorial University)

***Medical and recreational cannabis: judicial or legislative policymaking?:*** Marc D. Zanoni (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** Some policy theories, particularly punctuated equilibrium, argue that there are periods of policy stability that change incrementally over time, though large, "punctuated," changes occur when policy engagement shifts to new venues, new actors are introduced into the policy system, and the policy image is destabilized. Unfortunately, rarely do such public policy theories fully engage with the possible role of courts in influencing policy change. This paper uses a case study of cannabis law and policy to better understand and untangle the contributions of institutional actors?courts and Parliament?as well as interest group actors to cannabis policy change. Issue definition and framing of cannabis is assessed through newspaper articles, as well as formal reports, to help assess if courts or other political venues are the driving force behind issue-definition and framing of cannabis.

***Beyond Clientelism: State-Civil Society Relations in Disaster Risk Management Policymaking in the Philippines:*** Juhn Chris Espia (University of Canterbury)

**Abstract:** This paper examines state-civil society relations in disaster risk management policymaking in the Philippines. It analyzes the extent to which civil society actors can shape policymaking outcomes and how political institutions shape civil society organizations' strategies, methods, and perceptions in disaster risk management policymaking. The Philippines is a fertile ground for investigating these dynamics as it is among the most disaster-prone countries in the world and has a long history of contested state-civil society relations. Using data drawn from archival research and key informant interviews, the paper argues that while the institutional factors are important, these factors shape only in part the available political space for civil society and state engagement in policymaking. Instead, institutions' role in shaping engagement outcomes is viewed as less deterministic and more contingent, as seen in the outcomes of different civil society organizations' (CSOs) campaigns across different administrations. CSOs in DRM, in the face of weak political institutions, patronage politics, donor influence, and state-imposed constraints, have seen some successes in this policy area. However, by choosing to engage in state-defined channels, CSOs open themselves for co-optation and administrative incorporation. The push by CSOs to remain relatively independent has put them at odds against state actors in a political environment that swung away from liberal support toward open hostility.

***Bringing Sociology into Policy Studies: Explaining Policy Change on Ancient Forest Protection in British Columbia:*** George Hoberg (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** Two extraordinary policy changes have occurred in British Columbia over the past several years. After renewed conflict over ancient forests, the province announced in 2020 that it was embarking on a "paradigm shift" from an emphasis on timber to ecosystem health. After decades of denial and deflection regarding Aboriginal title, in 2019 the province enacted the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act of 2019, making free, prior, and informed consent provincial law. These developments are not distinct? much of the conflict over Aboriginal title has been over forest resources, and the governance shift on Aboriginal title was critical to driving the changes in forest policy.

This paper will analyze these developments by comparing policy studies theories in political science to the "strategic action field theory" in sociology. Given the remarkable similarity in these two theoretical perspectives, it is striking how little cross-referencing there is across the disciplinary perspectives. As a result, there is a tremendous opportunity to compare and contrast the two approaches, gauge the strengths and weakness of each in explaining the policy developments outlined above, and ultimately build an improved theoretical framework. This paper will focus in particular how the two theories explain policy change both within fields/regimes and a result of intersecting fields/regimes.

As a result of its focus on Indigenous struggles to regain governance over their traditional territories, this paper directly addresses the conference theme of territory, place, and power.

I request this paper be put on a hybrid panel enabling remote participation.

***The BNA Party vs. the Charter Party: Comparing the Harper and Trudeau governments approaches to the Constitution:*** Mark Harding (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** Ian MacDonald (2007) once contrasted the Conservative Party as the "BNA party" and the Liberal Party as the "Charter party." These labels capture some, but not all, of the two parties' approaches to constitutional affairs. This paper illustrates that the political/legal constitutionalism distinction is more relevant in thinking about the ideational differences between these two parties. It makes the case for that relevancy in the following manner. First, it fleshes out the philosophical origins of the distinction and shows its congruence within the Canadian constitutional tradition. Second, it illustrates that Canada's tradition of rights protection, especially prior to 1982, engaged both political and legal aspects of constitutionalism. Finally, the paper examines and compares the Harper and Justin Trudeau governments from this clash of constitutional perspectives. The paper argues the Harper government emphasized a return to a more political-constitutionalist approach in a variety of policy areas. In particular, the paper reviews the Harper government's reforms to judicial selection processes, its legislative responses to judicial rulings, and institutional reform efforts more generally. In contrast, the Justin Trudeau government can be seen often emphasizing a more legal constitutionalist understanding of rights and constitutional matters. Illustrative examples include the Trudeau government's decision to largely reverse the Harper reforms to judicial selection processes, its more deferential responses to judicial

decisions, and its efforts to emphasize the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the governing process. This paper shows the political/legal constitutionalist distinction illuminates differing approaches to governing in the Charter era.

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## D02(b) - Workshop: Public Agencies II

### Law and Public Policy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 006

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Louis Simard (University of Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Carey Doberstein (University of British Columbia)

***The Financial Consumer Agency of Canada: Still Partly Missing in Action?:*** Heather McKeen-Edwards (Bishop's University), Ian Roberge (York University)

**Abstract:** From bank accounts to credit cards to mortgages and other loans to insurance policies, consumer finance is a central part of everyday life. However, the balance of power between consumers and providers in a technical field like finance is strikingly weighted toward the latter, so an effective and legitimate regulatory agency has an important societal role. In Canada, The Financial Consumer Agency of Canada (FCAC) is the regulator responsible for consumer finance. Since opening its doors in 2001, the FCAC has seen its mandate expand multiple times. The Agency currently has important roles around the supervision and oversight of federally regulated financial actors, researching emerging trends and issues for consumer finance, as well as providing financial education and increasing the financial literacy of everyday consumers. Despite the importance of its mandate, the FCAC is a rather weak regulator. The FCAC's financial literacy/education efforts are well developed, but the Agency is less effective in its supervisory and regulatory roles. How is the FCAC's performance to be explained? In reviewing the effectiveness of the regulator, this paper questions the neoliberal rationale behind the Agency's mandate. By focusing on consumer literacy, consumers become 'responsible' for being informed partially absolving the government of its responsibility to properly supervise and regulate firms for proper market conduct. This paper makes an important contribution to the study of regulatory agencies in Canada by expanding its study into another sector, consumer finance, and exploring the limits of regulatory action.

***Promoting Good Governance Through Professional Regulation: The Need for a Renewed Focus on What it Means to Serve the Public Interest:*** Amy Zarzeczny (University of Regina)

**Abstract:** Strong systems of professional regulation are an important pillar of good governance in Canada where some professions, including the medical profession, are largely self-regulated. Professional self-regulation is often framed as a privilege that comes with responsibilities, including to serve the 'public interest'. In some cases, the requirement to act in the public interest is imposed by the legislation that empowers a professional regulatory body. However, what a mandate to serve the public interest requires of professional regulatory bodies is often unclear, particularly in complex contexts. The ways in which medical professional self-regulatory bodies have responded to the provision of unproven medical interventions by their physician members serves as an instructive case study that illustrates the need for a renewed focus on this important question. This paper builds on the findings from that case study to explore how the concept of the 'public interest' has been framed in relevant legislation, jurisprudence, and policy documents in relation to the legislative authority and responsibilities of medical professional regulatory bodies in Canada. The primary goals of this research are to inform policy development and regulatory reform efforts intended to maintain and strengthen public trust in medical professional regulation, and to support robust systems of governance in this important domain.

***Public Interest, Regulatory Bodies and Sortition:*** Jonathan Rose (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Public interest is both a legal and philosophical term. It describes how regulatory bodies understand their statutory obligations and can be seen as the *raison d'être* of delegated power. Professional regulatory bodies such as Law Society of Ontario, Ontario Medical Association or the Ontario College of Teachers are empowered to impose discipline on members, control access to membership and regulate the training of its members all in aid of its prime directive to act in the public interest but yet this term is ill defined. This paper examines the concept of public interest, explores the origin of professional self-regulation and argues that the public interest mandate is structurally limited by the method of selection for regulatory bodies. It argues that one solution may be found in the deliberative democracy literature around sortition or random selection. Such a model may prevent regulatory capture, increase legitimacy these bodies and ensure greater democratic participation.

***Judicial Independence v. Judicial Accountability: Examining the Institutional Structure of the Canadian Judicial Council:*** Caroline Dick (The University of Western Ontario), Daniel Mosannef (The University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** The regulation of the judiciary involves a balancing act between the need to safeguard judicial independence and the need to hold judicial appointees accountable for their behaviour. In 1971, the pendulum swung significantly in favour of the former with the creation of the Canadian Judicial Council (?CJC?). The CJC not only investigates the judicial misconduct of federally appointed judges, it plays a significant role in the continuing education of judicial appointees. All members of the CJC are judges themselves, making the judiciary a largely self-regulating body. However, the CJC has exhibited a reluctance to admonish judges, let alone support their removal, and has a questionable record when it comes to assessing the misconduct of male and female judges. Moreover, while the test for judicial misconduct turns on whether respect for the administration of justice would be undermined in the eyes of the public, public oversight is very much missing from the CJC's processes and structure. This fact was emphasized by the CJC's resistance to government legislation aimed at ensuring judges receive adequate social context training to address issues of sexism and racism among the judiciary. Despite these issues, there are few focused investigations of the CJC. This paper aims to fill this gap by undertaking a comparative analysis of different judicial council structures and the way in which they balance judicial independence and judicial accountability. We conclude that the institutional structure of the CJC and its prioritization of independence over accountability is in need of rebalancing.

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## E02(a) - Local Inequities

### Local and Urban Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Flandrine Lusson (INRS)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jessica Parish (De Montfort University)

***Policing The Uptown: A historical narrative analyzing Black-led coalitions in response to police brutality in Halifax in 1991:*** Tari Ajadi (McGill University)

**Abstract:** The summer of 2020 offered contemporary anti-racist activists in urban centres like Halifax a fleeting glimpse at how impactful multiracial solidarity movements can be in shifting public policy in cities across Canada towards addressing police brutality. Observers noted that the protests were "unprecedented," and cited the oft-repeated refrain that anti-Black racism is not a phenomenon unique to the United States (Fundira 2021). Keen observers of urban politics in Canada may note, however, that a similar wave of uprisings against anti-Black racism educated a generation about the durability of anti-Black racism in governing institutions nearly thirty years earlier. Black Haligonians took to the streets in the "Uptown Riots" and organized a subsequent Unity March in 1991. Then, as now, a temporary policy window opened leading to uneven and insufficient changes in policing.

Using a historical narrative informed by a Canadian Political Development approach, this paper analyzes the "Uptown Riots" to understand how intercurrency between institutional orders created a policy window that allowed Black-led multiracial coalitions to contest discourses of Black inferiority and victimhood in Halifax. This narrative is supported by archival documents including newspaper clippings, meeting notes and policy documents from the era. Analyzing the Uptown Riots, the Unity March, and the policy documents that the municipality and the province produced to respond to the incident helps us to see how the dynamics of Black-led organizing, and the tensions both within and outside of organizing circles that surrounded the conflict, created an unfulfilled promise of a transformed Nova Scotia.

***Building a Welcoming City in the American Rust Belt:*** Liviana Tossutti (Brock University), Robyn Cumiskey (Brock University)

**Abstract:** In the absence of a national immigrant settlement strategy, some state and local governments in the United States have passed anti-immigrant ordinances, while other cities and metropolitan regions that have experienced population decline and economic stagnation have opted to reinvigorate their communities by adopting policies, plans and other initiatives aimed at attracting and integrating immigrants (McDaniel, 2014). Using a Multiple Streams Analysis framework (Kingdon, 1984) that has been used to account for local receptivity and integration initiatives in Nashville, Dayton and Chicago (McDaniel, Rodriguez and Wang, 2019), this paper will aim to explain why and how municipal governments in two mid-sized cities - Buffalo, New York, a former major immigrant port of entry, and Toledo, Ohio, a low immigration metro area - adopted "welcoming community" and other policy, programming and service response aimed at immigrant integration. The paper will also consider whether immigrant-friendly and receptivity initiatives have been primarily framed through an economic development lens, as in Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis (Pottier-Sherman, 2018; Filomeno, 2015) and Dayton (Peduto, 2014), or through both an economic development and "shared humanity" perspective (Winders, 2011), as in some cities in the southeastern United States (McDaniel, 2018). A variety of qualitative and quantitative analytical techniques are adopted to explore these questions: policy framing analysis (Campbell, 2002; Spencer and Delvino, 2019), document analysis, semi-structured interviews with informed participants in the municipal government and non-governmental sectors, and ArcGIS Pro mapping analysis.

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## E02(b) - Canada's Housing Regime: Critical Engagements at the Municipal Level and Beyond

### Local and Urban Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 305

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Leah Levac (University of Guelph)

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

**Barriers to homeowners experienced by refugees from Afghanistan: a GTA case study:** Fatima Sajid (University of Toronto Mississauga), Alison Smith (University of Toronto Mississauga)

**Abstract:** Housing is an important part of new citizens' integration in their place of residence. As discussed in numerous scholarly works, housing is a crucial step towards achieving one's sense of security and as such is a persistent issue in public policy for refugees and newcomers (Hulchanski, 2005). Yet, it stands that refugees are disproportionately impacted by various systemic barriers to integrating in Canada, especially because of increased stigma against refugees. Drawing on 10-15 qualitative interviews with former refugees and community leaders, this study will aim to explore how the status of refugee continues to impact Afghan refugees' access to homeownership 10 years after settlement in Canada.

**Local Housing Interventions: Comparing Municipal Affordable Housing Strategies in New Brunswick:** Tobin Haley (University of New Brunswick), Julia Woodhall-Melnik (University of New Brunswick)

**Abstract:** Tenants in New Brunswick (NB) have faced major challenges since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic including record breaking rent hikes (GNB, 2021), extreme increases to the public housing waitlist (Brown, 2022), and high rates of renovation. Despite this rental-market housing crisis, the provincial government has rolled out only modest improvements in tenant protections and social housing investments. At the core of the province's approach to the rental-market housing crisis is a decidedly neoliberal focus on increasing supply through tax cuts and other financial incentives for landlords and developers (GNB, 2021).

At the same time, and in response to increased pressures on cities to address signs of housing precarity such as encampments and full shelters, municipal governments across the province have been rolling out new affordable housing strategies. This paper analyzes the most recent strategies in NB's biggest cities: Fredericton, Moncton, and Saint John. The strategies have, notably, been developed in a period of dramatic municipal reform that includes amalgamation and changes to local taxation.

Attending to the distinct policy mechanisms proposed in these different strategies, we ask three key questions: What role do these municipalities propose for rental-market landlords and developers in addressing the rental housing crisis? What, if any, non-market interventions are proposed? How do these strategies differ? This comparative analysis will provide a much-needed interrogation of the ways in which these three municipalities are incorporating and/or resisting what has been an aggressive neoliberal policymaking campaign in the rental housing arena.

**NIMBYism in Mid-Size Cities:** Erin Dej (Wilfrid Laurier University), Jessica Braimoh (York University)

**Abstract:** This presentation offers initial insights from our research project, *From NIMBY to Neighbour: Brokering a Dialogue about Homelessness Among People Experiencing Homelessness, Law Enforcement, and the Community*, which explores community perceptions of, and responses to, homelessness in three midsize Ontario cities. While homelessness has always been present across different types of communities, its visibility and the subsequent pressure for midsize cities to act quickly has come up against their ability to adapt to the changing needs of the community and to respond in a way that leads to long-term stability and equity for everyone. At the core of these contentions is NIMBYism, which is deeply rooted in the idea that people who are homeless ought to be removed from public spaces. Mid-sized cities are especially fraught with these debates their access to resources and funding are not consistent with major urban centres, yet the visibility of homelessness has become more prevalent.

In this presentation we discuss the preliminary findings from this research, which consists of 86 interviews with people with lived experience of homelessness, service providers, community members, business owners, and first responders. Specifically, we consider how public space is used, managed, and experienced by people who are homeless, and how community complaints drive these experiences. Instances of dehumanization, judgement, criminalization, and in some cases violence, make clear that there is a 'dark side' to communities generally perceived to be small, tight-knit, and amicable.

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## F02(a) - Explaining Perceptions of Democratic Legitimacy

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 009

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Éric Bélanger (McGill University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Daniel Westlake (University of Saskatchewan)

*How, When, and Why does Transparency (not) Matter in the Policy-Making Process? Evidence from a Vignette Experiment in Sweden:* Joel Martinsson (Linnaeus University /Harvard University)

**Abstract:** To what extent, and for what reasons, does transparency matter for politicians when cooperating with special interest organizations? The literature on political ethics, corruption, and lobbying is clear: transparency ought to be a crucial principle. Yet the question of how, when, and why transparency in fact does matter for politicians in these collaborations remains unsettled. In this article, I conduct a survey experiment with over 1500 Swedish politicians to explore to what extent, and for what reasons, transparency influences how likely politicians are to propose motions written for them by special interest organizations. In line with previous research, I find that politicians are less likely to submit motions if special interest organizations are unwilling to be open with their engagement. However, in contrast with previous theoretical research, I find that transparency is not the primary principle driving their decisions or reasoning. Conducting a thematic analysis of politicians' answers as to why they would (not) submit these motions, I argue that simplicity—to get pre-written, well-crafted, and engaging motions—is the main driver for submitting these bills, whereas the risk of opinion-sliding—letting your voice be steered by not fully comprehending the details—is the main argument against submitting them. In general, I show how the importance of transparency in politics is mitigated by which part of the political process politicians find themselves in and to what extent they practically can adhere to transparency: a finding that has both theoretical relevance for the political ethics literature and practical relevance for policymaking.

*Putting Parties on a Democracy Scale:* Ka Ming Chan (University of Western Ontario, Canada; The Consortium on Electoral Democracy (C-Dem)), Laura Stephenson (University of Western Ontario, Canada; The Consortium on Electoral Democracy (C-Dem))

**Abstract:** Public media tend to presume some parties are democratic while others are undemocratic. This paper challenges this long-standing assumption by asking Canadian citizens to position different parties on a democracy scale. Building on studies of motivated reasoning, we find that voters on average position the out-parties as more undemocratic than the party they chose. Next, we test whether political messages can change such perceptions. Our vignette experiment provides respondents with information about the undemocratic behaviour of one of the two main parties during the Canadian trucker convoy. Contrary to our expectations, the perception of an out-party remains stable when voters are primed with the undemocratic behaviour of their out-party. However, we find that Conservative Party voters position their party as more democratic when they are primed with the undemocratic behaviour of the Liberal Party. We discuss how these findings foster our understanding of democratic recession.

*Youth and Satisfaction with Democracy: Are the Kids Alright?:* Matt Polacko (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** Much attention has been paid to the health of democracy across the West in recent years. In particular, some have argued that the young are more cynical politically and less committed to democracy than older citizens. This paper examines the relationship between age and satisfaction with democracy in Canada, by undertaking graphical techniques and regression estimations using the CES. Through an analysis of the past 10 federal elections (1993-2021), the results show that satisfaction with democracy is lower among youth since 2019 and younger generations have become more dissatisfied with democracy. They are also more dissatisfied relative to older cohorts at comparable stages of the life cycle. However, it does not appear that personal economic evaluations are much of a driver. The findings carry important implications for democracy, by revealing that younger citizens appear to be losing faith in democracy in Canada.

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## F02(b) - Attitudes about the Environment

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 104

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Mathieu Lavigne (McGill University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Mathieu Lavigne (McGill University)

**Frame Effectiveness and Environmental Attitudes:** Kuan Su (University of Toronto), Randy Besco (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The environment is a crucial area of public policy, but also an area of public debate and political contestation. An extensive, but mostly American, body of research suggests that political ideology plays an important role in determining opinion, and people on the right are largely unaffected by the provision of scientific information. Can Canadians be persuaded to be more supportive of environmental action? Drawing different kinds of persuasive frames from existing research, we investigated the effects of four framing interventions (scientific, moral, metaphoric, and awe) and test their effectiveness for climate change messages using a survey experiment and a national sample of Canadians. We find that all frames increase support for government environmental policies and individual environmental actions, but not donations to an environmental charity. All frame types have similar effect sizes, but there is some evidence that the scientific frame is the least effective. Surprisingly, although ideology is correlated with environmental opinions, the effectiveness of frames is not. That is, interactions with multiple measures of ideology and policy attitudes show no evidence that frames are more or less effective for different groups, suggesting that people on both the right and left can be persuaded to increase their support for environmental policies and personal conservation intentions.

**Climate crisis, fossil fuel infrastructure, and environmental politics in South Asia:** M. Omar Faruque (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** India's largest state-owned power company, NTPC Limited, planned to develop two large coal-fired power plants in Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. NTPC expected to build its reputation as a global fossil fuel infrastructure company with these two projects outside India. Both projects faced fierce resistance from grassroots communities and environmental civil society organizations making them the most contentious energy development projects in each country. They used a variety of protest tactics including conventional politics, institutional processes (e.g., involving the High Court), and disruptive actions to address their grievances. After more than a decade of mobilization at both local and national levels, protesters gained a positive outcome in Sri Lanka and a negative outcome in Bangladesh. What role does the political and institutional context play in determining the choice of mobilization tactics? Do organizational characteristics influence the dynamics of these movements? I will explore these questions to analyze the outcomes (e.g., changes in policies and investment decisions) of popular movements against fossil fuel infrastructure in climate-vulnerable countries in South Asia. Drawing on social science scholarships on social movements and contentious energy politics, this paper will focus on the role of the broader political and institutional context in which these movements emerge and develop. Based on qualitative empirical evidence derived from both primary and secondary sources including semi-structured in-depth interviews with environmental civil society organizations, I will emphasize the role of elite support and political opportunity structure in shaping different trajectories of these movements.

**Hear the Silence: Canadian Political Science and Climate Change:** Elaine Coburn (York University)

**Abstract:** Canadian political science has been remarkably silent about climate change. Given the increasingly dire warnings recognizing climate change as an existential threat, emanating from scientists and civil society actors, politicians and policy-makers, this silence is surprising and alarming. This paper documents the absence of climate change as a concern in the Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA), including the ?flagship? journal of the CPSA, the Canadian Journal of Political Science, as well as the silence around climate change at major events like the annual meetings of the CPSA. Since climate change affects every concern that Canadian political science seeks to engage, including national politics, comparative politics, international politics, political theory and public policy, this absence is a problem for the discipline. At the same time, the failure to take up climate change in Canadian political science reveals the incapacities of traditional political science paradigms to grapple with the devastating reality of climate change for our times and for future generations. This paper is thus a call to action, urging Canadian political science to take climate change seriously as a discipline, given the catastrophic planetary consequences that we all must face.

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## F02(c) - Workshop: Race, Equity, and the Politics of Polarization

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 306

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Fiona MacDonald (University of Northern British Columbia)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Caitlin Andrews-Lee (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Francesco Macallister-Carusio (Concordia University)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=230](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=230)

**Racial attitudes and party evaluations in Canada, 1988 to 2021:** Randy Besco (University of Toronto), Scott Matthews (Memorial University)

**Abstract:** We examine the evolution of the relationship between racial attitudes and evaluations of the major parties, using Canadian Election Study (CES) data from 1988-2021. While race has not generally been a salient dimension of party conflict in Canada, in recent years, an extended series of events within and beyond Canada's borders have introduced racialized topics into Canada's national political discourse in an unprecedented way. From the Syrian refugee crisis (2015) and the launching of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2016), to the protests for racial justice and equality sparked by the killing of George Floyd (2020) and the discovery of more than a thousand unmarked graves of Indigenous children on the grounds of former residential schools (2020-22), the last several years have seen a level of national political attention regarding racialized peoples and racialized issues that is, arguably, unique in Canadian history. Motivated by expectations derived from general theories of the effects of mass communication, our analyses reveal a significant racialization of Canadians' evaluations of the major parties: positive relationships between racial attitudes and evaluations of the Liberals and NDP have strengthened, while the counterpart relationship involving the Conservative Party has become increasingly negative. These dynamics are not reducible to the increasing polarization of the party system on the left-right axis or with respect to socially progressive values (namely those involving gender). The dynamic is also robust to extensive controls for change in the demographic composition of the CES over time.

**Comprendre la désinformation anti-genre : une étude de cas au Canada:** Khaoula El Khalil (Centre de prévention de la radicalisation menant à la violence, Université de McGill), Lucile Dartois (Centre de prévention de la radicalisation menant à la violence)

**Abstract:** Le sujet à l'étude se trouve à l'intersection des phénomènes de campagnes de désinformation en ligne et des mouvements anti-genre. Ces derniers sont composés d'acteurs hétéroclites s'opposant à la notion d'« idéologie du genre ». Ceux-ci véhiculent des discours misogynes et hétérocissexistes dans l'objectif de promouvoir un ordre politique alternatif aux droits universels et indivisibles de la personne. Ils soutiennent l'idée que des élites, intellectuels et militants dits « radicaux » avancent un agenda politique qui remet en question l'ordre « naturel » (patriarcal, hétérocissexiste) des choses, et que cela met en danger les enfants, la famille et la société.

Quant à la désinformation anti-genre, c'est un phénomène multidimensionnel non circonscrit à des groupes organisés. En raison de la haute transférabilité des discours anti-genre, ceux-ci sont mobilisés et diffusés par divers acteurs, notamment en ligne dans le cadre de campagnes de désinformation. Si ces dernières sont amplifiées par le mouvement anti-genre, tous les acteurs qui s'y prêtent n'appartiennent pas à cette mouvance. Bien que plusieurs études reconnaissent que la diffusion des discours anti-genre constitue une menace pour les démocraties, très peu d'études s'intéressent aux cas canadien et québécois. Comment se déploie la désinformation anti-genre dans ce contexte?

Le caractère novateur de cette communication repose sur l'étude intersectionnelle des campagnes de désinformation. À travers des études de cas de campagnes de désinformation, nous étudierons comment les discours anti-genre s'articulent et sont diffusés en ligne, dans quels objectifs et dans quelle mesure elles reflètent l'action concertée d'un mouvement anti-genre.

**Polarized Identities and Energy Transition: The Role of Place, Indigeneity, and Industry:** Melanee Thomas (UCalgary), Lori Thorlakson (uAlberta), Brooks DeCillia (MRU)

**Abstract:** Some forms of political identity, such as partisanship and regionalism, are well known and well-studied in Canada. Others, such as race, are often ignored. Furthermore, the application of these concepts in Canadian political science is often unidimensional, presenting regionalism as centre vs periphery frustration and/or Western alienation, and race as a source for party identification. We extend these concepts to test how multifaceted identities affect support for energy transition. In addition to partisanship and polarized partisan identities, we also investigate the role of white identity and sympathy, anti-indigenous resentment, and identification (both in terms of resentment and sympathy) with the fossil fuel industry, specifically oil and gas. Our data come from unique survey experiments fielded in 2020 and 2023, with preliminary results suggesting that Canadians' attitudes about energy transition are structured by these multifaceted identities, their politicization, and their polarization.

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## G02 - The Political Economy of Public Enterprise

### Political Economy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 203

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Carlo Fanelli (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Carlo Fanelli (York University)

***The Commercialization of Canadian State-Owned Enterprises:*** Heather Whiteside (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** In the wake of the global pandemic, and as multiple international crises intensify, there has been a widespread turn to various configurations of state capitalism to manage economic fall-out, including the use of specific instruments like state-owned enterprises (SOEs). This paper analyzes Canada's long history of using SOEs over several crisis-inflected periods by assessing various changes in federal SOE mandates operating in finance, insurance, real estate, and economic development sectors. Case examples include Business Development Bank of Canada, Canada Infrastructure Bank, Canada Lands Company, Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and Export Development Canada. The analysis uncovers the specific nature of financialized commercialization associated with Canadian SOEs as of late and the implications of their changing mandates over various eras: dwindling economic democracy, heightened exposure to trade agreements, and narrowed social objectives.

***Public Ownership Revisited:*** Stephen McBride (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** The paper provides an historical overview of theoretical debates on private versus public ownership. Often linked to the need for state planning to replace market forces, public ownership was a feature of early socialist parties and movements. The issue in the post World War II period. A mixed economy, pragmatically combining publicly and privately owned enterprises became part of a post-war consensus guided by Keynesian economics which by default assumed the primacy of market economics. Left political organisations, bolstered by earlier theories suggesting a separation of ownership and control, and the emergence of a socially responsible managerial stratum in place of older style predatory capitalism, conformed. Social democratic parties jettisoned earlier pledges on nationalization and declared that to the extent capitalism required moderation it could be achieved through incentives and regulation. From the 1970s ownership was placed back on the political agenda by capitalist interests and neoliberal ideas stressing the supremacy of private ownership, policies of privatization, and imported market-like operating principles into such public enterprises as remained. No coherent, theoretically grounded opposition emerged to challenge these practices. They fitted with a repurposing of the state's role to emphasise accumulation without much attention to legitimation. Yet the GFC and the pandemic, plus the long experience of service deterioration resulting from privatisation has triggered a renewed interest in an expanded state, including state ownership. Interrogating earlier theoretical positions will be useful in outlining the potential role of a renewed commitment to public enterprise, and the pitfalls to be

***The Absence of Alternatives? Transcending Austerity, Alienation and Apathy through Remunicipalisation:*** Joy Schnittker (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Eroding public services and the depoliticization of economic decision-making through austerity policies have alienated everyday individuals from the resources and decision that affect them the most, inducing greater political and voter apathy. These compounding features of neoliberalism – austerity, alienation and apathy – have fortified the idea that “there is no alternative”, and therefore preserve neoliberalism. However, this account tends to ignore or cast aside the existence of pushback and actually-existing alternatives. For instance, between 2000-2020, 1408 cases of remunicipalisation – broadly defined as the passage or return of public services from private to public ownership, management and control – have occurred in 58 countries. This is highly significant as it (1) represents a bottom-up challenge to technocratic austerity (privatization) agendas, and (2) depending on the processes involved in adopting and implementing it, it can also represent a challenge to the democratic deficit emblematic of neoliberalism. Contrary to the previous account, everyday individuals have sought to re-establish public services collectively through local political action.

The outcomes of remunicipalisation are diverse, ranging from pragmatic process of market management to a transformative departure from neoliberalism. This paper will theoretically explore how factors such as exogenous and/or endogenous shocks, the institutional embeddedness of neoliberalism and political contestation interact to create different outcomes. By analyzing the potential enabling and disabling conditions of transformative re-municipalisation, this paper seeks to demonstrate the possibility of contesting neoliberal power, and creating more democratic

***Canadian State Enterprise and Social Procurement: Trade Commitments and Institutional Bricolage:*** Noah Fry (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Economic, racial, health and defence crises have challenged the Rules-Based International Order (RBO) and forced nation-states to embrace new and old instruments. While some countries have embraced tools like social procurement, Canada has constrained its capacity to use these same interventions. These constraints have a pronounced effect on State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and their ability to contribute to public goals. This paper analyzes Canada's procurement trade rules under CETA, WTO GPA, CPTPP and the CFTA. We find that, through institutional bricolage, Canadian SOEs are increasingly losing their capacity to interpret “best value for money” through a social lens. This shrinking capacity dovetails with a global effort to restrict the public agenda of SOEs through trade. We argue this ongoing decline in capacity prompts democratic concerns over the traditional alignment of territory and governance. We conclude by noting the remaining opportunities for socially-oriented SOE procurement, ongoing examples of such efforts, and the role for federal and provincial social procurement legislation. The paper's findings address the prospects for re-engaging state enterprise as a response to ongoing crises and reimagining new democratic power structures that better correspond to emerging conceptions of place and territory.

## H02(a) - Author Meets Critics - Patti Lenard, Exclusion and Democracy

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 204

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Elaine Coburn (York University)

Patti Lenard (University of Ottawa)

Monique Deveaux (University of Guelph)

Joe Carens (University of Toronto)

Melissa Williams (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This is a proposed Author meets Critic session on Patti Tamara Lenard (Un of Ottawa)'s new book, *Exclusion and Democracy* (Oxford University Press, 2022), which examines whether and how democracies can permissibly exclude both citizens and noncitizens from territory and from membership. This is central to the themes of this year's CPSA.

Patti T. Lenard's book *Exclusion and Democracy*, explores cases of exclusion, which happens in multiple spaces and is under-theorized, and asks whether and on what grounds exclusion can be justified. Cases include revocation/ denationalization (of children, and of foreign fighters); citizens abroad (for long-term residence or in moments of crisis); irregular folks, stateless peoples, and temporary labour migrants; the mechanisms for issuing visas; and then a set of questions around integration, including the ethics of oath ceremonies, the morality of integration in general, and of refugees in particular (especially LGBTQ+ refugees, a chapter which is drawn on the author's work running a community organization called Rainbow Haven, which sponsors/settles/advocates for LGBTQ+ refugees and asylum seekers). The book concludes with some reflections on the ways that oppressed minorities do not yet have access to the full and robust inclusion to which democracies are meant to be committed.

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## H02(b) - New Directions with Hannah Arendt: Worldliness, Action, and Political Possibility

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 205

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jennifer Nedelsky (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Anna Jurkevics (University of British Columbia)

***What Comes after the Beginning? Public Life between Contingency and Stability:*** Laticia Chapman (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Following Sophie Loidolt (2018) and Bonnie Honig (2017), I explore Arendt's sense of plurality as a phenomenological and political experience. Crucially, this experience is not just intersubjective (between people) but also in relation to/given by a 'common world' of 'things' that 'provide[s] the friction of finitude that limits or thwarts but also drives human care for the world' (Honig 2017, 38). While Arendt's attention to beginnings and unpredictability are recognized hallmarks of her political theory, she is also unequivocal about a human (and political) need for stability and (provisional) permanence. But this stability, the 'remedy' for the chaotic uncertainty of the future? (Arendt 1998, 237) is not expressed as a matter of 'rule' or fixedness, but rather through the twinned 'faculties' of forgiving and making promises. The first, by releasing us 'from the consequences of what we have done' (1998, 237), allows us to continue to act. The second is the force, opposed to sovereignty or rule, 'that keeps'[people]'together' under conditions of plurality (1998, 244-45). Although Arendt distinguishes the space of appearance 'a clearly phenomenological space' where people gather from the force that holds them together (1998, 244), my interest is in the possibility of a phenomenology of 'holding together'. This experience of duration would necessarily also be an experience of plurality. I hope this work will contribute to a body of research that considers phenomenology as an account of and way of thinking about public life, with accompanying implications for political thinking about care and object relations.

***What's a(n other) Standpoint? Exemplarity, Inter-Personalism, and the Search for Common Ground:*** Nicholas Poole (York University)

**Abstract:** One of the enduring puzzles in Hannah Arendt's writings on judgment concerns the compatibility of her claims that (1) judgment is a world-building activity oriented towards building lasting political institutions through public dialogue about matters of common concern; (2) that it is a redemptive capacity oriented towards discerning meaning, and (3) that it is an action-guiding capacity capable of telling right from wrong. My presentation uses conceptual resources contained in Arendt's appeal to examples as the appropriate kinds of normative standards in post-traditional societies to reconcile these claims. I develop four inter-related arguments. First, I argue that redemption is derivative of the political imagination's responsiveness to the exemplary, and that it is as exemplary that actions and events offer original sources of normativity capable of guiding action. Second, I argue that Arendt's positive response to the collapse of morality in totalitarianism implicitly reconstructs the full spectrum of Immanuel Kant's nuanced typology of example-following, ranging from shallow 'mannerism' to autonomous and creative 'emulation.' Arendt's claim that judging right from wrong depends on 'choices of exemplary company' is best approached through an account of emulation as supervened by judging. And third, I argue that this typology not only helps to clarify the normative character of personal standpoints as places from which world-building action begins (and that it modifies), but it also clarifies how the inter-personal discovery of exemplary common ground is a precondition for world-building. To elaborate this last point, I draw from a dialogue between Wendell Berry and bell hooks.

***Wondering, Wandering, and Socrates ? Hannah Arendt on Thinking Politics:*** Charlotte Mencke (Northwestern University)

**Abstract:** This paper elaborates on Hannah Arendt's conception of wonder, a concept critical to Arendt's account of thinking that has received surprisingly little scholarly attention. I argue that her account of thinking, its relationship to political action, and her own attitude toward politics as a thinker cannot be properly understood and harnessed without a clearer sense of the role that wonder plays therein. In a first step, I trace Arendt's wonder, and with it the notion that thinking ends 'exactly where it began,' back to Plato's Socrates, arguing that this connection is much more pervasive in Arendt's thinking than her hermeneutic approach to the Socratic dialogues suggests. In a second step, I take up wonder in order to parse Arendt's work for guideposts as to how to think politics in times that pose unique challenges for those seeking to make sense of the current afflictions of public life. I read it as an invitation to sit with inconsistencies and complications, to avoid facile categorizations, and to take seriously what an acceptance of the inherent plurality of political life means for political theorizing and critical thought. It is to non-sovereign political action and its attendant radical contingency that Arendt seeks to direct our wonder, rather than institutions, the splendor of sovereign power, or the 'power of history itself'. Wonder can thus function as a counter to dangerous, often violent notions of universal knowability. Moreover, there is political promise in the disruptive cessation of activity that wonder inevitably causes: an openness to wonder.

***Laboring the New: Metabolic Theories of Exhaustion and the Frustrations of Action under Capitalism:*** Nica Siegel (Amherst College)

**Abstract:** In the Human Condition, Arendt writes that totalitarian politics entail not only pure, exhaustive ends overriding their means, a classical conception of domination, but rather the sense in which life, and the mandate to reproduce life, becomes in itself a form of pure means, the 'unleashing of the forces and logic of fertility in its full power' wherein politics is forced into 'metabolism' with social processes. Indeed, Arendt strikingly recovered the problem of 'metabolism' at the heart of Marxian thought, predating its Anglophone recovery with the translation of the Grundrisse. In this, Arendt is in direct citational conversation with German metabolic rift theory, which pursues 'the activation of capital's absolute limits' associated with the 'destruction of the conditions of social metabolic reproduction', i.e. the threshold of soil and extractive exhaustion, as a revolutionary possibility. But whereas 'rifters' saw in the problem of metabolism a critical perspective on the production of a-synchronicity with environmental forces whose limit case is expropriative soil exhaustion that only Marxist dialectical materialism could correct, Arendt sees in Marxism a problem of excessive synchronicity with market forces that constitutes the exhaustion of the political. By clarifying the theoretical terms of her engagement with capitalism as a theory of endless motion within nature?drawing on her reading of Rosa Luxemburg and her highly idiosyncratic critique of Marx on 'surplus value', which destabilizes the rift concept of 'power in reserve'?'this paper asks: How plausible is this anxiety as a governing hermeneutic for the critique of action under capitalism?

*The Politics of AI Research and Development: (Mis)Trust, Fear and Control: Micheal Ziegler (University of Victoria)*

**Abstract:** Through an exegetical exploration linking AI science fiction (Isaac Asimov), cognitive AI research (with an explicit focus on systems engineering theory), and political theory, I hermeneutically interrogate intelligence to uncover the underlying implications of what constitutes both AI and social control imperatives. The issue of control is revealed to be an all-too-human will toward the power of the presupposed good of human control over a present order and our socio-political destiny. That is, following systems engineers Carlos Herrera and Ricardo Sanz's Heideggerian AI approach concerning "authentic being" provides us a foundation upon which to explore the ethics of "human in the loop" AI imperatives? case examples include rescue, driverless cars and farming. Ultimately, this paper concerns how control is seen in relation to AI creation and implementation. Taking this approach while focusing on cognitive AI theory reveals a socio-political orientation wherein we (homo sapiens) are aimed at controlling destiny regardless of "free" AI potential benefits. That is, by centring cognitive AI theorists' AI desires, we come to understand how homo-AI-political control has, as stated by AI researcher Vincent Müller, "an impact on society (e.g. surveillance, jobs, weapons & war, care?) and that some of that impact is undesirable." Which is to say, I reveal a human will towards (un)intelligent design of artificial destiny as a foundation of socio-political control.

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## H02(c) - States, Statelessness, and Decolonial Action

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 206

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Luke Sandle (Univeristy of Alberta)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Tim Charlebois (Northwestern University)

*Mestizaje as neocolonialism: racelessness, homogeneity, improvement.*: Didier Zúñiga (Centre de Recherche en Éthique)

**Abstract:** Through an examination of the emergence and consolidation of mestizaje in Mexico, this essay challenges the prevalent view of mestizaje as providing the conditions of possibility for decolonial and anti-racist futures. I situate mestizaje within postrevolutionary Mexico, and show how its ideologues framed it by mirroring the formation of the Western imaginary. This involved a retrospective curation process that served to both 'purify' the Mesoamerican past and elevate selectively appropriated histories and cultures to undergird Mexico's present and future national identity. Contrary to the deep-seated idea that miscegenation provided the basis for the subversion of race-based hierarchies, I argue that it served as an instrument of Indigenous erasure. I also dispute the widely held belief that mestizaje was a peaceful process through which willful and consenting peoples mixed each other. Moreover, I show that mestizaje is cast as the means through which Mesoamerican peoples can ascend into modernity, which is yoked to the idea of 'whiteness' as a normative rather than purely racial ideal. Finally, I examine the intertwining of mestizaje with technologies of improvement whose goal is to move Mexico towards a progressively 'higher' nation. I ultimately argue that mestizaje is used to 'improve' peoples and territories through developmental prescriptions that generate homogeneity and uniformity in human and more-than-human worlds.

*The Aesthetics of Worldliness: Hannah Arendt and Edward Said on Beauty, Culture, and Agency in Settler Democracies:* Jordan Ouellette (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** This paper makes a case for reevaluating Hannah Arendt's and Edward Said's distinctive uses of the concept of 'worldliness' as a key theoretical resource for understanding political and aesthetic agency in settler democracies. Moving beyond recent scholarship that demonstrate how Arendt and Said diverge in their own understandings of worldliness, culture, and power, I argue that they interestingly converge in ways that, taken together, help to open new possibilities of theorizing political and aesthetic action as genuinely democratic or decolonial action. Pairing Arendtian readings of work, amor mundi, and beauty (as 'the criterion upon which we take care of a world of appearances?') with Said's notions of affiliation, democratic humanism, and 'aestheticized powerlessness' (in which one is unable to surrender control over or fully accept the dominant narrative in society) can most likely offer us a better normative grasp of the worldly dimensions of democratic rule and practices, especially within settler colonial societies like Canada. After carefully drawing some productive affinities between the texts of Arendt and Said and some of their interpreters, the paper then discusses them more concretely in the case of popular (i.e. settler-led and state-sanctioned) cultural and aesthetic efforts to redress everyday harms of settler colonialism without contributing to the repatriation of Indigenous land and life. The paper concludes by discussing its contribution to the ethical turn in normative democratic theory.

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## J02(a) - Regional Attitudes in Perspective

### Provincial and Territorial Politics in Canada and Beyond

Date: May 30 2023 | Time: 10:30am - 12:00pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 303

Chair/Président/Présidente : Paul Kellogg (Athabasca University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Chris Erl (Toronto Metropolitan University)

*The Making of a ?Super Issue?: A Longitudinal Analysis of Attitudes Toward Scotland's Independence:* Thomas Gareau Paquette (McGill University), Daoust Jean-François (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** Recent events, such as the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, the 2016 Brexit vote, and the 2017 UK snap election, clearly demonstrate how tumultuous British and Scottish politics have been in recent years. This context appears to have generated "electoral shocks" that have precipitated electoral realignment(s) in the United Kingdom (Cutts et al. 2020; Fieldhouse et al. 2021). According to some, one of the fundamental changes brought about by this realignment process is that Scottish politics has become increasingly structured around citizens' attitudes toward independence (Harvey 2020; Johns et al. 2021; McMillan & Henderson 2021). However, there is no systematic longitudinal analysis of how the impact of attitudes toward Scottish independence evolved over time. We provide such analysis and posit that citizens' attitudes toward Scottish independence now constitute a "super issue." We test this claim using data from the British Election Study from 2014 to 2021, as well as the Scottish Election Study and the Scottish Social Attitudes Surveys from 1999 to 2021. Using panel data from the BES, we first show that citizens' attitudes toward Scottish independence are remarkably stable, which suggests that it constitutes a deeply rooted consideration rather than a heavily context-dependent attitude. Second, we estimate the effect of attitudes toward independence on citizens' voting behaviour over time and show that this issue steadily increases in importance. We conclude that Scottish independence seems to have become a "super issue" that structures the region's political choice and discusses the implications for UK and Scottish politics.

*The Deep North Revisited: Katter?s Australian Party (KAP) and the Politics of Rural and Regional Queensland:* William Wallace (The University of Newcastle, Australia)

**Abstract:** Katter?s Australian Party (KAP) was founded by Bob Katter in 2011. Katter had been a long-standing National Party (NP) MP in the Queensland parliament (1974-1992), and the federal parliament (1993-2001) until he resigned to sit as an independent. Katter envisaged KAP as providing the ?true? voice of rural and regional Queensland, a voice previously monopolised by the NP which had dominated Queensland politics from 1957 to 1989. The changing electoral landscape in the subsequent decades saw the NP?s fortunes decline leading to its merger with the Queensland division of the Liberal Party of Australia to become the Liberal National Party (LNP). KAP was Katter?s answer to what many in regional Queensland perceived to be an abandonment of regional voters. This paper argues that Katter cultivated the electoral support of regional Queenslanders through a populist power-seeking strategy predicated on his charismatic leadership, but has been ineffective at translating his policy agenda into legislative achievements. In contrast, the state KAP, led by Katter?s son Robbie Katter, has employed an alternative populist strategy that has focused on utilising the party?s policy agenda and legislative achievements to elicit the support of ?trusted off? regional voters. Drawing on a range of documentary sources, including interviews with the KAP MPs, this paper examines these strategies to show how Katter?s strategic missteps have caused the federal KAP to stagnate in contrast to the vitality of the state KAP under R. Katter. It is concluded that Katter?s strategic shortcomings have limited the appeal of his brand of populism.

*Canadians' Views about Rights: A replication and extension of Sniderman et al's 'Clash of Rights' public opinion surveys:* Robert Vipond (University of Toronto), John McAndrews (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** How have Canadians? views about rights changed over the last four decades? In 1987, Sniderman and colleagues conducted an innovative telephone- and mail-based public opinion survey that would go on to become a key part of their 1996 book ?The Clash of Rights? -- a pathbreaking and influential examination of public and elite attitudes toward rights in the early post-Charter world. We re-run Sniderman et al?s survey 35 years after it was originally conducted. To be fielded online to a broadly representative sample of Canadians, the aim of this new survey is to replicate -- to the extent possible -- many of the questions and experiments used in the 1987 survey. In doing so, we will shed new light on key changes in public attitudes on a wide variety of issues, including Canadians? attitudes toward civil, language, and group rights, liberal democratic values, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms itself. This paper presents a first cut at analyzing the results of this replication.

*Degrees of Optimism: Climate Politics and Youth Activists in British Columbia:* Wilfrid Greaves (University of Victoria), Alyson Tkachenko (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** This paper presents an analysis of original data collected through surveys and interviews of youth climate activists (aged 18-29) in British Columbia, Canada conducted between 2019-2021. The study examines the perspectives of youth climate activists on issues including: the anticipated severity of climate change impacts; the effectiveness and trade-offs between climate change and energy policies; and insights into the climate movement, including support for lawbreaking and civil disobedience. Our analysis highlights that youth climate activists in British Columbia are broadly critical of the Government of Canada?s current approach to climate change, and generally support civil disobedience as a tactic to spur more action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. However, it also reveals variation in support for trade-offs between climate and energy policy goals, such as new fossil fuel pipelines, insights into the internal dynamics of the climate movement, and degrees of optimism about our climate-changed future.

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## J02(b) - Identity, Resentment and Ideology: Attitudes towards Place and Federations

### Provincial and Territorial Politics in Canada and Beyond

Date: May 30 2023 | Time: 10:30am - 12:00pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 304

Chair/Président/Présidente : Olivier Jacques (Université de Montréal)

**Collective Efficacy: Why Assessments of ?National Competence? Matter:** Ailsa Henderson (University of 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 political communities within states, national identity, the state?s trajectory and the position of the demos within it. We also know that, in England, attitudes to English governance, a sense of devo-anxiety or dissatisfaction with the state, as well as Euroscepticism is explained by the way national identity interacts with individual-level efficacy. Drawing on data from the 2021 State of the Union Survey this paper discusses the role of collective efficacy as it applies to UK 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, and internal UK constitutional change. The analysis examines the inter-relationships among national identity, individual-level efficacy, and collective efficacy, demonstrating that collective efficacy helps to explain both attitudes and behaviour towards different forms of constitutional change in Scotland, England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

**Place Resentment and Support for Place-Based Policies:** Sophie Borwein (Simon Fraser University), Jack Lucas (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** A central argument of the literature on the politics of place is that people who are place resentful ? that is, who report high levels of hostility toward place-based ?out-places? -- often refuse to support political parties and policy programs that they perceive will provide more benefit to other places than to their own communities. In this paper, we investigate these perceptions directly using a large survey of Ontarians. We investigate citizen perceptions about the place-specific winners and losers of three place-based policy initiatives -- skills training, transit investment, and hospital infrastructure -- and how these perceptions vary in relation to respondents' own place identity and levels of place resentment. Our analysis extends recent work on urban, suburban, and rural place resentment in Canada and other countries by reconnecting the concept of place resentment to individuals' support for specific policy initiatives that may benefit their communities, but also potentially other communities as well.

**Explaining public opinion about the division of power in a divided country.:** Philippe Chassé (Université de Montréal), Olivier Jacques (University of Montreal, School of Public Health), Colin Scott (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** In many federations, an important cleavage structuring voters and party systems concerns the division of power between central governments and subnational units. However, we lack a robust body of research regarding individuals? preferences for (de)centralization in federations as well as for asymmetrical federalism. To contribute to this research agenda, we leverage four waves of the Confederation of Tomorrow survey (2019-2022) conducted among large samples of Canadians to study the effect of identity, ideology, and grievances on preferences regarding the division of power in the federation. We expect to find that left-wing respondents and those who identify predominantly with Canada are more likely to prefer a decentralization of the federation as opposed to right-wing citizens and provincial identifiers. However, we also expect right wing citizens to be particularly subject to the ?devolution paradox?: they prefer decentralization, but also oppose asymmetrical federalism, as they refuse to give privileges to particular groups. We expect to find that in Quebec, there is a consensus in favor of de-centralization and asymmetrical federalism, except among Quebeckers with a strong Canadian identity. We also argue that grievances increase the effect of provincial identity on support for (de)centralization. Our findings contribute to the literature on federalism, public opinion, and political economy.

**The Ties That Bind: A Quantitative Measure of the Disconnect between Canada?s Two Solitudes:** Evelyne Brie (Western University)

**Abstract:** Social ties are a powerful predictor of political attitudes. In Canada, the limited sociocultural connections between the French-speaking province of Quebec and the rest of the country have contributed the political isolation of the country?s ?two solitudes?. This paper tests both the sociodemographic determinants and the political consequences of this social disconnect. Data emanates from the Facebook Connectedness Index for all active Canadian Facebook users and from the Canadian Electoral Compass (n=2,101,864), an online survey questionnaire conducted during the 2011 Canadian federal election. Using linear regression models, I measure the impact of linguistic diversity and of geographical distance on the strength of social ties between all geographical pairings across Canada (i.e. for 1137 ridings). I also test the impact of interregional social ties on identity-related preferences and vote intentions.

## L02 - Divide and Colonize? The Contested

### Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 209

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Leah Vosko (York University)

**Co-Chair/Président/Présidente :** Veldon Coburn (University of Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Darren O'Toole (University of Ottawa)

**Sponsor / Commanditaire :** CPSA Reconciliation Committee

***Making it Work? Mobilizing Inuit Labour in Nunavut:*** Gabrielle Slowey (York University)

**Abstract:** ?Making it Work?: Inuit Labour and Unions in Nunavut? (IWUN) asks: What is the relationship between southern unions and Inuit workers in Nunavut? Looking at themes of power and territory, decolonization, economic reconciliation and labour, this project investigates the ways in which the International Union of Operating Engineers (IUOE) 793 has developed new and meaningful relationships with Inuit communities? in Nunavut. Three specific questions underpin this project: How have employers, unions and community organizations interacted? How/have they worked to improve/remove barriers to Inuit employment in the industry? What are the best practices and strategies for recruiting and retaining Inuit labourers going forward? Drawing on the growing body of literature in this field (Mills and Sweeney, 2013; MacKinnon, 2015) as well as in-person field research (to be conducted in the winter 2023), this paper begins to answer these questions.

This project is significant for several reasons. This will be the first study to examine the union movement in the Canadian Arctic and in Nunavut that interrogates how and why the union movement has or has not been effective model in the region. In addition, it will address and review the experiences of Inuit workers and southern union leaders as they work to develop new relationships designed to enhance economic reconciliation.

***Contesting Jurisdiction: The "Core of Indianness" and Collective Bargaining Rights in First Nations Gaming:*** Adam King (York University), Olena Lyubchenko (York University), Leah Vosko (York University), James Fitzgerald (York University)

**Abstract:** In the context of ongoing struggles for Indigenous self-government and decolonization, this paper examines past attempts by First Nations? governments to exercise control over labour relations ? an under-examined area of scholarship. The paper first returns to *Four B Manufacturing v United Garment Workers of America* (1980), the initial case in which the Supreme Court applied the ?core of Indianness? to determine jurisdiction over Indigenous labour relations in a private sector enterprise. It then interrogates several cases involving First Nations gaming facilities where Indigenous employers contested the settler jurisdiction of provincial and federal labour boards by asserting s. 35 rights to self-government. We examine several features of these cases: the content and contradictions of the labour codes developed by First Nations bands; courts and tribunals' re-application of the ?core of Indianness;? and the latter?s determinations of the relationship between s. 35 and the ?core? when it comes to labour law. This discussion builds on debates concerning how s. 35 has potentially reframed the application of s. 91(24) in the area of labour relations and the federal government's material responsibility to Indigenous communities. The paper situates these past assertions of Indigenous rights over labour law and jurisdiction within a critical political economy of settler capitalism and Indigenous economic development strategies. We understand economic development in an expanded sense to include social reproduction of Indigenous communities. As we argue, there is a pressing need to think through how struggles for Indigenous self-determination and workers? rights can be pursued together.

***Within or Without? A Gendered Tracing of the Application of the ?Core of Indianness? to the Labours of Social Welfare:*** Leah Vosko (York University), Rebecca Hall (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** The diverse labours of social welfare, from the care and education of children to community health and service provision, has long been a site of de/colonizing struggle in Canada, a site that disproportionately impacts Indigenous women. In this paper, we trace the application of the ?Core of Indianness? to these labours. We identify three distinct periods of application from the 1980s to today, framing the landmark 2010 case, *NIL/TU, O Child and Family Services Society vs. B.C. Government and Service Employees? Union*. In this case, the Supreme Court of Canada determined that the labours of the Indigenous workers at NI? TU, O Child and Family Services fell outside of the ?core of Indianness? and thus the enterprise lay in provincial jurisdiction. This decision marked a change from earlier court decisions that recognized social provisioning and care as integral to state-defined ?Indianness? and thus the more protectively-oriented federal jurisdiction. Informed by Indigenous feminisms and feminist political economy, this paper traces shifts leading up to this determination. In so doing, it highlights two intersecting themes: first, the correlation between gendered exclusions of social reproduction, or caring, labour from definitions of Indianness with in/access to key labour rights, such as freedom of association and the right to bargain collectively and be represented by a trade union, and protections, such as protection against arbitrary dismissal and harassment at work; and, second, the tension between the exclusion of feminized caring labours from ?Indianness? with contemporary state commitments to addressing the gendered contours of colonial dispossession and oppression.

***Casting (First) Nations as Municipalities: The Contested "Core of Indianness" and Band Councils:*** Tim Gadanidis (University of Toronto), Leah Vosko (York University)

**Abstract:** Direct employment by a First Nations' Band Council is one of the few areas generally considered to be incontestably within federal jurisdiction, and thus regulated by Part III of the Canada Labour Code (CLC). As a result, Indigenous employees seeking the relatively better unjust dismissal protections of the CLC frequently find themselves ?thrown out? of the federal jurisdiction, i.e., in provincially-regulated workplaces. Compared to most other workers who are protected by the CLC, First Nations Band Council employees are more likely to file unjust dismissal complaints, and these complaints are

more likely to be upheld than unjust dismissal complaints from workers in other sectors. However, recent jurisprudence has reduced the extent to which even direct employment by a Band Council is considered to be under federal jurisdiction, reducing the number of workers protected by unjust dismissal provisions and creating jurisdictional uncertainty. We examine the history of federal regulation of Band Council employment, arguing that the ongoing narrowing of federally-regulated band council employment and the frequency of unjust dismissal complaints reflect larger problems with the Chief and Council system of governance that was imposed on First Nations by the Indian Act.

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## N02 - Gender on the Internet: Opportunities Cautions and Constraints

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 302

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Joanie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Meagan Cloutier (University of Calgary)

*!m Sorry, Eh? - An Exploratory Research on Online Gender-Based Violence against Canadian Women Diplomats:* Matthias Erlandsen (FLACSO Chile)

**Abstract:** As a type of verbal violence, incivility is not accepted in diplomacy (Cross, 2007; Oglesby, 2016). However, online incivility in social media against politicians, especially targeting women in high ranks of the public administration, is evident, frequent, and seldom condemned (Bardall, Bjarnegård, & Piscopo, 2019; Rheault et al., 2019; Theocharis, Barberá, Fazekas, & Popa, 2020; Wagner, 2020). In a society like Canada where respect and civility are inherent parts of its idiosyncrasy (James, 2008), and considering that the feminist foreign policy (FFP) of Justin Trudeau's governments (2015-present) and later its Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) aims its foreign service to become gender balanced (Government of Canada, 2017), it is interesting to observe how much each gender and what kind of gender-based online violence do Canadian Heads of Mission face. Drawing on an original dataset of 10,000 replies to 3,000 tweets of 2019, data is auto-coded using Nvivo upon the works by Krook & Restrepo Sanín (2020) and later, validated through the manual codification of a representative sample. Considering previous research, our hypothesis suggests that women head of missions are more frequently target of online incivility in the shapes of misogyny, sexism, or racism in comparison to their male colleagues.

*Conceptualizing Cyberspace as Territory: Women's Liberation and Relationship with Online Platforms in 21st Century Canada:* Esli Chan (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Conceptualizing Cyberspace as Territory: Women's Liberation and Relationship with Online Platforms in 21st Century Canada  
Esli Chan

Canada's territorial history has impacted women's liberation, as established by indigenous and feminist scholarship linking the colonial relationship to land and mediation of citizenship and participation; in likeness, cyberspace reproduces these same dynamics for women online. Cyberspace has created a digital arena that can empower yet marginalize women. Through theorizing cyberspace as a territory that can be commodified, dominated, and influenced, this research investigates how women shape, and are shaped, by the digital landscape within 21st-century Canada. In conceptualizing cyberspace as territory, how has the relationship between women and cyberspace evolved in Canada within the 21st century?

This research will use a process-tracing approach to create a timeline of five to ten key online socio-cultural and infrastructural changes that correlate to specific transformations for women's progress within 21st-century Canada. Through discourse and online content analysis of news publications and social media engagement, it will assess how public opinion and interpersonal debates reflect upon these events. This will be situated within a larger theoretical debate on women's liberation and cyberspace.

This research will evaluate how cyberspace has shaped women's liberation and how women have modified cyberspace through protest and advocacy. It will expand on digital feminist research by assessing the foundational relationship between cyberspace and women. It presents a new ontological approach to political and gender studies discourse by investigating how women in Canada are theorized through a territorial relationship with cyberspace.

*Hybrid Parliaments and Gender and Diversity Sensitive Parliaments: The UK and Canada Compared:* Jeanette Ashe (Douglas College), Jessica Smith (University of Southampton), Sarah Childs (University of Edinburgh)

**Abstract:** COVID-19 disrupted the traditional operations of the UK's and Canada's parliamentary institutions, with both using technology to facilitate unprecedented institutional transformation by adopting different hybrid models to allow elected members and parliamentary staff to vote and work in-person or remotely during the height of the Pandemic. Looking to the feminist institutionalist approach, hybrid parliaments have the potential to increase the gender and diversity sensitivity of parliamentary (G/DSP) institutions by creating more inclusive workplaces where members who identify as women or as belonging to another equity deserving group can more fully participate. House of Commons' debates on modernising parliamentary practices, in this case, returning to in-person participation or staying with remote-participation, took on normative tones about what makes an effective parliament and who makes a good MP, with conservative parties in both countries more inclined to return to pre-pandemic-styled proceedings. Several years into the pandemic, the Conservative led British Parliament has reverted to in-person proceedings whereas the Liberal led Canadian Parliament has tentatively continued with more restrictive forms of hybridity despite pushback from the Conservative Opposition bench. In this paper we use our survey and interview data from our ongoing work in this area to explore and compare MPs' levels of support for and experiences with hybridity and if, given the governments' responses, hybridity has led to greater gender and diversity sensitivity in Canada than in the UK. Doing so provides additional insight into whether hybrid parliamentary reforms should be considered as permanent operational features of democratic institutions seeking to become more gender and diversity sensitive spaces.

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## P02 - Poster Session 1

### Posters

Date: May 30 2023 | Time: 10:30am - 12:00pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW Second Floor Alcove

Click the following link for complete session information:

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=33](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=33)

*Towards A 'Nation-to-Nation' Legislature: The Ontario Legislative Assembly's Understanding of Treaty Principles and Practices:* Leah Wilson (OLIP)

**Abstract:** Since its founding, the Ontario Legislative Assembly (OLA) has relied on a Westminster Parliamentary tradition for its orders and procedures. Taken from the traditions of Great Britain, the Westminster Parliamentary context relies on formality and standing orders within its procedure. The formality and structure of the Westminster tradition operates contrary to many principles and practices traditionally found within Indigenous governance structures and practices; The style of benches sitting opposite one another, abiding by strict orders that are amended only at the will of the current executive branch, and representing constituents as defined by the Ontario Elections Act. As a governmental context that has obligations to respect ?Nation-to-Nation? agreements with First Nations people, it is important to consider how the Westminster parliamentary tradition can uphold, or adapt to uphold, First Nations practices and rights.

The following paper presents a qualitative, primary-source study utilizing interviews and document review to study the dynamic between the current Ontario Legislative Assembly (OLA) and First Nations governments. The intent of the paper will be to contextualize how the OLA has upheld their obligations as outlined in the Royal Proclamation, as well as how the OLA could further work regarding the integration of Indigenous principles and practices. Overall, the research advances how broadening the integration of Indigenous principles and practices into the Ontario Legislative Assembly will uphold and bolster the commitment Ontario has to First Nations peoples as set out within the Royal Proclamation.

*Introversion and Extroversion in Provincial Parliament:* Karissa Singh (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** This research paper will seek to compare the experiences of introverts and extroverts in provincial parliament by interviewing Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs) at the Ontario Legislature. It will utilize Carl Jung's original definitions of introversion and extroversion. By this standard, an introvert is a person whose interest is generally directed inward toward their own feelings and thoughts, while an extrovert tends to focus their attention on other people and their external surroundings. The Myers-Briggs Personality Type Indicator is a self-report inventory designed to identify an individual's personality type, including their levels of introversion and extroversion. Due to feasibility and time constraints, a self-report method will instead be employed in this research, where participants will self-identify as either an introvert or extrovert at the outset of their interview. Data collection will terminate once at least 5 of each personality types are found (i.e., at least 5 participants identify as an introvert and at least 5 participants identify as an extrovert). Presently, research is scant on the topic of introversion and extroversion within the provincial Legislature. This research paper will uncover whether different experiences exist between those who possess these differing personality types and how they manifest in the Legislature. It will also examine whether certain traits associated with introversion and extroversion act as an advantage or hinderance in provincial parliament. Lastly, this paper will get insight directly from Members of Provincial Parliament into skills they hope to develop during their time as an elected official, in hopes of assessing whether any common responses arise between introverts and extroverts.

*Once upon a time in the Pink Palace?: The use of emotive rhetoric and personal storytelling during Question Period at the Ontario Legislature:* Alia Mufti (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** The use of personal anecdotes and emotive language has played a contentious role during Question Period; some claim that it exacerbates partisan politics and lack of decorum in the House, while others claim that it is a tool to create more engaging and open democratic communication. Politicians have utilized personal storytelling and emotive rhetoric commonly around the world and in a growingly polarizing political climate, the impact of understanding the role these types of rhetoric plays are becoming imperative. While various studies have examined aspects of emotional rhetoric and personal storytelling, few have tried to understand the role it plays in debates of public policies, especially in Ontario. How should we understand personal storytelling and emotive language in the space of politics? Is it an obstruction to democratic communication or is it a necessary tool to personalize politics and engage audiences? Question Period is one of the most notable events in Ontario's legislature where MPPs often use emotional language and anecdotes to debate and discuss political policies. By analyzing speeches and debates during Question Period through literature review and in-person interviews, this paper aims to understand the role language plays in our democratic institutions. The analysis of emotive rhetoric and storytelling will provide a broader overview on the efficacy of our democratic practises and may shed light on political polarization in Ontario.

*Constituency Office Security History and Future Directions:* Sophie Williams (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Upon arrival into the Parliamentary Precinct, it is highly apparent to visitors and staff of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario that the Legislative Protective Service (LPS) works diligently to protect the Main Legislative Building, Whitney Block, and all those who work in these buildings. However, another very important and lesser-known role of the LPS is to audit the constituency offices of Members of Provincial Parliament, and to provide suggestions to Members and their staff regarding security improvements for their offices.

In recent years, there have been a wide range of updates to security standards in and around the Legislative Assembly, particularly motivated by recent security threats and events at legislatures across Canada and around the world. Since then, there has been thorough news coverage into the security changes to Legislative Assembly buildings following these events, but far less commentary has covered constituency office security and how these

standards have changed over time. As such, this paper aims to fill this gap by answering the question: what historical and recent events were most influential in shaping constituency office security measures in Ontario?

This paper argues that security incidents both in constituency offices and in other legislative and government buildings, as well as a general increase in security concerns in public settings, have led to heightened security measures at Ontario constituency offices. The paper will also examine the balance between accessibility, openness, and security.

To contextualize this paper, research was conducted through interviewing officers from the LPS Investigative Liaison Unit about constituency office audits and current constituency office security measures, in addition to the significant historical events that led to changes in constituency office security measures over the years. MPPs from both the past and the present Parliaments were also interviewed. For background and historical information, resources from the library and journals were also consulted; however, the research referenced in this paper was mainly interview based.

***Ontological or Physical Insecurity: Testing a Theory of Diaspora Political Mobilization on Jewish Activism Concerning Israel in France and the United States:*** Elizabeth Stein (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Political scientists have recently used the concept of ontological security as an alternative to physical security to explain diaspora-group political behaviour (Mitzen 2018; Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking 2019). This paper generates and tests a theory of how a sense of ontological insecurity can impact diaspora political mobilization differently than a sense of physical insecurity, which can lead ethnic groups to become more nationalistic and ethnocentric.

The paper proposes that an increased sense of physical insecurity among Jews in France, due to increased antisemitic violence since 2000, has led to politically conservative and protective attitudes toward Israel among French Jews. It proposes that a significant portion of Jews in the US, however, experience ontological insecurity caused by a view that Israeli-government actions toward Palestinians since the late 1990s are contrary to American Jews' sense of self as liberals and concerned with minority rights. This has led many to openly distance themselves from Israel, which has not occurred in France.

The paper posits that the different types of insecurity can partly explain why French Jewish organizations which are left-leaning and critical of Israeli-government actions are few and deeply unpopular in France, whereas comparable US-based organizations, such as JStreet, enjoy widespread support.

This comparison of diaspora political mobilization which draws on over 50 interviews is grounded in Koinova (2021)'s recent socio-spatial approach to diaspora politics. The paper also includes insights from the exciting field of ontological security, and in its conclusion refers to a third case: Jewish political mobilization in Canada.

***Climate Impacts on Human Health: Framing Effects in a Canadian News Outlet:*** Alizée Pillod (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Climate change represents a major threat to public health in Canada and elsewhere. Conversely, climate action could procure potential health co-benefits. Although research on climate communication is growing, only a few studies have explored how the media connect climate change to its impacts on human health. The media can play a key role in shaping people's understanding of the issue as well as their support for policy change. This media content analysis investigates the coverage of climate change impacts on human health in the Canadian news outlet The Globe and Mail between 2008 and 2020. Our study suggests that the public health frame remains largely underutilized to this date, and that journalists fail to make comprehensive links between climate change and health. When the issue is addressed, the content is most often unprecise, with either no particular health risk, social mediating factor or vulnerable population identified. Climate action health co-benefits can convey positive emotions and induce greater behavior change. Yet, they are rarely mentioned. While previous studies have shown that health professionals are best equipped to communicate the risks, we found that members of civil society with no medical expertise were the most regularly cited individuals in the articles. Finally, the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic could be described as a missed opportunity to reframe climate change, as our study demonstrates that the public health frame was not more often used in 2020 than it was before.

***Foreign Policy preferences in Quebec in the context of US-China Rivalry: An Analysis of Public Opinion:*** Diya Jiang (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Quebec's cultural differences with anglophone Canada have been identified as being tied to different public policy preferences among its citizens. On questions ranging from immigration to welfare, Quebec's policies differ significantly from those implemented in other provinces, reflecting the above divergence in public opinion. Much research has focused on this issue by showcasing how Quebecers' differing views on questions of identity, culture, and the role of the state have affected policy formulations.

However, the extension of such differences onto matters of foreign policy remains underdeveloped. While provincial governments' input into foreign policy is limited, the preferences of Quebecers, who represent a significant portion of the Canadian population, can affect the federal foreign policy formulation process significantly. Some limited research has identified major differences between survey respondents in Quebec and those in other provinces on foreign policy questions tied to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The proposed study will expand the investigation of such differences to Canada's positioning in the contemporary US-China rivalry. As this represents one of the most pressing foreign policy questions facing the country, deepening the understanding of the ways in which sub-national divisions in public opinion can affect eventual foreign policy formulations is ever more important.

Employing data from the 2019 Canadian Election Study, the research will first assess whether significant differences in opinions on the above question can be discerned between Quebecers and other Canadians. If so, the ties between them and the differing cultural affinities and identities between such populations will be statistically assessed.

*The Role of Populist Attitudes on Support for Centrist Populist Candidates: Evidence From El Salvador:* Rafael Campos-Gottardo (Wilfrid Laurier University), Andrea Perrella (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Using the ideational approach, some research claims populist ideas are present at the individual level, where populist attitudes exist independent of traditional left-right ideological cleavages. However, studies of populist leaders with strong ideological positions argue that fundamental attitudes do little to predict support for populist leaders when controlling for ideology. Here, we test the role of populist attitudes in predicting support for centrist populists such as El Salvador's centrist populist president Nayib Bukele. This study uses the 2018 LAPOP AmericasBarometer (N = 484) to examine the effect of ideology, views on democracy, perceptions of crime, and core ideational populist attitudes on support for Bukele, all the while controlling for common socio-demographic factors (e.g., age, sex). We hypothesize that populist attitudes can predict support for Bukele even when controlling for ideology, which would suggest that populist leaders need not rely on right- or left-wing appeals.

*Les mécanismes d'oppression épistémique des féminismes occidentaux:* Alexia Leclerc (Université McGill)

**Abstract:** Ma présentation examine les mécanismes d'oppression épistémique des féminismes occidentaux envers les femmes et les féministes autochtones. Mon intervention se situe dans le contexte des critiques menées par les féminismes anticoloniaux (dans lesquels j'inclue les pensées des féministes transnationales, postcoloniales, décoloniales et autochtones) à l'égard des féminismes occidentaux. Ces approches révèlent et contestent la manière dont ces derniers produisent une domination coloniale et impériale sur les femmes et les féministes non occidentales.

L'objectif précis de l'étude consiste à disséquer les mécanismes des féminismes occidentaux qui utilisent les critiques externes formulées par les féministes et des femmes autochtones comme un moyen de renforcer leur domination en réinterprétant et en incorporant leurs voix dans leurs propres termes. Pour ce faire, la recherche examine les mécanismes coloniaux dans leur dimension épistémique. La recherche reprend également le cadre théorique de Serene Khader (2018) qui vise d'abord à articuler une position normative qui permet de poser les bases minimales de l'action féministe contre les multiples formes d'oppression de genre sans imposer et reproduire les valeurs et intérêts coloniaux et impériaux. Khader offre également une méthode critique permettant de révéler et déployer les fondations morales et conceptuelles des féminismes occidentaux et de leurs arguments qui reproduisent des dynamiques impériales et coloniales.

Avec la notion d'oppression épistémique, l'objectif normatif et la méthode critique, cette recherche vise à formuler des concepts et des principes moraux et politiques qui encadrent l'action féministe exempte des formes coloniales d'oppression épistémique dans un contexte caractérisé par la colonisation continue.

*Why do some bills become law but most do not in the Ontario Legislature?:* Sky Shi (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** During my time at Queen's Park thus far, I see Members proposing Private Bills nearly every day. However, very few of them receive Royal Assent. In this paper, I seek to analyze why most Private Members' Bills fail to pass and more interestingly, what the few PMBs that pass have in common. In other words, what makes these PMBs so special?

I will be interviewing current and former MPPs whose PMBs have received Royal Assent. For the purposes of this paper, I am to solely focus on PMBs passed at the Ontario Legislature. I will also speak with staff at the Library to get a better sense of the historical trends and statistics on the number of PMBs passed across various Legislatures. I am also hoping to gain a deeper understanding of the context surrounding how the PMBs received wide support and what characteristics we can draw from these bills.

### Participants

Amanda Bittner (Memorial University)

Janique Dubois (University of Ottawa)

Ethel Tungohan (York University)

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## R02 - <strong>CPSA Reconciliation Committee Event</strong> - Roundtable: Dena K'eh: Embodied Sovereignty and UNDRIP in Kaska Country

### Special Events

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** VPDB-DB 0011 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Amanda Buffalo (Niece, Wolf Clan, Liard Aboriginal Women's Society)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=31](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=31)

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Dorothy Smith (Elder, Wolf Clan, Kaska Dena)

Mary Maje (Elder, Crow Clan, Kaska Dena)

Ann Maje Raider (Elder, Wolf Clan, Kaska Dena)

Linda MacDonald (Elder, Wolf Clan, Kaska Dena)

Kiera Ladner (University of Manitoba)

Joyce Green (University of Regina)

Mary Eberts (Eberts Law)

Lois Moorcroft (Feminist, Community Activist and former MLA and cabinet minister in the Government of Yukon)

**Abstract:** In the Yukon, 11 of 14 Yukon First Nations signed Final and Self-Government Agreements, based on a coercive cede, surrender, and release model of modern land-claims processes imposed by the Federal Government. The Kaska Dena represent 2 of the 3 First Nations who refused to relinquish their lands under the Umbrella Final Agreement, a specific final agreement, and/or a self-government agreement. With the implementation of UNDRIP in Canada, the Kaska Dena people are questioning the validity of the land-claims model that the federal government continues to push, noting that under Article 10, we cannot be forcibly removed and that to do so by way of treaty is a form of coercion as we navigate being the poorest communities in the Yukon with the highest rates of violence against Indigenous women, the highest rates of Indigenous male incarceration, the highest rates of Indigenous children in care ? and the highest percentage of resource extraction from our territories (that make up 25% of the Yukon and 10% of northern BC). This panel will share and discuss the findings from the Liard Aboriginal Women's Society's research on the impacts of implementing the UNDRIP in Kaska Dena territory and explore UNDRIP through sharing the embodiment of Indigenous Sovereignty and Elders teachings, paralleling understandings from a western legal and political discursive framework. In addition to Article 10, the roundtable will pay specific attention to Articles 3 and 4 regarding self-determination, and Article 5 regarding our right to maintain our own distinct political systems and sovereignty.

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

### C03 - ISA-Canada Business Meeting

International Relations

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0015

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## D03 - The Politics of Policymaking II

### Law and Public Policy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Poland Lai (York)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Minh Do (Guelph)

**Same Science, Different Policy? Provincial School Closures During COVID-19:** Adrienne Davidson (McMaster University), Katherine Boothe (McMaster University), Danielle Just (University of Toronto), Katelynn Kowalchuk (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** The closure of elementary and secondary schools was a key component of many Canadian provinces' responses to the COVID-19 pandemic during 2020 and 2021. These decisions had significant impacts on students, educators, and families, and were at times controversial. Using data from Ontario and Alberta, we found that school closure decisions were not directly linked to key epidemiological indicators (Boothe et al., 2022). If decisions about school closures were not driven by different epidemiological conditions, what can account for the variation?

In this paper, we probe how policymakers talk about their use of evidence, as both a (potential) input to decisions, and to justify and legitimize those decisions. We use a comprehensive database of official briefings around school closure decisions plus expert reports and advice, and study two waves of the COVID-19 pandemic (March-June 2020 and April-June 2021), to account for different uncertainty frameworks shaping policy decisions. We expect that the expertise that government officials cite and/or the information they highlight in public briefings will be shaped by the policy decisions that governments have made. By comparing evidence citation practices before and after closure decisions, we test whether the selection of different evidence and different calculations about risk causes different policy decisions about school closures, or whether it appears that policy decisions are made for other reasons, with attempts to justify these decisions causing the selection of different evidence. The research has important implications for our understanding of trust between governments, experts, and the public in the context of crisis.

**Policy Feedback Dynamics of Provincial School Policies During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Tracking Public Anxiety Around Public Health and School Closures and Government Responses:** Adrienne Davidson (McMaster University), Linda White (University of Toronto), Shauna Hughey (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic upended the lives of families and school-age children in Canada and around the world. In most provinces and territories, schools did not reopen to in-person learning until the Fall of 2020, with governments adopting a variety of measures aimed at reducing COVID-19 transmission in schools. During this period, citizens turned to social media to air their concerns, anxieties, and grievances about government policies in the face of sending kids back into schools and child care.

In this paper, we ask: how does the public understand and filter the policy advice and policy framings of political and policy officials? To answer this question, we investigate the online narratives that were shaped by, and subsequently informed, provincial back-to-school policies heading into the 2020/21 school year. We rely on a database of over 400,000 distinct tweets between March 10th and September 10th 2020 and categorize tweets by author into those by: (1) policy decision-makers (government officials and politicians); (2) public institutions and unions (e.g. school boards, hospitals, teachers' unions, etc.); and (3) the public (citizens and businesses). We investigate how the dominant narratives are shaped by different policy actors over the closure and re-opening periods of school, comparing themes across both type of policy actor, time, and province in Canada. We anticipate citizens will demonstrate high levels of anxiety, particularly immediately following provincial announcements, and those sentiments are likely to vary by degree of provincial and territorial public health stringency.

**Carbon Taxation in Ireland:** Kathryn Harrison (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** Carbon taxation is an environmentally- and cost-effective climate policy that is notoriously politically challenging. This has even led some to argue that governments should abandon carbon taxation as political infeasible. Yet some countries have adopted and steadily increased their carbon taxes. This paper will be a chapter in a book comparing the politics of carbon taxation in four countries, Ireland, France, Australia, and Canada, plus the two Canadian provinces of British Columbia and Alberta. All cases are examined through the lens of political institutions (in Ireland's case most notably proportional electoral system and membership in the European Union), interests (public attention to climate change and resistance from powerful sectors, such as farmers), and politicians' ideological commitments (especially the role of the Irish Green Party). Carbon taxation in Ireland will be examined over four periods in which governing coalitions, public opinion, and EU pressure varied: abandonment of an early proposal for a carbon tax, adoption of the Irish carbon tax in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, suspension of tax increases, and commitment to a schedule of increases to reach 100 EUR/tonne in 2030. Adoption of the Irish carbon tax illustrates the importance of Green politicians' leadership combined with the 'opportunity' of an economic crisis. However, the survival and continued reliance on the tax reflects external pressure from the EU and a shift in fiscal baseline, such that withdrawal of the carbon tax over time become political risky than retention.

**Delegated deliberation and cabinet. The case of bill 101 in Québec:** Francis Garon (Glendon College / York University)

**Abstract:** Deliberative democracy scholars have turned their attention to distributed or delegated deliberation. Since it is improbable that institutions/actors display all of the conditions of deliberation (open participation, equality, respect, reason-giving, publicity) (Goodin, 2005), this line of research explores the deliberative virtues that specific institutions/actors should display in different settings. Within that perspective, work has been done on legislatures (Leydet, 2015), political parties (Ebelin and Wolkenstein 2018), and courts of justice (Young and Triadafilopoulos, 2013) to shed light on the role of these institutions in realizing the ideals of deliberative democracy. This contribution extends this line of research to cabinet deliberations. What deliberative virtues should

cabinet display? After providing answers to this question, I analyze the case of the adoption of Bill 101 (Charte de la langue française) by the Québec Government in 1977. I visited the Archives nationales in Québec city and collected cabinet deliberations when the law was adopted; these deliberations are publicly available after 25 years. Bill 101 is an important law in Québec and in Canada for many different reasons, but especially because it limits individual rights in a significant manner. It is thus relevant to analyze how this law was discussed, what were the main arguments that were raised, and how these were justified.

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## **F03(a) - Workshop: Policing the Freedom Convoy: Unravelling Layers of Dark Politics**

**Political Behaviour/Sociology**

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 306

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Melanee Thomas (University of Calgary)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=272](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=272)

### **Participants**

Michael Kempa (University of Ottawa)

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## F03(b) - Leader Evaluations and Effects

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Richard Johnston (University of British Columbia)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Richard Johnston (University of British Columbia)

**Public Evaluations of Transgender and Nonbinary Political Leaders: The Case of Amita Kuttner:** Elizabeth Baisley (Queen's University), Quinn Albaugh (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** In recent years, there has been a substantial increase in the number of transgender and nonbinary candidates for public office. These candidates raise new questions for scholarship on gender and evaluations. Is the public biased in evaluating transgender and nonbinary political leaders? How do gender stereotypes shape the public's evaluations of these leaders? traits? We answer these questions using a survey experiment (N = 2,000) that varies gender cues about Amita Kuttner, the first out transgender and nonbinary party leader in Canadian history. Kuttner uses both they/them and he/him pronouns as well as transgender and nonbinary as identity labels, which presents an opportunity to vary pronouns and identity labels ethnically using a real-world political leader. Our results will contribute to research on transgender and nonbinary political leaders and work on gender stereotyping.

**Uncle Doug or Doug the Dictator? Candidate Charisma in Ontario Politics:** Caitlin Andrews-Lee (Toronto Metropolitan University), Michael McGregor (Toronto Metropolitan University), Jack Lucas (University of Calgary), Cameron Anderson (Western University)

**Abstract:** Charisma is often perceived as a mere proxy for a leader's likability, yet leaders around the world from Donald Trump to Jair Bolsonaro to Narendra Modi have used charisma strategically to develop steadfast attachments with voters and consolidate power. While less prominent in Canada, scholars have indicated both an increasing demand for charismatic leadership among voters and a budding supply on the political right with such leaders as Conservative Party Leader Pierre Poilievre, Alberta Premier Danielle Smith, and Ontario Premier Doug Ford (Budd 2021; Medeiros 2021). To what extent do Canadian voters view these leaders as charismatic saviours? More importantly, do voters' charismatic perceptions of these leaders have the capacity to shape voters' political behaviour? We investigate these questions in the context of the 2022 Ontario provincial election by evaluating voters' charismatic perceptions of the three main party leaders: Ford, Andrea Horwath of the New Democrat Party, and Steven Del Duca of the Liberal Party. Our findings indicate that while Ford was not seen as more charismatic than his competitors among the electorate as a whole, specific types of individuals, namely men and racialized electors, did see him as particularly charismatic. Moreover, after controlling for ideology, partisanship, and candidate likability, perceptions of Ford's charisma remain a significant predictor of his electoral support, and charismatic perceptions affected behaviour towards some candidates more than others. The results indicate that charisma is a property of leadership that can be deployed strategically to garner the steadfast support of targeted groups of voters.

**Do voters value honesty over competence? Experimental evidence from Brazil:** Thiago Barbosa (Federal Senate (Brazil)), Mathieu Turgeon (University of Western Ontario (Western University))

**Abstract:** Why do we vote for the corrupt? In this paper, we propose a substantial review of the 'he steals, but gets things done' rationale, often assumed to be prevalent in Brazil. This perspective states that the voter values the politician's ability to deliver public goods over his honesty. Our hypothesis tests were performed based on an original sample of 5,078 participants, reflecting the main traits of the Brazilian electorate, such as gender, age, region, and social class. Data collection was carried out on the eve of the 2018 national elections. The experimental design followed a balanced approach of replications of previous studies and tests of new hypotheses. We investigated whether the logic of 'he steals, but gets things done' is prevalent in the Brazilian electorate, whether the voter differentiates between degrees of corruption, and whether this dynamic is interpreted differently based on party identification. The results show that voters, on average, reject the 'steals, but gets things done' and differentiate between high and low corruption but only when the candidate is competent. The findings also point out that this relationship is heterogeneous among party identities. While some partisans, such as PT (Workers' Party) members, seem to behave according to this dynamic, others interpret this implicit exchange differently, with honesty as a core value and some incompetence being acceptable, in a dynamic that we name 'does not get things done, but at least does not steal'.

**Keywords:** Corruption; Electoral behavior; Electoral accountability; He steals, but gets things done; Vignette experiment.

**'The Man with the Plan': Gender Identity, Heteronormativity, and the 2021 Canadian Federal Election:** Vincent Raynauld (Emerson College), Mireille Lalancette (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières)

**Abstract:** This paper takes interest in Canadian party leaders' mobilization of hyper-masculine political communication and marketing appeals during the 2021 federal election. Building on a visual and textual content analysis of Instagram posts and other digital materials shared during the 2021 Canadian federal elections, this paper shows how leadership was framed as in a highly-contested, personalized, and masculinized electoral race. Leaders turned to image-making and messaging techniques leveraging metaphors, images, and frames building on and/or emphasizing their masculine traits. Most notably, Conservative Party of Canada's (CPC) Erin O'Toole was pictured in a tight t-shirt on the front page of the CPC electoral program. He was also defined as 'the man of the plan'. Other leaders used similar strategies throughout the campaign. This paper fills gaps in the academic literature in Canada as it unpacks the role of gender - most specifically masculinity - in party dynamics and identity political marketing in Canada. This paper also makes a methodological contribution by developing a coding approach identifying direct and indirect appeals to masculinity in electoral political marketing. Direct appeals include the highlighting of masculinity in political leadership, while indirect ones include discussions of political and policy issues related to elements of masculinity (e.g., strength, power, assertiveness). While some research has been done on identity-based uses of social media in political campaigns, this paper spotlights this dynamic in digital political communication and marketing, which has been under-researched. More broadly, it offers a

timely look at dynamics of digital political marketing during election campaigns.

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## M03 - Three Minute Thesis Competition (Rehearsals)

Teaching

Date: May 30 2023 | Time: 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Room: Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0013

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## N03 - Author Meets Critics - Ethel Tungohan, Care Activism: Migrant Domestic Workers, Communities of Care and Movement Building

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 005

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Daisy Raphael (Huron University College)

Ethel Tungohan (York University)

Cati Coe (Carleton University)

Lindsay Larios (University of Manitoba)

Dani Magsumbol (York University)

**Abstract:** "Care Activism: Migrant Domestic Workers, Movement-Building and Communities of Care" is a landmark book examining the migrant domestic workers' activism in Canada, in transnational forums such as the International Labor Conference's Discussions on the Convention of Domestic Work and the International Migrants Alliance meetings, and in the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Through the use of feminist interpretive methods, the author undertakes ethnographic research involving 136 one-on-one interviews and participant observation and observant participation of different moments of migrant domestic workers activism, ultimately illustrating how at the heart of it, migrant domestic worker activism is rooted in care activism. As activists, migrant domestic workers desire more than policy changes to engender material improvements in their lives. Rather, their activism revolves around the creation of communities of care that help them and their families survive and even thrive despite arduous working and living conditions, prolonged family separation, and acrimonious experiences with family reunification. In using 'care activism' as an analytical framework, the book shows how affective forms of relationships inform the way migrant domestic workers interact and relate to each other. Migrant domestic worker organizations become crucial spaces where migrant domestic workers become dissident friends who collectively contest harmful policies and structures and who bear witness to each other's journeys.

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## Day 1 - Business and Committee Meetings (12:00pm - 01:00pm)

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

### S03(a) - CPSA Students Caucus Meeting / Réunion du caucus des étudiants de l'ACSP

#### CPSA Business and Committee Meetings

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

Click the following link for complete session information:

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=210](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=210)

#### Participants

Nikola Brassard-Dion (CPSA Practitioner Representative - Privy Council Office / Représentant des praticiens de l'ACSP - Bureau du Conseil privé)

Julia Rodgers (CPSA Student Representative / Représentante des étudiant.e.s de l'ACSP - Research Coordinator, Department of Health Research Methods, Evidence, and Impact; McMaster University)

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**S03(b) - CPSA Board of Directors - Appointment of New Directors / Conseil d'administration de l'ACSP -  
Désignation des nouveaux dirigeants**

**CPSA Business and Committee Meetings**

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

**Participants**

Nikola Brassard-Dion (PCO-BCp)

Jörg Broschek (WLU)

Erin Crandall (Acadia)

Anne-Marie D'Aoust (UQAM)

Nicole De Silva (Concordia)

Aude-Claire Fourot (SFU)

Genevieve Fuji Johnson (SFU)

Megan Gaucher (Carleton)

Amy Janzwood (McGill)

André Lecours (Ottawa)

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## Day 1 - Session 4 (01:30pm - 03:00pm)

### A04(a) - Author Meets Critics - The Political Party in Canada

#### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Laura Stephenson (Western University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Royce Koop (University of Manitoba)

William Cross (Carleton University)

Scott Pruysers (Dalhousie University)

Rob Currie-Wood (St. Frances Xavier University)

**Abstract:** The Political Party in Canada, William Cross, Scott Pruysers, Rob Currie-Wood, UBC Press 2022.

Political parties exist at the centre of democratic politics, but where does power lie within them, and how is it exercised? The Political Party in Canada explores the inner workings of these complex organizations through an examination of the composition and roles of key party actors (members and activists, candidates, local associations, donors, central officials, and members of Parliament), as well as the interactions between them.

Contemporary parties play a key role in recruiting and selecting candidates and leaders, waging election campaigns, and organizing legislatures. Drawing on a rich trove of data from the 2015 and 2019 federal elections, this comprehensive examination of Canadian party organizations explores a variety of party actors, from the local constituency office to party headquarters to Parliament Hill. The authors comb through interviews, surveys, financial and nomination reports, party websites and social media, and candidate and MP biographies, and examine the career trajectories of political operatives. Their analysis reveals the composition, functions, activities, and power-sharing relationships that characterize Canadian parties. It focuses not only on which groups are included in decision-making but also on what power and authority rest with each level of the parties' respective structures.

Basing its investigation on the themes of complexity, representation, and personalization, The Political Party in Canada provides important insights into a fundamental institution that makes modern democracy possible.

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## A04(b) - Elections and Election Law

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Dominic Duval (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Geoffrey Cameron (McMaster University)

***The myths of Canadian voting system reform:*** Dennis Pilon (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper will contest the conventional framing of voting system reform in Canada, arguing that the dominant "preference" approach is both poorly elaborated conceptually and weakly supported empirically. It is largely sustained by myths about how Canadian politics and political institutions work.

Over the past two decades the debate over voting system reform in Canada has been framed as a choice amongst competing but equally valid values as they are embodied in or produced by different voting systems, typically represented as trade-offs over concerns related to voting simplicity, governing stability, local representation, and representational accountability. What is striking about this approach when examined is how poorly operationalized the concerns are and the lack of evidence sustaining them. This paper will elaborate on what these values mean concretely as well as explore evidence about their workings and impact to demonstrate they are less legitimate concerns than politically-motivated myths.

By contrast, the paper will argue for an alternative "democratization" framing of Canadian voting system reform, one that understands it as part of a more than century-long social struggle to apply democratic values of inclusion, equality and publicly transparent deliberation to Canadian political institutions and electoral processes.

***Contested emulation: The diffusion of non-resident voting rights norms to Canada:*** Nathan Allen (St. Francis Xavier University), Nicholas Bremner (St. Francis Xavier University)

**Abstract:** Emulation, or policy mimicry, is one of the primary mechanisms of policy diffusion. While we know countries emulate the policies and institutions of peer countries, the process often remains unexplored and undertheorized. Our paper highlights one overlooked aspect of emulation: the contested process of standard-setting within a domestic context. We argue that emulation involves three key discourses that generate disagreement: 1) setting the peer countries to emulate; 2) identifying the domestic policy position vis-à-vis peers (e.g., consistent with the norm, leading the pack); 3) envisioning the preferred policy position vis-à-vis peers. To demonstrate the prominence of these three discourses, we engage in a close study of the policy debates surrounding Canada's adoption of non-resident voting rights. We identify two periods of legal change generating distinct emulation discourses: the first leading up to the restricted extension of non-resident voting rights in 1993, and the second culminating in the 2019 removal of all "sunset" restrictions, allowing non-resident citizens to vote regardless of time spent abroad. Examining the public record as defined in the exhibits of the Frank v Canada Supreme Court case, we find the earlier enfranchisement witnessed low levels of contestation around setting peers (Western countries), identifying the policy position (existence of non-resident voting rights), and envisioning preferred Canadian positions ("keeping up"). Later discourse saw significant contestation on setting peers (Westminster vs the world) and envisioned position ("within the norm" vs "leading by example"). We hypothesize increased contestation reflects changes in the information environment and in the setting of debate.

***A New Government, A New System The Alberta Progressive Conservative Transition to Government, 1971-1974:*** Keith Brownsey (Mount Royal University)

**Abstract:** The 1971 Alberta transition from the Social Credit League to a new Progressive Conservative government provides a unique case study of the moment when a pre-institutionalized, simple cabinet system was transformed into an institutionalized decision-making model. There are a number of different transition categories in a parliamentary system. The first is a transition to a new governing party. The second is a transition to a new premier and cabinet but of the governing party. The 1971 transition to a Progressive Conservative government is an example of the first category – a transition to a new party government. But it is unique in that a) the outgoing government had been in office for thirty-six years and the incoming party had no governing experience and b) there was no recognizable executive support or organization in place to aid the incoming government.

Using process tracing, a narrative of the transition to a new government as well as the creation of a different style of governance will be constructed. Archival material, interviews with participants, newspaper articles and other primary sources will help answer the question of how Alberta moved from a pre-institutionalized cabinet system to a rational decision-making model.

***Free-Market Populism on the Canadian Right: Quantitative Discourse Analysis of the Reform Party of Canada:*** Catherine Moez (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The Reform Party of Canada (1987-2000) has been described as one of the more opaque and internally conflicted Canadian political parties in terms of its messaging and core policy positions (Dobbin 1992; Flanagan 1995; Burbidge 1997). The party was subject to conflicting tensions between its western regional base and its ambitions for national political office; its "populist" concern for member resolutions with Preston Manning's habits of top-down control; and balancing the frustrations and demands of the public (anti-GST; anti-free-trade) and members with the party's commitment to small-state, free-market economic principles (Dobbin 1992; Flanagan 1995). The party's stance on immigration and social issues have been hotly debated, with all but the earliest Reform documents taking a "colour-blind" stance on immigration, for example, while many observers found the party's messaging to consist of "coded" xenophobia (Burbidge 1997, 80, 123, 136).

The paper uses Hansard transcripts of Reform MPs' speech in the Canadian House of Commons, 1994-2000, to quantitatively measure which concepts Reform representatives linked to a core set of terms, including 'immigrants', the 'economy', and 'special interests' or 'ordinary Canadians'. Two main forms of analysis are presented: classifier output (the words most distinctive to each party) by party and year, and 'nearest neighbour' analysis (the most similar words, based on a window of text) for words including 'economy', 'immigrants', and 'trade'.

The relevance of Reform includes its officials' later top positions in the united Conservative Party, and its comparability to a more recent free-market populist project 'Maxime Bernier's People's Party of Canada.

***Women in Leadership Roles: The Changing Structures of Political Campaign Backrooms in Canadian Elections:*** Gala Palavicini (Memorial University of Newfoundland), Jamie Gillies (St. Thomas University)

**Abstract:** The key positions of political consultant, campaign manager, and communication director of major party campaigns have undergone a shift since the 2010s. Each major party has now been led by women, either to run campaigns or as key consultants. The leadership roles played by Jenni Byrne, Katie Telford, Anne McGrath and Sonia Th  roux, to name a few, are indicative of major changes in the culture of political party backrooms that not only are changing in terms of inclusivity but also in terms of leadership structures. This research considers the roles of women in leadership positions behind the scenes in federal election campaigns with particular attention paid to the next Canadian federal election likely in 2024 or 2025. Based on interviews and research conducted with consultants, campaign managers and communications directors, it looks at an under-researched area of study in political marketing. While diversity, inclusion, and equality remain challenges in the House of Commons among elected representatives in Canada, this research considers whether women are increasingly becoming the 'power behind the throne' in political parties and campaigns.

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## A04(c) - Money in Canadian Politics

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 005

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jacob Robbins-Kanter (Bishop's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Randy Besco (University of Toronto)

**Are LGBTQ+ Candidates Disadvantaged in Financing Their Campaigns?:** Kate Burke Pellizzari (Queen's University), Quinn Albaugh (Queen's University), Elizabeth Baisley (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** LGBTQ+ people remain underrepresented in politics, leading scholars to examine a variety of barriers to office. This paper focuses on one possible barrier: political finance. Is there a political financing gap between out LGBTQ+ and non-LGBTQ+ candidates? If so, what explains it? This paper explores these questions by combining political donations data from an administrative database maintained by Elections Canada with a dataset of out LGBTQ+ candidates in the 2015, 2019, and 2021 federal elections. Although scholars have begun to examine candidate identity and political finance—especially in terms of gender and race/ethnicity—to our knowledge this is the first study anywhere in the world of political finance and LGBTQ+ candidate identity. This paper contributes to work on (1) candidate identity and political finance as well as (2) LGBTQ+ representation.

**Who Wins? Political Financing and Votes Shares in Local Races:** Holly Ann Garnett (Royal Military College of Canada / Queen's University)

**Abstract:** What is the impact of money for electoral success in local races? Does greater campaign spending actually translate into winning campaigns? The research on this question is vast, and spans a number of countries and time periods, and yet does not provide a clear answer. In the Canadian context, Eagles (2004) found that spending at the constituency level does positively impact vote share, although this effect is not consistent across elections. However, this research has not been updated using election data past the 1990s. Has the rise of digital communication methods, including email and social media, changed the importance of money for winning political campaigns? Beyond the challenger vs. incumbent debate, do certain types of candidates, such as women or minorities, benefit more from campaign spending in Canada? To address these questions, I will employ the Elections Canada candidate expense data to consider the impacts of money on winning local federal election campaigns in Canada, when controlling for important variables including incumbency, the competitiveness of race, candidate gender, region, and election. This chapter will update the scholarly research on the impact of money on election results in Canada to current funding regimes and provide important insights as to whether money can buy a winning election campaign.

**The Political Geography of Canadian Party Finance, 2015-2021:** Meghan Snider (University of Toronto), Stefan Ferraro (University of Toronto), Kate Schneider (University of Oxford), Christopher Cochrane (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Parties are dependent on donors in order to be competitive in elections. Making sense of party strategy therefore requires understanding it not only as an appeal to voters, but also as an appeal to donors. This paper identifies patterns in the geographic location of donors to the three major federal parties from 2015 to 2021. First, we map the basic geography of political donations at the regional level. What proportion of each party's fundraising total comes from each of Canada's regions? Where is each party's fundraising power base located? And second, we examine donations at the district level. What, if any, is the relationship between the number and the value of donations raised in a riding and a party's competitiveness in that riding? Do parties have more donors and/or raise more money in ridings where they have many voters and are electorally dominant, or do they have more donors and/or raise more money in ridings where they are in a closely competitive race? By determining whether and how closely a party's donor base physically overlaps with its voter base, this paper advances scholarship on the geographic dimensions of party strategy and electoral competition in Canada.

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## A04(d) - Inside the Pink Palace I

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 006

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Peter Constantinou (OLIP Director ? Directeur PSALO)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Julian Campisi (University of Toronto Scarborough)

**Towards A 'Nation-to-Nation' Legislature: The Ontario Legislative Assembly's Understanding of Treaty Principles and Practices:** Leah Wilson (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Since its founding, the Ontario Legislative Assembly (OLA) has relied on a Westminster Parliamentary tradition for its orders and procedures. Taken from the traditions of Great Britain, the Westminster Parliamentary context relies on formality and standing orders within its procedure. The formality and structure of the Westminster tradition operates contrary to many principles and practices traditionally found within Indigenous governance structures and practices; The style of benches sitting opposite one another, abiding by strict orders that are amended only at the will of the current executive branch, and representing constituents as defined by the Ontario Elections Act. As a governmental context that has obligations to respect ?Nation-to-Nation? agreements with First Nations people, it is important to consider how the Westminster parliamentary tradition can uphold, or adapt to uphold, First Nations practices and rights.

The following paper presents a qualitative, primary-source study utilizing interviews and document review to study the dynamic between the current Ontario Legislative Assembly (OLA) and First Nations governments. The intent of the paper will be to contextualize how the OLA has upheld their obligations as outlined in the Royal Proclamation, as well as how the OLA could further work regarding the integration of Indigenous principles and practices. Overall, the research advances how broadening the integration of Indigenous principles and practices into the Ontario Legislative Assembly will uphold and bolster the commitment Ontario has to First Nations peoples as set out within the Royal Proclamation.

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<sup>1</sup> ?Canadian Parliamentary System? Parliament of Canada. House of Commons Canada: Procedural Info: Our System.

[https://www.ourcommons.ca/procedure/our-procedure/ParliamentaryFramework/c\\_g\\_parliamentaryframework-e.html](https://www.ourcommons.ca/procedure/our-procedure/ParliamentaryFramework/c_g_parliamentaryframework-e.html)

**Why do Private Member's Bills Fail??:** Sky Shi (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Introduction. During my time at Queen's Park thus far, I see Members proposing Private Bills nearly every day. However, very few of them receive Royal Assent. In this paper, I seek to analyze why most Private Members' Bills fail to pass and more interestingly, what the few PMBs that pass have in common. In other words, what makes these PMBs so special?

**Methodology.** I will be interviewing current and former MPPs whose PMBs have received Royal Assent. For the purposes of this paper, I am to solely focus on PMBs passed at the Ontario Legislature. I will also speak with staff at the Library to get a better sense of the historical trends and statistics on the number of PMBs passed across various Legislatures. I am also hoping to gain a deeper understanding of the context surrounding how the PMBs received wide support and what characteristics we can draw from these bills.

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## B04 - Contentious Politics and State Responses

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Anna Johnson (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Simon Vodrey (Carleton University)

***Social Protests in Iran: Endogenous and Exogenous Forces: A Comparative Perspective:*** Ali Dizboni (Royal Military College of Canada), Robert Addinall (Royal Military College of Canada)

**Abstract:** The focus is on the similarities and distinctions between the current wave of social protest in Iran and those associated with previous rounds of protest such as Green movement 2009 and Fuel riot in 2018). Five key factors i.e. leadership, grievances, means, scope and regime countermeasures are analyzed. The following questions are addressed as a means of identifying the patterns of continuity, rupture and the prospects of success. To what extent does the current social protest movement represent a distinction in relation to the other cases? Does the presence of the leadership or lack of thereof -- affect the success of the movement? Do we witness a more prominent use of social media? Do diaspora-local connections (transnational) play a role? How so? Do these grievances display a revolutionary nature? Do we see a coherent political strategy to counter and contain the protests? To what extent do regime's shrinking resources lead to a greater possibility of concessions in the longer term? The unfolding nature of the current movement imposes caution on drawing positivistic conclusions. However, our presentation tries to interpret the general context of current rebellion in comparing it retroactively to the circumstances that have informed preceding movements. Regardless of the uncertain prospects, we see that the scope and depth of the democratic opposition are consolidating and the regime is hard pressed, for the sake of survival, to effectively negotiate and accommodate the rising discontent majority and its hard-core base of support.

***The Wretched of the Islamic Republic: A Postcolonial Critique of Iran's Subaltern under an Islamist Oligarchy:*** Mojtaba Mahdavi (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** The core of Iran's postrevolutionary deep state and the key to the crisis of Iran's democratization is the discourse and institution of velayat-e faqih (guardianship of the jurist) ? an institutionalized minority rule in the name of god, which has marginalized the majority and corrupted the emancipatory spirit of the 1979 revolution.

Inspired and informed by postcolonial/decolonial studies, and using new data, this paper argues that four decades after the revolution, the Islamic Republic has turned Iran's subaltern oppressed (the mostaz'afin) into 'the wretched of the earth', distorted the original meaning of the mostaz'afin to the minority clique of the ruling Islamist oligarchy, and suppressed the mostaz'afin's quest for social justice and dignity in new waves of social movements since 2017. The paper is divided into three parts: First, it historicizes the religio-political roots and a discriminatory nature of the velayat-e faqih. The second section contextualizes the development of the concept into an institution, highlighting its consolidation and transformation during the first and the second Islamist jurist (vali-ye faqih). Finally, it shows that today the clerical oligarchy of velayat-e faqih is being challenged not only by the post-Islamist middle class but more importantly by the mostaz'afin, or the wretched of the Islamic Republic. This is evident in the current movement of 'Zan, Zendegi, Azadi' (Women, Life, Freedom) sparked by the death in custody of Mahsa Zhina Amini in mid-September 2022. Iran's civil society has demonstrated its paradigmatic shift from Islamism towards post-Islamism.

***Crisis of Social Reproduction and Boundary Struggles in Turkey and France: Comparing the Gezi Park and Yellow Vests Movements:*** Thibault Biscarie (York University), Demet Evrenosoglu (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper comparatively investigates the Gezi Park protests in Turkey and the Yellow Vests movement in France and the extent to which these uprisings constitute crises of social reproduction and legitimacy. Taking to the streets in a spontaneous and decentralized manner, large sections of the citizenry demonstrated the mobilizing potentials of the subaltern classes. Remarkably, both movements were largely attended and organized by women, who are located at the intersection of production and social reproduction and suffer the most from the multiple forms of exploitation and dispossession regulating the governance of the body and the natural commons in contemporary capitalism.

What would an analysis in terms of crisis of social reproduction reveal about these original forms of protest from social groups that initially appeared disorganized or even 'apolitical'? What are the resemblances and differences between these two movements in terms of strategies, grievances, and the forceful emergence of new political and popular subjectivities?

Drawing on feminist social reproduction approaches and Nancy Fraser's notion of 'boundary struggles', we argue that the Gezi Park and Yellow Vests movements are rooted in the degradation of the indispensable background conditions for a capitalist economy: social reproduction and natural ecology. Born out of a gradual loss of entitlements and intergenerational anguishes pertaining to daily material conditions of subsistence and the ecological future, they constitute original forms of resistance against two distinct projects of authoritarian neoliberalism bearing similar dynamics of economic precarization and dispossession, and highlight the centrality of social reproduction as an irreducible axis of crisis.

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## C04(a) - The Past and Future of Global Finance

### International Relations

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 009

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** William O'Connell (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Derek Hall (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Christian Elliott (University of Toronto)

**Monetary Sovereignty and Economic Territoriality Motives for Central Bank Digital Currencies:** Colin Chia (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** Central bank digital currency (CBDC) projects have advanced the furthest in small or developing economies, where in many cases they have already launched and are seeing widespread use. In contrast, central banks in wealthy countries where the innovations and technology that have fuelled this trend developed are holding back on such plans. What explains this divergence in state adoption of digital currencies? I argue that CBDCs are much more attractive to states which see them as useful to increase and reinforce sovereignty over their economic territory. They have thus been adopted in states with high circulation of foreign currencies, large informal economies, or limited reach of the banking system. Through policy measures aimed at encouraging widespread use of the national currency, these states hope to gain greater autonomy and better define the nation as an economic entity. In contrast but for similar reasons, wealthier states see less need for CBDCs and are keeping such projects on the shelf in case of a future challenge from private currencies.

**Value at (Climate) Risk? Financial Institutions, Climate Change, and Global Governance:** Christian Elliott (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Over the last twenty years, dozens of global governance initiatives have been launched to chart the financial sector's response to the threat of climate change, drawing in thousands of participants from across countries, often voluntarily. Why do firms join, and what are the consequences? This paper argues that variation in the demand for global governance (which firms, from where, and when) can be explained by how different sub-sectors of the financial industry discount the future, and relatedly, differences in the associated costs of transition for aligning financial and environmental goals. In turn, adjustment costs shape contestation over the particulars of emerging public policy in green finance as well as determining the winners and losers within the financial industry. This argument is first evaluated quantitatively with longitudinal data on firms and their participation in forty-eight green finance governance initiatives, and second, with a case study of the European Commission's sustainable finance action plan, leveraging over fifty interviews with firms, regulators, and advocates. The results are confirmatory, but also outline new frontiers of inter-state competition and cooperation as regulations catalyze greater adjustment in some markets (E.U.) and not others.

**Contestations, Contingencies, and Crisis: The International Political Economy of Green Finance:** Sarah E. Sharma (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** How are different forms of global finance shaping - and obstructing - the race to decarbonize and construct a rapid and just transition? What groups benefit from financial engagement in global environmental governance and why? The field of International Political Economy (IPE) has increasingly examined the (non-)feasibility of green finance as an essential element of any tangible global energy transition project. Green finance covers a wide umbrella of configurations, reflecting a multitude of financial actors and instruments (public and private) that engage with and invest in environmental services, environmental policies, climate adaptation and mitigation projects, and environmental commodities. As a result, green finance also means different things to different people. This paper undertakes a typology of green finance conceptualizations in the IPE literature to examine how the role of finance in sustainable energy transitions is defined and examined in the field. From these findings, we highlight three key processes central to green finance: 1) contestation over the role of finance in the age of climate breakdown, where public and private actors alike seek to reproduce the legitimacy of financial markets in the face of climate crisis and uncertainty regarding shared socio-ecological and economic futures, 2) contingency, meaning there are differing goals and outcomes of climate finance depending on what actor(s) are involved in financing green transitions, and 3) crisis, where green finance fails to overcome the contradictions inherent to fossil fuel-based global capitalism and its highly uneven geographical, classed, racial, and gendered nature.

**Crisis Prevention or Crisis Management? Path Dependence and the Regulation and Resolution of Global Banks:** William D. O'Connell (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The 2008 global financial crisis exposed a longstanding hole in global financial regulation: the complete absence of a regime for resolving systemically important financial institutions. When this issue first became salient in 1974 following the failure of Bankhaus Herstatt, the G10 club of central bankers formed the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision and, subsequently, began the task of setting standards for regulating large globally active banks. However, despite the Herstatt debacle laying bare the problem of disorderly resolutions, early BCBS activities focused primarily on strengthening crisis prevention, rather than crisis management, through harmonizing regulatory standards. Using archival evidence and interviews with regulators, I argue that the early choice of the BCBS to focus on crisis prevention and regulatory standard setting set the parameters for subsequent reform efforts. Through incremental standardization global regulators have been successful at creating increasingly stringent, and consistent, guidelines for regulating global banks, but at the cost of more flexible governance arrangements which may be better suited for the uncertainty of global financial markets. While the shift towards standards for crisis management after 2008 addresses a crucial regulatory gap, agreed upon regulations suffer from many of the same issues as previous efforts at crisis prevention.

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## C04(b) - Migration: Sanctuary, Solidarity, Governance

### International Relations

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 104

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Eric Tanguay (Balsillie School of International Affairs)

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

***La Migration Forcée des Pays du Sud vers le Nord : une Remise en Question de la Gestion de l'Espace Terrestre:*** Guy Juillet (Universidad de Belgrano)

**Abstract:** Parmi les problèmes mondiaux qui bouleversent le monde durant la fin du XXème siècle et jusqu'à date, le phénomène de la migration internationale en est un. Pour certains chercheurs de la migration internationale, d'une part, ceci est dû à cause de la mauvaise gestion des territoires faite par les dirigeants des pays du sud, principalement de leurs ressources naturelles et humaines, d'autre part, le phénomène de la colonisation est une des causes principales. Donc, ces pays-là sont en train de souffrir toute une série de problèmes, par exemple : des crises économiques, des bouleversements politiques, la pauvreté, la corruption, la violation des droits humains et des catastrophes naturelles. C'est ce qui pousse leurs populations à chercher des opportunités à l'extérieur.

Pour mener à bien cette recherche, j'utiliserai à la fois la méthode quantitative et qualitative, en me concentrant sur la migration de deux pays : Haïti et le Salvador, en considérant les événements les plus pertinents depuis le commencement du XXIe siècle. Certes, les deux pays ont des différences culturelle, sociale, économique, linguistique, entre autres ; mais la migration leur apporte une contribution très importante au niveau économique et elle est très représentative au sein de ces deux pays, malgré les effets négatifs qui en découlent. C'est pourquoi, connaître les origines de ce phénomène et identifier comment cela affecte les pays du sud, sont nécessaires. Donc, une recherche approfondie à cet égard contribuera à l'enrichissement des connaissances dans le domaine des sciences humaines et sociales, principalement la science politique et la sociologie.

***LGBTQI+ Refugee Solidarity Networks across Canada and Turkey:*** Merve Erdilmen (McGill University)

**Abstract:** This article explores manifold manifestations of queer refugee activism at various co-constitutive levels of governance and emphasizes LGBTQI+ refugee-led organizations' central role in providing protection and solutions for refugees in Turkey. It does so by adopting a novel approach to studying queer refugee organizing: First, empirically, instead of focusing on organizations led by queer refugees from a single country of origin, this article investigates organizations led by Syrian, Iranian, and Afghan LGBTQI+ refugees who fall under different legal frameworks and navigate different protection mechanisms in Turkey. Second and theoretically, introducing a multi-scale approach to queer refugee activism, it elucidates how LGBTQI+ refugee-led organizations operate at local and international levels in tandem, which in turn shape strategies available to these networks. This twofold approach to queer refugee activism is a response to earlier studies. Previous scholarship on LGBTQI+ refugee organizing has either taken the form of single case studies or cross-country comparisons of queer networks, which shed light on solidarity practices of LGBTQI+ refugees. Yet, they have glossed over the inextricable link between local and transnational manifestations of queer solidarity among various refugee groups. Drawing on multi-sited ethnography and more than 50 interviews with queer refugees who lead and participate in refugee-led organizations that are based or operate in Turkey, it argues that when local refugee and gender policies are not conducive to overt queer organizing, LGBTQI+ refugee organizations turn to their diverse transnational networks which in turn facilitate Turkey-based refugees' access to immediate protection needs and private resettlement schemes.

***Governing Mixed Migration through Rationalization and Ambiguity: the Case of the IOM and the UNHCR:*** Younes Ahouga (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** The UN Global Compacts on Migration and Refugees failed to address the emerging regime complex governing mixed migration. They sidestepped the issue of migrants who are not refugees but who have protection needs and avoided establishing a clearer division of labour between the IOM and the UNHCR. This generates strategic ambiguity about the latter's appropriate interactions while maintaining an epistemic ambiguity about the nature and causes of mixed migration and the tasks that should be implemented in response. This paper seeks to understand how the IOM and the UNHCR react strategically to this two-dimensional ambiguity by producing their own epistemic and strategic clarity. As ambiguity-reducing machines, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) define problems and break them down into manageable parts through practices of quantification, standardization and classification. Although these practices are central to the organizational routines of IGOs, they can fail and lead to further messiness. Moreover, IGOs can foster ambiguity to increase their autonomy and strengthen their position. The paper highlights the importance of rationalization and ambiguity in forging outcomes in regime complexity by examining documents through which the IOM and the UNHCR constitute mixed migration as a policy problem and determine their framework of cooperation.

**Keywords:** Mixed Migration, Regime Complex, Rationalization, Ambiguity, Intergovernmental Organizations

***Remapping Sanctuary: International Political Sociology of Ontario's Inland Border Enforcement:*** Sasha Skaidra (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** In Canada and abroad, Sanctuary City policies range from local governments issuing ID cards, schools clandestinely enrolling undocumented students, and domestic abuse shelters refusing entry to the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) conducting raids on their property. This activism and policymaking exemplify a case where municipal policy propels social change and analysis of how urban spatial politics interact with state borders that impede migrants' access to outreach services. I apply an International Political Sociological (IPS) methodological framework to critically deconstruct academic and public narratives that emphasize the urban and religious character of Sanctuary Cities. Using IPS, I combine Political Theory that calls for abolishing state borders, Critical Cartography, and a Political Theology to deconstruct the foundational texts and mapping methods of Critical -Border, -Citizenship, and -Migration Studies that research Sanctuary Cities. I argue that these subfields reproduce a narrative that cities, economic globalization,

and religious movements are in-of-themselves antithetical to state borders. I challenge this narrative by conceptualizing a seeing like a zone approach to visualize the border in terms of deportation routes, inter-police networks, and how the Immigration Refugee Board (IRB) enacts self-deportations. Using Geographic Information System (GIS), I create six maps depicting CBSA, IRB, and local policing immigration infrastructure used in Ontario for the deportation, imprisonment, trials, and investigation of migrants. These maps and my seeing like a zone approach demonstrate that current Social Scientific literature overlook how Sanctuary Cities are ultimately compatible with state borders.

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## C04(c) - Conflict Studies: Actors, Factors, and Institutions

### International Relations

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 203

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Colter Louwerse (University of Exeter)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Émile Lambert-Deslandes (Queen's University)

**Testing Perceptions of the Behaviour of Public and Private Armed Forces: A Vignette-based Experiment:** Scott Fitzsimmons (University of Limerick)

**Abstract:** This paper analyzes whether people evaluate soldiers and private security contractors (PSCs) differently when they engage in the same behaviour. It utilizes the results of an original survey featuring two pairs of vignettes ? the first describing an individual engaged in stereotypically positive behaviour and the second describing an individual engaged in stereotypically negative behaviour ? but with the individual?s identity varied across each vignette pair to be either a state-based soldier or PSC. After being exposed to a vignette, respondents are asked to state their perception of the individual on a variety of measures and to state their preferences about how much, if at all, their state?s government should rely on private armed forces to fight wars and participate in UN peacekeeping operations on their behalf. Through this, this paper provides an empirical basis for predicting the general public?s reaction to news coverage of the behaviour of soldiers and PSCs and, in turn, for advising policy makers in their decisions about the balance of state-based and private armed forces they should deploy on overseas security operations. It also tests the degree of acceptance of longstanding negative assumptions about the behaviour of private armed forces, relative to those fielded by western nation-states.

**The peace-making role of independent commissions: The role of inclusion:** Dawn Walsh (University College Dublin)

**Abstract:** Recent research has focused on and underscored the importance of power-sharing on independent commissions, both demonstrating that power-sharing in such institutions is associated with the nonrecurrence of violence and examining under what conditions power-sharing rules are adopted in commissions. However, inclusion must be thought of more widely. One of the most compelling criticisms of power-sharing is that it has the potential to further exclude marginalized groups in society, particularly those who have not been directly involved in the conflict or whose identity is not seen as central to the conflict. This paper examines the effect of other forms of inclusion on the ability of independent commissions to contribute to the non-recurrence of violence. Utilizing the Independent Commission in Post-Conflict Societies (ICPCS) dataset we assess the impact of domestic inclusion beyond the conflict parties, international involvement, and decision-making rules.

**Resources and Rebel Leader Selection:** Joshua Weiner (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** How do rebel groups choose their leader? Building on work that links resource endowments to the behaviour of rebel groups (G. Blair, Christensen, and Rudkin 2021), I hypothesize that resource wealth conditions rebel leader selection. For militant groups to survive without resource wealth or external support they need to rely on pre-existing networks to recruit combatants (Weinstein 2005; Staniland 2012). Consequently, insurgent groups with more economic power, that do not face this constraint, should exhibit more systematic variation in the type of leader they select. Relatedly, wealthier groups should be able to recruit leaders with greater combat experience.

I employ a two-stage analysis to empirically test my theory of insurgent leader selection. First, I examine whether militant groups without economic endowments select leaders with less combat experience. I measure economic endowments as oil, lootable resources, and external support, and I use data from the Rebel Organization Leaders (ROLE) Database, which covers active conflicts between 1980 and 2011. Then, I leverage commodity price shocks as a natural experiment to analyze how fluctuations in insurgent group income impact rebel leader selection and replacement for the subset of groups with resources. I find that there is more variation in rebel leader type when insurgent groups have access to oil and lootable resources. This paper specifies how variation in rebel leadership is partially conditional on the insurgency?s resources, explicitly modelling selection effects we often do not account for in the study of insurgent organizations.

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## D04(a) - The Politics of Health Care Reform

### Law and Public Policy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 204

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Olivier Jacques (Université de Montréal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Katherine Boothe (McMaster University)

***Who's to Blame the Crisis of the Health Care System?:*** Olivier Jacques (DGEPS, Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** The COVID-19 pandemic revealed the vulnerabilities of the health care systems in Canada. Using questions added to the Confederation of Tomorrow survey of 2023, we probe citizens' evaluation of the performance of the Canadian health-care system and their attribution of blame between the federal government and the provinces for the problems of the system. We find that the perception that the health care system is in crisis reached an all-time high, particularly in the poorer and older Atlantic provinces. We show that more vulnerable and left-wing respondents are more likely to believe the system is in crisis. In turn, perceptions of crisis influence the perceived causes of the problems of the health-care system: respondents feeling that the system is in crisis are more likely to point out poor management rather than insufficient funding. Both perception of the crisis and perceiving that management is the problem are related to willingness of imposing federal conditions to higher health care transfers. Using a wording experiment, we find that respondents who trust the province more to deal with the health care system and those who support decentralization are more likely to blame the federal government's lack of funding. One of our main contributions is to relate the very proximate issue of evaluating the performance and the cause of the problems of the health care system to broader and more complex issues of federalism and the division of power.

***The Case for Publicly Funded Psychotherapy in Ontario and British Columbia through Learned Lessons from England:*** Katherine Lee (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** This research paper seeks to understand why two Canadian provinces, Ontario and British Columbia, who both faced a mental health crisis during a similar time period and had the same opportunity to learn from international examples such as England and Australia made different decisions in terms of expanding publicly-funded psychotherapy. British Columbia first launched a publicly-funded mental health program called Bounce Back through the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA) in 2008. Bounce Back provides evidence-based, low-intensity cognitive-behavioural therapy (CBT) interventions, and versions have now been adopted in all Canadian provinces. In contrast, Ontario also adopted Bounce Back in 2015 and then introduced the Ontario Structured Psychotherapy Program (OSP) in 2017. OSP is a distinct policy choice as it offers both low and high-intensity CBT interventions. While low-intensity CBT utilizes virtual platforms and workbooks to self-guide individuals to develop coping strategies for their anxiety and depression, high-intensity CBT allows for face-to-face therapy sessions with a qualified mental health practitioner. My dissertation asks, under what conditions do provincial governments adopt mental health policy reforms? More specifically, I aim to answer a two-part question: (1) What conditions allowed BC to develop an early, low-intensity program and then stagnate from adopting a universal province-wide program? (2) What conditions blocked early policy development in Ontario, but allowed for the adoption of a more ambitious program recently? To answer these questions, I apply three public policy theoretical frameworks: policy legacies, policy learning and elite ideas.

***Rethinking public health in the wake of Covid-19: comparative perspectives:*** Katherine Fierlbeck (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Covid-19 has made us painfully aware of the shortcomings of our respective public health systems. Based on this understanding, states will doubtlessly address these shortcomings and strengthen their public health systems. Or will they? Public health is a notoriously difficult area for substantive and successful public policy initiatives, and it is also the locus for numerous political tensions reaching beyond the provision of health care services. To what extent will the experience of a major pandemic affect any significant change on national or supranational public health systems? This paper is a synthesis of multiple international case studies examining the rethinking of public health in the wake of Covid-19. Substantively, have there been any interesting patterns regarding the way in which states are rethinking public health? Conceptually, can public health be analyzed from a comparative perspective as straightforwardly as health care systems per se; or does the very contextual and inchoate nature of public health preclude effective comparative analysis?

***Decentralization in public health systems: a comparative analysis of provincial COVID-19 vaccine campaigns:*** Sara Allin (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Within Canada's decentralized federation, the governance and organization of health systems vary across provinces/territories, including in the level of decentralization of public health authority to regional or local level. While in some provinces, public health authority resides within regional or provincial health authorities, Ontario's decentralized public health system has maintained a local public health governance structure that is now unique in the country. During the COVID-19 pandemic, provincial/territorial emergency responses, including the introduction and withdrawal of public health measures, varied widely. This paper will leverage these variations to explore the questions of whether and how the extent of public health decentralization, impacted these responses. In previous work, we shed some light on the ways in which the Ontario decentralized model may have facilitated the public health response from the perspectives of public health leaders (e.g., leveraging strong partnerships with community organizations and schools), yet inhibited province-wide coordination, among other things, relative to more centralized public health systems in Alberta and Quebec. This paper will focus on the COVID-19 vaccination rollout as a specific policy area within the pandemic responses. Drawing on case studies of the COVID-19 vaccination rollout in the thirteen provinces/territories, we will compare aspects of the governance and implementation of this historic mass immunization campaign. Findings from this work will build on the evidence base on the impacts of health system decentralization on essential public health functions during emergencies, and may inform other comparative, subnational research in Canada and in other federations.



## D04(b) - Workshop: Public Agencies III

### Law and Public Policy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 206

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** David Said (University of Guelph)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jonathan Rose (Queen's University)

***The Oversight of Administrative Judges: What Studying Citizens? Complaints Tells about Administrative Justice in Quebec:*** Sule Tomkinson (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** How do citizens evaluate the legitimacy of encounters with public officials? How do normative expectations shape their perceptions and subsequent behavior regarding public services? When they file complaints, what aspects of public encounters and services do they criticize? Answering these questions is important for understandings of citizen satisfaction with the performance of public services and trust in the public sector. Previous studies mainly address citizen complaints regarding medical practitioners and police officers and document inequitable access to complaint channels. The current study advances this scholarship by examining the handling of citizen complaints by a unique public agency, The Quebec Administrative Justice Council, which treats code of conduct complaints of adjudicative tribunal judges. It argues that complaints help identifying opportunities to improve the delivery and quality of administrative justice services.

***The Rule of Law in Practice? Police Oversight in Ontario:*** Kate Puddister (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** Civilian oversight bodies like the Special Investigations Unit (SIU) in Ontario are often heralded as the gold standard for police accountability and are preferred to alternatives such as internal (or police-run) oversight (Walker 2001, Ferdik et al 2013). When it was created, the SIU model was considered a pioneer in civilian-led oversight and similar police oversight agencies have since been adopted in most Canadian provinces. Yet, there is little known about how SIU engages in routine civilian oversight. Existing studies of civilian police oversight are almost exclusively in response to sui generis events, such as the policing of the 2010 G8/G20 in Toronto (Ellis 2014, Roach 2014), or the standoff between the Ontario Provincial Police and Indigenous protestors in Ipperwash (Beare and Murray 2007). As a result, we have little insight into how SIU carries out its mandate on a routine basis. Through an analysis of over 15 years of SIU investigations, where charges with both substantiated (N=682) and unsubstantiated against Ontario police officers (N=1100), this paper examines the nature of police oversight in practice in Ontario. The paper addresses the outcomes of these investigations, who is likely to be subject to police force (including lethal force) and the challenges of police oversight in general. This paper's findings are situated within the context of understanding police-government relations, police accountability, and the importance of police oversight for the rule of law.

***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 within regulatory systems. When beneficiaries' complaints are 'dysfunctional,' not detecting rule violations subject to enforcement, regulatory institutions can aim to regulate beneficiary behaviour to improve both their and beneficiaries' performance of their regulatory functions. The characteristics of both institutions and beneficiaries will influence approaches to regulating beneficiaries' dysfunctional complaints (e.g., educating beneficiaries, changing procedures). Case studies of two Canadian human rights institutions that received an influx of apparently dysfunctional 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 functional 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.

***Intersections and Erasures in Human Rights Racial Profiling Policy:*** Nicole Bernhardt (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Canadian public governance is deeply reliant on administrative bodies, such as human rights tribunals and commissions, to provide interpretive guidance and render decisions on what constitutes discrimination, how it can be detected, and what measures are needed to prevent and remedy it. Within the Ontario context, the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC) has explicit powers under the Ontario Human Rights Code to promote human rights compliance through policy development and the Human Rights Tribunal of Ontario which reaches determinations on claims of discrimination can be required to take into consideration any policy of the OHRC. Accordingly, the OHRC is a key public actor in shaping legal and extra-legal understandings of discrimination and it achieves this through intervening in human rights applications and writing human rights policy.

In this paper, I look specifically to the role of Ontario human rights policy in creating narrative paths around the police violence perpetuated against Black women. I draw attention to the role of the OHRC in shaping public and legal conceptions of racial profiling and the persistent absence of structural intersectionality (LEAF, 2020). I examine three formative OHRC policy documents on racial profiling (a 2003 public inquiry, a 2012 human rights & policing policy guide, and a 2019 policy on eliminating racial profiling in law enforcement) to demonstrate how OHRC policy has abetted in the erasure of police violence facing Black women and how this selective focus reflects a broader failure of human rights governance to address entrenched and gendered racial

inequities.

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## E04 - Local Policy and Policy-Making

### Local and Urban Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 209

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Katelynn Kowalchuk (University of British Columbia)

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

**Raconte-nous Mirabel. L'impact à long terme des expropriations sur la construction des identités territoriales.:** Flandrine Lusson (INRS - centre Urbanisation Culture Société)

**Abstract:** Historiquement composé de 14 paroisses fusionnées et massivement expropriées en 1969 pour la construction du nouvel aéroport international du Canada, le territoire de Mirabel a connu plusieurs transformations fortes au fil des ans. Aujourd'hui, c'est la ville avec la plus forte croissance démographique et l'âge moyen de la population le plus bas au Québec. Dans ce contexte, nous pouvons nous demander : quelle est l'identité de Mirabel ? Quelles mémoires restent-ils des expropriations des années 1970 et de leurs conséquences ? Et comment affectent-elles l'attachement au lieu des résident.e.s et à l'identité territoriale projetée par la municipalité ? Grâce à un travail d'archivage, la réalisation de 25 entrevues avec des résident.e.s, des élu.e.s, et des professionnel.le.s de l'aménagement du territoire municipal, et la production de cartes sensibles, c'est bien cette question de l'identité de ce territoire en pleine transformation, et de la place prise par la mémoire des expropriations au sein de celle-ci, qui est questionnée, pour réfléchir aux impacts à long terme des mégaprojets sur le développement passé, présent et futur d'un territoire. Les résultats préliminaires de ma recherche montrent que la mémoire des expropriations est toujours présente, marquant le paysage physique et symbolique de la municipalité, ainsi que sa trajectoire de développement. Aujourd'hui, Mirabel fait face à un morcellement pluriel entre agriculture et urbanisation, entre développement économique et préservation du patrimoine local, entre unité territoriale et attachement aux paroisses historiques. Finalement, évaluer ces enjeux permet aussi de réfléchir à l'aménagement futur de ce territoire particulier.

**Les pratiques de participation citoyenne au Québec: quand et dans quelle mesure doit-on consulter?:** Joanie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke), Choquette Emmanuel (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** Ces dernières années, plusieurs villes au Québec se sont engagées dans des initiatives de renouvellement de leur politique de participation citoyenne, reflétant un désir d'inclusion des citoyen.nes aux processus décisionnels. S'ajoute aussi la volonté d'accroître l'imputabilité des personnes élues ainsi que d'obtenir une plus grande acceptabilité sociale des décisions qu'elles prennent (Gendron 2014; Yates 2018). Cependant, la mise en œuvre de ces politiques est complexifiée par la diversité des projets qu'une ville souhaite mettre de l'avant et la divergence des intérêts impliqués (Carrell 2013). En adoptant une perspective comparative et en s'appuyant sur une enquête qualitative, cette présentation s'intéresse aux types de processus de participation mobilisés par des villes québécoises de taille moyenne. L'hétérogénéité des structures de participation mises en place ainsi que la façon concrète dont ces politiques sont vécues par une variété d'acteurs - passant des citoyen.nes aux entrepreneur.es et aux membres de l'administration municipale - sont notamment soulignées. Axé sur l'analyse de pratiques concrètes, l'objectif de cette présentation est de mieux comprendre comment ces acteurs négocient à la fois la complexité des situations et les conséquences administratives de la mise en place d'initiatives de participation citoyenne. Au cœur de cette recherche se retrouvent deux questions précises : 1) dans quelles circonstances le déploiement d'un processus exhaustif de participation citoyenne est-il souhaitable? 2) En fonction des types de projets, quelles étapes de ce processus doit-on déployer? Les réponses obtenues visent à établir des repères de pratiques de participation citoyenne pouvant être mobilisés par les administrations municipales.

**From Smart Cities to Smart Regions: regional innovation and digital infrastructure development in Niagara:** Nathan Olmstead (Brock University), Charles Conteh (Brock University)

**Abstract:** The fabric of the Canadian city is increasingly fibreoptic. Across the country, policymakers are investing in technological innovation and digital infrastructure to address their nascent challenges. However, while cities have tended to understand these developmental shifts as a primarily local phenomenon, in the context of so-called smart cities, there is a tension between this perspective and contemporary scholarship on innovation more generally. More specifically, this contrasts with existing research into innovation ecosystems, which establishes innovation as a primarily regional, and inter-regional, phenomena, emerging from economic, technological, and cultural networks that vary in composition and resiliency. With that in mind, this project explores the potential for a more regional approach to digital infrastructure development in Canada. Using the Niagara Region as a case study, it explores the relationship between innovation and technology adoption across the region. Drawing on a mix of archival and interview-based research, we highlight the role of intermediary institutions in serving as key drivers and coordinators of innovation. We argue that these intermediaries serve as key interfaces between the state, market, and society in the development of sustainable innovation policy. The paper thus concludes by arguing that regional innovation policies have the capacity to produce more embedded and sustainable forms of innovation that respond directly to the specific challenges that regions face.

## F04 - Workshop: Polarization and Social Media

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 302

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Melanee Thomas (University of Calgary)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Christopher Adams (University of Manitoba)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Vincent Raynauld (Emerson College)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=232](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=232)

***Do Social Media Trigger Affective Polarization? An Experiment Comparing Facebook and Instagram Users:*** Juliette Leblanc (Université de Montréal), Ruth Dassonneville (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Do social media raise levels of affective polarization by increasing animosity towards opposing partisans? Research shows that affective polarization is influenced by the growing levels of elite ideological polarization and most importantly, the changing media systems. Social media platforms, where users are more inclined to be exposed with information consistent with their predisposition, such as what they believe in regard of their likes, comments and follows, might act differently based on configuration characteristics like algorithms, comments sections and presentation. I present a two-wave experimental study where around 600 respondents were asked to follow pre-identified political accounts in line with their self-reported ideology between two social-media platforms ? Facebook and Instagram. This three-week long study where I recreated echo-chambers administered in a natural environment, will allow us to shed light on how different social media platforms operate and how the habit of getting political information on social media could alter people's feelings towards opposing partisans.

***Automated Collectives: Communicative Tactics and Social Movement Mobilization:*** Chi Kwok (Lingnan University), Ngai Keung Chan (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

**Abstract:** Despite the growing prevalence of automated data collection and extraction, we know less about the agency of individuals in strategically manipulating and utilizing the automated algorithmic process in online communication to the formation of collectives. Drawing together social movement studies, critical data studies, and communication studies, this paper introduces the concept of human-automated collectives to capture the strategic actions among individual protesters towards the algorithms on digital platforms. Following the recent call for re-humanizing machines and automation, we consider how individuals make sense of the underlying logic of automated media and attempt to construct themselves into automated subjects that count in automated media for collective claim-making.

We explicate the concept of human-automated collectives through a case study of the 2019 Hong Kong Anti-ELAB movement. Central to the protest repertoire is the (in)visibility of mobilizational messages. A social movement's success depends significantly on whether protesters can mobilize new participants. In connective action, this becomes an issue of how well protesters can increase the visibility of pro-movement protest frames on social media, while simultaneously lowering the visibility of counter-movement frames. Drawing upon critical technocultural discourse analysis of online forum discussions about digital data and pro-movement social media pages, this study aims to understand (1) how the Anti-ELAB movement activists interpreted the role of digital data and automated media in shaping connective action; and (2) how activists attempted to promote the visibility of mobilizational messages and undermine the visibility of counter-mobilizational messages by gaming the logic of algorithmic operation on social media.

***SAMBot, Polarization and the Opportunities and Challenges of AI-assisted Research.***

: Beatrice Wayne (The Samara Centre for Democracy), Alex MacIsaac (The Samara Centre for Democracy)

**Abstract:** Toxicity on social media is often cited as evidence of growing polarization within Canadian democracy, but, despite the pressing nature of the issue, the collection and analysis of social media data remains an underexplored field. The Samara Centre for Democracy's SAMbot project is a multi-year, AI data collection endeavor that uses natural language processing to analyze the volume of toxicity directed at Canadian political candidates. The goal of this project is to isolate portions of online political discussions and examine them in detail to illuminate the barriers to civic engagement that stem from technology's influence on Canada's democratic culture. This paper will dive into SAMbot from both a research and methodological standpoint. We will dig into the social media data on recent Canadian federal, provincial, and municipal races, analyzing the ways in which significant and targeted volumes of identity attacks (based on gender, race, sexuality, religion, and other demographic attributes) have contributed to political polarization by signaling to candidates, elected officials, and the electorate that certain groups or demographics do not belong in our democracies. We will also explore the ways in which we at the Samara Centre have been learning alongside SAMbot - about the potential pitfalls of working with this type of black box AI-produced data, the challenges of analyzing identity attacks with limited demographic data, and what we see as the rich potential for this technological and analytical approach to more fully grapple with the relationship between social media and political polarization.

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## G04 - La finance et les rapports de classes dans la variété québécoise de néolibéralisme

### Political Economy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 303 - Le panel se déroulera en français.

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Audrey Laurin-Lamothe (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Audrey Laurin-Lamothe (York University)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=78](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=78)

***Neoliberal ?Patient Capital?: the Case of Quebec?s Public Financial Institutions:*** Christian Pépin (York University)

**Abstract:** Quebec?s public financial institutions (Caisse de dépôt et placement, Société générale de financement, Investissement Québec) were critical to Quebec?s industrial policies. Initially set up as a response to the inadequacies of domestic sources of private finance for financing Quebec?s ?catch-up?, they were later adapted to the new challenges and constraints posed by neoliberal globalization and financialization. As private finance capital moved into activities that provided the highest and short-term returns, public finance remained critical to provide lower cost finance for risky investments. Such institutions also ?coordinated? their interventions to support the internationalization of domestic capitals and constituted national shareholding blocs which prevented hostile take-overs.

While these institutions? ?long-termism? was at odds with capital-gain seeking behavior associated with financialization, they remained committed to support the international competitiveness of Quebec capitals. This is why these institutions repeatedly sided with company management in opposing union demands, favoring the neoliberal restructuring of businesses.

This paper analyses these institutions? history through key reforms, the social conflicts over their functions and their practices vis-à-vis particular firms. This draws on archival research of business associations and unions? policy preferences over Quebec public finance (policy documents, parliamentary commissions) and media coverage of corporate restructuring processes involving Quebec?s public financial institutions.

This sheds a critical light on policy proposals since the 2007-08 crisis calling for a ?return? to ?patient capital? as an exit strategy from ?financialization?, by showing how public financial institutions can be shaped by market imperatives and social conflicts that make such institutions subservient to capitals? interests.

***Managing Workers? Capital? Lessons from Québec?s FTQ Solidarity Fund:*** Ian MacDonald (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Labour-controlled investment is often touted as an alternative, pro-worker form of finance. The literature on ?workers capital? argues that, through increased union control, workers? savings could be invested in such a way as to counter financialization, and even used in strategic ways to extend union power and improve working conditions. I argue in this paper that institutionalist and actor-centred proponents of ?workers? capital? are overly optimistic about the potential of union interventions in the realm of finance as a result of their failure to consider a more fundamental contradiction between union power, on the one hand, and the nature of capital, on the other, that necessarily accompanies labour?s investment in capitalist firms. The FTQ Solidarity Fund in Québec represents perhaps the most ambitious union effort to use workers? retirement savings to shape firm behaviour. In emphasizing how even this most likely case of labour-controlled capital is constrained to behave like capital, rather than succeeding in bending the rules of capital to the needs of workers and unions, this paper casts some doubt on whether increased control over workers? savings could serve the purposes of the labour movement. The argument is sustained through, in turn, a logical deconstruction of the ?workers capital? position, a historicization of the formation of the Solidarity Fund, and a critical analysis of Fund investment decisions.

***The Conseil du Patronat and the Denationalization and Renationalization of Capital:*** Peter Graefe (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Dick Bryan (1995) observed that while the nationality of capital has little inherent meaning in itself given that accumulation is a global process, it does become a political-legal issue once laws are made on that basis. In situations of minority nationalist conflict, where nationalist movements are seeking to control the state or indeed enhance its powers for the ends of national development, this is likely to produce both policy and legitimacy challenges for the business community (see also Basta 2020). For business associations opposed to the goals of these nationalist movements, there is likely to be a double strategy of trying to both ?de-nationalize? capital (in the sense of opposing measures that discriminate on the basis of nationality) and to ?re-nationalize? capital (in the sense of presenting the interests of the business community as those of the minority nationalist community). This paper pays particular attention to how the Conseil de Patronat has managed the question of the nationality of capital since its inception through a reading of its briefs to Parliamentary committees coupled with secondary sources such as biographies and unpublished MA theses. As the political and economic context has changed, the balance of these de-nationalizing and re-nationalizing challenges has shifted. While the electoral dominance of non-sovereignist neoliberal and conservative parties over the past twenty years might lead one to believe that these tensions are easier to manage, these tensions do not disappear. Nevertheless, the dominance of neoliberal frameworks coupled with the maturation of Quebec-based capital has made the ?de-nationalization? of capital easier, while the CPQ?s cosmopolitanism has made the ?re-nationalization? of capital more difficult as of late.

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## H04(a) - Territory and Rights

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 304

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Didier Zúñiga (Centre de Recherche en Éthique)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Didier Zúñiga (Centre de Recherche en Éthique)

***Territorial Rights in Settler States: A Contextual Approach:*** Kaitie Jourdeuil (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Settler-colonialism is a paradigm case of wrongdoing in the territorial rights literature because it involves both the theft of Indigenous peoples' territory and their political subjugation. Theorists use colonial dispossession to illustrate the persistence of territorial rights claims through time (Simmons 2016), to justify a right to return to a territory (Stilz 2019), and to explain Indigenous peoples' jurisdictional rights (Moore 2015; 2019). However, these works do not engage substantively with colonial structures in modern settler states. Indigenous peoples' territorial rights are either used as a case to test a general principle (e.g., Armstrong 2017) or are defended using an existing theoretical framework (Luoma 2022; Coburn and Moore 2022).

Drawing on Burke A. Hendrix's (2012) contextual approach to normative theory, this paper investigates how colonial structures influence our normative judgements about territorial rights in settler states. It critically examines two frameworks that defend Indigenous territorial rights: Lockean voluntarism (Simmons 2016) and collective self-determination (Moore 2015). Although both accounts identify key elements of territorial rights in settler states, they frame colonial dispossession as an 'event' rather than a 'structure' predicated on eliminating Indigenous peoples to access territory (Wolfe 2006). Consequently, these theories grant too much moral weight to the territorial rights of current settlers. This paper contends that territory theorists working in settler-colonial contexts should foreground relationships between people and place and peoples on a place to understand how colonial history and current structures of domination may limit the scope of existing settlers' territorial claims.

***A Human Right to Political Membership & the Right to Territory:*** Afifa Khwaja (The University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** The global justice debates on political membership and territorial rights tend to focus on the stateless individuals/refugees as the claimants of a right to political membership and the sovereign states as the claimants of the right to a territory which can lead to possible neglect of the equally forceful claims of a people to both- Kant's Right to Hospitality is often employed to reinforce this mode of framing. I shall advance a context-oriented interpretation of Kant's right to Hospitality to highlight the claims of non-state people in our framing of claims to political membership and territory. I argue that in Kant, while the non-state people are not in a civil condition, we can nevertheless recognize their provisional claims to the territory, which are forceful enough to exclude outsiders. Furthermore, the non-state people cannot be forced into a political membership with us or each other because we do not know the nature of obligations they may have towards each other. Recognizing these limits of our understanding can encourage philosophically thought-out modes of reframing indigenous people's claims in our theoretical debates and an insightful attitude in negotiating their terms of political membership and land claims against the sovereign states in practice.

***Inheriting Land, Disinheriting Capital: Indigenous Land Claims and Capital Inheritance from the Perspective of Hegelian Philosophy:*** Bogdan Ovcharuk (York University)

**Abstract:** Recent discoveries of unnamed collective burial sites are not only an unmourned tragedy but can be seen as a rediscovery of Indigenous ancestral powers to claim the land where the remains are found. However, as the Oka Crisis unveiled 30 years ago, to claim this complex communal inheritance, Indigenous communities would have to confront the modern society of private property erected above these remains, a society where inheritance laws follow the logic of Capital. I will attempt to understand this predicament by drawing on the Hegelian philosophy of intergenerational property ownership and his interpretation of Antigone in the Phenomenology. Hegel takes Antigone's burial of her brother Polynices in defiance of the city's laws as an ethical act of ancestral justice that returns her brother's remains to the city's territory. Hegel's description of the Greek ethical life will be shown to account for pre-capitalist and Indigenous social forms, wherein individual possessions are the possessions of the commune. In the West, this ethic of communal inheritance dissolved with the spread of Roman law, which, as Hegel shows in Philosophy of Right, rendered inheritance laws arbitrary and unethical. The modern embodiment of this arbitrary property inheritance is the so-called 'rich rabble,' a class of financial speculators gambling on the contingency of the market and transferring Capital as a private inheritance (Ruda, 2013; Piketty 2014). I will discuss the significance of Indigenous land claims in confronting capitalist inheritance law and how these claims reinvigorate Western philosophy by reflecting the ethics of Antigone.

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## H04(b) - Author Meets Critics - Cara Nine, Sharing Territories

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** VPDB-DB 0011 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Patti Lenard (University of Ottawa)

Cara Nine (University of Nevada, Reno)

Joe Carens (University of Toronto)

Paulina Ochoa Espejo (Haverford College, Philadelphia)

Michael Luoma (Queen's University)

Arthur Hill (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** This panel is on a new book, centrally on the themes of this year's CPISA ? the moral foundation of territorial rights.

In *Sharing Territories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), Cara Nine develops a territorial rights theory to embrace the real-world circumstances of territorial overlap. Nine defends a river model of framing territorial rights theory. On a river model groups are assumed to be interdependent and to overlap geographically with other group. On her view, territorial rights include a variety of nested and overlapping geographical areas. Nine argues for the establishment of foundational territories around geographical areas like rivers. Usually lower-scale political entities, foundational territories connect diverse groups of people through their necessary connections with fresh water and other physical resources. Examples of foundational territories include not only river catchment areas but also urban areas, drawn around residents who hold obligations to collectively manage their surroundings. As foundational territories overlap the territories of other political units, Nine frames a theory of nested and shared territorial rights, and argues for insightful changes to the allocation of resource rights between political groups and individuals.

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## H04(c) - Political Narratives and Disagreement

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 305

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** McGinnis Reeve (University of Saskatchewan)

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

***Partisanship and Cross-Border Influence on Democratic Discourse: Normative Implications:*** Stefan Macleod (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** In this paper, I offer a justification for shoring up civic and cultural institutions (public education and state-funded cultural programs) for the purposes of counteracting the pernicious influence that powerful states can have on the political discourse of their neighbours. Instead of offering a justification based on the irreducible value of national self-determination, or the inherent legitimacy of state political boundaries, I draw on recent work on the political theory of partisanship to argue that there is a better justification that appeals to the value of stable and mutually intelligible norms of democratic discourse. The value of such norms, I argue, is not grounded in the legitimacy some pre-political demos, but in the inclusionary prospects of a stable partisan system.

I illustrate this argument through analysis of the way that the political discourse of powerful states can create a destabilizing distortion in the discourse of neighbouring countries. In short, the discursive influence of powerful states is often powerful enough to shape the political narratives employed by certain actors, but not powerful enough to shape the broader norms of political discourse and institutional rules that characterize neighbouring states. The disconnect between those who invoke the political discourse of foreign states (such as those in the US) and the established norms of their home state creates a significant threat for maintaining stable and healthy form of partisanship in democratic societies. The justification I offer demonstrates the compatibility between the need to shore up state democratic institutions without a commitment to normative nationalism.

***?Both Sides? Mediation and the Representation of Difference:*** Simon Lambek (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** ?Both sides? discourse is often critiqued for drawing equivalencies between two positions, even when one side is demonstrably worse than the other. This paper makes a further criticism of ?both sides? mediation, arguing that it necessarily posits and thereby helps to establish and solidify under-representative interpretive horizons. Drawing on hermeneutic theory, the constructivist turn in the politics of representation, and feminist theories of judgment, I argue that discourses which present issues as having only two sides effectively silence interpretive diversity and reify under-representative publics. The long-term result is not merely that ideational and perspectival pluralism is reduced but, rather, a sedimentation of conservative public spheres. In the place of ?both sides? mediation, I argue for the importance of multi-polar mediation. I conclude by calling on political theorists to not merely consider the politics of representative claim-making, but also the normative effects of different forms of meta-representative claim-making (?both sides? vs multi-polar).

***Disagreement and Conflict in Self-Organized Democratic Theory:*** Victor Bruzzone (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Many argue that at the core any truly emancipatory politics is the need for a renewed democratic culture. This means broad and robust participation and engagement by citizens. But how is such a change expected to occur? My paper engages in a comparison of three democratic theory traditions that place broad democratic transformation at the centre of their projects ? radical democracy (Mouffe, Connolly, Honig), participatory democracy (Pateman, Barber), and autonomist democracy (Hardt and Negri). While all the above theories have appealing attributes, they leave many unanswered questions. Especially relevant in the context of contemporary political polarization is the question of conflict and disagreement. Therefore, my paper focuses on comparing how the above traditions address the problem of disagreement and conflict. Although they emphasize broad bottom-up control of political decisions, they also share a commitment to preserving societal pluralism in a way that avoids serious conflicts. This leads to a serious challenge: how to preserve pluralism while also enhancing robust democratic opportunities? Ultimately, I argue that, since many of the above views are either skeptical or hostile to liberal democratic institutions as a way of quelling conflict, they necessarily depend on human behavioral changes towards active self-organized forms of democratic activity that is committed to fairness and pluralism ? something I argue amounts to civic virtue. Moreover, my paper argues that these theories do not do enough to demonstrate how such civic virtues will be broadly cultivated in the population.

***Cosmopolitans in Space: The Overview Effect and Cosmopolitan Political Theory:*** Noelle Jaipaul (Alberta)

**Abstract:** Many astronauts, upon venturing to outer space, look back at the Earth and experience a new understanding of place and territory. From their unique vantage point, these astronauts see a world beyond borders and a shared human existence, experiencing an increased feeling of duty to the Earth and its inhabitants. This phenomenon, known as the Overview Effect, demonstrates that by removing oneself from a familiar vantage point, one can develop a stronger connection with distant others, across space and place. The Overview Effect, then, articulates a similar moral normativity as the political theory of cosmopolitanism. This theory focuses on our moral responsibilities to others, and communicates a sense of unity across borders, asking us to give the same consideration to the political, social, and material needs of distant others as we give to ourselves.

However, cosmopolitan theorists agree that there remains a gap between what we ought to do and what we actually do. This paper investigates the ways in which the Overview Effect might align with and support cosmopolitan political theory. By developing a deeper

understanding of the phenomenon, how might we creatively operationalize the Overview Effect in order to encourage cosmopolitan behaviours? This paper aims to elucidate the ways in which the Overview Effect might be used as a novel approach to cosmopolitan political theory, and how we might employ it to narrow the gap between our theoretical moral obligations and our accordant actions, while also adding to the literature on the social returns of space travel.

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## K04(a) - The Public Servant's Role in 21st Century Democracy

### Public Administration

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0009

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Brendan Boyd (MacEwan University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Andrea Migone (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=96](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=96)

*What Is The Role Of The Public Servant in a Democracy? Comparing The Perspectives Of Public Servants, Politicians and the Public:* Brendan Boyd (MacEwan University)

**Abstract:** The traditional role of the public servant as an impartial official operating anonymously in bureaucratic institutions is under strain. As citizens demand greater input into public decision making and elected officials expect greater responsiveness, public servants may need to become outward-looking managers engaging directly with society and politics to create public value. We conducted surveys of public servants, politicians and the public to determine and compare what role they believe public servants should play in democracy. Public servants and the general public believed public servants should be non-partisan but not anonymous in their work; however, politicians were split on these questions. All three groups agreed that public servants should be held responsible in their work but that politicians should be primarily accountable when things go wrong. These findings suggest the traditional role of the public servant remains important, but that insularity and anonymity are no longer desirable or, perhaps, even possible.

*Public servants? attitudes on democracy and perception of their role within the system through the lens of diversity:* Isabelle Caron (Dalhousie University), Karine Levasseur (University of Manitoba), Andrea Rounce (University of Manitoba)

**Abstract:** Our recent survey aimed at determining public servants' attitudes toward democracy and understanding their perception of their role within the democratic system showed that public servants are generally satisfied with the country's democratic system of government and strongly support the traditional relationship between public servants and elected officials. In addition, they still adhere to the traditional role of impartial officials, held accountable to elected governments in the Westminster tradition (Boyd et al., 2021). These results reveal a solid attachment to traditional values related to the democratic system. Over the past 40 years, representative bureaucracy has become entrenched in Canadian public administration. Traditional bureaucracy emphasizes the importance of a diverse public administration to represent the diversity of the population, allowing traditionally marginalized groups to have their interests represented in the public system and the political process. This concept refers to the notions of diversity and inclusion. Over the years, representative bureaucracy has raised several debates, including the fine line between active representation and the abandonment of administrative neutrality and distance (Lim, 2006; Groeneveld & Van de Walle, 2010). This paper analyses the survey results in terms of various diversity criteria (gender, race or group identity, age) to explore whether the identity factors specific to public servants shape their conception of the democratic system and their perceived role within it.

*The Public, the Pandemic, and the Public Service: The Case of Alberta:* Jared Wesley (University of Alberta), Savannah Ribeiro (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Public servants provide a crucial link between policymakers and the people they represent. Cabinet ministers rely on public servants to provide fearless advice grounded in an understanding of how policy shifts impact the population, and to loyally implement the decisions they make in order to serve the common good. At the same time, most Canadians' interactions with government exclusively involve engaging with non-partisan, professional, permanent members of the bureaucracy. Given their pivotal position, the public's attitudes toward public servants are a crucial metric of the health of Canadian democracy. Using Alberta as a case study, this paper examines the varying levels of trust and satisfaction in the public service over the course of the COVID-19 pandemic. The study draws on a series of five (5) public opinion surveys fielded between August 2020 and January 2023. The results of this study reveal the evolution and contours of attitudes toward public servants in a province during a period of significant social, economic, and political turbulence.

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## K04(b) - Workshop: Blame Avoidance in Canadian Politics

### Public Administration

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0015

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Christopher Cooper (University of Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Christopher Cooper (University of Ottawa)

*Legislating Bureaucratic Autonomy as a Potential Blame Avoidance Strategy in Westminster Politics: A Comparative Study of the Adoption of Oncology Drugs into the Provincial Formularies of Alberta and Ontario:* Daniel Cohn (York University)

**Abstract:** Blame avoidance is difficult to achieve in a Westminster-style system, as the minister is supposed to be accountable for all the actions of their ministry to the legislature. One route to achieve it is institutional reforms providing public servants with decision-making autonomy not generally available under this model. This is more likely to work in a policy area where discontent with unpopular decisions is diffused across the entire population, rather than geographically concentrated. One such area is provincial drug formularies. In Canada, drugs go through a multi-stage process before they are paid for by provincial governments. The three most important steps are: Approval for sale by Health Canada; A non-binding recommendation as to whether provinces should pay by the Canadian Drug and Health Technology Agency (CDTHA); Each province then reaches a final decision. A province which has instituted reforms to leave the final decision in the hands of bureaucrats, thereby creating a blame avoidance screen for the government, ought to be able to say no more often than a province where the health minister has the final say. Using the list of recommendations issued by the CDTHA's Pan-Canadian Oncology Drug Review (PCODR) from 2011 to 2020, the hypothesis tested is that Ontario, where legislation grants the power to make final coverage decisions to a public servant, will have adopted fewer of the drugs with negative PCODR recommendations than will have Alberta, where the final decision rests with the minister.

*When Science Leads: Understanding 'Follow the Science' in Government Communication about COVID-19 Public Health Policy:* Patrick Fafard (University of Ottawa), Margaret MacAulay (Government of Canada), Adele Cassola (York University), Michèle Palkovits (York University)

**Abstract:** At the outset of the COVID-19 pandemic, many leaders claimed that their policy decisions were 'following the science'; however, the literature on evidence-based policy problematizes the idea that such forms of governance are realistic or desirable. We sampled two national newspapers in Australia, Canada, and the UK and conducted a qualitative content analysis of unique moments when leaders claimed to 'follow the science' (n=70). Applying Chris Hood's theory of blame avoidance to identify the various strategies (i.e. agency, policy, or presentational) used, we found that politicians mainly used 'follow the science' as a form of protocolization (policy) and delegation (agency) to deflect blame onto processes and people. Although it is debatable whether and to what extent claims to 'follow the science' effectively mitigate blame, we argue that such strategies misrepresent the role of scientific evidence in policy making, indicate leaders' abdication of responsibility, and risk undermining institutionalized science advice.

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## **L04(a) - Workshop: Chai with Dr. Gulzar R. Charania: A Book Club on Fighting Feelings: Lessons in Gendered Racism and Queer Life**

**Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics**

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 205

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Nisha Nath (Athabasca University)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=32](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=32)

### **Participants**

Gulzar R. Charania (University of Ottawa)

Anita Girvan (UBC, Okanagan)

Rita Dhamoon (Athabasca University)

Sedef Arat-Koc (Toronto Metropolitan University)

Davina Bhandar (Athabasca University)

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## L04(b) - Property of the Nation-State? Contemporary Critiques of Settler-Colonial Liberal Democracy

### Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics

Date: May 30 2023 | Time: 01:30pm - 03:00pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 306

Chair/Président/Présidente : Justin Leifso (University of Victoria)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Corey Snelgrove (University of Toronto)

*All Seeing AI: An Abolitionist Investigation into Predictive Policing in Canada:* David Semaan (York University)

**Abstract:** Algorithmic policing is one of the latest frontiers of colonial aggression in Canada, and the Canadian state is invested. My analysis synthesizes literature on critical data studies and abolitionist epistemologies to open critical insights into Canada's AI policy regarding funding police departments in their technological integration. I advance a discussion on the next frontier of abolitionist concern in Canada in the face of the carceral technologies of settler colonial states. The primary research questions animating my work are: How are legal principles of property fostering a climate of data extraction that assumes free data for private companies to monetize and claim ownership over the public for private profit? How are the developments in predictive analytics in Canadian police departments extending the coloniality of the nation-state through data surveillance into private life? My investigation aims, first, to evaluate the development of predictive policing in Canada in various Canadian cities. Second, my project interprets and theorizes the legal conditions that facilitate a data market climate favorable for private firms to privatize, and profit from public data, something theorized as a new 'data enclosures' by authors such as Mark Andrejovic. Third, I theorize how these data enclosures that presume data to be a free resource for monetization might reconstitute subjectivity of users through labour extraction and content of their intimate life. Lastly, I provide theoretical generalizations on how these case studies point to a new extended form of coloniality by the Canadian nation-state through algorithmic policing in the goal of securing national sovereignty.

*Parentage, property, and intimacy in Canada:* Margot Challborn (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Despite its powerful mythology, the patriarchal nuclear family is nevertheless, a recent form of social organization. Though imagined as a private unit, most families do not, and will never, have the resources to survive without access to wider familial and community support. At the same time, Canadians are witnessing the legal expansion of who, and what, constitutes a family. One such expansion is the number of legal parents a child can have. On the surface, these legislative changes seem hopeful, especially for queer and non-monogamous families. However, I argue that their potential is stymied by the way in which Canadian legislation understands kinship: as a form of property and, more specifically, legal parentage as a special form of status contract (Bhandar 2018). In this paper I illustrate how status contract 'logic' underpins recent expansions of legal parentage in Canada thereby constructing parent-child relationships as forms of intimate and state property. Thus, expanding legal parentage ensures that parentage as a form of property is maintained and that certain types of families, as a form of state property, are secured. This begs the question: to what degree, or under what circumstances, can intimate life resist state intervention?

*Reconciling Canada Day? Cancellation & Decolonization:* Daisy Raphael (Huron University College at Western), Christine Funk (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** In June 2021, after the confirmation of physical evidence of unmarked graves at former residential schools, approximately eighty municipalities and local community organizations issued announcements cancelling that year's Canada Day celebrations. While we support calls made by anti-colonial social movements like Idle No More to cancel Canada Day permanently, our paper critically examines local Canada Day cancellation announcements in 2021. We ask: does cancelling Canada Day disrupt Canadian settler-colonialism as a structure focused on accessing and exploiting Indigenous land? With few exceptions, we find that non-Indigenous communities frame cancellation as a temporary move of reconciliation, which serves to perform expressions of collective grief. In fact, we find that these cancellation announcements utilize similar language to statements explaining non-cancellation, and operate as part of the liberal politics of recognition that further circumscribe Indigenous resistance. We argue that such Canadian moves to 'reconcile' Canada Day through temporary cancellations are characteristic of what Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2012) call settler moves to innocence, actions and expressions that relieve settler guilt and affirm settler futurity. We argue, therefore, that Canada Day cancellations must be located within a framework of decolonization, which cannot be understood as primarily metaphorical or symbolic.

*'Canada' belongs to the Convoy now: The Security Politics of Trucker Protests in a Settler-Colonial State:* Jennifer Mustapha (Huron University College at Western)

**Abstract:** This paper builds on previous work about the security architecture of spaces like US/Canada border preclearance areas, and how their existence highlights the ongoing emergence of 'spatial forms' (Agnew 1994) where both citizenship and politics are occurring in both domestic and 'international' ways. It reflects on the symbolologies and bordering practices mobilized during the multi-jurisdictional juggernaut caused by the so-called 'Freedom Convoy,' which descended upon the National Capital Region and several key US-Canada border crossing areas in early 2022. The convoy, though ostensibly a group of truckers protesting COVID-19 vaccine requirements that disrupted their employment, mobilized exclusionary forms of over-determined Canadianness that included broad appeals to white supremacy and far right political ideals and movements. The Canadian authorities in turn, launched an incoherent cross-jurisdictional response, with clear discrepancies between jurisdictional authorities, levels of government, and locations. This paper looks at how these discrepancies- notably between the (lacklustre) police response to the truckers' siege of Ottawa; the provincially coordinated break-up of the convoy blockade at the Windsor-Detroit Border; and the federal decision to invoke the Emergencies Act all highlight the multiple and indeterminate configurations of power and authority that have long been features of how the sovereign power of a settler-state seeks to repeatedly re-found and consolidate itself through informal, petty, and 'nested' sovereignties (Hansen and Sepputat 2006). Importantly, the protest discourses of the convoy and responses to it reveal both the exclusionary basis of settler-colonial 'rights' discourses and the normative fiction of the benevolent Canadian state.



## N04 - Roundtable Engendering Disability-Inclusive Development: The Praxis of Partnership

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 307

Stephen Baranyi (University of Ottawa)

Leah Levac (University of Guelph)

Laura Pin (Wilfrid Laurier University)

Kathryn Reinders (University of Guelph)

David Black (Dalhousie University)

Deborah Stienstra (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** The participants in this roundtable share a connection to the Engendering Disability-Inclusive Development ? Genre, Handicap and Développement Inclusif (EDID-GHDI) project, a seven-year research partnership involving researchers, civil society organizations, and disability advocates working across four countries (Canada, Haiti, South Africa and Vietnam) as well as transnational organizations and processes. EDID-GHDI's objectives are to foster and share knowledge, policies, and practices that improve the lives of women and girls with disabilities. Participants share a commitment to knowledge co-design and co-creation with their partners, within and beyond the disability sector, and to feminist intersectionality as both a theoretical and methodological foundation. In short, this project ? like many other forms of community-engaged research ? takes multi-sectoral, multi-identity, and multi-national partnerships as both an ethical commitment and a practical necessity for the achievement of sustainable, disability-inclusive forms of politics, policy and development.

Such partnerships are both richly rewarding, and politically and practically challenging. In this roundtable, participants reflect on the rewards and challenges of engaging in these forms of partnership, across disparate contexts within more and less stable socio-political environments. More specifically, we reflect on the ethics of partnerships, the political/power relations they embody, the diverse practical challenges they confront, and the vital yet elusive challenge of building and sustaining the relationships upon which they depend. Some of these dynamics are familiar and predictable, while others are surprising and unanticipated. All highlight the importance of ongoing self-reflection in these and broadly similar forms of partnered research and practice.

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## W704 - Workshop: Territorial Conflicts and State-Building in the Borderlands I

### Workshop 7 - Territorial Conflicts and State-Building in the Borderlands

Date: May 30 2023 | Time: 01:30pm - 03:00pm | Room: VPDB-DB 0013 HYBRID / hybride

Chair/Président/Présidente : Veldon Coburn (University of Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Arjun Tremblay (University of Regina)

*Until the cows come home: Patchwork land reform in South Africa's ranching sector:* Alexander Dyzenhaus (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** South Africa's post-apartheid land reform program has struggled to transfer farms to Black farmers. In this paper, I use spatial and interview data from South Africa's Free State and KwaZulu Natal provinces to evaluate how and why land reform has been so slow. I use the case of the livestock sector, which many argue has been a relative success in terms of transferring land, to show that sectoral imperatives for existing white farmers have determined whether they sell their land to prospective Black ranchers. I argue that much of the land sold for land reform by cattle ranchers is a response to pressures on existing commercial networks to either use new Black farmers to reinforce commercial ranching markets or to create a buffer between white farms and urban settlements or communal land. I argue that the decentralized nature of the sector and the imperative to maintain disease free markets leads land reform to be relatively plentiful, but patchwork, in the sector. Therefore, land redistribution under market conditions occurs not just when there is a demand for land, but also when there is an incentive to supply land on the part of established farmers.

*Informal Control and Territorial Conflicts: A Comparative Analysis of State-building:* Dilan Okcuoglu (American University in Washington DC)

**Abstract:** The Turkish-Iraqi borderlands are one of the most conflict-ridden zones in the world given that the region is very mountainous with blind spots that feature a complex security landscape (Idler, 2019) and offer a new institutional framework (Newman, 2005). Within this unique setting, border institutions and infrastructure govern the extent of inclusion and exclusion, the degree of permeability, and the laws governing transboundary movement? exit from one side of the border and entry into the other side (Newman, 2005). If this is the case, then what can the scholars learn from the case of Turkey's Kurdish borderlands in terms of border institutions, infrastructure and lived experiences? Is the Turkish-Iraqi border different than the Turkish-Iranian borders? (If so, along which parameters?) In this paper, I argue that borders are drawn at the official/national level but (re)made as a product of interaction between actors at the local level. This study is based on the extensive interview data which I collected along the borders of Turkey, Iraq and Iran during the ceasefire between 2013 and 2014. By engaging with the literature that lies at the intersection of border studies, ethnic conflict and civil wars?thereby pointing to the connection between power (governance), territory, and state formation, my research makes two profound contributions: (1) empirically speaking, it shows the everyday presentations of conflict dynamics, such as complex security landscape, in Kurdish borderlands and (2) theoretically speaking, it helps to refine the existing scholarship (not

*Of Cinder Blocks and Lemon Trees: Refugee Homes, Multiscalar Bordering, and Infrastructural Contestation:* Jordan Clarke Hayes (Wenzhou-Kean University)

**Abstract:** How should we understand the practical and political importance of refugee homes? How might built environments contest and transform bordered spaces dominated by territorial power?

Drawing upon sociomaterial, infrastructural, and decolonial frameworks, this paper reports on the early stages of (Im)Possible Homes, a research inquiry into the practices of building and dwelling by refugee residents of Domiz, a UNHCR camp community for Syrian asylum seekers in Iraq. Situated less than 60km from the border between Syria and Iraq?territorialized entities with histories of dominating Kurdish minorities?Domiz residents are subject to state, regional, and international powers, yet they retain agency in what and how they build.

After offering a multiscalar analysis of this context, this paper will share the qualitative findings of focus groups gathered at Domiz in 2021. Participants described the fraught status of the dwellings they built and the gardens they tilled. Consistent with an understanding of Domiz as a temporary humanitarian intervention, the camp management repeatedly demolished unsanctioned green spaces, thereby asserting the state's prerogative to plan and dismantle built-environmental infrastructure within its territory.

According to multiple residents, these conflicts were eventually mediated by an international NGO employing Syrian residents, the Lemon Tree Trust. The dialogue among the various stakeholders effected a shift in the camp's spatial and temporal vision; Domiz now sustains numerous public and private gardens. These accounts suggest how sociomaterial attention to the built environment can reveal the limits of territorial fixity in the context of multiscalar claims to space and duration within contested borderlands.

*Scripted Borders: The Performance of Micronationhood:* Robert Motum (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** In the summer of 2020, during a time of lockdowns, self-isolations, and ?bubbles?, the Wall Street Journal challenged its readers: "if COVID-19 has put the kibosh on your summer travel plans, why not form your own country?". This front-page story offered a deep dive into the world of micronations?self-declared nation-states, not recognized by any other nation. From a house in Montreal, to a land claim in Antarctica, there are over 200 micronations around the world; with many represented at the Micronation UN and the Micronational Olympics. Since these small geo-political entities are founded for a variety of reasons (some satirical?some serious), the definitions and legal standing of such states are varied, and, as a recent law journal identifies, ?open to interpretation? (Micronations: A Lacuna in the Law, 2021).

This paper proposes a new frame to understand and interrogate these ?home-made? nations?as both subversive, utopian projects, as well as replications

of the colonial state. As a scholar of performance studies, I propose that micronations might be seen to exist solely through performance. Since these small, self-declared states do not command a militaristic "hard power", micronations rely on performance to legitimize themselves. No matter how much they subvert and transgress upon the concept of their former nation—with passports, borders, flags, and anthems—they continue to mimic the symbols and structure of state diplomacy to be recognized as nation going forward.

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## Day 1 - Session 5 (03:15pm - 04:45pm)

### A05(a) - Author Meets Critics - Participant/Observer: An Unconventional Life in Politics and Academia

#### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

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

Henry Milner (Université de Montréal)

Ronald Beiner (University of Toronto)

Patrik Marier (Concordia University)

Ruth Dassonneville (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** The author of this political memoir is among the few that have had the opportunity to engage in politics while remaining an academic observer. In these pages, Henry Milner shares his experiences as a student and community activist, an anglophone insider and strategist in the Parti Québécois, a close observer over several decades of social democracy in practice in Scandinavia and beyond. In the final section, it the book sets out his efforts to bring home the lessons learned as a contributor to the debate in Canada and especially Quebec over changing political institutions, notably the electoral system. Participant/Observer: An Unconventional Life in Politics and Academia is also a political autobiography of a generation, one that reached maturity in the 1960s and 1970s, told through one person?s story.

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## A05(b) - Procedural and Technical Instruments of Power of Settler-Colonial Governance in Canada

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Margot Challborn (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Phillip Henderson (Carleton University)

**??The Heart that Pumps the Blood through the Veins and Arteries of our National Life: Canadian Postal Services as Infrastructure of Colonialism?:** Miranda Leibel (University of Lethbridge), Justin Leifso (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** Despite Robert M. Campbell's assertion that "an examination of contemporary postal matters would reveal much about the Canadian state" (Campbell 1994, 6), the interest in postal history from political scientists has been short-lived. In Canada, this loss of interest coincided with the efforts to privatize Canada Post through the late 1980s-1990s (e.g., Campbell 1994). This work is an attempt to reignite political analysis of Canada's postal system. Unlike previous analyses, however, we are most keenly interested in thinking with Indigenous and settler-colonial studies theorists about the role of postal services in the territorial project of settler-colonialism in Canada. We contend that the overarching omission of Canadian postal services from much of Canada's political history results in the exclusion of two key roles played by the post office in Canadian state formation: the first, that postal networks were essential to the proliferation of communications across the "hinterlands" of the expanding nation-state and colonial interests. The second, and perhaps less widely studied, role of postal services in Canada's political history is that of territorialization and the production of distinctly Canadian space. We note that Canadian territorialization is specifically reinforced by the distinctly settler-colonial structures of Canadian colonization, which require an even more obvious physical demarcation of colonized territory and a colonial presence that extends beyond state administrators to encompass the public life of settlers more generally, and that the infrastructure of postal services provided a state mechanism through which to materialize territorial expansion and settler nationalism.

**Creating a Settler State Liability Waiver: Willingness, Vulnerability, and the Complicit Sex Worker:** Lindy Van Vliet (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** In 2017, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) notified the public that they had arrested 14 individuals in connection to an anti-human trafficking sting operation dubbed Northern Spotlight. The press release from Operation Northern Spotlight demonstrates the recent shift in social and political discourse in Canada where police and political actors articulate their recognition of "willing" sex workers while simultaneously justifying the continued criminalization of the industry by arguing that it poses an inherent risk of harm to "vulnerable" women and children, most often identified as Indigenous women and children.

In this article, I critically explore how the concepts of "vulnerability" and "willingness" have been tied to the sex industry alongside settler state politics of "reconciliation" and the growing public concern for Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. Using interview and focus group data from sex workers in Northeastern Ontario, I will argue that the discourses of willingness and vulnerability are mobilized by the Canadian state in ways that both reaffirm the power of the settler state to intervene in the lives of Indigenous women and girls, while simultaneously placing the blame for colonial violence against Indigenous women on the sex industry and the "willing" sex workers who work within that industry. This article explores how the on-going vilification of the sex industry is coupled with attempts to erase settler state complicity of colonial violence through the mobilization of the discourses of willingness and vulnerability that unfairly paint sex workers as complicit actors in ongoing colonial violence.

**From Christian Supremacy to Liberal Modernity? Dispelling the Myth of Secular Neutrality in Indigenous Canadian Relations:** Stacie Swain (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** In April 2022 at the ceremonial powwow grounds in Maskwacis, Alberta, Pope Francis, the head of the Catholic Church and sovereign of the Vatican City State, responded to Call to Action 58 of the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission by offering a formal apology for the Church's role in the Canadian residential school system. While Indigenous scholars, leaders, and community members offered various perspectives on the apology itself, a number of protest signs and shouted calls soon shifted public attention to the Doctrine of Discovery, the set of 15th century papal bulls that lent the legitimacy of international law to the European invasion of Indigenous territories.

While Canada today is largely understood as a secular state and society, demands for the pope to rescind the Doctrine of Discovery laid bare the foundational principles that underlie Canada's institutional arrangement. In this paper, which draws on a chapter of my dissertation, I consider the relationship between the making of Europe as a white, Christian space, imperial expansion and the dispossession of Indigenous peoples, and the development of secularism in Canada. I perform a discursive analysis of historical events, legislation, and legal cases to make the argument that while history has shifted who the key political actors are, interrogating the Christian character of liberal modernity is essential to dispelling the myth of secular neutrality and thus better understanding contemporary power relations between Canadian governments and Indigenous nations.

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## A05(c) - Democracy, Diversity, and Parliamentary Discourse

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Chris Greenaway (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Kenny Le (UBC)

***What's the Value of Parliamentary Committees? Views From MPs and Senators:*** Jonathan Malloy (Carleton University), David de Paiva (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Parliamentary committees, especially in the House of Commons, have long been seen both as potential vehicles for backbencher effectiveness but also exercises in futility. This paper will draw on a set of interviews with current MPs and senators to assess how parliamentarians view committees. Do parliamentarians generally value committee activity? Do they see committees as effective, and under what circumstances? How much autonomy do parliamentarians feel they have on committees? How are committees different under minority government? Attention will also be paid to potential differences in gender and racialized perspectives on committee work.

***Diversity and Parliamentary Committee Witnesses in Canada:*** Elizabeth McCallion (Queen's University), Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Who gets to speak at parliamentary committee meetings? Are diverse perspectives represented? Committees play an important role in refining bills that are meant to serve Canada's diverse population. We contend that if Canadians care about democratic representation and gender diversity in parliament, this should extend to committee witnesses. They play a vital role in the policymaking process. In committees, they offer MPs their opinions on bills, provide information they deem appropriate, and promote particular policy solutions. As such, individuals' personal and professional perspectives shape policy that will affect their fellow citizens. This paper investigates the contributions of women's perspectives to this stage of the parliamentary process. To do so, we examine the gendered composition of committee witnesses in the Canadian House of Commons in the 41st and 42nd Parliaments. We ask: do women have an equal voice in this stage of the policymaking process? And compared to men, are committees with women in leadership positions more likely to engage women witnesses? More broadly, what are the gendered consequences of Canada's parliamentary process for committee witness recruitment? This research can help identify and correct the underrepresentation of women's perspectives in parliament. The paper sheds light on the roles of women in the parliamentary process, especially when it comes to bringing more women into the political sphere. In turn, the findings from this paper can be instructive for building a more equitable policymaking process.

***Democracy, Diversity and Parliament: Hybrid Proceedings and Changing Representation:*** Kathy Brock (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** During COVID-19, the hybrid format of Parliament enabled parliamentarians to debate, improve and pass legislation, especially needed support measures for Canadians. Benefits of Parliamentary hybridity included continuing onsite operations of Parliament with reduced personnel while conducting much legislative business with MPs remaining in their constituencies. As countries have begun emerging from pandemic, most Parliaments have returned to full in-person functioning, although some (ex. UK Parliament) have seen the development of organized lobbies for hybrid proceedings to ensure inclusiveness and accommodation of people with care responsibilities or with disabilities among others. Canada's Parliament has retained a hybrid format in the House of Commons until March 2023 while its Procedures and Operations Committee (PROC) investigates the possibility of retaining or discontinuing hybrid proceedings. This paper will investigate the following question:

Does democracy need to be done and seen to be done in person for Parliament to be effective, inclusive, and representative in future?

Thus, this paper assesses the benefits and drawbacks of hybrid proceedings with reference to the traditional accountability and support responsibilities of Parliament. The assessment criteria include the ability of Parliament to perform its key functions in a hybrid format, the benefits of a more flexible structure in accommodating diverse needs and achieving greater diversity of representation, and the impact of both formats on the democratic legitimacy of Parliament. Data for the analysis derives from recent reports on diversity in Parliament, PROC proceedings and experiences of Parliaments 2020-22.

***Putting Lipstick on a Pig: Parliamentarian Discursive Shifts on Opioids in the Neoliberal Era:*** Megan Aiken (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Shared understandings of people who use or sell drugs have historically informed immigration, cultural, and foreign policy as well as, of course, health and criminal law policy in Canada. Generally, the dominant view among Parliamentarians has been a default position where opiates are considered to be either morally good or bad depending on type, form, and method of use, which then determines whether policy solutions to an issue are a matter of health policy or criminal law. However, since 2015, the Government of Canada has explicitly recognized this dichotomy, especially concerning the ongoing opioid crisis, with several key Parliamentarians claiming opioids and the opioid crisis ought to be treated as a health issue, not a criminal one. Despite Canada's historic opioid policy regime remaining firmly rooted in federal criminal law, the federal government claims that, in fact, the ongoing crisis of opioid poisoning, that has claimed over 30,000 lives in Canada from January 2016 to March 2022, is being taken seriously as a matter of healthcare. This paper seeks to understand the broader context of neoliberalization and opioid discourses by Parliamentarians since the mid-90s. This paper is an extension of findings from my doctoral research that suggests that, in an era of austerity and fiscal restraint, the federal shift in discourse is not only a rhetorical one but also one that relies on Canada's federal-provincial arrangement of powers, effectively offloading responsibility to provinces and resulting in cross-Canada patchwork health policy while maintaining the overarching, historic federal policy regime.

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## A05(d) - Contentious Energy Politics ? Movements and Countermovements

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** VPDB-DB 0013 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Amy Janzwood (McGill University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** George Hoberg (University of British Columbia)

***Catalyzing Climate Action or Delay? Electric Utilities as Claim Makers in Canadian Energy Politics:*** Heather Millar (University of New Brunswick), Amy Janzwood (McGill University)

**Abstract:** The politics of decarbonization are likely to be rife with contention, as fossil fuel incumbents and climate advocates battle over preferred pathways of energy transformation and change (Breetz, Mildenerger, and Stokes 2018). Within the electricity sector, utilities have a dual potential to act as both climate advocates and fossil incumbents. On the one hand, utilities can foster decarbonization pathways by investing in net-metering, energy efficiency, feed-in-tariffs and distributed generation (Rowlands 2007; Stokes and Breetz 2018). On the other hand, utilities have also been found to advance narratives of climate delay, arguing for a slow, managed transitions in energy mixes, relying on ?clean coal? or carbon capture and storage (Williams et al. 2022). This study examines the degree to which Canadian utilities display this dual nature. Building on our prior work on ?bridge narratives? and energy transitions (Janzwood and Millar 2022), we conduct thematic analysis to identify the relative prevalence of clean growth and bridge frames in public-facing documents of Canadian utilities. Our findings contribute to the emerging literature on the role of utilities as institutional catalysts for both climate action and delay.

***The Urban Politicization of Fossil Fuel Infrastructure: Mediatization and Resistance in Energy Landscapes:*** Sophie VanNeste (Institut national de la recherche scientifique), Annabelle Couture-Guillet (McGill University)

**Abstract:** From 2013 to 2016, two pipeline projects were vigorously contested in the Tiohtià:ke: Montreal area in Quebec, Canada. These disputes are analyzed as instances of the urban politicization of fossil fuel infrastructure. This politicization involves power struggles for authority in energy landscapes, particularly in relation to the material entanglement of energy in the city-region, that is, which parts of the infrastructure and landscapes come to matter. Drawing on work from political ecologists and scholars pressing for a rematerializing of urban studies, we supplement their insights with a conceptualization of struggles for urban authority in the governance of energy, in two parallel processes: one of performing centralized urban authority (notably with the media) and a second messier politics of multiplicities operating in spaces of urban governance and resistance. Struggles for urban authority are co-constructed with the socio-material realities of infrastructure and involve actors who are engaged in everyday practices of regulating, maintaining and protecting landscapes. Yet, in the mediatization of urban energy landscapes, certain voices, notably of Indigenous communities, remain on the margins, resulting in few challenges to settler colonialism and climate-changing extractivism.

***A Tale of Two Coals: Contrasting Coal Transitions in Alberta:*** Bregje Van Veelen (Lund University)

**Abstract:** In 2015 the province of Alberta made international headlines when the social democratic-led government announced that it was to phase out coal-fired electricity in the province. While this phase-out was underway, the next conservative government announced a reversal of the long-standing Coal Policy, opening up the Eastern Slopes of the Rocky Mountains to renewed coal mining activity. While the difference between the two moves can be explained in terms of coal?s material qualities (the phase-out concerned thermal coal for electricity, the mining in the Rockies primarily concerns metallurgical coal, used for steel making), such an explanation is only the first step. Through tracing the social, political and economic relations entwined with coal?s different materialities this paper explores the emergence and implications of these different political responses and their contestations. In doing so, it highlights the importance of considering the multi-temporal relations in which coal is embedded, and demonstrates that transitions are not linear processes, but rather that their contentious politics can be best understood in terms of temporal dimensions of lingering, decay, and suspension.

***Whose Just Transition? The Contentious Politics of Energy Democracy in Canada:*** Julie MacArthur (Royal Roads University), Marie Claire Brisbois (University of Sussex), Derya Tarhan (Royal Roads University)

**Abstract:** Energy systems in Canada are undergoing significant, albeit uneven, transitions away from fossil fuel reliance and toward energy efficiency and renewables. The case for deep, extensive and radical restructuring grows stronger every year as both academic and industry modelling demonstrates the dangerous path that business as usual energy production, distribution and consumption leads us down (IEA 2022). Provincial and territorial variation Canadian resource and political cultures have led to a polarized politics of transition, one where powerful industry actors, political parties and social movement actors battle over control of energy futures (Carroll and Daub 2022, Carter 2020). It is in this fraught context that energy democracy (ED)?a movement toward more inclusive and distributed energy production?has emerged as part of a potential countermovement to the current hegemony of fossil fuel interests (Burke and Stephens 2018). This paper examines the contentious politics accompanying energy democracy movements in Canada. ED is an umbrella term for a diverse set of practices which encompasses: community renewable energy (CRE) projects as well as citizen energy policy forums and Indigenous energy sovereignty initiatives. Internationally, an extensive literature exists on the scope and effects of CRE and ED more broadly, but is far more limited in Canada (Brisbois 2019, MacArthur 2016). We highlight ways in which the theoretical and practical contribution of ED has recently been problematized, including opposition and incumbent lock-in over energy policy support as well as the dominance of quasi-private community energy at the expense of more socialised, radical and inclusive variants (Tarhan 2022).

## A05(e) - Inside the Pink Palace II

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 005

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Peter Constantinou (OLIP Director ? Directeur PSALO)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Julian Campisi (University of Toronto Scarborough)

#### *The Experiences of Introverts vs. Extraverts:* Karissa Singh (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** This research paper will seek to compare the experiences of introverts and extroverts in provincial parliament by interviewing Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs) at the Ontario Legislature. It will utilize Carl Jung's original definitions of introversion and extroversion. By this standard, an introvert is a person whose interest is generally directed inward toward their own feelings and thoughts, while an extrovert tends to focus their attention on other people and their external surroundings. The Myers-Briggs Personality Type Indicator is a self-report inventory designed to identify an individual's personality type, including their levels of introversion and extroversion. Due to feasibility and time constraints, a self-report method will instead be employed in this research, where participants will self-identify as either an introvert or extrovert at the outset of their interview. Data collection will terminate once at least 5 of each personality types are found (i.e., at least 5 participants identify as an introvert and at least 5 participants identify as an extrovert). Presently, research is scant on the topic of introversion and extroversion within the provincial Legislature. This research paper will uncover whether different experiences exist between those who possess these differing personality types and how they manifest in the Legislature. It will also examine whether certain traits associated with introversion and extroversion act as an advantage or hinderance in provincial parliament. Lastly, this paper will get insight directly from Members of Provincial Parliament into skills they hope to develop during their time as an elected official, in hopes of assessing whether any common responses arise between introverts and extroverts.

#### *Once upon a Time in the Pink Palace?: The Use of Emotive Rhetoric and Personal Storytelling during Question Period at the Ontario Legislature:* Alia Mufti (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** The use of personal anecdotes and emotive language has played a contentious role during Question Period; some claim that it exacerbates partisan politics and lack of decorum in the House, while others claim that it is a tool to create more engaging and open democratic communication. Politicians have utilized personal storytelling and emotive rhetoric commonly around the world and in a growingly polarizing political climate, the impact of understanding the role these types of rhetoric plays are becoming imperative. While various studies have examined aspects of emotional rhetoric and personal storytelling, few have tried to understand the role it plays in debates of public policies, especially in Ontario. How should we understand personal storytelling and emotive language in the space of politics? Is it an obstruction to democratic communication or is it a necessary tool to personalize politics and engage audiences? Question Period is one of the most notable events in Ontario's legislature where MPPs often use emotional language and anecdotes to debate and discuss political policies. By analyzing speeches and debates during Question Period through literature review and in-person interviews, this paper aims to understand the role language plays in our democratic institutions. The analysis of emotive rhetoric and storytelling will provide a broader overview on the efficacy of our democratic practises and may shed light on political polarization in Ontario.

#### *Constituency Office Security: History and Future Directions:* Sophie Williams (Ontario Legislature Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Upon arrival into the Parliamentary Precinct, it is highly apparent to visitors and staff of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario that the Legislative Protective Service (LPS) works diligently to protect the Main Legislative Building, Whitney Block, and all those who work in these buildings. However, another very important and lesser-known role of the LPS is to audit the constituency offices of Members of Provincial Parliament, and to provide suggestions to Members and their staff regarding security improvements for their offices.

In recent years, there have been a wide range of updates to security standards in and around the Legislative Assembly, particularly motivated by recent security threats and events at legislatures across Canada and around the world. Since then, there has been thorough news coverage into the security changes to Legislative Assembly buildings following these events, but far less commentary has covered constituency office security and how these standards have changed over time. As such, this paper aims to fill this gap by answering the question: what historical and recent events were most influential in shaping constituency office security measures in Ontario?

This paper argues that security incidents both in constituency offices and in other legislative and government buildings, as well as a general increase in security concerns in public settings, have led to heightened security measures at Ontario constituency offices. The paper will also examine the balance between accessibility, openness, and security.

To contextualize this paper, research was conducted through interviewing officers from the LPS Investigative Liaison Unit about constituency office audits and current constituency office security measures, in addition to the significant historical events that led to changes in constituency office security measures over the years. MPPs from both the past and the present Parliaments were also interviewed. For background and historical information, resources from the library and journals were also consulted; however, the research referenced in this paper was mainly interview based.

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## B05(a) - La politique institutionnelle et la politique contestataire : séparées à la naissance?

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 006

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Sabrina Sotiriu (University of Ottawa)

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

*Penser les rapports partis-mouvements à l'aune de la configuration du pouvoir social des régimes démocratique en société capitaliste:* Xavier Lafrance (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** Bien que certains auteurs aient souligné la complémentarité entre mouvements sociaux et partis politiques (McAdam 2003), plusieurs politologues semblent accepter qu'ils appartiennent à des sphères séparées, soumises à des logiques distinctes et souvent opposées. Cette perception semble être partagée par plusieurs acteurs sociopolitiques. Face à cela, des chercheurs ont lancé un appel à une analyse plus poussée des liens (« linkages ») entre la politique électorale et la politique mouvementiste (McAdam et Tarrow, 2010).

Cette communication prendra pour appui une revue de la littérature sur les rapports entre mouvements et partis pour identifier les ponts qui relient, mais aussi les fossés qui séparent, ces modes d'engagement politique. Notre hypothèse centrale est que l'analyse de ces rapports sera davantage féconde si elle tient compte de l'économie politique qui est propre au capitalisme. La configuration du pouvoir politique social (tout particulièrement sa différenciation en sphères « politique » et « économique ») et le fonctionnement des régimes de démocratie libérale en société capitaliste impliquent une tendance à scinder la politique électorale/partisane et la politique extra-parlementaire.

Nous présenterons ici le cadre théorique qui guide une étude, financée par le CRSH, qui porte sur les facteurs qui facilitent et qui nuisent à la combinaison des modes d'engagements partisans et mouvementistes par des nouveaux partis politiques de gauche au sein de quatre territoires distincts : Syriza (Grèce), l'Alliance rouge et verte (ARV, Danemark), le Mouvement vers le socialisme (MAS, Bolivie), et le Parti socialisme et liberté (PSOL, Brésil).

*Approche comparative pour saisir le paradoxe des soulèvements de 2019 au Chili et en Équateur:* Thomas Chiasson-Lebel (Université de l'Ontario français)

**Abstract:** En 2019, des soulèvements simultanés ont secoué l'Équateur et le Chili et reçu une réponse d'une rare violence de la part de l'État. Alors que le rejet de la proposition de constitution au Chili en septembre 2022 retient l'attention, il est important de s'intéresser au mouvement qui a mené à la convocation d'une assemblée constituante, et aux caractéristiques de ce dernier qui contribuent à expliquer un tel résultat. Une approche comparative avec les manifestations en Équateur révèle un paradoxe : alors que ce genre de soulèvement a historiquement produit des changements institutionnels importants en Équateur et peu d'effets institutionnels au Chili, ce fut le contraire en 2019.

Cet article présente les résultats d'une recherche multinationale financée par la CLACSO. La méthodologie mixte a permis de récolter des données quantitatives (analyse de Twitter) et qualitatives (entrevues et revues de presse) entre juillet 2021 et avril 2022 dans les deux pays. Il propose une lecture de la relation entre deux dimensions des mouvements. D'une part, il explore la représentation : la démocratie des organisations qui autorise à agir légitimement comme porte-parole de la rue. D'autre part, il s'intéresse à la capitalisation : la capacité d'influencer la structure institutionnelle et politique, soit par l'élection de représentant.e.s dans les institutions de l'État ou l'obtention de réformes institutionnelles. L'article conclut que le paradoxe s'explique par l'existence, dans le cas de l'Équateur, d'une hégémonie contre-hégémonique: une organisation capable d'unir la capacité de représentation et de capitalisation, alors que ce ne fut pas le cas au Chili.

*La stratégie du parti-mouvement de Québec solidaire: avancées et limites d'un modèle politique pour radicaliser les luttes sociales:* Christian Pépin (York University), Audrey Laurin-Lamothe (York University)

**Abstract:** Cet article analyse le modèle de parti-mouvement développé par Québec solidaire. Inspiré par le populisme de gauche et le « big organizing » (tel quel développé par les campagnes de Bernie Sanders), ce modèle de « parti-mouvement » vise à développer QS comme acteur indépendant au sein de la politique extra-parlementaire. Basée sur 23 entrevues semi-dirigées avec des représentants et membres influents du parti, notre recherche démontre que cette stratégie a été développée afin d'atteindre 4 objectifs : 1) gagner des réformes entre les élections; 2) agir comme force de radicalisation politique des mouvements sociaux au Québec; 3) créer une crise de légitimité politique afin de positionner QS comme alternative électorale; 4) développer une aile extra-parlementaire capable de soutenir et d'exercer une pression sur un gouvernement de QS à travers la mobilisation de masse.

Nous analysons les justifications et pratiques associées à cette stratégie à la lueur des résultats des élections provinciales de 2022 et à la lueur des défis qu'un gouvernement QS aurait à faire face une fois au pouvoir. Mettre sur pied des campagnes politiques visant à gagner des réformes entre les élections via une mobilisation de masse et une escalade des moyens de pressions sont des objectifs qui rompent avec un électoralisme conventionnel. À la lueur de la distinction entre pouvoir associatif et pouvoir structurel, cette forme de parti-mouvement ne semble pas pouvoir remplir sa promesse de construire un rapport de force suffisant afin de gagner des réformes d'envergure avant de prendre le pouvoir.

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## B05(b) - Crisis & Place in Comparative Perspective

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Alex Dyzenhaus (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Marcus Cloßen (University of Toronto)

**Climate action, energy transition and support for renewables: conceptual refinement of a crowded field:** Lori Thorlakson (University of Alberta),  
Huong Le (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.

**Political Crisis and Diaspora Enfranchisement by Democracies and Non-Democracies:** Ahmed Khattab (Georgetown University)

**Abstract:** This paper aims to explore how political crises in non-democracies are associated with the politicization of their emigrant communities. States seek recognition and legitimation of domestic political processes abroad. They also create ties with their diaspora as a mechanism of monitoring and control. Both crises and subsequent rights extensions motivate the diaspora to seek opportunities for political activity. Diasporic "entrepreneurs" capitalize on this political activation to mobilize members at the fault lines of home country politics. Diaspora engagement with host country politics simultaneously continues to make home country politics salient. This paper argues that an autocratic response to crisis leads to restricted, contained, and largely symbolic diaspora enfranchisement by the home state. On the other hand, a democratic response to crisis leads to expansive, inclusive, and empowering diaspora enfranchisement by the home state. After broadly examining how crises affect the likelihood of diasporic enfranchisement by democracies compared to non-democracies, the paper provides a closer comparative case analysis of how Egypt and Tunisia witnessed discursive bargaining over the notion of extraterritorial citizenship and political rights. This project attempts to examine how these developments increasingly reveal the contentious politics of activating and deactivating diaspora communities.

**HIV/AIDS as a Security Threat: An Evaluation of Africa's Response:** Comfort Tiwaa Kwarteng (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** This paper seeks to explore the extent to which the African Union (AU) is responding to HIV/AIDS as a security threat. The prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Africa has led to the recognition of the epidemic as a threat to human security, thereby attracting the attention of international institutions such as the United Nations (UN), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and other state-led actions. Africa remains the region with the highest increased number of people infected with HIV/AIDS which reveals a high aspect of human insecurity. Initially, most of the policy solutions to combat the HIV/AIDS epidemic were externally driven and Africa for long has depended on external actors to fight the epidemic. However, African leaders have realized the need to take initiative to combat the HIV/AIDS epidemic by adopting several policies including the Abuja Declaration, AIDS Watch Africa, and the African Union Roadmap. Yet, this emerging trend is under-researched, and this paper seeks to contribute to the literature by focusing on African countries' commitment to the Abuja Declaration from 2001 to 2015. The results show that most African states increased funds to the health sector following the introduction of the Abuja Declaration in 2001. This shows a strong political and financial commitment on the part of African leaders in responding to the HIV/AIDS menace. However, there is difficulty in maintaining a consistent allocation of funds which has affected the efficient implementation and sustainability of most HIV programmes in Africa.

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## C05(a) - Roundtable: Understanding North American Migration Governance

### International Relations

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** VPDB-DB 0011 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Kiran Banerjee (Dalhousie University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Kiran Banerjee (Dalhousie University)

Kiran Banerjee (Dalhousie University)

Geoffrey Cameron (McMaster University)

Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos (University of Toronto)

Alise Coen (University of Wisconsin-Green Bay)

Shauna Labman (University of Winnipeg)

Olga Odgers Ortiz (El Colegio de la Frontera Norte)

**Abstract:** This roundtable brings together contributors to a forthcoming edited volume, "Understanding North American Migration Governance" (MQUP 2023). The volume aims to advance our understanding of the dynamics of migration across the continent, with a particular focus on the role of intersecting policy frameworks around labor mobility, border security, asylum and refugee policy, as well as immigration and resettlement. The roundtable participants will engage with developments in North American migration policy, regional migration management and controls, norms and discourses impacting cross-border mobility, and connections with global migration governance and regimes.

Scholarship on migration governance in North America has been limited to the continent's lack of regionalism, yet the continent is characterized by deep interdependence and engagement with global mobility dynamics. The region is a crucial destination for international migrants of all categories, has seen increasing cooperation to forestall irregular mobility and asylum, and is comprised of key state and substate actors with significant influence on international mobility regimes. Migration dynamics in North America have also undergone significant changes in the past half-decade. Border control, immigration, asylum, and irregular migration are ongoing flashpoints in Canadian, American, and Mexican relations, with these issues now highly controversial within the domestic politics of each country. Most recently, the COVID-19 pandemic witnessed unprecedented border shutdowns - highlighting the deep imbrications of migration with transnational public health coordination and the broader political economy of the continent.

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## C05(b) - Global Interventions in Climate Change and World Politics

### International Relations

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 009

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Aaron Ettinger (Carleton University)

***Green Growth Through 'Eco'tourism: Contradictory Fantasy, or Pursuit Worthy Pathways?:*** Andrew Heffernan (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Ecotourism has been promoted by governments of the North and South as well as multilateral organizations, international financial institutions, and NGOs as a pathway for sustainable development for many developing economies. This is based on decades of evidence that demonstrates growth in tourism sectors in many countries across the Global South, which has led to a continued push for the proliferation of ecotourism by many academics as well as practitioners as part of effective development strategies. Pandemic aside, this growth seems poised to continue over the coming decades, offering potentially lucrative infusions of capital to economies in need. However, as the world teeters on the brink of irreversible and catastrophic climate change, and global leaders continue to push toward net zero economies, to what degree can various iterations of global environmental governance that push for ecotourism continue to be seen as sustainable? While 'eco'tourists can provide a great deal in the way of local economic and environmental benefits, they also invariably contribute a great deal to exacerbating climate change. This paper will discuss these contradictions, while suggesting that some sort of middle path ought to be pursued that limits ecotourists while greening the tourism of those who do go.

***Fifty Shades of Green? An Agential Constructivist Analysis of Meaningful Stakeholder Engagement in Africa's Mining Sector:*** J. Andrew Grant (Queen's University), Surulola Eke (Queen's University), Evelyn Mayanja (Carleton University), Olusola Ogunnubi (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Although transitioning to renewable energy sources is an important strategy to address climate change, relatively little attention has been allocated to how this transition is impacting community members who reside near the mining sites of 'green minerals' (e.g., cobalt, copper, lithium, graphite, nickel) and surrounding areas. Concomitantly, it is unclear whether mining activities and supply chains associated with green minerals can be reconciled with potential gains for the environment. A handful of countries, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), are home to some of the largest reserves of green minerals in the world, yet the 'voices' of the very people living near where the mining occurs -- are rarely incorporated as part of these debates and problem-solving efforts. Guided by an agential constructivist theoretical approach and informed by fieldwork including participant observations and other primary data, this paper examines and compares the extent to which stakeholder consultation regimes, such as the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPs) and Africa Mining Vision (AMV), promote public goods envisioned by environmental and social impact assessments in Africa.

***The Arctic, Climate Change, and Environmental Diplomacy in the Study of Canadian Foreign Policy:*** Wilfrid Greaves (University of Victoria), Gabriella Gricius (Colorado State University)

**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 five 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 marginalized within relevant 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.

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## C05(c) - Follow the Money: Development and Funding in a Post-COVID World

### International Relations

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 104

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Benjamin Toettoe (Université de Montréal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Benjamin Toettoe (Université de Montréal)

**Indigenous perceptions on the European Union (EU)'s parliamentary democracy assistance (A case study of the Pakistan Parliament from 2012-2016):** Somia Tasneem (Government College University, Faisalabad)

**Abstract:** Pakistan has a long history of parliamentary democracy. During the British rule in India, the Muslims of India initiated a political struggle that resulted in the establishment of an independent state known as Pakistan. Thus, Pakistan first appeared on the world map on August 14, 1947. It inherited and adopted the British federal parliamentary system. However, the parliament's role as a democratic institution has been undermined by repeated military takeovers throughout Pakistan's political history. Given the importance of the parliament's role in the country's democratic development, it is critical to highlight the indigenous perspective on international parliamentary democracy assistance to strengthen the parliament as a democratic institution. This study focuses on the European Union's (EU) role as a parliamentary democracy promoter in Pakistan through the 'Improving Parliamentary Performance in Pakistan' project, which was funded by the EU. It is also known as the 'IP3 project'. The primary data is based on the interviews conducted with the EU, its project implementing partners (the British Council, Democracy Reporting International (DRI), the Research Society of International Law (RSIL), and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy), members of parliament (MPs), members of selected committees, parliamentary officials and parliamentary staff from January 2018 to March 2018. Although much has been written about democracy in Pakistan, the study of parliamentary democracy is an under-researched area. Most importantly, the role of international parliamentary democracy assistance remains largely unexplored. Each country's parliament is distinct, as are its cultural values and norms. The purpose of this research is to investigate

**Crowdfunding Conflict: An analysis of crowdfunding efforts in the Ukraine-Russian War:** Jeffrey Rice (MacEwan University)

**Abstract:** This project examines crowdsourcing and fundraising efforts currently underway in the Ukraine-Russia conflict. It addresses two inter-related questions: (1) How have crowdsourcing efforts been employed in the Ukrainian war? And (2) How and why are crowdsourcing efforts successful in this context? The role of non-state and sub-state actors in conflict is well-established in the literature. The major focus of these studies, however, is examining the role that non-state and sub-state groups have on shaping conflict. Yet new networking, financing, and communications technologies have facilitated the participation of not just groups in armed conflict, but have enabled individuals to contribute to a war effort from afar. In this light, crowdfunding has come to play a significant role in supporting the Ukrainian war effort, not just in terms of monetary contributions, but as a way to rally both foreign and domestic support for the war. Selling scrap metal keychains from downed Russian fighter jets and having personalized messages written on Ukrainian artillery shells used against Russian soldiers in the battlefield are just notable two examples of crowdfunding efforts currently underway in Ukraine. The exact number is unknown, but dozens of crowdfunding campaigns are being conducted in Ukraine with the aim of helping the Ukrainian government buy ammunition, protective equipment for its soldiers, among other things. This paper therefore examines a novel trend in contemporary warfare, with crowdfunding efforts being employed in a highly organized and effective way.

**Inclusive Green Growth: Justice for Sustainable Development or a Concept of Contradictions?:** Alicja Krubnik (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** The concept of Inclusive Green Growth (IGG) has taken shape over two decades, and earliest conceptions can be traced to neoliberal co-options of ecologism from Rio 20+. Now, IGG is understood among its foremost proponents of the World Bank and Asian Development Bank to be premised on the sustainable development paradigm and aims to merge the dimensions of society, environment, culture and economy into development practice. However, as the term suggests, IGG explicitly focuses on economic growth as a means to achieve socially desirable outcomes. This principle is underpinned by processes of neoliberalisation and overlaps with what David Harvey has aptly operationalized as accumulation by dispossession (AbD): processes of corporatization and commodification, speculative financialisation, redistribution toward the economically privileged, and the manipulation of crises to push this agenda forward. If IGG fits in with these aspects of AbD, it puts into question whether IGG could succeed in being a truly inclusive approach to development.

This paper examines IGG plans by the World Bank and Asian Development Bank in low- and middle-income countries on the bases of the sustainable development paradigm that IGG is touted to be premised on; it probes the social, ecological, and especially relational impacts of programs. For IGG to promote sustainable relational justice it should reject AbD processes, otherwise 'inclusivity' suggested by the term presents an inherent contradiction. By examining challenges of IGG through the sustainable development paradigm lens as well as across contexts and scales, this paper answers: is the 'inclusivity' in IGG an inherent contradiction?

**Two years later: how do East African artists feel about the retreat and return of funders and organizations?:** John Battye (MacEwan University), Telisa Courtney (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Two years ago, we interviewed members of grassroots arts-based community development organizations in Kenya and Uganda to present to the academic community at Congress. These interviews highlighted the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on their work, specifically in terms of the withdrawal of financial, administrative, and other supports from international development agencies and funding bodies. In a moment of protectionism and uncertainty, funding grassroots activism in the Global South was not a priority. Today, in the "post-COVID" world, there is a resurgence of support for such activism, which is often framed as a movement to bring support to marginalized areas as the Global North lifts restrictions and reopens for "business as usual." In international research, there is already a troubling feeling that grassroots community development in the Global South must produce useful data for the use of funders to prove themselves worthy. Many of the organisations with whom we have relationships report feeling like lab rats, who are at the whim of

global (neo)colonial power and funding; this feeling, to them, has been exacerbated by the sudden, renewed presence of researchers and funders who have been absent for the last two years. We propose to present a follow-up from two years ago. What is the messaging they receive now compared to two years ago, and compared to the pre-pandemic world? We want to focus their voices and hear how they have responded to the shift from silence to an influx of good-intentioned but potentially problematic funding agencies and organizations.

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## F05 - Issues and Beliefs

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 203

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Natasha Goel (University of Toronto)

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

***Supernatural beliefs, self-control, and cognitive biases in moral policy debates:*** Hugo Machado (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** Using measures of implicit associations, explicit individual beliefs and social attitude scales, this study will attempt to answer why, even when controlling for political ideology and religiosity, the moralization of individual pleasures is a key political issue for some people but not others? Moral Disciplining Theory (MDT) argues that the moralization of bodily pleasures comes from the assumption that they can facilitate social harm, hinder cooperation, and disrupt the social order (Fitouchi, André, Baumard, 2022). Other than the social control function they serve, these beliefs find support in cognitive biases that bypass typical mechanisms of epistemic vigilance, making believers more prone to manipulation and less likely to change their minds given new information on the moralized issue. Political Scientists have found that prohibitionist attitudes tend to broadly correlate to conservative-liberal self-reports (e.g., Timberlake et al. 2001), but there is still significant variation cross-cutting ideological beliefs and religious orientations yet to be explained. Thus, I hypothesize that supernatural punishment beliefs and religious beliefs emphasizing self-control will predict increased support for repressive policies regarding bodily pleasures (i.e., drug use). I also predict those with higher needs for cognitive closure and lower need for cognition will be more likely to endorse repression and see these acts as morally impermissible. Using data from the Ideology 2.0 project (conducted in the USA from 2007-2012) as the primary instrument of analysis, I will test these correlations along with standard controls to investigate further the interconnections between individual characteristics, ideology, religion, and preferences on moral policy issues.

***The Electoral Foundations of Welfare State Expansion:*** Richard Johnston (University of British Columbia), Keith Banting (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Since 2015, the Liberal government has introduced the most significant expansion of social programs in several generations. The changes include: the restructuring and expansion of the Canada Child Benefit: the reversal of the previous government's increase in the age of eligibility for Old Age Security (OAS) and the Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS); the reform of the Canada Pension Plan to enhance future benefits for low-wage workers; a major expansion of \$10-a-day regulated child care spaces across the country; a new disability benefit program modelled on the GIS (currently before the House of Commons), and first steps towards a dental program for low-income children. Cumulatively, the new programs already in place, in combination with the federal response to Covid, have reduced child poverty and have produced a significant decline in social assistance recipients. This paper seeks to analyze the politics of social policy expansion. In particular, it asks how much of the Liberal party's policy shifts can be explained in electoral terms. The program was largely forecast by the Liberal platform of 2015, which outflanked the NDP on the left. This had never happened before. Has the overlap between Liberal and NDP electoral bases increased competition on the political centre-left in Canada? Has the growing affective and policy gap between Liberals and Conservatives altered Liberals' options? How do these changes interact with changing electoral geography? Our analyses will combine data from merged files of the Canadian Election Study, from official returns, and from party platforms.

***The Prevalence and Correlates of Residential School Denialism in the Canadian Public:*** Edana Beauvais (Simon Fraser University), Mark Williamson (New York University)

**Abstract:** For a period of more than 150 years, nearly 140 government-funded and church-operated Indian Residential Schools operated across Canada. According to Canada's National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, at least 4,117 children died at the schools, although the actual number is likely much higher. In the spring and summer of 2021, unmarked graves were discovered at several former schools across the country using ground-penetrating radar: in Kamloops (200 graves), Marieval (751), Cranbrook (182) and Kuper Island (160). While the discoveries 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 whether any graves have been discovered at all and whether they contain Indigenous children. Denialists also erroneously claim that many of the deaths were unavoidable and that the schools did not contribute lasting harms to Indigenous Peoples. In this paper, we develop a unidimensional and reliable scale that taps into the latent concept of denialism. Using this new measure, we characterize the extent of denialism in Canada, finding it is remarkably high. For example, roughly one-fifth of Canadians doubt that graves have been discovered at all. We also show that support for denialism correlates with partisanship and several important demographic predictors. This study advances our understanding of barriers to reconciliation in Canada and contributes to broader debates on the role of misinformation in politics.

***Changing the Lens: The Added Value of Analyzing Marginal Means and Using the Rating Outcome in the Analysis of Conjoint Experiments:*** Clareta Treger (University Of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Conjoint experiments in political research became very popular since Hainmueller et al.'s methodological article. Until recently, the majority of the studies utilizing this design have focused on the analysis of the causal quantities - Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCEs) - obtained by the conjoint. However, Leeper et al.'s highlighted the importance of also considering marginal means (MMs), which offer descriptive quantities of preferences. Building upon their work, I demonstrate the difference in the substantive conclusions and underlying policy implications that can arise from examining MMs and AMCEs. Using an original conjoint experiment conducted in Israel and the US on the determinants of public attitudes toward paternalistic policies, I show that while the causal effects of different policy attributes are very similar in the two countries, when levels of support are examined through MMs, the policy implications of these effects differ substantially in each country. To further exemplify the added value of MMs, I also reanalyze two recent studies that focused on AMCEs and demonstrate how the inclusion of MMs could have enriched or altered the conclusions drawn. I conclude with practical recommendations for researchers who are interested in analyzing conjoint data.



## G05(a) - Uneven Development in Space and Labour

### Political Economy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 204

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Laam Hae (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Laam Hae (York University)

#### *Agrarian Transformation and Labour Migration as Co-constitutive Factors in Uneven Development in and Between Guatemala and Canada.:*

Chris Little (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper develops an understanding of the relationship between agrarian transformation and labour migration in and between Canada and Guatemala, with a view to situating these dynamics within wider hemispheric and global processes of uneven development. It argues that agrarian transformation and flows of migrant labour are co-constitutive, and that through understanding them in this manner we can see the relationship between otherwise seemingly disparate processes of agrarian transformation such as has taken place in Canada and Guatemala in recent decades.

Drawing on theoretical work to elaborate on the role of labour migration in structuring patterns of uneven development, the paper discusses the need to focus on the changing nature of agrarian labour and its politically determinant role in national development trajectories. It argues that through an attentiveness to the specificity of the experience of migrant agricultural labour, a deeper general understanding of the reproduction of unevenness within the world economy can be apprehended.

Patterns of spatial change in rural areas, particularly in the form of increasing concentration of agricultural land, are vital to explaining the recent and longer-term historical paths of national development taken in both Canada and Guatemala. Exploring migrant agricultural labour as a linkage between these two states can help us to understand what links these processes, and provides a complement to approaches that seek to understand the flows of capital between states in order to do similarly, challenging methodological nationalism and anchoring agricultural transformation in a global frame of analysis.

#### *The Persistence of Informality and Patterns of Working-class Formation and Resistance in Neoliberal Brazil:* Sean Isaacs (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper will examine the relationship between patterns of informality in neoliberal Brazil, with a specific focus on labour and housing. It will argue that the persistence of informality during the time of the PT government can best be understood through the lens of uneven development, both globally and internal to Brazil. This will contribute to an understanding of the trajectory of neoliberalism in Brazil, from its developmental form under the Workers' Party to the Far-Right politics of Jair Bolsonaro. The paper seeks to understand the relationship between finance capital, state policy, and patterns of working-class formation. It will do so both from above, through an examination of the PT's housing policy, and from below, through an emphasis on the changing nature of workers' consciousness as it relates to informal labour.

While significant economic reforms were instituted under the direction of the PT, the hegemony of finance capital was maintained and structural economic unevenness persisted, creating a situation of dependence within the global economy. While certain levels of formality were encouraged under the PT, informal forms of labour and housing continued. Considering the relationship between informality and working-class consciousness will provide insight with regards to the political activity and resistance that occurred under the PT, including the events of June 2013 and the move to the Far-Right politics of Bolsonaro.

#### *Passive Revolution in 20th Century Latin America: Urban Growth, Squatter Clientelism, and the Formation of Power Blocs in Mexico and Venezuela:* Simeon Newman (University of Michigan)

Simeon Newman (University of Michigan)

**Abstract:** The Gramscian concept of 'passive revolution' denotes a form of political development that contrasts with both bottom-up social revolution and top-down counterrevolution. Passive revolutions involve the emergence of a 'dual power' scenario which unseats the old elite but is then contained by a new nation-building elite. Scholars have applied the concept to a variety of cases, from 20th century India to South Africa and beyond. In this paper, I apply the theory of passive revolution to the political development of 20th century Latin America. Conceptually, I argue that the theory helps distinguish a third type of political development from both revolutionary regimes which rose to power through peasant insurrection (Cuba, Nicaragua) and counterrevolutionary ones who responded to militant workers' movements (Brazil, Argentina). This third type includes cases like Mexico and Venezuela, which saw the old elite unseated, after which a modernizing new elite came to power, preempting social revolutions. Empirically, I argue that Mexico and Venezuela both experienced passive revolutions because of urban dynamics. Large parts of the peasantry migrated into cities, especially capital cities, defusing the revolutionary threat in the countryside. And to secure an urban life and become denizens, they entered into clientelistic relations with political elites, which dampened urban workers' militancy and thereby made it unnecessary for the old elite to unleash a counterrevolution. This allowed nation-building elites to securely take the helm. The result was the longest-ruling party in Latin American history (the Mexican PRI) and the region's 'exceptional democracy' (Venezuela's perfect two-party alternation in power).

#### *The Spaces of Social Reproduction of Precarious and Informal Workers in Argentina:* Ruth Felder (Ontario Tech University), Viviana Patroni (York University)

**Abstract:** Debates about social reproduction have contributed novel ways of thinking about some of the issues informal and precarious workers and their families confront. As in the case of informality and precarity themselves, a full understanding of social reproduction requires a consideration of its spatiality. Moreover, space is central in understanding the responses to the crisis of social reproduction in communities where the reconfiguration of the world of work

has eroded the traditional ideological and physical distance between household and workplace.

Historically, the state, the household, capital and civil society have had varying degrees of responsibility to provide some of the material and institutional bases that make social reproduction possible. While states withdrew services that were central for the reproduction of the labour force, the void has not always led to the commodification or privatization of social reproduction as many proponents and some critics of neo-liberalism expected. On the contrary, as more people have become affected by poverty and informality, in some cases their efforts to ensure social reproduction strengthened collective approaches.

Our paper will explore the transformation of precarious workers? neighbourhoods in the greater Buenos Aires region as these workers?most of them women?struggle to bring new reproductive options amidst widespread precarization. We will study the reconfiguration of local spaces associated with these struggles. Our intention is to grasp the changes that have been imprinted in these neighbourhoods both by the neoliberal destruction of livelihoods and the struggles against further encroachment from capital and to demand from the state the resources needed to

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## G05(b) - Rik Davidson/Studies in Political Economy Book Prize

### Political Economy

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** DB0006

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Hepzibah Munoz Martinez (University of New Brunswick)

**Sponsor / Commanditaire :** Studies in Political Economy Journal

**Joint Session / Séance conjointe :** Society for Socialist Studies

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=89](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=89)

*Rik Davidson/Studies in Political Economy Book Prize Lecture:* Heather Whiteside (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** The lecture showcases the work of this year's winner of the the Rik Davidson/Studies in Political Economy Book Prize in Political Economy. This year's winner is Heather Whiteside, the author of the book *Capitalist Political Economy: Thinkers and Theories*. This book explores principal themes in the development of capitalism and political economic thought, and contextualizes the legacy of foundational political economists by exploring their life and times. The book prize talk will highlight some of Heather Whiteside's new areas of research on the political economy of the state.

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## H05 - Animals in the History of Western Political Thought

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 205

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Stefan Dolgert (Brock University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Stefan Dolgert (Brock University)

***Animal Irrationality as the Basis of Human Exceptionalism in the Western Political Canon:*** Serrin Rutledge-Prior (Australian National University)

**Abstract:** Aristotle's claim that man, as the only animal endowed with the capacity for language and a sense of justice, was a uniquely "political animal", has cast a long shadow over the history of Western political thought. This paper seeks to make explicit this common thread in the canon – that of other-than-human animals' supposed "irrationality" – and how it has been used as a foundation for asserting the exceptionalism of humans in key texts by those such as Locke, Rousseau, and Bentham. Then, drawing on evidence from ecological and biological sciences and non-Western knowledge traditions, the paper seeks to challenge the assumption of other-than-human animals' irrationality and, therefore, to challenge the anthropocentrism of the Western canon. The paper spells out the implications of rejecting human exceptionalism with a re-accounting of Locke's theory of property that decentres the human agent. Locke thought that individuals gained ownership over natural resources through the "mixing of their labour" with them. I suggest that, if we are to accept this account – and to reject assumptions of human exceptionalism – then we need to recognise property ownership in the nonhuman sphere. That is, that property may be held by animals who mix their own forms of labour with the land: by the beavers who build dams that shape the flow of river waters; by the birds who construct elaborate nests for their offspring; by the ants who construct elaborate nests featuring chambers serving distinct purposes.

***Negative Tradition: Animal Absence and Challenging the Western Canon from Within:*** André Krebber (Leipzig University)

**Abstract:** When we speak of a Western tradition, and especially a Western canon of universality, including human uniqueness and superiority, Hegel proves inseparable from it. Yet in "Phenomenology of Spirit", this very archetype of Western universalist hubris concedes that "just as when I say: all animals the word cannot pass for a zoology, just as obvious is that such words as the divine, the absolute, the eternal, etc., do not pronounce what is contained in them." Such observation, by someone like Hegel, confounds today's claims in animal studies and ecocritical political theories that animals have been absent, overlooked and essentialized as universal foil to demonstrate a uniqueness and moral and intellectual superiority of humans in the Western canon, without of course unraveling them. Taking Hegel's observation as starting point, I will consider the absence of animals in the Western canon more closely. Indeed, in combination with current research in animal studies, Hegel's observation raises the possibility, that this absence is more nuanced and complicated than a mere forgetting of animals in politics and history. In a first step, I thus offer a more complex understanding of the absence, in order to provide a theoretically more rigorous starting point for a systematic appraisal of this gap. In a second step, I will ask for its political consequences through Susan Buck-Morss' rereading of Hegel in the context of the Haitian revolution. Buck-Morss serves here as reflexive foil for me to consider aspects of place and decolonization in our critique of a Western canon.

***Slavery and the Political Turn in Animal Studies:*** Jishnu Guha-Majumdar (Butler University)

**Abstract:** One of the more recent developments in animal studies has been the "political turn," which theorizes the inclusion of animals as political actors and not simply recipients of ethical duties. This paper argues that despite its usefulness, much work in the political turn relies on an unexamined image of transatlantic slavery and its relationship to politics, especially when it discusses the status of sentient property, personhood, and the character of political membership in general. Scholarship has considered how earlier work in animal studies, especially in its "abolitionist" strain, has often instrumentalized slavery for its own ends. I argue that the more contemporary political turn has its own fraught relationship with slavery, but one that is more subtle and complex than earlier abolitionist work. To do so, I examine three works that have been central to the political turn: Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka's "Zoopolis", Robert Garner's "A Theory of Justice for Animals", and Alasdair Cochrane's "Sentientist Politics". Drawing upon black studies critiques of personhood and civil society, this paper suggests that unsettling the political turn's image of slavery both offers better alliances between anti-racist and anti-anthropocentric politics and also challenges optimism about liberal-democratic politics' ability to address animal suffering. The implications of this image become especially relevant in relation to an understudied dimension of politics within the political turn: punishment, and how politically including animals alters or extends problems in criminal (in)justice.

***Multispecies Politics Beyond Liberalism: Animal Liberation and the Radical Tradition:*** Zipporah Weisberg (Independent Scholar)

**Abstract:** Thus far the political turn in animal studies has been dominated by liberal perspectives while comparatively little attention has been given to the radical political tradition. This paper aims to fill that lacuna by exploring what insights into reshaping human and nonhuman relations along equitable lines the radical tradition might offer. What would a multispecies grassroots democracy look like, for example? How might we conceive of multispecies communities outside the categories of citizenship, denizenship, and sovereignty as proposed by Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka? Is it possible (or even advisable) to work towards the construction of an anarcho-communist multispecies society? Or are liberal frameworks the most amenable to meaningful transformation at this historical juncture?

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## J05 - Understanding Federalism and Federalization Processes

### Provincial and Territorial Politics in Canada and Beyond

Date: May 30 2023 | Time: 03:15pm - 04:45pm | Room: Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0009

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

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Julie Simmons (The University of Guelph)

*History's Graveyard of Defunct Federations and Failed Constitutions: Expanding our Knowledge and Finetuning our Theories with the Lessons from African Negative Cases:* Jan Erk (Université Mohammed VI Polytechnique (UM6P))

**Abstract:** One pressing issue concerning the generalisability of most theories of comparative federalism and constitutional politics, especially in the context of divided societies, is the reliance on still existing case-studies. Put in methodological terms, the literature on territorial politics relies exclusively on positive cases. Due to the very fact of still being around, these case-studies in the scholarly repertoire have fulfilled the most basic survival function federalism promises. There is thus an unacknowledged selection-bias resulting from a focus on (in the most basic sense) success stories only. A survey of defunct federations from Africa, that is, the negative cases of failed federations, can help enrich comparative federalism's potential pool of cases. The paper looks at eight such case-studies: the Central African Federation, the Senegambia Federation, Kenya's Majimbo constitution, Uganda's first constitution, the Mali federation, the Afrique Occidentale Française, the Afrique Équatoriale Française, the Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation, and Federal Cameroon. The paper provides three related contributions to scholarship. The first one is substantive: to enrich the literature with the addition of cases from a relatively understudied continent. Even those who happen to study territorial politics in Africa, along with the general tendency in the field, leave the negative cases out. The second contribution follows from the first one, and is about nuancing and finetuning the existing theories of federalism which non-proportionately relies on existing federal systems from the West and seeks generalisations with universal claims from this small pool. The third contribution is addressing the methodological issues concerning the study of negative cases.

*Patterns of Federalization and Democratization ? Dynamics, Interactions, Tensions and, Outcomes:* Soeren Keil (University of Fribourg), Jared Sonnicksen (RWTH Aachen)

**Abstract:** While comparative research on established federal systems tended to presume that federalism and democracy reinforce each other, newer strands of research point out that they also face tensions that can turn into frictions and even conflicts. Complex processes of federal and democratic dynamics and interactions, their coupling and de-coupling, characterize different federal democracies. Building on existing comparative federalism research, we aim to apply these perspectives to unconsolidated federal states. In particular, we are interested in countries, in which processes of federalization and democratization overlap and to examine how they interact. This is even more important, because federalization processes, focusing on the introduction of territorial autonomy in fragile societies, have become an important tool of peacebuilding and conflict resolution in recent years ? with mixed results as the examples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ethiopia, Iraq and Nepal demonstrate. Federalization and Democratization are not only complex processes, but they are also different processes with their own inherent logics. In our paper we seek to elaborate on four different patterns of interaction, which we conceive in preliminary fashion as two basic types with two sub-types each: processes of federalization and democratization that lead to for one: reinforcement, either toward mutual consolidation or of each other's tensions; for another, (pre-)dominance, by which either democratic processes and dynamics comes to outweigh or even weaken federalization, or vice-versa, federalizing processes and dynamics come to predominate over democratic ones. To this end, we seek to provide a new analytical framework and relevant descriptive illustrations of the various (sub)types.

*Federalism and Political Leadership: Towards a Research Agenda:* Jörg Broschek (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Leadership is a frequently used term in the context of federalism research. At least implicitly, leaders seem to matter for politics and policy in federal systems, within and outside the scope of intergovernmental relations. Canadian federalism is a case in point: It is, arguably, difficult to dispute that leaders like Tommy Douglas, Jean Lesage, Bob Rae or Pierre E. Trudeau left their imprint on the dynamics of Canadian federalism. But what does this exactly mean and, more importantly, does political leadership carry any causal weight for understanding continuity and change in federal systems? This paper seeks to outline the contours of a research agenda for federalism scholars by utilizing concepts and insights developed in studies on comparative political leadership. It starts from the assumption that political leadership offers a useful point of entry to conceptualize and, arguably, theorize the role of agency in federal systems. Moreover, the paper suggests that leadership indeed matters for federal dynamics. However, considering institutional variation, the patterns and consequences of political leadership are likely to differ across federal systems.

*Boundary Control and Movements of Sub-Regional Minority Language Political Affirmation in Switzerland and Canada: Explaining the Divergent Political Outcomes of Francophone-Jura and Francophone-Ontario.:* Patrick Desjardins (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Society centred approaches to the study of federalism have long held that the institutional configuration of federal states reflects the country's underlying sociological makeup (Lecours 2005, Smith 2005, Broschek 2021). From this premise, it follows that the internal boundaries of multilingual or multinational federations will eventually converge, or become congruent (Erk 2008), with the federation's underlying linguistic and national cleavages. Seeking to challenge such society centred assumptions however, this paper adopts a most similar case design using two comparable cases of francophone minorities evolving within a federation's largest subnational jurisdiction: Franco-Jurassiens, in the Canton of Berne, Switzerland, and Franco-Ontario/ians, in Ontario, Canada. The paper seeks to explain why, in the case of Franco-Jurassiens, their movement for political affirmation led to secession from the Canton of Berne, and the creation of the Canton of Jura in 1979, whereas the Franco-Ontarian movement for political affirmation led not to secession but to the adoption of the French Language Services Act by the Province of Ontario in 1986.

Relying on the concept of 'boundary control' (Gibson 2012, Broschek 2021), the paper identifies the stronger constitutional status of local government at the Cantonal level in Switzerland as a critical variable explaining the divergence between the two movements. In this way, constitutionally stronger provisions for local government in Switzerland provided Franco-Jurassiens with a firmer platform for secession. By contrast, Franco-Ontarians' push for affirmation at the provincial level, rather than secessionism, is explained by the lack of comparably entrenched municipal institutions at the provincial level in Canada.

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## L05(a) - Workshop: Insurgent Resurgent Knowledges - A Dialogue on Otherwise Orientations

**Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics**

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 206

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Davina Bhandar (Athabasca University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jakeet Singh (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Rita Dhmoon (University of Victoria)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

*Practicing Consent in the House of Firʿawn: A Muslim Conception of Disability Justice for ICUs and Hospital Waiting Rooms:* Sarah Munawar (University of Houston)

**Abstract:** Since June 2022, my father has been in the ICU with severe complications from covid-19. As a racialized, disabled Muslim elder he has faced incredible racism and ableism within Ontario's healthcare system. In this paper, I transform my family's correspondences with patient relations and the patient ombudsmen into an articulation of a Muslim conception of disability justice. Located within my father's care web, I engage situated knowledge to mobilize an Islamic moral vocabulary of care that disrupts settler-colonial and ableist conceptions of personhood that uphold the practice and reception of medical consent in settler-colonial healthcare settings. I outline how the collapse of the healthcare system during the covid-19 pandemic not only differentially endangers the life of Black, Indigenous, and racialized patients but also, places Muslim patients within unique habitats of harm where our Islamic rights to consensual, culturally safe care and compassionate care are denied. Through an Islamic moral vocabulary of care and disability justice, I argue that the practice of complaint, of complaining, understood within healthcare discourses as a form of patient advocacy is ethically, procedurally, and conceptually limited. In its place, I offer the notion of watching over in an Islamic sense as a way that Muslims watch over their (chosen) kin and themselves within medical spaces and watch out for the violence of medical racism and ableism. Such witnessing is not only a posture, but a practice, and a type of caring labour that is watched over by the witness of our Creator as Ar-Rahman.

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## L05(b) - The Racialized Politics of Movement: Labour, Diaspora, and Paradox

### Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics

Date: May 30 2023 | Time: 03:15pm - 04:45pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 209

Chair/Président/Présidente : Sasha Skaidra (University of Alberta)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Christina Gabriel (Carleton University)

*The Commodification of Citizenship in Labour Brokerage States: Examining the Case of the Philippines and its Role in the Global Labour Market:* Dani Magsumbol (York University)

**Abstract:** Analyses of labour migration are often approached as an economic relationship between sending states and receiving states, particularly in literatures that centre the positive economic impacts of migrant participation in the global labour market for their nations of origin. In this work, I propose that an examination of the effects of labour migration on citizenship ? in particular, the transformation of the expectations that surround citizenship as a relationship that mediates between the state and the individual ? is a generative framework of analysis. Specifically, I focus my attention on how the status and experience of citizenship changes for citizens when a country like the Philippines is engaged long-term in labour brokerage (Rodriguez, 2010), further looking at the process wherein Filipino labour migrants become ?commodified objects of the state that are offered to the globe? (Guevarra, 2010: 49). With its entrenchment in the global labour market as a brokerage state, the Philippine state?s expectations of citizenship seem to have shifted from a territorially-bound civic and market participation, to a participation that involves territorial hypermobility via labour outmigration. The case study of the Philippines as a state that is characterised by labour brokerage is compelling in this regard, as it has a decades-long history of institutionalised labour export policies, an established migrant population in many states in the global north, and a labour diaspora whose personal remittances in 2020 amounted to 9.6% of the country?s GDP (World Bank, 2020).

*Peoples of Movement: Intergenerational Resurgence and the Child as Threat to State Sovereignty:* Toby Rollo (Lakehead University)

**Abstract:** Children within diasporic communities, Romani communities, groups of irregular migrants, and Indigenous peoples suffer similar experiences of state removal and detention. In this paper, I argue that policies of child internment are a central mechanism in the defence of the sovereign state?s temporal security and the future of western cultural hegemony. I show how the function of child detention policies is to interrupt the intergenerational transmission of cultures for whom political space is generated through movement and engagement with new peoples, lands, and waters. The future of the state is jeopardized when children within cultures of movement inherit the idea that when actors relocate to escape conflict or strife, to take advantage of more prosperous regions, voyage between seasonal settlements, follow migratory herds, traverse bodies of water to fish, journey to gatherings for ceremony, or travel to collect medicines from distant locations ? that such peoples are creating relationships and responsibilities which are constitutive of political identity and nationhood. Movement-based conceptions of politics pose an enduring risk to the colonial logics of the nation state and its static territorial borders, national identity as stasis, and citizenship as a granted status. This paper explores how the intergenerational focus of Indigenous resurgence, along with abolitionist oppositions to carcerality involving children, subvert colonial logics in ways that most western intragenerational adult-focused social justice approaches do not.

*Disease, Distance, and Diaspora: Hate Crimes against Asian Women During the COVID-19 Pandemic:* Annie Chau (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Despite the presumption of Asian proximity to whiteness, the COVID-19 pandemic revealed a distance between Asians and the centre of white settler nations. Two-plus years into the pandemic, incidents of racism directed at Asians, particularly women, continue to increase. Distancing was an epidemiological strategy to contain the coronavirus, but distance has always been a central concern to Asian diaspora. The sentiment of ?needed but not wanted? demonstrates the paradoxical ?push-pull? concerning Asians in Canada, especially relevant during the pandemic, as racialized workers continue to be overrepresented in sectors deemed essential.

This paper addresses distancing as both a method of and a response to white supremacy in the specific context of the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic has seen an intensification of the racist strategy to contain ?the Asian other,? reminding her of her remoteness to the hegemonic norm. A tension can be analyzed in this context, which I term, deterritorialization-reterritorialization. This paper articulates hate crimes as deterritorializing acts against Asian women during the COVID-19 pandemic, drawing on Asian Canadian studies and feminisms to understand the legal frameworks around hate crime violence, understood as an example of an ?epistemology of ignorance? (Charles Mills). Examples of Asian resistance are highlighted, considered as struggles for reterritorialization, and not to be mistaken as pursuits towards proximal whiteness. The question is not whether Asians will regain their positions as ?nearly white,? but how will Asians re-locate themselves and others who are even more distant from the centre when they are moved away from power?

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## N05(a) - The Politics of Parenting and Reproduction

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 302

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Esli Chan (McGill University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Alana Cattapan (University of Waterloo)

***Maternal Responsibilization and the Transition to Motherhood:*** Stephanie Paterson (Concordia University), Lindsay Larios (University of Manitoba), Shannon Hebblethwaite (Concordia University), Dawn Trussell (Brock University)

**Abstract:** Canadian family policy is premised primarily on the logic of individual responsibility, where parents are responsible for the care and well-being of their children. Often framed in gender neutral ways, such logic obscures the ways that maternal subjects are implicated in ? indeed, constituted by ? childcare and motherwork. The literature on intensive mothering has exposed the ways in which mothering discourse and practice renders (mostly) mothers responsible for all dimensions of their children?s well-being. In this paper, we draw on this literature, as well as the literatures of biopolitics and maternal responsibilization, to interrogate how maternal subjectivities are activated ? and resisted - through neoliberal governmentality. To do so, we use data from our longitudinal study on first time mothers in Toronto and Montreal to explore the role of policy discourse in constituting maternal subjects and to illuminate how mothers resist and/or negotiate maternal subject positions. Specifically, we are interested in how maternal subjects are not merely responsible for the basic well-being of their children, but rather are responsibilized through policy discourse, in which they seek to secure the far-off future health and well-being of their children that are necessary to succeed as good neoliberal citizens. We are also interested in how this subject position is resisted, reclaimed, or redefined through everyday acts of mothering.

***Abortion Anarchy? The Case for the Decriminalization of Abortion:*** Kelly Gordon (McGill University), Rachael Johnstone (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Abortion endures as one of, if not the most, politically contentious and legally regulated site of reproductive life. In virtually every country in the world, abortion remains the purview of politicians and is governed within criminal or penal codes. Even in places where abortion is legal in most cases and its availability is backed by high public support, regulatory regimes continue to set out the legally acceptable parameters governing who, where, and how abortion may be accessed.

Canada is the only country in the world to defy this trend. Since the 1988 Morgentaler Supreme Court decision declared existing federal abortion laws unconstitutional, there has been no criminal law governing abortion in Canada. This has meant abortion care in Canada is not dictated by criminal law, but rather regulated as a healthcare issue.

Drawing on the growing literature in favour of models of decriminalization (most notably, of drugs and sex work), this paper questions whether the Canadian approach offers a desirable model for the regulation of abortion. With the growing acceptance of the deep and enduring dysfunction of criminal abortion laws (no matter how liberal), our paper (i) outlines a model for the decriminalization of abortion, and (ii) examines the policy and rhetorical advantages of such an approach.

***Breaking a silent frontier of reproductive politics: Strategies and tensions in miscarriage advocacy:*** Megan Bradley (McGill University), Hayley Newman-Petryshen (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Miscarriage is the most common pregnancy complication, with 11% of women experiencing early pregnancy loss. While common, miscarriage is often a difficult and even traumatic experience, with miscarriage risks significantly structured by gendered, socioeconomic and racialized hierarchies. Historically, there has been very little advocacy, policy responses to, and even public discussion of miscarriage. In recent years, however, diverse forms of miscarriage-related advocacy have emerged in western liberal democracies, resulting in public awareness campaigns and the adoption of a wide-ranging set of new laws and policies on issues such as post-miscarriage leaves, the disposal of fetal remains, and the criminalization of miscarriage. To date, these developments and their implications have been under-examined. This article advances understandings of miscarriage advocacy as a vital concern for reproductive politics through a three-fold contribution. First, it maps the growing range of actors involved in miscarriage-related advocacy in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. Second, it presents the results of an in-depth, systematic analysis of the discourse adopted by a key set of leading organizations involved in public, policy-oriented miscarriage-related advocacy in these countries. Third, drawing on theories of reproductive justice, it probes tensions in these strategies and in efforts to ?break the silence? surrounding miscarriage, including in terms of the discursive framing of miscarriage; policy responses; and connections to related reproductive issues such as abortion. In this way, the article lays the foundation for further investigation of miscarriage and miscarriage-related advocacy as a critical concern for reproductive politics, and reproductive justice.

***What Explains Variation in Public Funding for In Vitro Fertilization Across Provinces?:*** Jenna Quelch (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Canada is experiencing a decrease in its average fertility rate while also seeing increasingly older first-time parents and growing rates of age-related infertility. This is spurring increased need and demand for in vitro fertilization (IVF). There is intense policy variation across provinces, ranging from publicly-funded IVF cycles to income-tested tax credits to no funding whatsoever. Why do we see so much variation in this area of public health policy, and can this variation be attributed to unique provincial culture reflected in individuals? policy preferences? Existing literature suggests that we might expect public funding for IVF in provinces with higher support for progressive ?pro-women? and ?pro-LGBTQ2+? policies, but there has yet to be a systematic study of this in Canada. To address this gap, I use data from the 2021 Canada Election Study to map provincial values related to women?s role in the home, ?traditional? family values, women?s rights, LGBTQ2+ rights, and abortion access. The descriptive analysis shows little evidence that provinces with robust IVF funding are more progressive in terms of individuals? policy preferences than provinces with minimal or no public funding.

Instead, I suggest that this variation is linked to competing health priorities across provinces and the limits of agenda setting.

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## N05(b) - Subverting Excellence as Productivity: Practical Steps for a Better Academy

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 303

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Veronica Kitchen (University of Waterloo)

Ethel Tungohan (York University)

Amanda Bittner (Memorial University)

Liam Midzain-Gobin (Brock University)

Chadwick Cowie (University of Toronto)

Tari Ajadi (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Decolonizing and indigenizing the university requires that we shift how we measure the production of knowledge. We must recognize that knowledge can be passed on through mediums beyond the journal article and the book, but also that we should strive to make substantive impacts on the world rather than relying on the number of things published and how often they are cited. It also means recognizing contributions to community building and mentorship, often undertaken disproportionately by marginalized members of the academy, as part of career excellence. As long as metrics such as university rankings, impact factors, and external letters that ask for direct comparisons between candidates prevail, however, the incentive structure of the tenure and promotion process will continue to connect excellence to a particular mode of productivity. Subverting the definition of excellence as productivity requires a cultural shift: collegial governance, peer review and other norms of the academy make it difficult for one university to make sweeping changes on its own.

Some of the questions we consider include: What can be done by individual academics, individual departments or the CPSA as a professional organization to hasten this culture shift? Where in the university, or at which career points, are we most likely to have success? What kinds of policy language should we be advocating for? Which universities have made changes we should emulate? How can we write tenure and promotion letters that push back against norms of productivity without sabotaging the career progression of worthy and valued colleagues?

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## W705 - Workshop: Territorial Conflicts and State-Building in the Borderlands II

### Workshop 7 - Territorial Conflicts and State-Building in the Borderlands

Date: May 30 2023 | Time: 03:15pm - 04:45pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 304

Chair/Président/Présidente : Arjun Tremblay (University of Regina)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Arjun Tremblay (University of Regina)

*Border Disputes and Pandemic Priorities: the impact of COVID-19 on the politics of 'the border' in Cyprus and Northern Ireland:* Samantha Twietmeyer (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** In the context of ethno-nationalist territorial conflict, identity and boundary-making become necessarily entwined with the negotiation of physical borders and spaces. While the conflict ebbs and flows, the borders become subject to the interpretations of various parties. Subjective borders play a powerful role in these negotiation processes as their solidification or potential erasure could mean justice for one party and inexcusable concessions for the other. Such conversations about borders are frequently known to produce intractable conflicts, as we see, for example, in Cyprus or Northern Ireland. It is into this context that the global coronavirus pandemic brought a unique rupture in the political calculus of border negotiation. Suddenly, borders became paramount in stemming the flow of people and holding back a virus unrelated to pre-existing conflict markers. This paper examines the impact of the pandemic on the re-alignment of elite priorities in two disputed borders on the periphery of Europe: (1) the Anglo-Irish border that establishes the territory of Northern Ireland, and (2) the UN-monitored Green Line which separates the south of Cyprus from the north. While in Ireland the borders remained open and porous, in Cyprus they were closed and solidified. Using a comparative discourse-analysis of public speeches and media releases through 2020 and 2021, this study interrogates where and when the requirements of public health were either prioritized or de-prioritized in relation to the wider ethno-national negotiation of the border. In illuminating key explanatory factors for this decision-making calculus, the analysis contributes valuable insights for wider border negotiations.

*Territorial Sovereignty and Colonial Expansion: The Theologico-political Root of European Exceptionalism:* Lingyu Jing (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** The paper examines the paradox of the Westphalian conception of sovereignty. As a legal norm, state sovereignty confirmed the territorial limits of legitimate state power, but it paradoxically left an exception for European states for free colonial expansion. Historically, this was due to the unequal territorial statuses between European and non-European lands. Is it a historical mistake of colonialism that can be overcome by contemporary international law? The paper argues that the paradox of Westphalian sovereignty is not a simple historical mistake but a structural necessity. That is to say, territorial sovereignty and colonial expansion are not opposed but logically interdependent, suggesting that sovereignty is essentially Eurocentric and exceptionalist.

Based on Schmitt and Agamben's political theology approach, the paper will analyze the systematic structure of territorial sovereignty. Just like the essence of sovereignty is not the norm but the exception that suspends the law, territorial sovereignty is not a static order but an expansionary orientation which reorders the whole international order, particularly in times of crises. Structurally, colonial expansion as European exceptionalism is necessary for the sustainment of the Westphalian international order. The paper will furtherly reveal the theological origin of European expansionism by examining the Byzantine doctrine of the trinity and its connection to the crusade, showing that exceptionalist sovereignty is rooted in Christianity. The theoretical significance is exposing that the flaw of territorial sovereignty is rooted in Christianity which defined the Western culture, so it can urge us to seek alternative modes of territory in non-Western cultures.

*Rethinking the Canadian Moral Responsibility Toward Asylum Seekers : How Safe Third Country Agreement Erodes Democratic Ideal of Asylum?:* Léonard Bédard (Université Laval), Jérôme Gosselin-Tapp (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Many democracies recently adopted legislation to set asylum seekers apart from the general population, and this should worry us. Since the 2010's, this tendency is known as "externalizing migration" in scholarly literature. Roughly speaking, "externalization" refers to legal justifications intended to secure borders by keeping out asylum seekers of States' sovereign borders. Canada, long recognized as a leader in migration management, is taken as a case study in this paper. The adoption of the Safe Third Country Agreement (2002) between Canada and the United States opened the door to imprisonment and further deportation of people from the Canadian territory. From a normative standpoint, this agreement presupposes an exclusionist conception of boundaries, in that it serves to justify narrowing of national borders for asylum seekers who wish to enter them. This talk aims to provide a new normative framework in order to rethink Canada's moral responsibility toward asylum seekers to effectively protect them. This talk's first part shows that the Canadian normative framework is problematic in that it makes it possible to override the right of asylum of certain migrants by allowing coercive practices such as arbitrary detention to be used against them. The second part examines Sarah Song's political self-determination theory as a remedy to the social injustices engendered by Canadian externalization. Song's thesis in *Immigration and Democracy* (2019) can indeed be used to sketch a new normative framework for Canadian legal management of asylum applications.

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## **R05 - Indigenous scholarship, en français, SVP !**

### **Special Events**

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 305

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Didier Zúñiga (Centre de Recherche en Éthique)

**Sponsor / Commanditaire :** CPSA Reconciliation Committee

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=262](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=262)

### **Participants**

Yann Allard-Tremblay (McGill University)

Éléna Choquette (Université du Québec en Outaouais)

Didier Zúñiga (Centre de Recherche en Éthique)

Gina Starblanket (University of Victoria)

Rebecca Major (Windsor)

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

## R06 - Presidential Address: Canada and Comparative Territorial Politics

### Special Events

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 05:00pm - 06:00pm | **Room:** Lecture Hall ? ACW 109 HYBRID / hybride

### Participants

**Introduction** : Patrik Marier (Concordia)

André Lecours (University of CPSA President - Président ACSP - Ottawa)

**Words of thanks/Mots de remerciement** : Stephanie Kerr (Lethbridge)

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

**R07 - Reception/Réception: Departments of Pol Sci at York University/Départements de science po à York**

**Special Events**

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 06:00pm - 08:00pm | **Room:** Keele Campus, Second Student Centre Lower Lobby, 15 Library Ln, North York, ON M3J 2S5

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=268](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=268)

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## Day 1 - CPSA Women`s Caucus Social (07:30pm - 10:00pm)

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

#### Special Events

**Date:** May 30 2023 | **Time:** 07:30pm - 10:00pm | **Room:** Timbers Lodge, 4700 Keele Street, North York

Click the following link for complete session information:

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=269](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=269)

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## Day 2 - Session 1 (08:45am - 10:15am)

### A09(a) - Applications of Computational Methods in Canadian Political Science

#### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Christopher Cochrane (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Christopher Cochrane (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jean-François Godbout (University de Montreal)

*The Winners and Losers of Rent Tribunals:* Andreea Musulan (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Who wins and loses at Ontario rental tribunals? While initially designed for dispute resolution, both landlords and tenants have argued that these ?courts? are not impartial. This study applies machine learning methods to over a decade of tribunal decision-making to investigate. With supervised ML techniques, I identify successful landlord and tenant applications across a corpus of 36,460 Ontario tribunal decisions made between 2007 and 2021. I demonstrate the utility of this information on applicants and outcomes through a descriptive analysis of a subset of 17,744 cases from 2020 and 2021. Specifically, using unsupervised topic modeling, each case in the subset is assigned to a topic associated with the issues discussed. This subset is used to investigate how applicants were affected by two major changes to residential tenancies during the COVID-19 pandemic: the ?eviction moratorium? of 2020 and the ?rent freeze? of 2021. Results indicate that the topics of landlord applications for evictions shifted to reflect the exemptions in these suspensions, but were met with resistance from adjudicators. This brief case study of COVID-19 rental housing policies demonstrates how this data can be used to assess the quality of access to justice. The original dataset created through this project will be available on request for academic and policy research. Another anonymized version will be made publicly available, aiming to assist landlords and tenants with self-representation at rental tribunals. This study concludes that expanding and enriching tribunal data collection is paramount to understanding the bigger picture of residential housing in Ontario.

*Using Agent-Based Models to Simulate Changes to Canada's Electoral Rules:* Samuel Baltz (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

**Abstract:** Efforts to change Canada?s electoral system have been largely prevented by an entrenched belief that the Liberal party would benefit from a switch to Instant Runoff Voting but perform worse under proportional representation, while several other parties would perform better under proportional systems and worse in Instant Runoff. This paper builds on past work in which I developed a computational formal modeling approach for simulating elections under alternative electoral systems and simulated Canadian election results under more proportional electoral systems, as well as work in which I extended the classic calculus of voting to cover Instant Runoff Voting, and showed that this system would not be better for the Liberal Party than the current Single-Member District ruleset. These models explicitly simulate any number of strategic voters in the population under each electoral system, using purely strategic rational choice models or using simple strategic voting heuristics. In this paper I combine those methods to simulate Canadian elections under three alternative systems: large highly proportional multi-member districts, Borda count, and Instant Runoff Voting. Several results are the opposite of the conventional wisdom that has prevented electoral system change in Canada: the Liberal Party does not clearly benefit from either form of ranked-choice voting, and indeed Borda count appears to be particularly beneficial to Canada?s smaller leftist parties. These results hold regardless of how strategic voters are, or how many voters vote strategically.

*The Political Meaning of Lifestyle Habits: Insights from the 2022 Quebec Election:* Catherine Ouellet (University of Toronto), Nadjim Fréchet (University de Montreal), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** The lowering of traditional social cleavages in predicting political preferences does not necessarily mean that vote choice is more volatile, and therefore less predictable. It may only be the case that new socialization markers exist, and need to be taken into account for understanding political behavior. By relying on unique and granular data collected during the 2022 Quebec general election through Datagotchi (n = 70 000), the following paper investigates to what extent lifestyle characteristics (e.g. coffee preferences, leisure) can better predict Quebecers? vote choice than more conventional prediction models. Digital data from MusicBrainz and OMDb?s API are also used to refine the algorithm. Preliminary results suggest that lifestyle characteristics capture new and meaningful information on voters, allowing to significantly improve prediction models. Theoretical and ethical implications are also discussed.

*Measuring Obstruction in the Canadian House of Commons using Large Language Models:* Mitchell Bosley (University of Michigan)

**Abstract:** Obstruction?the use of procedural rights by legislative minorities to delay or outright block majority business?occurs in every legislature, but we lack a general way to measure it. Existing approaches use indicators such as the number of proposed amendments or motions to adjourn in a legislative session, and limit our ability to understand determinants of obstructive behavior at the level of individual legislators. Leveraging recent advances in machine learning techniques for the modeling and analysis of text data, I propose a novel approach for measuring obstruction using legislative speech data. As a proof of concept, I use a dataset of nearly 150,000 legislative speeches from the Canadian House of Commons between 1908 and 1913. I construct a training set of roughly 3000 speeches, half of which are made by opposition members in debates where members of the majority party complain about obstruction, to fine-tune a RoBERTa language model to distinguish between obstructive and non-obstructive speeches.

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## A09(b) - Political Communication and Issue Diversity

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jacob Robbins-Kanter (Bishop's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jacob Robbins-Kanter (Bishop's University)

***Queering the Campaign One Post at a Time: The Use of Instagram as a Self-Personalisation Tool by LGBTQ Candidates during the 2021 Canadian Federal Election:*** Mireille Lalancette (UQTR), Angelia Wagner (U Alberta), Karen Bird (McMaster U), Joanna Everitt (UNB)

**Abstract:** Elections are always a highly mediated event: candidates promote their personalities and competencies to get elected. While news media coverage offers candidates little control over the messages and images conveyed, social media platform gives them authority over what they want to say and post. Of all the platforms, Instagram is most often used by candidates to showcase a positive public and personal life to voters. Even if we know that candidates are brand ambassadors (Marland and Wagner, 2020) and that parties exert strong control over candidates' social media (Lalancette, Raynauld with Orzai, 2022), candidates still have leeway to craft their own messages. But what happens when the candidate's identity is different from the white heterosexual political norm? As a visual platform, however, Instagram might provide a venue for candidates to offer subtle clues about their queerness?such as using the rainbow flag in some pictures?without putting this identity at the forefront of their communications. This paper focuses on the Instagram self-personalization strategies of LGBTQ+ candidates during the 2021 Canadian federal election. By qualitatively analyzing the candidates' Instagram feeds, we identify the strategies that LGBTQ+ candidates used to highlight or ignore their sexual or gender identities during the campaign. Fueled by our prior work on personalization of candidates, this paper explores local candidates' communication practices on social media during an election campaign, with a particular focus on little-understood identity-based uses in the Canadian context.

***Four Dimensions of Identity-based Online Abuse: Gender and Race in the 2019 Canadian Election:*** Chris Tenove (University of British Columbia), Jordan Buffie (Simon Fraser University), Erin Tolley (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Candidates for political office frequently face online abuse that is inflected by gender and race. Research consistently finds that women - and especially racialized women - experience online attacks on their identity as a barrier to full participation. However, while some research suggests that women and racialized candidates face higher volumes of uncivil messages, other research comes to opposite findings. This article offers a correction to the focus on volumes of online abuse targeting individuals. We propose a framework that accounts for both targeted and broadcast attacks, that distinguishes between identity-focused attacks and other forms of incivility, and that attends to interactions between offline and online threat and discrimination. Our framework includes four dimensions of online incivility that together shape its impact on women candidates: (1) the frequency of incivility, (2) its qualitative forms, (3) its targeting and audience, and (4) its interaction with offline obstacles and threats. We detail these different dimensions in a qualitative and quantitative study of the 2019 Canadian federal election. Our analysis of over 1 million tweets shows that neither white women nor racialized women candidates face online incivility at higher frequencies than men. However, our qualitative content analysis reveals misogynist and racialized incivility taking explicit and ambiguous forms, as well as broader misogynistic and racist discourses directed at Justin Trudeau and other candidates who are white men. Finally, in-depth interviews with over 30 candidates and campaign staff reveal complex interactions between offline threats and online abuse, which cannot

***The News Coverage of Electoral Candidates:*** Dominic Duval (Université du Québec À Montréal)

**Abstract:** Little is known about the news coverage federal candidates receive in Canada and we still have no comprehensive account of this phenomenon over multiple electoral campaigns. This paper aims to bridge this gap by offering a thorough account of the news coverage received by federal candidates over four campaigns (2008, 2011, 2015, 2019). In order to offer as complete a picture as possible, all the available news coverage received by the candidates from the main five parties across all ridings was collected through Factiva. This massive data collection effort consisted of over five thousand candidates search queries, and resulted in several thousand news stories. This paper's first goal is to establish a comprehensive descriptive account of the news coverage federal electoral candidates receive during electoral campaigns. The second goal will be to investigate the relationship between the news coverage received by candidates and electoral outcomes.

***Issue Diversity in the 2021 Federal Electoral Campaign:*** Tania Gosselin (Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)), Dominic Duval (Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)), Michelle Caplan (Western University)

**Abstract:** Controversies, scandals, and personal traits of politicians attract considerable attention at election time. Yet, policy issues remain a key element in political discourse and media coverage during campaigns. Policy issue attention is important because what receives the most attention can influence not only the course of the campaign but also shift public debate framing, affect the level of information of citizens, and impact policymaking. In this paper, we propose to examine media content and survey data to identify which issues dominated the 2021 federal campaign. More specifically, the paper compares the prevalence of policy issues across traditional and social media, different types of traditional media content (local/regional/national), as well as different types of Twitter users (politicians and interest groups). In addition, we explore whether citizens prioritize similar issues as those featured in the media using the Canadian Election Study.

The analysis mobilizes a dictionary-based approach. We customize, update and translate a dictionary developed by Albaugh et al. (2013) to capture issues relevant in Canadian politics, and apply it to media and survey data in both English and French.

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## A09(c) - Dispatches from the (back) benches: Papers by the 2022-23 Parliamentary Interns

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Barbara Arneil (University of British Columbia)

**Co-Chair/Président/Présidente :** Alison Smith (University of Toronto Mississauga)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jonathan Malloy (Carleton University)

**Informal communication channels on parliament hill:** Sarah Rollason-MacAulay (Parliamentary Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Many people use multiple messaging apps a day to stay in contact, whether for work or in their personal life. Many government employees have strict rules on how they are able to send communications due to the potentially sensitive nature of their communications. Members of Parliament and their staff are not under as tight restrictions and regularly use whatsapp and other messaging apps to communicate about committees and other work. This paper seeks to explore the use of informal communication channels such as whatsapp used by MPs and their staff. Using both semi-structured interviews and surveys sent out to MPs and their staff the paper will examine the advantages and disadvantages to these methods of communication, what type of information is relayed, how it is formalized in parties, and how secure these channels actually are.

**Nation-to-Nation(s): An Exploration of the Understanding that Members of Parliament Have Regarding the Relationship Between Indigenous Nations and Canada:** Melanie Bartosh (Parliamentary Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** This paper will explore what the term "nation-to-nation" means and how Members of Parliament (MPs) understand it. The theoretical orientation of this paper will be Amik, which translates to beaver in Anishnaabemowin. Amik represents wisdom in the Anishinaabe culture and has the gift of building ecosystems that sustain other plant and animal nations. Amik wisdom of how multiple nations can thrive together will be applied when synthesizing the data retrieved in my methodology. My methodology will begin with a brief literature review of the Indigenous Studies field and Hansard to understand what academics, activists, and politicians have been discussing regarding this subject. There will also be interviews with select MPs who have met the criteria of having a large Indigenous population in their riding; are members of the Indigenous and Northern Affairs Committee; and/or have files that involve Indigenous issues. The responses the MPs provide will be further examined to analyze the potential impact they will have on the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

**Ways, Means and Supply: How Involved are Individual MPs in the Financial Cycle of Parliament?:** Nathan Mendel (Parliamentary Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** This paper will explore the engagement and effectiveness of individual MPs in the financial cycle of parliament. It will primarily focus on their role in the business of ways and means through the process of developing and adopting a budget and their role in the business of supply through the main estimates. It begins with a historical overview of the parliamentary financial cycle and its central place in the duties of parliament. In the second section, it will analyse the ways that MPs can contribute to the business of ways and means, primarily through their involvement in the pre-budget process and work in moving the budget through the house. In the third section, it will examine the role of MPs in the business of supply primarily through their involvement in moving main estimates through the House.

**The Gendered Nature of Threats towards Members of Parliament:** Alyth Roos (Parliamentary Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** This paper will explore the role gender plays in the nature and trends of threats experienced by Members of Parliament in Canada from public outlets such as the media and social platforms. The paper will analyze the existing literature on gendered patriarchal dynamics within political structures. It will then use these frameworks to synthesize and analyze the threats and criticisms directed towards members of parliaments through their thematic patterns, diction and targeted points. In order to provide larger insight into the experience of members of parliament and the recipients of these threats, the paper will then use semi-structured interviews to understand the impact these threats have in constituency and parliamentary work. Finally, they will conclude by better understanding the role this may play in female participation in politics and the way forward for gaining greater representation in parliament. As we continue to engage a greater number of females at the federal level, the aim is to holistically understand politics as a gendered experience and comprehend what that means for society's own values.

**Constituency Case Work: What are MP Constituency Offices doing in 2022:** Nina Sartor (Parliamentary Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** There appears to be some debate between MPs on what functions their constituency offices are meant to fulfill. However, it is equally apparent that the COVID-19 pandemic has caused a sharp increase in service Canada and Immigration and Refugee Council of Canada (IRCC) cases being directed towards MP offices due to backlogs. This paper will investigate what types of cases dominate constituency work in 2022, and see how that compares to the traditional work of constituency offices. Furthermore, it will compare caseload types across constituencies. From this, it seeks to provide recommendations for the future of case management and staff training for constituency offices, as well as potential solutions outside of the parliamentary system.

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## B09 - Roundtable: The Comparative Politics of Refugee Governance in Power-Sharing Systems

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** ACW 304 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Allison McCulloch (Brandon University)

Allison McCulloch (Brandon University)

Tamirace Fakhoury (Aalborg University )

Drew Mikhael (Queen's University Belfast)

Stephanie Schwartz (London School of Economics)

Verena Wisthaler (EURAC)

Marie-Joëlle Zahar (Université de Montréal)

Rawan Arar (University of Washington)

**Abstract:** How do power-sharing systems respond to forced displacement? And how effective are they at ensuring rights-based refugee protection? From Syria to Afghanistan to Ukraine, forced migration due to violent conflict is occurring on an unprecedented scale. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees estimates that some 68.5 million people have experienced displacement due to war and conflict. The Syrian war alone has created over 6 million refugees and internally displaced a further 6 million within the country. Concurrently, international mediators often recommend power-sharing agreements to bring about war's end. While it brings a clear peace dividend - it stops violence, avoids minority exclusion, and reduces the mistrust and insecurity felt by those tasked to govern together ? power-sharing often falls short of good governance standards. Notwithstanding the fact that both issues represent important lines of inquiry, backed by robust literatures, there has been little scholarly attention to how power-sharing and refugee governance intersect.

Drawing on case studies and comparative analysis, this roundtable seeks to engage the following questions:

How do power-sharing partners (often with diverging interests and competing logics) engage with refugee governance on the ground?

How do power-sharing governments negotiate with the international refugee regime and the humanitarian order?

How do refugees as actors in their own right interact with such complex decision-making processes, often leading to an exacerbation of their vulnerability?

Are majoritarian political systems able to respond better to refugee challenges?

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## C09(a) - Policing the Other, Representing the Self: Police in Settler Colonial Contexts

### International Relations

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 006

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Alexa DeGagne (Athabasca University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Alexa DeGagne (Athabasca University)

***Policing the other at home and abroad: Situating Canadian international police deployments within settler coloniality:*** Colleen Bell (University of Saskatchewan), Lou Pinget (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Canadian police officers at the federal, provincial and municipal levels have become key participants in international peacekeeping, stabilization, and counterterrorism operations. More than 4,000 Canadian police officers have been deployed abroad since 1989. The Canadian government argues that deployment abroad has a positive effect on policing in Canada, as it leads to greater ?cultural awareness? and helps police forces to strengthen relationships with the public, in particular racialized communities. The paper explores how the supposed positive feedback between deployment abroad and domestic policing is sustained by establishing homologies between policed populations abroad and racialized populations at home. It situates these homologies within a settler colonial context that has always blurred the boundaries between domestic and international, peace and war, and police and military. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) spearheaded the settler colonial system through the enforcement of federal law across Indigenous territories, centering on land acquisition, the confinement of Indigenous peoples to reserves, and the imposition of a new system of governance. This paper is interested in teasing out the continuities between this history and contemporary policing in Canada, by looking at the current entanglements between policing ?at home? and policing ?abroad.?

***The Police-Military Continuum and the Critique of Domestication:*** Will Kujala (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** This paper examines a concept that circulates in critical IR theory, Native Studies, and American Studies: ?domestication.? Domestication describes an attempted process of enclosure (in the domestic ?sphere? of politics) and neutralization (an ascription of political limits). I reconstruct a critique of domestication among revolutionary internationalists in the 1960s US, who criticized the ideological and practical containment of Black and Indigenous revolt within the domestic frame of the US as one scene in a global arena of insurgency and counterinsurgency. My central theoretical claim, built out of this study in the history of internationalist thought, is that the critique of police power and a critique of the domestic/international boundary go hand in hand. In other words, a critique of police power in North America is fundamentally limited unless it recognizes that Canada and the United States are already structured as international spaces.

***Our State / Ourselves: Discourses on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Policekeeping:*** Nikaela Lange (McGill University), Colleen Bell (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** This paper presents findings from interview research with Canadian police officers deployed to the UN peacekeeping missions in Haiti between 2002-2017. Focusing on the problem of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), we present three discourses that emerge from this research and their reasoning about the problem of SEA. These discourses suggest that 1) although Canadians have committed SEA, they have done so less than other contributing countries; 2) the UN fails to sanction SEA in practice, while Canada does sanction SEA; and 3) Haitians and Haitian culture undermines efforts to reduce SEA. Building on the work of feminist International Relations theory, we argue that discourses on sexual exploitation and abuse reinforce a mentality of self-exemption that treats sexual misconduct as a problem in which Canadians are largely innocent, while the UN, other contributing countries, and Haitians themselves, bear much more fault. We argue that these discourses construct Canadian police as ?helpful heroes? (Wegner 2020) in a world of adverse actors and deepens Canada?s national mythology as a do-gooder nation that is largely exempt from perpetrating SEA, despite evidence to the contrary.

***??To Serve and Protect? (Settler-Colonialism): the "Raison d'etre" of Canada?s Law Enforcement??:*** Cleo Nguyen (University of Saskatchewan), Colleen Bell (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** To understand the nuisances of police violence along racialized, gendered, and class lines, institutions of policing need to be examined through a systemic lens ? away from approaches that fixate on individual and interpersonal explanations of racism and police brutality or that constitute acts of police brutality and injustice as that of a ?few bad apples?. In broadening our approach, we can conduct a more systemic analysis that views policing in the context of the state?s racial, settler-colonial project and investigates how institutions of policing reproduce a white, settler-colonial order. Drawing on Critical Race and settler-colonial theories, this paper develops an analysis of policing as an extension, expression, and exercise of the political administration of the state itself. We use the RCMP in Canada as a case study and take issue with not only violent conduct by police officers themselves, but the settler-colonial order they reproduce through policing people and spaces. The RCMP continues to be among the primary actors which reproduce settler-colonial order, insofar as it operates as part of a larger, punitive frame of the state that facilitates and participates in excessive police surveillance of communities, their criminalization, and mass incarceration along gendered, racial, and class lines. Thus, while it is theoretically possible for the RCMP to be reformed in order to curb police violence, we argue that doing so runs counter to its very raison d'etre.

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## C09(b) - IR Theory II: Ethics, Fracture, and Failure

### International Relations

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Christopher LaRoche (Central European University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Gloria Novovic (University of Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Nivaldo Galleguillos (McMaster University)

**Governmentalizing Failure: The Necropolitics of Protecting Civilians:** Marc Doucet (Saint Mary's University)

**Abstract:** Recent literature on contemporary humanitarian governance advances a powerful case that there is a co-constitutive relationship between the present and history of international order centered on the rationality of the state, colonialism, markets, and liberal reason on the one hand and the evolution of humanitarian assistance on the other (Pallister-Wilkins 2021, 2015; Lester and Dussart 2014; Reid-Henry 2013; Barnett, 2011; Fassin 2011; Weizman 2011). This history of 'care and control' -- uneven geographically and temporally -- suggests that humanitarian logics are not counterweights to *raison d'état* and its violence but must instead be considered as component parts of the same international assemblage. Building on the insights of this literature, this paper seeks to explore the governmentality of the Protection of Civilians (PoC). The paper draws attention to the manner in which PoC accounts for its necessary failures by combining a particular form of necropolitics with its humanitarian rationale of care and control. This necropolitics is most clearly visible through the incorporation of a various pedagogies of 'lessons learned' from civilian deaths.

**Understanding Fracture: Polanyi's Double-movement and the Rate of Change - A Comparison With Gramsci and Carr:** Ilirjan Shehu (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Since the 2008 crisis, historical perspective and rate of change are two issues that have become accentuated in political economy discussions. Institutional crisis in the West, coupled with the rise of Russia and China in the East as two main challengers of western domination, have caused increased interest in Polanyi as well as Carr. Gramsci on the other hand, after enjoying great success in the '90s and early '00s, has retreated somewhat. The reason for this is that, especially since the 2008 crisis, largely an understanding of fracture rather than hegemony is being sought. For this purpose, Polanyi and Carr may be more adoptable. Although for different intents and purposes, all three apply an approach that employs historical perspective coupled with a moral stance and a sense of the need for a return to 'reality'. Such a perspective was the result of an understanding that liberalism was a system in crisis and that a different future was to be constructed. Yet, given their varying intents and purposes, how the three understood movement and change and, as a result, the interplay between reality and utopia was different. In this context, this presentation will explore Polanyi's understanding of history as a concept of social movement. In order to achieve this aim, his perspective of the causes of historical change and its governance are probed and then compared to those of Carr and Gramsci, two influential contemporaries who charted similar territories.

**My Chineseness is Different: A Case Study of Identity Formation Amongst Chinese Youth in Singapore and Malaysia:** Orson Tan (University of Canterbury)

**Abstract:** The Chinese communities in Southeast Asia have established themselves over various waves of migration starting in the 11th century and their number has slowly grown into the largest community of ethnic Chinese outside the greater China, with scholars estimating that there are 25 million Chinese living in the region. Yet throughout the history of the Chinese in Southeast Asia, a common question regarding their identity and political loyalty was asked. Such questions have once again arisen, in light of China's rise to power and the PRC government's insistence that all Chinese share a singular heritage and motherland. Increasing migration of PRC migrants to the countries in Southeast Asia have only served to further questions about the identity of the local Chinese communities in these states, and have led to social tension between the newly-arrived migrants and the existing Chinese communities. It is in this context that the local Chinese communities around the region have started to differentiate themselves and their identity from the new wave of PRC migrants, emphasising a hybrid political identity that is state-ethnic. This leads to the question of how do the local Chinese communities form this hybrid hyphenated state-Chinese identity. This paper aims to address these questions of identity formation and differentiation by using Q-methodology to study the Chinese youth in Singapore and Malaysia, thereby establishing the various factors that influence the formation of the hybrid state-Chinese identity.

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## C09(c) - International Relations and the Middle East

### International Relations

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 009

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Aaron Ettinger (Carleton University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Aaron Ettinger (Carleton University)

**LIV and Let Die: Saudi Arabia, Sportswashing, and Authoritarian Capitalism in World Politics:** Aaron Ettinger (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Since 2016, Saudi Arabia's crown prince Mohammed bin Salman has sought to improve his country's economic and strategic position through sports diplomacy. These efforts include investments in a diverse portfolio of sports properties, including hosting marquee professional sporting events at home and financing leagues and teams abroad. It is all part of Saudi Arabia's 'Vision 2030' strategic plan to diversify the kingdom's economy. Critics have called this 'sportswashing' a form of reputation laundering through sports. But the public charge of 'sportswashing' does not get at the thornier questions about why Saudi Arabia is engaged in sports diplomacy in the first place, who is the intended audience, and who benefits. Nor does it help understand the peculiar Saudi variety of sports diplomacy which confounds some of the expectations in the mega-events literature. In this paper, I discuss the foreign policy purposes underlying Saudi Arabia's sports diplomacy and their wider implications for the global economy. I argue that the sports diplomacy initiated by MBS is an investment both in the long-term strategic interests of Saudi Arabia and in the longevity of the ruling regime.

**Refugees in Lebanon: Othering in the times of the pandemic:** Maissaa Almustafa (York University)

**Abstract:** Refugees living in Lebanon are subject to a multilayered process of othering that results in exacerbating their social suffering and economic vulnerabilities. Since 2011, Syrian refugees in Lebanon have been subject to a precarious legal status that limits their access to rights and subjects them to rejection and discrimination. Similar conditions of precarity are experienced by Palestinian refugees, who have been residing in Lebanon since 1948. The breakout of COVID-19, which occurred in Lebanon during a severe economic crisis, governmental dysfunction, and political tensions, compounded refugees' multiple vulnerabilities and revealed their exclusion. This paper maps structural factors of othering as experienced by refugees in Lebanon during the pandemic and demonstrates the impact of such process on their living conditions and access to rights. By examining disparities of exposure to the pandemic, which are connected to socioeconomic factors like poverty, work circumstances, and housing conditions, the paper captures the systemic process of excluding those who are deemed 'non-deserving,' subjecting them to various forms of vulnerabilities. It demonstrates how sovereign structures in a fragile country like Lebanon perform their capacity against refugees to, as put by Mbembe, 'define who matters and who does not, who is disposable and who is not.' The paper challenges the widespread indifference towards social injustices experienced by refugees and focuses on how people who strive for safety and stability are subject to marginalization, social suffering, and precarious conditions through their permanent temporariness.

**Paradigm Shift or Repetition of The Existing Statue Quo: Iranian Regime Past and Future:** Aras SYAHMANSSURI (University of Sulaimani)

**Abstract:** Although the current unrest and protests seem to be prevailing the regime of Iran this time, there is not a strong candidate to take the power after the collapse of Ayatollah. Mahsa Amini's (Zhina Amini) the Kurdish Iranian young women have become the symbol of uprising in Iran after she died in police custody in September 2022. The central argument in this paper is that the candidates who may take the power will face serious challenges and the new Iran after Ayatollah will not be heaven as most Iranians, observers, and the West hoping for. The Iranian opposition groups such as the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI), the People's Mujaheddin Organization of Iran (PMOI), and other do not believe on the right of ethnic groups in Iran. They see Iran one nation and one language. Therefore, even changes happen in Iran, yet the minority again will suffer under the power of majority. This has been one of the clearest complicities of the Iranian people that the previous regimes were not able to manage it. The Iranians as one nation has the issue of democracy, human rights, freedom, censorship, economic challenges. At the same time, the minorities in Iran, such as the Kurds, Arabs, Lurs, Baloch, etc. These ethnic groups have suffered under the power of the Sha as well as the Ayatollahs.

**The Urban Frontier: Jaffa as a site of Ongoing Colonization:** Yara Shoufani (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper will contest the narrativization of the Palestinian city of Jaffa as a post colonial space, through analyzing the role of Zionist colonization in the continued dispossession of the Palestinian residents in the city. It does so by historicizing the spatial process which involved collapsing Jaffa into the single municipality of Tel-Aviv Yafo, exposing the Palestinian city to the Zionist state's mixed city strategy. This municipal unification of Jaffa and Tel-Aviv was accompanied with economic and legal mechanisms such as the Absentee Property Law, which shifted the status of Palestinian residents from home owners to protected tenants, and resulted in a struggle over the home and urban space. I argue that both development 'seen through the Jaffa Renewal Plan' and conservation, have played a central role in the continued displacement of Jaffa's Palestinian residents, in a process that mirrors the displacement of Palestinians in the West Bank. In articulating the dispossession of Palestinian citizens of Jaffa as part of the colonial process, this article offers a continuity of the Palestinian liberation struggle across colonial borders and urban space.

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## D09 - The Supreme Court and Constitutional Politics

### Law and Public Policy

Date: May 31 2023 | Time: 08:45am - 10:15am | Room: Accolade West-ACW 104

Chair/Président/Présidente : Mark Harding (Guelph)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Mark Harding (Guelph)

*What is Canada's Unwritten Constitution and Why Does it Matter for Politics?:* Emmett Macfarlane (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** A narrow, legal definition of the Constitution of Canada would focus on the "entrenched" legal constitution, defined in the supremacy clause of the Constitution Act, 1982 as comprising various Imperial and domestic Acts and proclamations. This forms the written constitution, but is also said to include "unwritten constitutional principles", such as parliamentary privilege, the rule of law, and judicial independence. The jurisprudence developed by courts in constitutional cases is also part of our constitutional fabric in this sense. A broader understanding of the Constitution recognizes constitutional conventions, or politically binding rules of behaviour that are traditionally not enforced by courts, as part of the definition as well. The Canadian Constitution is thus said to be "partially" written (and indeed, partially entrenched). Yet the relationship between the various written and unwritten components of the Canadian Constitution is incredibly complex, and subject to considerable recent contestation. This paper sets out an analysis of the unwritten components of Canadian Constitution, their relationship to each other, and to the Constitution as a whole. Understanding how conventions, unwritten principles, the law and custom of Parliament, and the common law inter-relate and inform our understanding of the broader Constitution carries significant implications for the accountability and power-designating functions of the Constitution, as well as for constitutional change. Specifically, different understandings of the legal status of elements of the unwritten constitution can dramatically alter the scope of, and room for, politics under the Constitution.

*Questionable Jurisprudence and Savvy Politics: The Legacy of the Supreme Court Reference on Senate Reform:* Kathy Brock (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** The role of the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) in the governing process has been subjected to much study in recent years, particularly regarding the discourse between legislative and judicial branches (Kelly, Manfredi, Knopff, MacFarlane, Hiebert). Less attention has been paid to the impact of key SCC decisions on the executive branch and its operation (Baier, Brock 2018). While a flurry of attention was given to SCC decisions during the constitutional wars (Russell, Morton, Hogg, Manfredi), little attention has been paid to the legacy of particular decisions for achieving future institutional reform. This paper examines the impact of a key Supreme Court decision on the executive and its ability to achieve needed democratic reforms in the legislative branch.

The 2014 Reference re Senate Reform quashed the Harper government's proposal to reform the Senate in the interests of "democratic legitimacy." Abandoning its traditional deference in matters of constitutional reform, the Court acted in the name of "federalism and the federal principle" by rejecting the powers of Parliament to unilaterally change the process of selecting Senators from appointments to elections and to abolish the Senate.

In upholding federalism, has the Supreme Court decision unduly complicated the ability of government to achieve meaningful democratic reform for the Senate?

By examining the logic of this reference opinion and subsequent changes in the operation of the Senate and selection of Senators, the paper reveals some inherent limitations of the SCC as a policy actor and the difficulties that its interventions may pose for democratic governance.

*The Power of Judicial Rules: The Chilling Effect of the Supreme Court of Canada's 2021 Notice on Interventions?:* Danielle McNabb (Queen's University), Stéphanie Chouinard (Royal Military College (Kingston) and Queen's University)

**Abstract:** In the post-Charter era, legal mobilization is a key political activity for interest groups, governments, and corporations. Third-party actors make intervener submissions in at least half of all cases heard by the Supreme Court of Canada ("SCC") (Brodie 2002; Alarie and Green 2010). As such, intervention is perceived by some scholars to provide the judicial branch with a vital mechanism for democratic input (Collins 2018; Edwards 2017). Historically, the Court has rarely rejected applications to intervene, accepting more than 90 percent of requests (Songer 2008; Alarie and Green 2010). However, in November of 2021, the SCC released a "Notice to the Profession" announcing that moving forward, the SCC would be more "mindful of the need to not unduly imbalance the arguments before it," and that it "retains discretion to take any steps to prevent unfairness to the parties" that arise from intervener participation. This paper demonstrates that the Notice has had a chilling effect on intervening by analyzing all of the SCC's leave-to-intervene decisions in two distinct time periods: the year preceding the notice to the profession, and the year following its release. Since the Notice, the SCC has received significantly less applications to intervene, and at the same time, has rejected a much higher proportion of applications to intervene. Our paper will also determine whether certain types of interveners have been disproportionately affected by this notice. Overall, our study expands our understanding of the shaping power of judicial rules, fostering broader discussions on the democratic implications of legal mobilization.

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## E09 - Local Election Campaigns: The Candidate's View

### Local and Urban Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 203

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jack Lucas (University of Calgary)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Anne Mellevec (University of Ottawa)

***Candidate Perceptions of Local Election Rules:*** Zack Taylor (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** Election candidates are subject to a variety of rules, most of which are defined by provincial laws and regulations. The ostensible purpose of nomination requirements, spending limits, restrictions on who can donate, and the disclosure of donor identities and expenditures is to make electoral contests more fair and competitive, and to limit the undue influence of deep-pocketed interests in local politics and policymaking. These rules vary considerably from one Canadian province to the next, however. In this paper, we analyze responses to a large, national survey of Canadian local election candidates to identify the individual and contextual determinants of their opinions regarding common rules. We find that perceptions of different rules are a function of three factors: the scale of electoral competition (namely, district population size and density), the content of the rules in place in their jurisdiction, and the candidates' relationship to the private sector as indicated by occupation, organizational involvement, and self-reported ideology.

***Candidates' Perceptions of Obstacles to Electoral Success:*** Sandra Breux (INRS-Urbanisation)

**Abstract:** In Canada, the municipal level is characterized by the presence of incumbents, a low-information context and a relative rejection of local political parties. These various phenomena can make access to elected office difficult, particularly for women, whose presence at this level of government is far from parity. While this lack of parity can be explained by recruitment difficulties, it is not known whether male and female candidates have the same perception of these potential obstacles to their victory. Using data from the Money and Local Democracy project, we will show that candidates' perceptions of (1) the likelihood of victory for incumbents, (2) the media's treatment of candidates, and (3) the presence of local political parties are influenced by their past political experience, the size of their municipality, and their self-assessment of their chances of winning the election. These initial data will provide insight into how municipal democracy is perceived and how gender does or does not shape that perception.

***Who Runs for Municipal Office? Survey Evidence from Five Provinces:*** Martin Horak (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** Fragmentary and anecdotal evidence has long suggested that candidates for municipal office in Canada are not representative of broader population demographics. Until now, however, we have not had access to systematic data on the subject. Drawing on a survey of municipal candidates conducted in 2022 in Ontario, British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island this paper presents a demographic portrait of the candidate pool. We find that - in line with prior expectations - candidates are disproportionately male, are wealthier and more highly educated than the general population and are highly likely to be homeowners. We find high levels of prior partisan activity among municipal candidates, supporting claims in the literature of informal connections between partisan provincial and federal politics and nominally non-partisan local electoral contests. Interestingly, we also find a bimodal age distribution of candidates, with peaks in the late 30s and late 50s. Taking advantage of the range of our sample, we then compare candidate demographics by size of municipality to understand how this may influence who chooses to run for municipal office.

***Are Municipalities Still Property-Serving Corporations? Local Democracy, The Property Franchise and the Role of Municipalities Through the Eyes of Local Candidates:*** Kristin Good (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Five Canadian provinces are among few jurisdictions in liberal democracies where a non-resident voter or property franchise exists at the local level. Although this anomaly is mentioned in contemporary debates about extending the franchise to non-citizen residents, the politics underlying its persistence in municipal systems in Canada have been left unexplored. Is this simply an anachronism or does it reflect an understanding of municipalities' role as service-providers for property and of property owners as privileged stakeholders in local democracy? Could community power dynamics that advantage the business community explain the persistence of this rule? Using data collected from this survey and semi-structured interviews with municipal candidates, this paper explores the influence of propertied interests in municipal politics from multiple vantage points probing relationships between candidates' support for a non-resident franchise and the following: their status as property owners; their perception of business influence in local affairs and on whether money determines political outcomes; their perception of municipalities' role; as well as their perception of the role that ideology and partisanship should play in local decision-making. It develops hypotheses to explain why the property franchise persists using data on whether business/property influence is perceived as a matter of public concern (or not, thus contributing to institutional inertia) or, alternatively, whether the disproportionate influence of the business community in local affairs could be influential in its maintenance. The paper concludes by discussing the democratic significance of whether municipalities are perceived as ?property-serving? rather than ?resident-serving? governments.

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## F09(a) - Gender, Equity, and Behaviour

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 204

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Elizabeth Baisley (Queen's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Elizabeth Baisley (Queen's University)

**Political Repositioning and Gender Stereotypes:** Maurits Meijers (Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands / Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Research on policy shifts and repositioning has found that it can be costly for politicians to change their policy stances. Candidates who reposition themselves are seen as less honest, less reliable, and less competent. It remains unclear, however, how a politician's gender affects this responses to and perceptions of repositioning. Research on gender stereotypes in politics has found that voters ascribe different personality and competence characteristics to female and male politicians, and that gender-trait stereotypes affect candidate perceptions. While male politicians are viewed as more competent, decisive, and displaying strong leadership, female politicians are believed to be more honest. I test the hypothesis that the reputational cost of repositioning is more pronounced for female politicians than male politicians. When a female politicians changes her policy position, this could be perceived to confirm stereotypes that female politicians are less competent, indecisive and weaker leaders. In addition, repositioning is likely to be perceived going against the positive-valance stereotype of honesty. This hypothesis is tested in a unique, pre-registered survey experiment (N=4000) fielded in Flanders, Belgium in 2022. The high levels of women's representation and the high degree of public acceptance of female politicians in Flanders make the Flemish case a 'crucial' or 'least likely' case to find gender effects in the reputational cost of policy change. The findings will have important implications for our understanding of women's representation in modern democracies.

**Gendered Political Socialization: Why Women and Men Still Differ in Political Interest:** Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Recent studies show that women usually report more interest than men in health care and education issues, while men report more interest in foreign policy and partisan politics, among other topics (Campbell & Winters, 2008; Ferrin et al., 2020; Rebenstorf, 2004). However, it remains unclear how these gender differences emerge. Political interest remains stable throughout people's lives (Prior, 2019), and one of its most important determinants is childhood socialization by parents and peers (Huckfeldt & Sprague, 1995; Jennings & Niemi, 2014; Neundorf et al., 2013), especially by a child's same-gender parent(s) (Beauregard, 2008). Thus far, parent-child transmission of political interest has only been studied using a one-item measure of political interest which mostly taps into partisan politics. Moreover, peer transmission of political interest has not been studied through a gendered lens. This paper explores the possibility that children's interest in specific political topics is influenced by their parent(s) and peers who share their gender.

Relying on online surveys of Canadian high school students and Canadian adults, I assess the extent to which youth interest in a specific political topic can be linked with parents' or peers' interest in that same topic. I break down the results for parents and peers by whether or not they share the child's gender and discuss implications for the role of gender in political interest transmission. These results are important since gendered political socialization can have practical consequences for involvement in institutional politics.

**How Does Learning Impact Attitudes Toward Native American Policies in the United States?:** Edana Beauvais (SFU), Raymond Foxworth (First Nations Development Institute)

**Abstract:** Most Americans have little familiarity with Indigenous peoples or Indigenous issues: research shows that most Americans do not personally know any Native Americans, and that most Americans know little factual information about Native Americans (Foxworth & Boulding 2021). While the discovery of unmarked graves around former residential schools in Canada has sparked national discussions of Canada's colonial history and treatment of Indigenous peoples, there has been less discussion about these topics in the United States. For example, like in Canada, the U.S. federal government and religious groups ran boarding schools designed to assimilate into settler American culture from the 1800s until the 1970s. Also, like Canada, violence against Native American women is higher than any other group. However, most Americans are probably unfamiliar with these aspects of American history and society. How much do Americans know about Native American history and issues? What is the effect of teaching Americans about the history and legacy of colonialism on their attitudes toward Native American policies? Using data from a large probability sample of American settlers (n = 2,750) collected by the First Nations Development Institute (First Nations), we analyze the results of a series of survey experiments to answer these questions. Respondents were either randomly assigned to receive no information or to receive a 'learning treatment' where they were presented with factual information about the history and legacy of colonialism (such as the history of boarding schools or information about violence against Native American women). We then asked respondents their opinions on

**Gender Identity, Political Participation and Public Opinion:** Joanie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke), Jean-François Daoust (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** Gender has long been a key factor in making sense of public opinion and political behaviour in Canadian politics. However, as mentioned in Gidengil's (2022) recent review of the field, studies typically present gender as a dichotomous variable and ultimately underline differences in terms of attitudes and behaviours between individuals who are assumed to identify as cis men or cis women. While several scholars (e.g., Bittner and Goodyear-Grant 2017; Tremblay and Everitt 2020) have put forward the need to move beyond the use of gender as a dichotomous variable, we still know little about the attitudes of individuals who do not identify with a binary conception of gender.

This paper leverages the Canadian Election Study's large sample size and non-dichotomous question about gender to contribute to filling this gap by exploring the effects of gender on Canadian politics. We focus on key variables regarding public opinion, including ideology and opinions toward

redistribution. On political behaviour, we assess whether political participation and vote choice systematically differ across gender identities. Our findings entail important implications for our understanding of how identities, which have recently attracted more attention in the Canadian literature as in most well-established democracies (Besco 2019; Bird et al. 2016; Bouchard 2022; Dabin et al. 2019), impact citizens' public opinion and engagement in politics.

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## F09(b) - Information, Advertising, Misinformation, and Media

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 205

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Vincent Raynauld (Emerson College)

*The Canadian Public Opinion Industry, Party Polling, and Elections in the 2000s:* Christopher Adams (University of Manitoba)

**Abstract:** This conference paper examines the Canadian polling industry since 2000, a time of great change in which the Alliance merged with the Progressives Conservatives, and new methods replaced traditional telephone interviewing. This paper commences with an overview of Canadian polling as part of the marketing research industry. Discussed first is this sector's revenues, employment numbers, ownership, and regional concentration. The second section focuses on how firms have changed their use of survey technologies and methodologies over the past quarter century. This includes turning away from telephone interviewing with many firms switching to online and interactive voice response (IVR) methodologies. Linked to this has been an accompanying decline in random sampling, including random digit dialing (RDD), with many turning to pre-recruited panels. A third section provides an examination of the individuals and firms that have provided polling services to the federal government, media, and political parties since 2000. This paper builds upon the author's previous research regarding the marketing research industry and is based on personal interviews with industry leaders, Statistics Canada data, industry reports, secondary literature on elections, media reports and election poll press releases.

*Explaining the Persistence of Misperceptions:* Mathieu Lavigne (McGill University)

**Abstract:** There is a consensus emerging in the experimental literature that misinformation correction is effective in increasing belief accuracy, yet public opinion surveys find false beliefs to be persistent in the general population. Overall, we do not have a good understanding of why citizens continue or stop believing in misinformation over time in real-world settings. Using data from a largescale multi-wave survey (with a panel component) conducted in Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic, this paper focuses on individuals who held false beliefs during the first stage of the pandemic and tries to understand why some continued to hold false beliefs while others began to hold more accurate beliefs. I test three types of explanations for the persistence of misperceptions: information deficit, selective exposure to misinformation-producing sources, and motivated reasoning. The literature shows that traditional media sources were more likely to provide accurate information, while right-wing alternative sources were more likely to propagate misinformation during the pandemic. Consequently, I expect that individuals who became more exposed to traditional media sources were less likely to continue to hold false beliefs, while those who started consuming alternative right-wing media were more likely to continue to hold misperceptions throughout the pandemic. I further expect that having a right-wing ideology will be associated with the persistence of beliefs in politicized conspiracy theories, but not non-politicized health-related misinformation. Overall, this paper provides important insights into how false beliefs evolve over time and what accounts for their persistence in public opinion.

*Primary Campaigns: Advertising, Strategy, and Impact:* Mackenzie Lockhart (UC San Diego)

**Abstract:** This paper investigates how US Congressional primary election campaigns work to adjust the information environment faced by voters through advertising. Previous research has noted that primary campaigns have an incentive to use some of their resources with the general election in mind; positive campaign styles might provide returns in both the primary and the general elections while negative and contrast ads would only benefit the candidate in the primary. Research has also begun to elucidated different strategies available to longshot and competitive candidates as long shot candidates face the need to gamble for success. Using data from the Wesleyan Media Project, financial contribution records, and election returns, I look at how incumbents, challengers, and candidates in open races adopt different strategies before and after the primary election to identify the impact of primary election institutions on campaign styles.

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## G09 - Environmental Politics and Energy Policy: Power and Resistance I

### Political Economy

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 206

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Canan Sahin (Queen's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jamie Lawson (University of Victoria)

***Settler Colonial Jurisdiction and ?Economic Reconciliation?: Reflecting on Federalism and Critical Infrastructure Developments Surrounding the Coastal GasLink Pipeline:*** James FitzGerald (York University)

**Abstract:** Critical infrastructure emerges at the intersection of settler colonial economic development, Indigenous struggles for resurgence, and contestations over jurisdiction under Canadian federalism. TC Energy's Coastal GasLink Pipeline project serves as a leading example of these politics. Set to be complete in 2023, this liquified natural gas-pipeline has long been touted as integrating Canada into the Asian-Pacific market and fostering ?economic reconciliation? with co-located Indigenous communities. Internal divisions between traditional and elected Indigenous leadership represent the tensions surrounding these assertions. This paper asks how complex jurisdictional politics (Pasternak 2014; LaDuke and Cowen 2020) are remaking conceptions of reconciliation and social relations with territory (Starblanket and Coburn 2020) while furthering Indigenous integration into the global markets and patterns of circulation (Cowen 2014)? Drawing on insights in critical political economy (Smith 1984) and legal analysis (McNeil 2014), this paper examines the overlapping and contested areas of jurisdiction shaping a politics of regulation, consent, and reconciliation surrounding the pipeline. The paper traces out the jurisdictional and legal frameworks evident in the National Energy Board's letter on provincial jurisdiction (July 26, 2019), the Supreme Court of British Columbia's ruling on the injunction (Dec 31, 2019), and the February 21, 2020 decision by the British Columbia Environmental Assessment Office. The paper concludes by situating the production of ?economic reconciliation? within broader (Starblanket and Coburn 2020) socio-political shifts in the management of crisis and broader patterns of circulation and broader capitalist politics of the spatialization of production and crisis (Neil Smith 1984; Harvey 2010; Cowen 2014).

***IFIs and Natural Resource Extraction; A Shift Toward Financial Independence or More International Intervention:*** Alicja Krubnik (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** The role of international financial institutions (IFIs) in promoting the transition away from natural resource extraction is contradictory within low-and middle-income (LIM) countries. This concerns a contentious debate; on the one hand, natural resource funds enable LIM states to have increased short-term spending discretion for long-term developmental goals. Natural resource funds could in theory enable LIM states to become less dependent on external and often invasive financing. On the other hand, natural resource funds depend on extractive industries that cause ecological as well as social and relational concerns, such as Indigenous land sovereignty and the rights of communities and future generations to healthy living. However, rather than debating the (in)justice of either position, this paper examines whether the promotion of extractive industry by IFIs has even changed the role of external financiers in LMI countries. This is important because external intervention in natural resource policy limits state developmental policy space, financial independence, and transition from exploitative financial relationships with international bodies.

This paper examines conditions by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the more newly prominent Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in the area of natural resource extraction policy in Ecuador and Argentina. In theory the state ideologies, one considered postneoliberal and the other representing a somewhat middle ground of post-developmental, respectively, should reflect the role of external financiers in natural resource extraction. The research aims to answer the question: are IFI natural resource policies promoting greater autonomy over natural resources or further foreign intervention in LMI countries?

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## H09(a) - Macphersonian Thinking for the 2020s

### Political Theory

Date: May 31 2023 | Time: 08:45am - 10:15am | Room: Accolade West-ACW 209

Co-Chair/Président/Présidente : Emily Nacol (University of Toronto)

*CB Macpherson's Possessive Individualism 60 Years Later:* Edward Andrew (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Brough Macpherson's The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism was a path-breaking critique of the liberal tradition when it was first published sixty years ago. He suggested a socialist alternative to liberalism as possessive individualism, and elaborated that view in subsequent works. Today, liberalism is criticized as western imperialism in large parts of the world; liberal rights are said to be policed by NATO. Authoritarianism and populism, rather than socialism, seem to be growing movements in formerly liberal democracies. Does Macpherson's theory of possessive individualism offer contemporary answers to the antithesis of liberalism and illiberalism? Or were some of the core ideas of possessive individualism passé? How does Macpherson's theory stand up to contemporary identity politics, culture wars, religious chauvinism and bellicose nationalism? In what way does Macpherson's emphasis on the centrality of private ownership and class politics stand up to identity politics?

*Macpherson on Property: An Updated View:* Peter Lindsay (Georgia State University)

**Abstract:** Macpherson's analyses of property, contained throughout his opus, but in its most focused form in the introduction and conclusion to his edited volume on the subject, was, for a generation of scholars, immensely clarifying. Part of the analysis involved the deconstruction of popular misconceptions (e.g., that property is a thing, that it is synonymous with private property). A more constructive aspect focused on the conceptual division of property into various ideal types: private, common and state. The work was not unique to him – thinkers such as Lindblom, Polanyi and Honore all went further and deeper perhaps – but Macpherson's sharp conceptual lens (his desire to address, as he might have put it, the 'real world' of ownership) added much needed subtlety to facile debates between 'isms' (e.g., capitalism, socialism) that in reality differ only by degree, not by kind. Since his death, much work has been done – especially by legal scholars such as Radin, Michelman, Waldron and Freyfogle – to parse property rights further. This work addresses questions such as: which specific 'incidents' of exclusive property are most compatible with democratic society? What sorts of goods are best allocated via market mechanisms, and what types demand rights 'not to be excluded'? This panel presentation suggests ways to continue this deepening process. The primary focus will be on what precise rights of ownership, especially those surrounding 'control' and 'access,' are required for the social or democratic ownership of the means of production.

*Democracy at a Crossroads: C.B. Macpherson Today:* Phil Hansen (University of Regina)

**Abstract:** It is now widely acknowledged that democracy is everywhere under siege. The standard liberal and mainstream position takes for granted the normative superiority of and/or the lack of alternatives to existing liberal democratic forms and focuses overwhelmingly on the threat of authoritarianism. A more critical perspective highlights and explores the internal tensions and contradictions in existing liberal democracy, contradictions that are rooted in its relation to contemporary capitalism. But the work of C.B. Macpherson has remained marginal and underappreciated by proponents of either approach. I aim to challenge this omission by exploring the trajectory of Macpherson's treatment of liberal democracy over time in order to demonstrate his continuing relevance for democratic theory and practice. In his approach he shares common ground with the Frankfurt School in that he both provides a rich account of the relation of individual or civil to social rights and outlines key elements of a radical theory of participatory democracy. But perhaps his most enduring contribution is his exploration of the dilemmas of liberalism, an account whose depth and insight have gone largely unrecognized. These dilemmas have not disappeared and indeed are more prevalent today than ever. As a result, Macpherson's work demonstrates an urgency that reflects his view that a theorist had to relate immediate political questions to the challenges facing humanity at a particular historical juncture. In this respect he is our contemporary, his ideas both relevant and timely.

*Between Liberalism and Marxism: Rethinking Macpherson's 'Liberal Marxism' Today:* Igor Shoikhedbrod (St Francis Xavier University)

**Abstract:** C.B. Macpherson's reputation as a piercing critic of possessive individualism and his endorsement of a developmental counter-current within liberalism has consistently given rise to its share of liberal and Marxist detractors. In this presentation, I briefly revisit the previous controversy concerning Macpherson's 'elusive' positionality as a 'liberal Marxist,' which was hotly debated by Ellen Wood, Leo Panitch, Victor Svacek, and Frank Cunningham. More recently, Macpherson's political thought has figured in wide-ranging debates about the possibility of a rapprochement between varieties of liberalism and socialism, including Marxism. These recent debates have extended beyond the confines of academic political theory and have been picked up by public-facing magazines and podcasts, such as Jacobin and What is Left of Philosophy, at a time when liberalism finds itself under attack from various challengers. Macpherson's critique of possessive individualism and his retrieval of liberal democracy offer valuable resources for rethinking the relationship between liberalism and Marxism in contemporary politics. Such a rethinking is needed more than ever.

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## H09(b) - Family

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 302

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Micheal Ziegler (University of Victoria)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Erich Daniel Luna Jacobs (University of Toronto)

**Hegel on the Madness of ?Work-Family Balance?, or: Why Marriage is a Bigger Problem for Hegel?s System of Freedom than the Rabble:** Joshua Goldstein (University of Calgary), William Gregson (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** From Socrates to Augustine, Rousseau to Du Bois, the Western tradition is punctuated by expressions of regret for the neglect of partners, children, or family life caused by a life dedicated to a philosophic calling. Similarly, and more conventionally, the family is invoked as reason for stepping back from a life of public service, business, or career. Within everyday life the idea of Work-Family Balance (WFB) is central among employees and corporate values. Rather than focus, as most studies do, on the practical coordination of WFB this paper reconstructs the tension?s conceptual underpinnings?i.e., how the nature of family and work make possible their integration in society?s institutional organization and an individual?s self-conception. Undertaking this project through the preeminent theorist of integrated modern life, GWF Hegel, we break the WFB problem into six steps: (i) revealing WFB?s tension as intrinsic and existing between principles of freedom; (ii) showing how, nonetheless, work and family can be integrated institutionally when treated as discrete spheres of life rather than instances of a unitary principle (e.g., justice, care, labour); (iii) showing how these principles? integration into a unified individual self-conception is intrinsically impossible; (iv) reconstructing the tension between institutional-integration and individual-dis-integration as an instance of what Hegel identifies as a fatal-to-freedom shape of societal ?madness?; (v) arguing that WFB?s conceptual impossibility destabilizes Hegel?s system more than oft-identified problems, e.g., the poverty and the ?rabble?; and, (vi) concluding with a brief evaluation of attempts by Hegel and the non-philosophic literature to manage WFB?s maddening impossibility.

**Toward a Genealogy of Genealogy: The Origins & Political Implications of Ancestry.com:** 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. One firm has come to dominate this booming market. Over the last decade, Ancestry.com has amassed an astonishing collection of over 27 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. However, political scientists have been slow to recognize the ?data-fied? and internationalized archival breadth of Ancestry.com as a phenomenon worthy of deeper investigation. This paper begins addressing this deficiency by closely examining the origins of Ancestry.com and tracing the ways in which its products, services, jurisdictions, and organizational missions have evolved over time. This genealogical study of Ancestry.com will illuminate the various economic, cultural, and political conditions that have constituted its massive and widespread success ? including its distant roots in Mormon theology. Doing so will offer critical preliminary insights into the political significance of Ancestry.com and the role it plays in a wider ?data-centric? sociopolitical landscape. Ultimately, this genealogical expedition will position Ancestry.com as a key political actor in digitalized societies and one that necessarily blurs the public-private divide via its consolidation and deployment of a global data archive. Further, it will begin to illuminate the role Ancestry.com plays in inciting, transforming and governing wider sociopolitical conceptions of identity, history, place and belonging.

**Macaulay and Wollstonecraft on Inheritance:** Mary Jo MacDonald (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Catherine Macaulay and Mary Wollstonecraft both offered what are broadly understood as republican criticisms of inheritance. They specifically attack the practice of primogeniture, which allowed the eldest son to inherit the family estate. Despite offering similar critiques of inheritance, Wollstonecraft and Macaulay diverge in their solutions. While Wollstonecraft argues that inheritance should be distributed equally among all children, Macaulay bars female inheritance and dowries.

This paper explores the reasons for this divergence. For Macaulay, the problem with primogeniture is that it allows for a concentration of wealth within the hands of a few. Allowing women to inherit and bring dowries to marriages could, she argues, compound this problem. For Wollstonecraft, however, the problem with inheritance is not simply that it allows for an unjust distribution of wealth within society, but that it corrupts individual development and relations within the family. Women?s economic dependence might prevent some concentration of wealth, according to Wollstonecraft, but it would also fundamentally undermine the very point of equality within that society?the development of one?s moral character.

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## J09 - Ontario Politics: Past and Current Practices

### Provincial and Territorial Politics in Canada and Beyond

Date: May 31 2023 | Time: 08:45am - 10:15am | Room: Accolade West-ACW 303

Chair/Président/Présidente : Julie Simmons (University of Guelph)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Michael MacKenzie (University of Pittsburgh)

**Ontario's Days of Action and the Politics of Numbers ? an application of Statistical Discourse Analysis:** Paul Kellogg (Athabasca University)

**Abstract:** In 2015 in *Escape from the Staple Trap*, I suggested the concept of ?Statistical Discourse Analysis? as an adaptation of Michel Foucault's concept of ?Discourse Analysis?. I argued that ?in the discursive formation that is Canadian political economy, the ?gaps, voids, and absences? are as important as those bits of evidence that are presented as fact?. In the years since, we have entered the ?Post Truth? or ?alternative facts? era, highlighting the importance of a critical approach to ?bits of evidence that are presented as fact? in many areas ? including the US election results, the pandemic and of course climate justice. Such a critical approach also has relevance to our understanding of politics in previous eras. This paper will apply Statistical Discourse Analysis to one such era ? Ontario's ?Common Sense Revolution? of the 1990s, specifically the ?Days of Action? movement which emerged in opposition to it. The paper will examine four moments in this era where statistics were highly politicized? 1) the Hamilton Days of Action on February 23 and 24 1996; 2) the scale of downsizing of the Mike Harris Conservative government compared to Bob Rae's previous NDP government; 3) the Toronto Days of Action on October 25 and 26 1996; and, 4) the relationship between the scale of social movement resistance, and electoral success (or failure) at the polls. The research for this paper is part of a book-length study being prepared by the author on the Ontario Days of Action.

**The Culture Wars: Yours to Discover? Understanding the role of the Culture Wars over Education in the 2022 Ontario Provincial Election:** Chris Erl (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Schools are an important battleground in the ?culture wars?. As Hunter (1991) notes, this is ?because of the intrinsic link between public education, community and national identity, and the future (symbolized by children),? (198). Recent American elections have been impacted by debates over Critical Race Theory (CRT), transgender rights, and COVID-19 policies in what Zimmerman (2022) characterized as the beginning of a new era in the culture wars.

The 2022 Ontario provincial election saw parties attempt to mobilize voters with similar culture war rhetoric. The right-wing populist New Blue Party and Christian nationalist Ontario Party ran campaigns that took aim at ?sex ed.?, CRT, queer issues in schools, and the lingering impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. While their campaigns were unsuccessful, the question remains: where do Ontarians stand on the culture wars?

This paper will examine attitudes toward culture war issues by drawing upon a survey of ~2000 Ontarians conducted during the 2022 provincial election. Examining responses to education-related questions, I aim to answer two questions: what are the demographic correlates of support for culture war topics and how does support for culture war issues impact vote choice?

The data reveals that support for identity-based culture war topics and opposition to COVID-19 measures are unevenly associated with distinct demographic groups and with vote choice in the 2022 election. Further to this, descriptive statistics indicate a broad array of opinions and even awareness of certain culture war topics, indicating a level of nuance in how Ontarians view cultural issues in public schools.

**Majoritarianism justifying authoritarian neoliberalism: how Doug Ford has attempted to enshrine neoliberalization through constitutionalization and the centralization of power:** Ryan Kelpin (York University)

**Abstract:** Since becoming Premier of Ontario in 2018, Doug Ford has utilized the Westminster Parliamentary system and invocations of majoritarian politics to attempt to shield his government from accountability and critique. This paper explores both the use of majoritarian discourse and the legislative tools that the Ford government has used in their attempts to further the neoliberalization of the Ontario state apparatus. This is represented by, but not limited to: The Better Local Democracy Act (2018) and the use of creatures of the province to impose a total restructuring of the City of Toronto's democratic-decision making institutions and processes; the Strong Mayors, Building Homes Act (2022), which imposed an unparalleled centralization of power in municipal mayor's offices in Toronto and Ottawa; and his unprecedented usage of the Notwithstanding Clause on two occasions, but particularly the Keeping Students in Class Act (2022) which overrode constitutionally protected collective bargaining and strike rights for CUPE education workers in Ontario. I argue that while seemingly very different cases, that these pieces of legislation and the discourses to justify them are indicative of a turn towards a majoritarian-political form of neoliberalization rooted in the idea of parliamentary supremacy, akin to what Ian Bruff (2014) describes as ?authoritarian neoliberalism?.

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## K09(a) - Making Space, Mobilizing Marginalized Policy Voices: Governance

### Public Administration

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 305

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Andrea Migone (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Alana Cattapan (University of Waterloo)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=98](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=98)

*Place, Power and the Politics of Governance Feminism in Canada and Mexico:* Alexandra Dobrowolsky (Saint Mary's University), Tammy Findlay (Mount Saint Vincent University), Hepzibah Muñoz Martínez (University of New Brunswick)

**Abstract:** This paper will explore the intricacies of 'governance feminism' in light of Canada and Mexico's distinctive politics, policy, and power dynamics.

We focus on these two places for their multiple differences, but despite possessing dramatically divergent economic, social, cultural, and political contexts, both countries have made concerted efforts to respond to feminist claims by institutionalizing feminism in government and policy. Moreover, in our view, these respective efforts at feminist governance have also displayed several fundamental features of 'governance feminism'. According to Paterson and Scala, the latter seeks to address the 'problem' of gender inequality through more and better information and greater inclusion (2020: 51-52), but in so doing governance feminism ultimately 'piggybacks' (Haley et al, 2006, 340-41) on existing power dynamics instrumentalizing and/or institutionalizing neo-liberal, individualized, marketized priorities. Its politics and policy thus emphasize equal opportunities, self reliance, and individual responsibility thereby limiting how social justice might be conceptualized and achieved.

Beyond illustrating the presence of governance feminism, we also seek to explore how and why particular and dissimilar features of this phenomenon can manifest in these two disparate contexts given unique dynamics around women's mobilization, and extremes when it comes to inequalities, as well as violence and death. By doing so, we hope to underscore that governance feminism is not unchanging and immutable. Using a feminist intersectional lens, then, we aim to develop a more nuanced analytical framework for 'governance feminism' and trace its variations and mutations through our comparative analysis of Mexico and Canada.

*Collaborative Governance Innovations at the Local Level: Problems and Possibilities:* Leah Levac (University of Guelph), Jacqueline Gillis (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** Municipalities across Canada and globally are working to make their policies, programs, and staff complements more inclusive and conducive to advancing equity (e.g., Schronck, 2015; Su, 2018), often supported by commitments to more participatory forms of democracy. As part of these efforts, governments have increasingly implemented more collaborative governance processes, understood as those which seek to enhance the involvement of diverse government and non-government actors (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015). A key intent of these shifts in policymaking processes is to learn about policy problems and solutions from various viewpoints, including from residents who have historically been excluded as policy actors, and often, simultaneously targeted by punitive policies. Despite this intent, the realized outcomes of governance are limited. For instance, local governments commonly fail to think outside of Western mechanisms and knowledge systems which limits their ability to learn from a range of knowledges (Gillis, 2022).

In this paper, we ask, 'What are the problems and possibilities that emerge in efforts to centre Indigenous knowledges and intersectional commitments in collaborative governance and participatory policymaking processes at the local level?' In response, we draw on a study of Ontario municipal climate change policies and a community engaged research collaboration focused on incorporating intersectional and Indigenous considerations in core municipal planning. We discuss barriers that local governments face in advancing collaborative governance, and examine collaboratively developed tools that may help to intervene on these barriers, including by supporting ongoing internal knowledge building with public servants, and providing locally-relevant intersectionality-grounded policy and planning tools.

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## K09(b) - Health Care and Public Administration

### Public Administration

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 306

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Daniel Cohn (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Poland Lai (York University)

**Comparative Public Health Leadership: the Role of the Chief Medical Officer of Health in Australia, the United Kingdom and Canada:** Patrick Fafard (University of Ottawa), Adèle Cassola (York University), Joslyn Trowbridge (York University)

**Abstract:** The COVID-19 pandemic demonstrated both the strengths and the weaknesses of public health governance around the world. In those countries where the public health system is built on the 19th century British model, any reforms must include a careful assessment of the role of chief medical officers (CMOs) who are at the centre of public health governance. Unlike almost all other senior public servants, the role of CMO is designed to be somewhat autonomous, with the ability to speak directly to the public and, in many cases, exercise independent regulatory authority. This paper offers a comparative analysis of role of chief medical officer in Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. The paper is based on an analysis of the scholarly and grey literature on public health governance, a statutory and public administration analysis of the role of CMO, and interviews with CMOs in all three countries. The paper reveals the similarities and differences between the three countries; the shifting mix of roles they play in different jurisdictions, over time, and during a public health crisis; common challenges of accountability; and opportunities for reform.

**Allocation, Accountability, and the Canada Health Transfer: Creating a needs-based formula using a management control systems context:** Whitney Loerzel (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** The Canadian healthcare system is in a precarious state, with wait-times increasing and healthcare workers departing. Drastic changes are needed to improve its efficiency and accountability. One resolution involves examining the funding provided by the federal government to provinces through the Canada Health Transfer (CHT).

This study will assess the adequacy and fairness of the CHT allocation during 1977 to 2021. This will be completed by utilising concepts/principles of management control systems (MCS). This methodological approach is novel, as the research on federal transfers from an organizational management perspective is lacking.

Provinces/territories are cost-centers. According to MCS, the allocation of CHT should be fair and congruent to the national goal of providing universal healthcare. (Merchant and Van der Stede, 2017). To achieve these objectives, the federal government has the responsibility of adequately and fairly allocating CHT to meet the healthcare cost-needs of provinces/territories.

We will use a multiple regression model to investigate the association between per capita provincial health expenditure and various indicators of healthcare costs and needs. Based on the regression coefficients, we will develop a 'needs-based' formula for CHT and compute the yearly required provincial CHT, beginning with base year 1977 and adjusting for cost increases. This computed amount will be compared to the actual transfer provinces received (ignoring the tax-point transfer), which allows us to assess whether CHT is meeting the cost-needs of provinces. A gap would indicate provinces are not adequately and/or fairly allocated the necessary revenues, affecting their ability in meeting healthcare objectives.

**Child Care in Transition: A Case Study on the Shift to a Public Model of Care in Nova Scotia:** Kaytland Smith (St. Francis Xavier University), Rebecca Wallace (St. Francis Xavier University)

**Abstract:** In 2021, the government of Nova Scotia was among the first Canadian provinces to sign onto the Canada-Wide Early Learning and Child Care Agreement. Promising significant investments into reducing the costs of child care for Nova Scotian families, creating more child care spaces, and ensuring better wages for child care workers, the new policy was initially lauded as a path-breaking policy to advance the availability, accessibility, and quality of care in the province.

Yet, the transition to the new public model has been anything but smooth. Despite the government's announcement that it was 'ahead of schedule?' in January 2021, the policy faced pushback from child care owners and facilitators, who expressed deep concerns about the impact of the new policy on their existing businesses and the child care landscape more broadly. Recognizing this discord, this project explores how the transition to the new public model has affected care providers and the broader child care landscape in the province. Based on a series of interviews with child care owners and stakeholders in the field, this paper examines: 1) How the transition to the new policy affected child care owners' businesses and livelihoods; 2) How the transition to the new policy affected care providers' working conditions and career development in the field; and 3) How child care owners and providers feel the policy will affect the accessibility, quality, and equity of child care services across the province in the short and long term.

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## L09(a) - Workshop: Insurgent Resurgent Knowledges Otherwise - Orientations #2

### Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics

Date: May 31 2023 | Time: 08:45am - 10:15am | Room: Accolade West-ACW 307

Chair/Président/Présidente : Anita Girvan (UBC Okanagan)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Abigail Bakan (University of Toronto)

*Unpacking Indigeneity in Southwest Asia: Indigenous Land Rights in the Case of the Assyrian People in Iraq*: Riva Gewarges (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** International Relations with its Western and state-centric approach silences and excludes many voices and peoples from its analysis. These silences include the voices and experiences of those from the Global South, specifically, the indigenous Assyrian people in Iraq. In challenging and disrupting the mainstream perspectives, this paper analyzes how an indigenous framework to examining the case of the Assyrian people provides insights on the erasure and exclusions of indigenous people through colonialism, in this case the myriad levels of colonialism in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). More specifically, an Assyrian indigenous perspective addresses questions on how their inclusion furthers the visibility and voices of indigenous peoples from the Global South in our understanding of indigeneity in this region. In doing so, this paper focuses on the Assyrians people's struggle for political rights, specifically land rights within the KRI. The inclusion of the Assyrian case illuminates how their struggles and recognition as indigenous peoples in modern day Northern Iraq provide an alternative case to examining colonialism outside of a Western/Eurocentric context by researching how colonialism and state building formation are replicated, reproduced, and materialize in a postcolonial state and how Assyrians have been excluded and erased in Iraqi society.

*Counter-Mapping Border Cartographies: Geo-visualizing Migrant Detention in Ontario Canada*: Sasha Skaidra (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** State borders are often viewed as something faraway that demarcate a country's frontier; however, whenever a teacher, nurse, social worker, or frontline city worker requires proof of citizenship to access services, they undertake the work of border guards. Current cartographic conventions visualize national borders as being the distant perimeter of the state. As a visual rebuttal, I develop speculative and experimental maps with Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to produce a counter-mapping of migrant detention facilities, citizenship tribunals, police networks, and deportation routes in Ontario. These counter-maps help identify the internal and cartographically invisible borders which movements like Sanctuary Cities and the End Immigration Detention Network resist. Here, the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) enforces borders, immigration, and citizenship laws. The CBSA operates through what Didier Bigo terms "transgovernmental network" wherein CBSA's sharing of expertise, information, and coordination with the United States, EU's Frontex, and unaccountability vis-à-vis Parliament grants themselves sovereign autonomy. I appropriate GIS software (ArcGIS Pro), often used for infrastructure and business projects, to visually map CBSA Ontario migrant detention facilities, role in citizenship tribunals, police networks, and deportation routes. These counter-maps visualizes how CBSA possesses a sovereignty belonging to global policing networks. I connect International Relations and Critical Cartography to reveals how data, mapping, and policing create de-territorial authority capable of enforcing global migration.

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## L09(b) - Enduring Treaty Obligations and Accountabilities in Settler Colonial Contexts

### Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics

Date: May 31 2023 | Time: 08:45am - 10:15am | Room: Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0013

Chair/Président/Présidente : Riley Yesno (University of Toronto)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Sarah Marie Wiebe (University of Victoria)

*Inuit Nunangat Policy as Part of Canada's New Approach to Inuit Governance:* Marcin Gabrys (Jagiellonian University)

**Abstract:** The 2015 federal election marked the beginning of the process of changing the way Canadian government formulate policies and programs in the Arctic. The first step to fulfill Justin Trudeau's promise to overhaul relations with Indigenous peoples was enabling various stakeholders, including Inuit organizations, into the development of the the "Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework". As a result, the new policy released in 2019 not only included priorities that the people of Canada's northern regions consider key, but also allowed Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami ? the national Inuit organization ? to prepare a partner chapter to the framework. Moreover, for the first time the scope of the policy encompassed not only three territories, but the entire Inuit Nunangat. This approach was sealed with the adoption of the Inuit Nunangat Declaration on Inuit-Crown Partnership and the launching of the Inuit-Crown Partnership Committee. The next step was the Inuit Nunangat Policy announced in 2022. Its goal was to bring federal decision-makers to a shared understanding of Inuit Nunangat's distinct culture, geography, and politics that will "guide the design, development, and implementation of policies, services, and programs." This approach includes direct funding for Inuit's priorities through their land claims organizations and ITK in several spheres (housing, health). The aim of the paper is to present how taking over of the new responsibilities redefines the relationship between Inuit organizations and governments at various levels. Using multilevel governance theory, it will analyze a new network of interrelationships among actors on both horizontal and vertical dimensions.

*Roots that Were Uprooted: Treaty Relationships and Precarity in New France:* Étienne Cardin-Trudeau (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The recent literature on Indigenous treaty relationships emphasizes the permanent and reciprocal nature of the bonds created by treaty-making. Moving away from Western interpretations of those treaties as "real-estate deals," scholars, such as Michael Ash (2014), have gone back and studied the context and obligations contained in historical treaties between settlers and Indigenous peoples in order to extract normative principles that could be useful in reassessing settlers' presence on the land. This paper attempts a similar task, but with historical treaties that have been entered into by the French before the English conquest in what is now Canada. The literature usually disregards those treaties, considering the Royal Proclamation as the rightful beginning of the treaty relationship between the Crown and Indigenous peoples (Coyle and Borrows, 2017). Yet, since no land treaties have been signed on most of the territory of what is now Quebec, and since its government continues to act "as if [it] own[s] the place" (Borrows, 2017), it appears to me essential to shed light on the agreements that govern the relationships on that land. I argue that the treaty relationships between the French settlers and the Indigenous peoples were mostly reciprocal, in large part because of the French precarious position. I aim to demonstrate that, notwithstanding the colonial assumptions of superiority that informed the settlers' presence, the treaty relationships were ultimately based on notions of allyship, mutual self-preservation and mutual benefit, and that those notions are what ought to govern present-day relationships.

*Making space for Indigenous nationhood? Indigenous Representation in Settler States:* Kiera Ladner (University of Manitoba), Jeremy Patzer (University of Manitoba), Hope Ace (University of Manitoba), Marcus Closen (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** "Indigenous jurisdiction in areas of law and governance represent a vital even if largely unrecognized dimension of treaty implementation? If treaty was the frame of reference, or even if settler narratives of life on the prairies were critically deconstructed to a greater degree, perhaps violence against Indigenous bodies in these spaces would not have been interpreted as "reasonable." (117) ? Starblanket and Hunt, "Storying Violence?"

Indigenous legislative representation within Anglo-settler state parliaments remains a question of treaty constitutionalism. Indigenous treaties affirm Indigenous representation and oversight as an autonomous nation without subordinating those nations to the settler state apart. The contention of Indigenous representation remains at the need for institutional reform of the Westminster system to create space for significant oversight of settler governments through the implementation of Indigenous epistemologies and governance through place-based nation representation. This paper seeks to answer the question, what does representation mean in the context of Indigenous nationhood? The paper approaches this through the evaluation of both settler and Indigenous legal systems and applications of international law to the issue of representation for Indigenous nations as a treaty obligation.

*Treaty Federalism, Thick and Thin:* Daniel Sherwin (Carleton university)

**Abstract:** What is the relationship between Indigenous self-government and resurgence? Indigenous Self-government involves a variety of programmes, often supported by the federal government, to increase the capacity of Indigenous bureaucratic organizations such as band councils, self-governments, and land co-management boards. Resurgence is the revitalization of traditional Indigenous legal and political orders. Treaty federalism is the most ambitious attempt to bring these concurrent decolonial projects together. It envisions a transformed federation in which traditional Indigenous political orders operate at a third order of government.

However, an important strand of critical literature has problematized the relationship between Indigenous bureaucratic institutions and traditional legal and political orders (Coulthard 2014, Nadasdy 2017, Mills 2019). These scholars suggest that there may be limits to the degree to which self-government and resurgence can be harmonized through treaty federalism.

In light of these challenges, this paper proposes that we distinguish between two normative visions: thin and thick treaty federalism. Where thick treaty federalism aims to create Indigenous bureaucracies that faithful continue Indigenous laws and traditions, thin treaty federalism assigns these organizations a more minimal role of supporting and creating space for traditional political orders.

This paper will draw on examples from modern treaty contexts to explore the normative and strategic tradeoffs of thick and thin treaty federalism

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## M09 - Assessing Critical Thinking and Student Success

### Teaching

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 2008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Hailey Murphy (Brock University/Brandon University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Hailey Murphy (Brock University/Brandon University)

**Active Learning, Assessment, and Evaluation in Canadian Political Science Education:** Michael Murphy (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** The "Active Teaching, Assessment, and Evaluation in Political Science" project is the first large-scale research study examining assessment and evaluation in political science education. Existing research into political science education and the scholarship of teaching and learning in politics and international relations (PSE/SoTL-PIR) has largely focused on lesson planning and curriculum development. While instructors have a variety of evidence-based resources to draw on for course design from a lesson- and curricular-design perspective, assessment and evaluation practices are not widely disseminated. This paper presents new findings from the first and second phases of the ATAEPS study, drawing on survey and interview data to provide an overview of assessment and evaluation practices in Canadian political science classrooms. More than just a baseline of common practices, this paper further explores the status of active learning pedagogy in Canadian political science education, as well as barriers identified in the implementation and assessment of active learning.

**Enhancing Critical Thinking:** Stephanie Kerr (University of Lethbridge), Sydney Rolfe (University of Lethbridge)

**Abstract:** The principles of constructive alignment hold that learning outcomes are to be aligned with instructional strategies and with assessments. In the past the cohorts were taught using the immersion approach, that is, the focus was on the instruction of discipline-specific content. It was believed that students acquired critical thinking skills "naturally" as they engaged in the subject matter. One type of instructional strategy and assessment, seldom used in university settings, is explicit instruction in how to think critically about the content of a course. In addition to instruction in critical thinking skills, the students were also provided feedback through formative assessment. Formative assessment refers to tools that identify misconceptions, struggles and learning gaps (Trumbull & Lash, 2013) which help form, or shape, a student's learning during the learning process? (p. 2). This paper presents the preliminary result of a pilot study that examined the potential relationship between educational practices and critical thinking; learning how to learn within a context. The 2022 cohort in POLI 2310, Comparative Politics and Government, was taught using the mixed or hybrid instructional approach. In the hybrid/mixed approach the instructional strategy is used to explicitly teach critical thinking skills while explicitly teaching the content of the comparative politics curriculum. That is, critical thinking skills are directly linked with course content.

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## N09 - Migration on the Margins: Protection Gaps of Vulnerable Populations on the Move

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0004

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Patti Lenard (University of Ottawa)

***Networks of Queer Displacement: A Case Study of LGBT-to-LGBT support for LGBTQ+ Venezuelan asylum seekers in Brazil:*** Yvonne Su (York University), Tyler Valiquette (University College London)

**Abstract:** Studies on LGBTQ+ refugees often focused on people fleeing an oppressive and heteronormative culture in the Global South to a democratic and LGBTQ+-friendly society in the Global North. As such, scholarship on humanitarian responses to queer displacement has focused on Northern-driven initiatives and organizations. However, in the case of the Venezuelan Refugee Crisis, where 83% of Venezuelans have moved to other countries in Latin America, the overall humanitarian response has been Southern-led. This is specifically the case for LGBTQ+ Venezuelan asylum seekers who are being supported mainly by local, grassroots, and community organizations. Based on 56 surveys and 28 semi-structured interviews with LGBTQ+ Venezuelan asylum seekers, as well as 15 key informant interviews with service providers, NGO staff, and politicians, this paper presents a case study on peer-to-peer assistance, specifically LGBT-to-LGBT and asylum seeker-to-asylum seekers support, within the context of LGBTQ+ Venezuelan asylum seekers in Manaus, Brazil. Using the lens of social capital, our study found that before the pandemic, LGBTQ+ Venezuelan asylum seekers relied heavily on their bonding social capital ties for support. However, our findings demonstrate that the pandemic disrupted these social capital ties, leading to an increase in reliance on bridging (other LGBTQ+ folks and asylum seekers) and linking (government and NGOs) social capital. This study draws attention to the under-researched and under-theorized relationships between social capital, queer displacement, and Southern-led humanitarian responses.

***?Living on the Edge?: Class and Ethnoreligious Identities of Internally Displaced Persons in southern Philippines:*** Romeo Joe Quintero (York University)

**Abstract:** Within migration studies, immigrants are perceived as strategic actors who carefully weigh their options when choosing to migrate, although oftentimes for selfless reasons, such as to improve the living condition of their families (Hari 2018; Paret and Gleeson 2016; Kanal and Rottman 2021). In contrast, forced migrants are portrayed with little to no agency because the forced/coerced rationale for migration is uncritically extrapolated to be a lack of decision-making power in all situations that follow their displacement. In reality, trajectories of forced displacement are multidirectional, complicating the existing social, economic, and political order. Drawing on the stories of internally displaced women and gender diverse individuals in southern Philippines, I will illustrate how trajectories of displacement within the national border are shaped by class and ethnoreligious identities, revealing the inherently unequal and unruly patterns of mobility. By centering my discussion on the experiences of unregistered IDPs, I will identify some of their challenges in meeting their daily necessities for survival (e.g., food supplies, medicine), and how they formed informal support systems to circumvent these difficult conditions. I will end my presentation with a discussion on situated agency?how IDP women and gender diverse individuals transformed, however limited, their precarious and uncertain conditions.

***Localization and Subaltern Power in the Refugee Regime:*** Merve Erdilmen (McGill), Megan Bradley (McGill), James Milner (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** In recent years, localization efforts and the activities of ?refugee-led organizations? have attracted increased interest from scholars, policymakers and practitioners in the refugee regime, as a potential means of responding to protection gaps and shifting the inequalities that structure the regime. Yet scholarship and practice related to localization in the refugee regime is often premised on under-developed accounts of the power dynamics at stake in massive displacement situations, and the localization processes associated with them. In response, this article develops a more nuanced theoretical account of subaltern power dynamics in the context of localization efforts and the work of refugee-led organizations in addressing protection concerns, particularly those related to the pursuit of ?durable solutions? to displacement. It then brings this theoretical account into conversation with two major, Cold War-era cases in which localization dynamics and refugee-led organizations featured centrally: the organized repatriation of refugees from Honduras to El Salvador during the Salvadoran civil war, and efforts to resolve the displacement of Burundian refugees in Tanzania. Drawing on extensive archival research at UNHCR, the paper examines how refugees localized and took direct action to implement fundamental norms in the refugee regime, including the right of return, and draws out the implications of these efforts for understandings of subaltern agency in localization processes.

***Feminization through Interiorization: A Gendered Perspective on Brazil's Policy Response to Venezuelan Refugees:*** Gerson Scheidweiler (York University)

**Abstract:** In recent years, South America has experienced one of the largest humanitarian crises in the world. The massive displacement of Venezuelans to neighbouring countries has brought new elements to research on refugees and asylum seekers from a South-South migration perspective. For example, it is necessary to establish lenses that observe the multiple vulnerabilities that migrants are subjected to when they leave, transit, and are received by countries with similar economic and social development indices. Brazil, the largest economic power in South America, has been praised for its strategies for receiving and integrating Venezuelans into the country's dynamics. However, these strategies are not considering the complex vulnerabilities of specific groups of migrants. When observed from a gender perspective, the ?feminization of refugee shelters,? in which men are most likely to migrate from shelters to other regions for economic opportunities leaving their families behind, demonstrates a lack of institutional consideration for vulnerable groups. To better understand these dynamics and to understand local and national responses from a gender perspective, fieldwork was conducted in the cities of Boa Vista, Manaus, and São Paulo, accompanied by 15 interviews with representatives of organizations directly linked to the implementation of actions and public policies for the reception and interiorization of Venezuelan migrants in Brazil. The results show how gender variables have been incorporated into responses to the migration crisis and what limits and challenges are in place to guarantee migrant women access to fundamental human and social rights.



## Day 2 - Session 2 (10:30am - 12:00pm)

### A11(a) - Social Policies: State Benevolence or State Malevolence?

#### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Linda White (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Linda White (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Margaret Little (Queen's University)

***Systemic Racism and the Second Face of Democratic Accountability:*** Tari Ajadi (McGill University), Debra Thompson (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Though nearly every socio-economic indicator in Canadian social life, including education, wealth, health outcomes, and more, is defined by persistent racial disparities, systemic racism is frequently understood as an unfortunate and unconscious aberration of Canadian liberal democracy. In this paper, we seek to examine that which connects systemic racism ? an amorphous concept in both theoretical and empirical terms ? to racial inequality in Canada. We draw inspiration from Soss and Weaver?s (2017) call to pay attention to the ?second face of the state?: those governing activities that exercise social control through mechanisms of surveillance, coercion, containment, repression, regulation, predation, discipline, and violence, which most often define how democracy is experienced in race-class subjugated communities. We suggest that a concrete manifestation of systemic racism lies in those moments of interaction between racialized populations and the state. As a preliminary step toward a larger project on the terrain of the second face of the Canadian state, in this paper we propose to examine the experiences of Black people in Canada who have attempted to access modes of redress after they have experienced racial discrimination. Using focused case studies, we examine three spheres of grievance adjudication across policy areas and jurisdictions: landlord/tenant tribunals; police review boards; and human rights commissions. While our conclusions are tentative, a central contribution of this paper confirms that there are identifiable mechanisms that perpetuate systemic racism in Canada, which are, somewhat counterintuitively, built into the core architecture of the institutions that are supposed to ensure democratic accountability.

***In the Image of the Queen and the Ideal Citizenry: The Origins of State Child Welfare Systems and Contemporary Consequences for Diverse Groups:*** Anika Ganness (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** State child welfare systems were institutionalized since the late 1800s in Canada. The state has delegated immense authority to these systems of child protection and child welfare; however, their authority and activities are rarely examined in the political science literature. I contend that examining systems of child welfare is essential to understand contemporary disparities regarding the overrepresentation of marginalized communities in state child welfare systems. Using a historical institutionalist approach, and focusing on the province of Ontario, this paper examines the development of state child welfare systems and the effects of those institutionalized systems on marginalized communities? encounters with child welfare. I argue that an understanding of the history of child welfare establishes the conditions, and the paradigmatic thinking that informs normative beliefs about ideal citizens. That thinking, has strong legacies and shapes the policy scape of contemporary child welfare encounters with diverse communities. As a result, when Canada received an influx of diverse immigrants following the Immigration Act (1976) that brought about vast changes in the racial and ethnic composition of Canada, these child welfare models, with their institutionalized norms perpetuated inequities and dynamics of power that have grave consequences for Indigenous peoples, racialized communities and racialized immigrants who encounter state child welfare systems. The paper aims to contribute to the theoretical literature on Canadian Political Development and offer insights into the institutionalization of norms, path dependency, and policy inertia in child welfare, a key arm of the state.

***The Darkest Side of Policymaking: Malign Policymaking in Homelessness:*** Anna Kopec (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Malignant policies are the result of the lack of consideration given to lived experience. Policymaking is often studied from the perspective of policymakers, with the goal of understanding how and why policymakers make certain decisions. The darkest side of policymaking, however, often falls on the most marginalized in society. This paper argues that target populations are not only most affected by malign policymaking; these populations also hold the knowledge needed to identify aspects of policies that align with objectives and to improve those that do not. Identifying and addressing malign aspects of policies therefore requires an on-the-ground perspective, one that considers not only how policies are written but how they are experienced. Utilizing over 100 interviews with individuals experiencing homelessness, service providers, and policymakers in Melbourne and Toronto, this paper introduces policy characteristics that maintain precarity and oppose state objectives. These characteristics are compared to those that are most beneficial to solving homelessness. A bottom-up study of the welfare state allows for the identification of malign and malicious aspects of policies, and how to better align policies with their goals, such as ending homelessness.

***A National Housing Strategy for Whom? Possibilities and Limits in the National Housing Strategy (NHS) for a Rights-Based Housing Regime:***

Leah Levac (University of Guelph), Laura Pin (Wilfrid Laurier University), Jayne Malenfant (McGill University), Jes Annan (Black Lives Matter)

**Abstract:** Housing policy is often overlooked as the ?wobbly? pillar of the welfare state (Lund, 2017). The National Housing Strategy (2017) and National Housing Strategy Act (NHSA) (2019) are historic in their recognition of housing as a human right, signalling a potential shift from conditional housing provision, mostly through the private market (Suttor, 2016), to a rights-based approach rooted in universal entitlement. Moreover, the NHS includes a commitment to recognizing lived experience of homelessness and core housing need as integral to realizing the right to housing. Building on these themes, this paper asks: to what extent does the NHS respond to the needs of diverse people with lived experience of homelessness and core-housing need? Drawing on a scoping review of 288 key documents published since 2000, which involved people with lived experience minimally as research participants,

we find the NHS is failing to meet the right to housing for diverse groups, especially Indigenous Peoples and communities, women, youth, newcomers, and 2SLGBTQ+ individuals, and there is a dearth of research that effectively engages with these communities. Specifically, there are three shortcomings in the NHS that limit meaningful actualization of the right to housing as a welfare-state entitlement: 1) a lack of deep affordability and adequacy measures; 2) a limited application of an intersectional lens; and 3) an absence of accountability measures. We conclude with suggestions for future measures that taking an integrative and intersectional approach to integrating lived expertise and realizing the right to housing in Canada.

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## A11(b) - Nationalism and Minority Nations

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Kathy Brock (Queen's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Devin Penner (Trent University)

***Bridging the Gap in Territorial Politics: Studying Minority Nations and Indigenous Peoples:*** Daniel Béland (McGill University), André Lecours (University of Ottawa), Rebecca Major (University of Windsor)

**Abstract:** Research on so-called minority nations (Québec, Scotland, Catalonia, etc..) and on Indigenous peoples have always run parallel, intersecting with some connections made between the literature on nationalism and territorial politics and the literature on Indigenous politics. Certainly, there are massive differences between minority nations and Indigenous peoples, primarily the colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state that has no real equivalent in minority nations in liberal-democratic contexts (with the partial exception of Puerto Rico). The politics of minority nations and of Indigenous peoples share many traits, most importantly self-determination claims made in the name of a nation, grounded in a (home) land, and seeking both recognition and autonomy. This paper explores if and how the gap can be bridged between the political analysis of minority nations and of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous nationalism, Indigenism, as a form of ethnic nationalism grounded in colonial context, is explored in international scholarship with little attention paid to the Canadian constitutional context. This paper will use the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement of 1975 (JBNQA) to assess how approaches linked respectively to both comparative nationalism/territorial politics and Indigenous politics shed light on this major development. Significantly, the JBNQA was the first time in the post-war era that Indigenous collectives developed a political branch for rights-based negotiations grounded in nationalism to assert their presence and rights.

***Federalism and Settler Imperialism: Statecraft as Racecraft, Whiteness and Conquest in Canadian Constitutionalism:*** Phil Henderson (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Mainstream political scientists often describe federalism as an institutional arrangement antithetical to empire. In his canonical *Federalism* (1964), William Riker describes the federal arrangement as the "constitutional alternative" that was arrived at by the American Founding Fathers when "imperial expansion was impossible." Peter Russell's more recent *Sovereignty* (2021), still echoes Riker's earlier assessment, when he suggests that federalism is an arrangement that can "remove sovereignty's sting" by (re)distributing jurisdictional authority among the recognized cognate parts of a polity.

In this paper, I assess these claims in light of parliamentary debates over the terms of Canadian Confederation in 1867. Scholars have long noted that central to these debates were disputes over the federal arrangement, and no less a body than the Supreme Court of Canada has pointed to contemporaneous statements by leading parliamentarians as evidence that the institutional arrangement of Canadian federalism has "respect for minorities" is a cornerstone constitutional principle. But upon closer examination, and with insights gleaned from critical theories of race—such as those of Cedric Robinson, the Fields sisters, and Aileen Moreton-Robinson—I argue that in Canada the federal arrangement was primarily a technology to enable continental imperialism through the production of a constitutionalized form of whiteness that sought at once to negate or sufficiently dampen Anglo/Protestant vs. Franco/Catholic antinomies, while simultaneously staking a preemptive claim of white possession over the territories of Indigenous nations. Ultimately, I suggest that federalism is usefully understood as a tool in the institutional repertoire of settler imperialism.

***Québécois Laïcité and its Multicultural Canadian Other:*** Saaz Taher (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières), Amélie Barras (York University), Jennifer Selby (Memorial University)

**Abstract:** Secularism has been long employed by states as a tool to emancipate themselves from religion, itself often positioned as unmodern and undemocratic (see, Bowen 2004; Kuru 2008; Cady and Hurd 2010). Contemporary articulations of Québécois secularism inscribe themselves similarly in transnational politics around the regulation of religion, but have their specificities. Based on analysis of the 35 public submissions in favour of Québec's Bill 21, submitted to parliament prior to the passing of the law in 2019, we show how most submissions define laïcité as a necessary tool to emancipate a "Québec nation" from the rest of Canada. We argue that this most recent legal iteration of laïcité in Québec has shifted since it was first introduced in 2008 (Brodeur 2008; Bouchard 2015; Dalpé and Koussens 2016; Turgeon et al 2019). The submissions position laïcité as central to Québécois identity and national sovereignty, and, in contrast to past debates, no longer mention interculturalism. We ultimately show how actors in Québec who position themselves for Bill 21 are less concerned about constructing laïcité in opposition to a religious other, as we can see in other contexts in the European francophonie, than to a Canadian liberal-Multicultural-Anglophone other.

***The Canoe and the Ship: Indigenous-Settler Contact and Support for Reconciliation:*** Andrea M.L. Perrella (Wilfrid Laurier University), Andrew R. Basso (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Contact theory suggests views of the "other" improves with greater intergroup interaction, which is helpful to raise overall acceptance and reduce incidents of racism. In Canada, such contact should help develop sentiments of sympathy and empathy towards Indigenous peoples, providing a path towards embracing efforts of Reconciliation. However, research suggests that while contact may be helpful in reducing some of the more hostile and "old fashioned" elements of racism that Settlers have towards Indigenous peoples, interactions do not entirely eliminate negative views, and do not alleviate among Settlers their sense of superiority. Consequently, interpersonal contact may restrain the extent to which one feels any sort of sympathy or empathy, and may, instead, bolster pre-existing stereotypes. We examine the effect of contact using national survey data (two waves, 2021 and 2022) specifically aimed at understanding the social-psychological basis of support for Reconciliation in Canada. We measure the extent to which Settlers have

had any contact with Indigenous peoples, the ?quality? of contact (e.g., friendly, impersonal, hostile), and whether contact has any potential to enable support for Reconciliation, or if contact does little to foster transformative changes.

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## B11(a) - Exploring the Far-Right in Canada and Beyond - Session 1

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 005

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Katherine Kondor (University of Oslo)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Yannick Veilleux-Lepage (Leiden University)

**?Lies and Fake News?: Investigating Canadian News Media?s Representation of Far-Right Movements:** Audrey Gagnon (University of Oslo), Katherine Kondor (University of Oslo), Tamta Gelashvili (University of Oslo)

**Abstract:** In recent years, the Canadian far-right has been relatively active in the streets, from anti-Islam movements to far-right actors joining Canada?s yellow vest protesters and the so-called ?Freedom Convoy?, attracting much media attention. Studies highlight that news media?s coverage of far-right movements can have two potential impacts, depending on how they are portrayed. Specifically, news media can contribute to normalizing and publicizing far-right movements in society (Mondon and Winter 2020), and they can contribute to far-right actors? perception of news media as biased, partisan, and deceitful, thereby reinforcing their willingness to consume alternative sources of information (Figenschou and Ihlebæk 2019; Thorbjørnsrud and Figenschou 2020). It thus seems crucial to gain insight into the way news media cover and represent far-right movements. In this article, we investigate news media?s representation of far-right movements in Canada from 2015 to 2022. Drawing on a content analysis of articles published by four of the most read newspapers in Canada, namely the Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star, the National Post, and Le Journal de Montreal, as well as the Canadian far-right media Rebel News, we explore newspapers? coverage of far-right movements, including the level of attention accorded to these movements and their portrayal. Our research questions are as follows: 1) In what way have Canadian media paid attention to the development of the far-right since 2015?; and 2) To what extent has this media attention and coverage changed between 2015 and 2022?

**Unlikely Influencers: Right-Wing Politics Online:** Julián Castro-Rea (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Politics in this third decade of the 21st century is mostly fought and won online. It is not necessary anymore being leader of a political movement, or holding elected office, to play a major role in political conversation and debate nowadays. People with varied backgrounds, with no formal training or any credentials in political analysis whatsoever, may occupy a central place in discussion of public affairs; shaping views and values of millions of internet-based social networks users. This paper will focus on the right-wing political influencers arguably most popular in Canada: Jordan Peterson, Ben Shapiro and Andrew Tate. It will be argued that these three individuals, although very different from each other, are nonetheless jointly contributing in a major way to metapolitics?the battle of ideas?, swaying people?s minds, hearts and values to attitudes favourable to the political right. A follow-up and discussion of these three men?s activities online over recent time will be the basis for this analysis. A measure of their impact will be attempted, by tracking their number of followers and readership of their posts. A discussion on the reasons why they have become popular will wrap up the research.

**Tracking Right-Wing Terrorism and Violence in Australia, New Zealand and Canada: 1990-2020:** Shandon Harris-Hogan (University of Oslo)

**Abstract:** While it is widely acknowledged that there is a need to obtain more up-to-date research into right-wing extremism, the prevalence of right-wing violence in places such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada remains relatively unknown. These countries do not have any national monitoring systems for this form of violence, and until recent years, no right-wing actor had been charged under terrorism legislation. Yet despite there being no official method of tracking right-wing and racist violence across these countries, public statements regarding a recent rise in far-right-wing violence occur regularly. Drawing on an original dataset collected by the author, the following presentation with detail the scale of right-wing terrorism and violence in Australia, New Zealand and Canada between 1990 and 2020. This dataset includes events with fatal or near fatal outcomes, events in which potentially lethal weapons were used offensively, severe beatings leading to hospitalization and foiled and failed terrorist attacks. It will analyse trends in the levels of violence across the past 30 years and explore what may have influenced these changes. The presentation will conclude by comparing findings to incidents of planned and perpetrated Jihadist violence in these countries across the same time-period and offer some preliminary thoughts regarding how this threat may be addressed through more targeted CVE policy and practice.

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## B11(b) - Citoyenneté et représentation dans une perspective comparée

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 006

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** François Gélinau (Université Laval)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Marc A. Bodet (Université Laval)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jean-Benoît Pilet (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

***More Democratic? The evolution of leadership selection parameters in Canada from 2012-2022:*** Audrey Brennan (U. Laval / ULB)

**Abstract:** Many have written on leadership selection mechanisms (Cross and Pilet 2016; Pilet and Cross 2015) and the alleged decentralization of leadership selection rules (Kenig 2009). We also know that some parties have not yet decentralized (Cross and Pilet 2016) and that parties often adopt reforms following an election loss (Leduc 2001). But we do not know much about the other selection parameters, such as entrance fees or leadership candidate interviews. Indeed, as Aylott and Bolin (2021) show, parties can find different ways of counteracting the different rules of intra-party democracy. Consequently, it is essential to determine: what other parameters are adopted and when? What trends exist in the adoption of different parameters, if any? Does legislating leadership selection have any influence on leadership selection parameters? Using party statutes from both federal and provincial parties in Canada from 2012 to 2022, this paper looks at the evolution of leadership selection parameters across political parties. Doing so allows us to identify different trends if any. We can also consider the influence between Canadian party families and between different levels of government. Finally, to determine whether there is a link between legislation and party rules, this paper also considers whether there may be a connection between the adoption of leadership finance laws and a party's financial regulations for a given leadership selection process.

***MPs? discourses on participatory democracy in French-speaking Belgium: a textometric analysis:*** Caroline Close (Université Libre de Bruxelles - Charleroi), Sacha Rangoni (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** Political parties' position and support for participatory devices can be ambivalent: while increasing citizens' participation may be detrimental to parties' power over decision-making, supporting participatory devices has become crucial to attract public opinion and voters' support. Recent studies put to light that while parties have increasingly adopted participatory devices internally and have been supportive of participatory reform in the broader political system, in fact parties differ greatly in the degree of support they give to democratic innovations, as well as in the type of instruments they favor. Existing research focuses on both strategic and ideological explanations for this variation but is somehow too much interested in support for specific devices (especially, referendum), and barely allows to dig deeper into parties and their members' broader perception of (what should be) participatory democracy. In this contribution, we focus on MPs' discourse on participatory democracy by using 77 face-to-face interviews with French-speaking Belgian MPs sitting in federal or regional parliaments (Wallonia, Brussels), which we plan to analyze through TXM textometric analysis. Indeed, to our knowledge, little research on elites' support for democratic innovation has used this type of analytical approach and tool. Our contribution is exploratory in that regard: we aim to test the extent to which textometry may be useful to explore differences between parties, but also within them. Indeed, we expect that MPs' perceptions of citizens' participation will relate to their party's conception of democracy, which takes roots in different ways of conceiving representation process and roles.

***When citizens have the final say on restrictions of their freedom during a pandemic: Switzerland's referendums on the Covid-19 Act:*** Oscar Mazzoleni (University of Lausanne), Laurent Bernhard (University of Lausanne and University of Zurich)

**Abstract:** The Covid-19 pandemic has represented one the most crucial challenge for democracies since the end of World War II. In order to contain the propagation of the virus and protect health of millions of citizens some taken-for-granted rights used to be restricted for months. Public authorities saw themselves forced to enact far-reaching measures such as lockdowns, thereby causing major discontent among citizens. This article proposes to focus on Switzerland due to the fact that is the only country in the world in which citizens had the opportunity to challenge government policies in the framework of two referendums. By examining the motives that led citizens to either accept or reject the introduction as well as a reform of the federal Covid-19 Act, we highlight a new conflict over two visions of freedom in contemporary constitutional democracies: The one based on the protective role of the state aiming to guarantee common freedom and the other stressing anti-state libertarian legacies of individual freedom.

***Generational renewal, attitudes towards elections, and transformation of political participation:*** Vincent Tiberj (Science Po Bordeaux)

**Abstract:** When we analyse how abstention has evolved since the 1980s, we can see that electoral participation is less and less automatic, and often young people are blamed for this. However, firstly it is intermittent abstention and not systematic abstention that is progressing. Secondly, the traditional explanation based on the political moratorium of young people, although still relevant, is no longer sufficient to account for the behaviour of French voters. Finally, the decentralisation of the vote above all relies on generational renewal and the transformation of civic cultures that results. In the generations born before the war, duty voting persisted but this is less the case for post-baby-boom generations. However, in recent cohorts, it is important to distinguish between citizens who are politically involved, for whom the vote is one form of action among others, and citizens who have broken away from voting but also from other forms of participation. For the latter, who we observe among those with lower levels of education and members of the working classes, this can result in political silence. Their absence from voting booths and social movements is a major challenge for French democracy.

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## C11 - Transnational Social Connections

### International Relations

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Emma Fingler (Queen's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jane Parpart (University of Massachusetts Boston)

**Civil Society and Platform Governance: Contesting Online Content Moderation Norms:** Dakota Trithara (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** What role do civil society organizations play in the ongoing struggle to govern online social media platforms? Drawing on the platform governance framework that highlights the capacity of states, firms, and civil society to develop governance arrangements, I explore how and why civil society organizations in the United States contest the norms governing online content moderation. To dive deeper into the role of civil society in this regulatory struggle, twenty in-depth interviews were conducted with civil society experts involved in the platform accountability debate. Participants were asked about their views on the responsibility to moderate lawful-but-harmful content, the type of regulatory model that should govern platforms? capacity to moderate online content, and the role of civil society in ensuring individual freedoms, such as freedom of expression, are respected on social media platforms. The paper?s insights contribute to the study of platform governance by illuminating the tendencies civil society experts exhibit when engaged in a major global governance issue and the dynamics of interaction between various stakeholders who deploy ideas to contest norms and influence the regulatory environment.

**Claims-making between democracy and autocracy - a case study of the Tibetan diaspora in Canada:** Palmo Brunner (University of Zurich)

**Abstract:** Building on the scholarly debate which advocates connecting the usual divide between transnational ?diaspora politics? directed towards the homeland on the one hand, and ?immigrant politics? in the country of residence on the other, this paper explores practices of diasporic claims-making which are simultaneously embedded in and structured by multiple political contexts. Using a case study research, I analyse the Tibetan diaspora in Canada from a relational perspective. Tibetans were one the earliest examples of non-European refugees accepted to the country and the community grew significantly within the past years due to Canadian refugee law. Findings of this original qualitative research challenge the assumption that integration and transnational activism are a zero-sum game, showing how diaspora politics become de- and reterritorialized. Tibetans have learnt to use their democratic rights and leverage the geographic concentration in Parkdale, known as the ?little Tibet? of Toronto, to mobilize and build a strong sense of community and belonging around their (imagined) homeland Tibet. Confronted with an increasingly powerful and authoritarian China, political engagements shift towards the local arena by entering electoral politics or organizing protests against precarious work or rising cost of housing. This paper contributes to existing scholarship in two ways: first, it reveals how diaspora engagement is not only shaped by political opportunities such as multiculturalism, but also by constraints such as extraterritorial authoritarian practices. Second, it departs from a state-centric approach by shedding light on complex global/local entanglements of power.

**Domestic Workers? Human Rights At The Nexus Of International Conventions And Civil Society: A Comparative Analysis Of International Dimensions Of Social Reproduction:** Sirje Laurel Weldon (SFU), Amber Lusvardi (University of Wisconsin), Kaitlin Kelly-Thompson (Tufts), Summer Forester (Carleton College)

**Abstract:** In this paper, we examine the ways that gender regimes governing domestic workers sit at the nexus of domestic and international politics, using a cross-national dataset of policies on domestic workers combined with case studies of India and Chile. As intersectionally-marginalized workers, domestic workers often fail to benefit from more general policy reforms aimed at improving conditions for women workers or for low-income workers in the informal sector. Domestic workers have organized alongside their feminist and labor movement allies to demand policy reforms to recognize their work and extend labor protections to workers. In so doing, they have leaned on the support of international conventions on domestic work, conventions that help workers both in bringing pressure on their own governments and in representing legal standing and recognition for a group whose work is too often invisible, overlooked, and undervalued. Our analysis shows that domestic protest and international protocols combine to prompt better policies for domestic workers. We conclude by considering the political potential of a strategy involving domestic protest and an appeal to international institutions for other intersectional marginalized groups

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## D11 - Democracy, Politics and The Supreme Court of Canada

### Law and Public Policy

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 009

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Emmett Macfarlane (University of Waterloo)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Emmett Macfarlane (Waterloo)

**Judicial Legitimacy in Canada:** Andrea Lawlor (King's University College, Western University), Erin Crandall (Acadia University)

**Abstract:** There is longstanding public support for the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC). However, the sources of this support and how vulnerable it may be to political factors are not well understood owing to a dearth of data. Our project seeks to identify and understand the interaction between the diffuse and specific factors that affect public support of the SCC. By designing and administering new nationally-representative surveys that measure respondents' reactions to specific court decisions, this article provides new opportunities for comparative studies of public support of apex courts. In particular, we provide initial findings from an original survey experiment (n=1406) embedded in the 2021 Canada Election Study that measures public perceptions of the Court and court support more broadly.

**Legislative Replies and Legal Mobilization:** Eleni Nicolaidis (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** While the debate surrounding dialogue theory has gone on since Hogg and Bushnell's 1997 article, the last systematic examination by Macfarlane in 2013 covered Charter cases between 1982 and 2009. This paper examines legislative replies to Charter rulings by the Supreme Court of Canada in which the impugned laws were deemed unconstitutional between 2010 and 2019.

The paper identifies 23 relevant Charter decisions. In only 2 out of 23 (8.7 percent) of the cases was the legislative reply genuinely dialogic in that the legislature diverged in some way from the policy prescriptions of the Court. This rate is even lower than the 17.4 percent (in 12 out of 69 cases) that Macfarlane found. The two genuinely dialogic responses were both made by the federal Parliament, in response to the Bedford decision concerning sex work and in response to the Carter ruling concerning medical assistance in dying.

This paper seeks to help explain dialogic responses—something that the dialogue literature currently does not do—by bridging the literatures on inter-institutional dialogue and interest group/government litigation. This is done by analyzing the consistency of the legislative replies with third-party interventions at the Court and subsequent mobilization. Both genuinely dialogic legislative responses were in the small minority of cases in which the majority of non-government interveners were not in favour of invalidating the impugned provisions. Counter-mobilization by losing interveners in legislative committees was important to explaining these two replies, which provides a theoretical proposition of interest to law and politics and public policy scholars.

**Where Have the Women Gone? An Exploratory Study of the Women's Legal Education and Action Fund's Retreat from the Legal Arena:** Danielle McNabb (Queen's University), Shauna Hughey (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Since its founding in 1985, the Women's Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF), a non-profit interest group created to advance women's substantive equality, has been a key player within Canada's judicial system. LEAF has intervened in over one hundred legal cases, including landmark decisions on issues such as violence against women, sex discrimination in the workplace, family law and issues of reproductive justice. During the early 2000s, LEAF was the object of several scholarly works, many of which characterized the organization as being the most frequent and influential non-governmental intervener at the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) (Hausegger 1999; Manfredi 2004; Morton and Allen 2001; Morton and Knopff 2000). Likewise, LEAF's participation at the SCC has been perceived by many to achieve significant victories for women in the development of favourable legal doctrine and policy responses. Notwithstanding LEAF's historically strong presence at the Court, there has been a dramatic decline in the organization's intervening activity over the past decade (McNabb, 2022). This trend is troubling as it suggests that women's substantive interests are far less represented at the Court than was the case in preceding decades. In this paper, we adopt a process tracing approach to empirically explain LEAF's retreat from the legal arena. Through an analysis of LEAF's legal and parliamentary submissions made between 1985 to 2022, we find that over time—and in response to institutional and sociopolitical development in Canada—LEAF has adapted its mobilization strategy to de-emphasize litigation, and to prioritize advocacy within legislative and bureaucratic arenas.

**Does it matter where a judge comes from? Using computational social science approaches to assess regional representation on the Supreme Court:** Andrew McDougall (University of Toronto Scarborough), Andreea Musulan (University of Toronto), Robert Schertzer (University of Toronto Scarborough)

**Abstract:** This paper introduces a new way to analyze decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC). Traditionally, scholars either hand tabulate results for a large number of cases to carry out quantitative analysis of SCC decisions, or read a select number of cases to carry out in-depth qualitative analysis. These methods have limitations in the types of questions they can answer and in their ability to provide a comprehensive overview of the SCC's jurisprudence. Through this study, we develop and apply a novel approach to analyzing SCC decisions using Natural Language Processing (NLP) techniques and supervised machine learning methods. This computational social science approach, increasingly common in other areas of political science, has not yet been widely used to examine Canadian court decisions. The lack of work using this method is puzzling given the suitability of court decisions as a data source, particularly with their increasingly uniform [syntactic] structure.

In the paper we explain our methods and apply them to examine the complete collection of 3,400 SCC decisions from 1980 to 2021. To assess the

potential promise of this method we seek to answer a relatively straightforward, but long-standing and debated, question related to the study of the SCC: whether the regional affiliation of a judge impacts their decision-making.

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## F11 - Workshop: Polarization, Backlash, and Misinformation

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 104

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Fiona MacDonald (University of Northern British Columbia)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Eric Merkeley (University of Toronto)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=231](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=231)

*Polarization, Misogyny, and Running for Office:* Jeanette Ashe (Douglas College)

**Abstract:** Using an auto-ethnographic approach as well as analyses of media, social media, interviews, and election polling, I explore how polarization is grounded in misogyny by recounting my experience as a candidate in two recent elections. First, as the candidate for the left-of-centre BC NDP in the April 2022 Vancouver-Quilchena provincial by-election against the leader of the right-wing BC Liberal party (now the BC United Party) Kevin Falcon and, second, as a candidate for the left-of-centre party Forward Together in the October 2022 Vancouver municipal election. I am not a typical candidate. Being married to the Mayor of Vancouver became an opportunity for the media and opponents to frame me as the "Mayor's wife" and thus running became a necessary feminist intervention against this gendered narrative. When announced, a sitting councillor for a neighboring right-wing council tweeted "other than being Kennedy Stewart's wife, what are her qualifications?" to which the provincial Finance Minister replied, "Misogyny at its finest?". During both campaigns the "right-wing" discouraged people from voting for me on grounds it would be a "conflict of interest?". Such examples offer rare insight into how polarization and misogyny play out in a by-election and a municipal election, both of which are generally underexplored in the polarization literature. These nuanced accounts highlight the challenges of recruiting women to run in hostile spaces already so fraught with exponential instances of violence against women in politics.

*What the Truck? Political Polarization in Canada and Beyond:* Fiona MacDonald (University of Northern British Columbia)

**Abstract:** Political polarization has been an increasing topic of concern for citizens around the world in many areas of their lives, rearing its head in everything from family get-togethers to university campuses, and election campaigns. The COVID-19 crisis has demonstrated that polarization "extremes" in opinions and/or an erosion of a more moderate political centre "can have real life-and-death consequences. Canada became a key global symbol of these trends due to the convoy trucker protest that made worldwide headlines in 2022. This chapter will consider the growing evidence of increasing polarization and will outline the key sources of these divisions. While we often assume that political disagreement stems from conflicts over policy directions there are good reasons to dispute this notion. A growing body of research reveals the source of contemporary political polarization is affective. In other words, it is not disagreement over policy that is driving contemporary divisions, but rather, our different emotional perceptions of, and feelings about, the world around us. Recognizing the emotional basis of polarization is key to developing strategies to mitigate and/or reduce political polarization in Canada and beyond.

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## G11 - Environmental Politics and Energy Policy: Power and Resistance II

### Political Economy

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 203

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Pascale Massot (University of Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Pascale Massot (University of Ottawa)

**Canadian Catastrophe: Capital, class power, and the climate crisis:** Korey Pasch (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** The climate emergency is deeply affecting and being affected by our relationships with territory, place, and most importantly class power. As the recent impacts of Hurricane Fiona on Atlantic Canada have made clear, the climate crisis has increased the strength of disasters and altered the types and severity of catastrophic risks faced both within Canada and globally. Mounting disproportionate risks and impacts due to super-charged catastrophic events and disasters, such as the atmospheric river that struck British Columbia in November of 2021, means that better understanding how class power is influencing the governance of catastrophic risk in Canada is of paramount importance. Attempts to confront catastrophic risk and disasters in Canada reflect power dynamics within our society as evidenced by a strong push towards deeper integration of finance and capital markets including private flood insurance products and hybrid insurance-finance instruments known as insurance-linked securities (ILS). These largely neoliberal technocratic efforts reflect what Kenneth Hewitt understood as the "Dominant View" (1983). In this paper, I explore how class power is influencing the governance of catastrophic risk in Canada and shaping the response to the climate crisis through the introduction of dedicated Canadian ILS and catastrophe bonds. I argue that more than simply a reflection of the Dominant View, the transfer of Canadian catastrophic risk exposure to global capital markets reinforces the disproportionate impacts of disasters in Canada and is better understood as a project reinforcing and reproducing the power of finance capital.

**Denmark's end pathway to keeping fossil fuels in the ground: A tale of two stories?:** Sarah Norton (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** Fossil fuel-producing states play a critical role in curtailing greenhouse gas emissions through supply-side policy approaches. Burgeoning supply-side research has increasingly focused on how Denmark, as the first large oil producer in the European Union and a global frontrunner in ambitious climate action. Additionally, as a first-mover in transitioning away from fossil fuel reliance in response to the climate crisis, Denmark is driving the international conversation on keeping fossil fuels in the ground via national policy. In 2020, Denmark passed the North Sea agreement, ceasing all offshore oil and gas production by 2050, and cancelling the eighth licensing round and all future rounds for hydrocarbon exploration and extraction. This paper, grounded in decarbonization acceleration literature, explores the development of Denmark's "keep it in the ground" (KIIG) policy and how Denmark has positioned itself to advance bans in other states. This paper then explores how Denmark's national climate policy regarding its fossil fuel production may not be as progressive as research has largely portrayed it. This paper explores specific conditions that have enabled its national KIIG policy that may, or may not, be fruitful for helping to establish trends that could amplify KIIG policies in other fossil fuel-producing states. The paper concludes with an analysis of what this could mean for Denmark, the challenges to, and opportunities in, being the international leader in KIIG policies and driving forward a net-zero world.

**Karl's Paradox of Plenty at 25: The Petro-State, the Global North, and Making Good Political-Economic Comparisons:** James Lawson (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** Is Canada (or Alberta) a "petro-state", how does one decide, and what difference does it make? Following recent Canadian debates (Shrivastava 2015; Kellogg 2015; Adkin 2016), this paper asks what the petro-state category implies today (if anything) for Global North producing countries. As the classic comparative treatment of the petro-state, Terry Lynn Karl's Paradox of Plenty, approaches its 25th anniversary, critics of "petro-politics" have more reason than in 1997 to worry that petroleum dependency threatens democracy, good governance, and increasingly, any "just green transition". Now, more than in 1997, one of Karl's key research decisions also matters: she studied only "capital-deficient" petroleum-exporters of the Global South. The subsequent growth of North American production makes that decision important. Is Karl's choice essential to the concept's proper limits, or was it simply a good starting point for research? This article takes up methodological debates about necessary abstractions in rigorous comparative research and concept building, especially in small-n case study method. It considers abstraction in the development and transferability of categories. Can a political economy of the petro-state "travel" safely to the Global North, or is that too much of a "stretch" (Sartori, 1970; Ross, 2001)? Or is the petro-state a "radial" concept, for which members belong to a wider "family" without sharing every family's trait (Collier and Mahon, 1993)? Finally, are the ontological and epistemological limitations of historical institutional research into petro-states an unstated part of the boundary problem for a political-economic treatment of the question (Kellogg 2015; Pilon 2021)?

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## H11(a) - Ethics of Care and Compassion

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 204

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Hailey-Ann Walker (Carleton University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Mary Jo MacDonald (University of Toronto)

*The Relational Moral Agent: Interrogating Liberal Politics with the Ethic of Care:* McGinnis Reeve (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** In liberal societies, broadly conceived, care is seen as a form of dependence or weakness, standing in opposition to the values of autonomy, rationality, and independence which liberalism valorizes. Care is therefore often marginalized in mainstream political discourse- rational, autonomous actors, the "ideal moral agent" of liberalism, rarely require care, and care is instead seen as only pertinent to those dependent people who fail to fulfill this ideal. Drawing upon the ethic of care, this paper critiques this current conceptualization of care in liberal politics and argues that rather than conceive of citizens as liberal subjects, we should shift to understanding citizens as "relational moral agents." From such a relational social ontology, the complex web of human relations that constitute and sustain us all can be acknowledged as a force guiding citizens' moral judgements. Further, recognizing citizens as "relational moral agents" can help upend the idea that care is only required by "defective" subjects i.e., non-liberal subjects, and would allow us to recognize the inevitable (inter)dependence that comes with being in a social group. In this recognition, I suggest that we will be better positioned to move toward the creation of caring institutions and policies that reflect the values inherent in care (i.e., nurturance, empathy, compassion, listening), and address the caring needs of all. Lastly, this paper outlines how changes in our education practices may be a fruitful way to challenge the limitations of liberal norms and help students (young citizens) learn to embody an ethic of care.

*From the "all ones" to the All One: La Boétie in the Shadow of Hobbes:* Christopher Holman (Nanyang Technological University)

**Abstract:** In this paper I consider the political ontology that is developed by Étienne de La Boétie in his "Discourse on Voluntary Servitude". Writing nearly a century before Hobbes, La Boétie anticipates the former's account of sovereign institution through his analysis of tyranny in terms of the imaginary construction of a figure of the One, which looks to homogenize the social field through an act of symbolic representation. Whereas Hobbes, however, sees such an operation as absolutely necessary for the neutralization of that plurality which is the source of human conflict, La Boétie attempts to think about the possibility of an alternative mode of social institutionalization, one that is capable of non-antagonistically mediating diverse persons through the establishment of relations of mutual recognition and friendship. This conception ultimately opens up a pathway to political thinking that has remained closed as a consequence of mainstream political theory's Hobbesian inheritance.

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## H11(b) - Roundtable -- Envisioning Democracy: Sheldon Wolin and Democracy

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 205

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Terry Maley (York University)

Andrew Biro (Acadia University)

Ingrid Creppell (George Washington University)

Stephen Esquith (Michigan State University)

Calvin Z.L. Lincez (Mushkegowuk Council )

John R. Wallach (Hunter College - CUNY)

**Abstract:** Over the past half-decade many have expressed concern for the fate of 'our democracy'. What has been meant by this invocation is murky. Is the call meant to defend free and fair elections? Political freedom and equality? Greater social and economic opportunity/justice? America before Trumpism? This period of time matches the number of years since the death of American political theorist Sheldon S. Wolin (1922-2015). Wolin mustered political insight, intellectual authority, and the resources of the Western tradition to carve out a compelling vision of democracy - which he regarded to be under severe practical and intellectual assault. Despite some gains against racism and sexism, those assaults have since become even more powerful. We now wonder about the critical force of democracy as a term of political art. Yet Wolin knew about the dangers of despair and resisted them. In a new, forthcoming edited collection from University of Toronto Press (April 2023) political theorists influenced by Wolin's work address the present, past, and future of democracy.

Taking into account Wolin's legacy of political thought about democracy in conjunction with their own political perspectives, members of this roundtable (contributors from the book - Andrew Biro, Ingrid Creppell, Stephen Esquith, Calvin Z.L. Lincez, and John R. Wallach) will draw on their critical acumen to comment on democracy (and democracies) in our time, and Congress/CPSA themes of Reckonings/Re-Imaginings, Territory, Place and Power in Wolin's work and beyond. Terry Maley will chair the Roundtable.

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## H11(c) - Author Meets Critics: Nietzsche and the Politics of Reaction

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 206

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Edward Andrew (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Nandita Biswas Mellamphy (Western University)

*Nietzsche's Critique of Egalitarian Post-Christianity:* Matthew McManus (University of Michigan)

**Abstract:** My paper criticizes the post-structuralist interpretation of Nietzsche for being inconsistent with his own thinking, and elaborates on his critiques of liberalism and socialism. It also introduces the volume as a whole.

### Participants

Igor Shoikhedbrod (St Francis Xavier University)

Nancy Love (Appalachian State University)

Ronald Beiner (University of Toronto)

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## H11(d) - Author Meets Critics -- Rebecca Kingston's Plutarch's Prism

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 209

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Emily Nacol (University of Toronto)

Rebecca Kingston (University of Toronto)

Noreen Humble (University of Calgary)

Andrew Jainchill (Queen's University)

Daniel Kapust (University of Wisconsin)

Emily Nacol (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This panel convenes an interdisciplinary group of scholars to engage in critical conversation with Rebecca Kingston's *Plutarch's Prism: Classical Reception and Public Humanism in France and England, 1500-1800* (Cambridge UP, 2022). *Plutarch's Prism* is the first in-depth scholarly study of the central importance of Plutarch (1st century CE) for the French tradition of political reflection. It is well known that Plutarch was the favourite author of both Montaigne and Rousseau and that Amyot's late 16th-century vernacular translations of Plutarch were among France's most widely circulated texts. Kingston goes beyond the mapping of quantitative circulation to explore how we can rethink early modern traditions of political reflection if we consider the significance of Plutarch's work for them. Her work offers two major scholarly contributions. First, she documents Plutarch's significance for early modern thought by focusing on how his work—particularly on public ethics—was translated into vernacular languages and became foundational for political argument over for the next three centuries. Second, she draws on her critical reception history of Plutarch to trace the emergence and decline of a tradition of early modern thought she calls "public humanism," a mode of political thinking and argument that centers public service.

This roundtable will stage a conversation among Kingston and interlocutors representing the disciplines, themes, and traditions she engages in *Plutarch's Prism*: Noreen Humble (Classics and Religion, University of Calgary), Andrew Jainchill (History, Queen's University), and Daniel Kapust (Political Science, University of Wisconsin). Emily Nacol (Political Science, University of Toronto) will moderate the discussion.

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## H11(e) - Deliberative Democracy

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 302

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Joshua Goldstein (University of Calgary)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Simon Lambek (University of British Columbia)

*Deliberative Systems, Activism, and the Challenge of Structural Injustice:* Anna Drake (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** This paper examines structural challenges to activism in the deliberative systems context. Deliberative systems include activism as an important component that increases legitimacy, deepens inclusion, and informs our evaluations of deliberative quality. I begin my analysis from the premise that, despite embracing activism in this way, we have not resolved the ?activist challeng[e] to deliberative democracy? (Young 2001). Revisiting earlier analyses of the simultaneous contributions and problems of activism in deliberative democratic processes (Young 2001; Fung 2005), I re-evaluate the role of activism in the deliberative systems context. Here, I pay particular attention to the foundational challenge of structural injustice. Noting that deliberative systems? focus on inclusion is insufficient, and I analyze the ways deliberative theorists avoid a direct confrontation with foundational problems of structural injustice: an approach that minimizes activist?s critiques of the depth of structural inequality. The result is deliberative democracy?s failure to fulfil its own normative criteria as it aims to uphold processes that treat all people as moral and political equals. In response, I turn to recent work on listening and uptake to rethink deliberative engagement with activists. Shifting the focus to the responsibility of deliberative systems, I set out a number of steps we might take to centre foundational structural injustice in approaches to activism. Calling for a structural response to the problem, I propose a different way for deliberative systems to engage with activists: one that does not include activists into systems that perpetuate their devaluation and, in doing so, undermine their power.

*Doublespeak and coded language in democratic systems:* Afsoun Afsahi (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** This paper investigates the potential and pitfalls of doublespeak and coded language within democratic systems. Drawing on the systemic turn in democratic theory (Warren 2017), I examine the role that coded language can play in advancing or impeding the ability of a democratic system to deliver on the key functions of empowered inclusion, collective will formation, and collective decision-making. Such an examination allows us to look at how doublespeak and coded language both enable and impede different practices of democracy: recognizing, resisting, deliberating, representing, voting, joining, and exiting. This paper draws on examples doublespeak within the democratic system including polari, eleet/leetspeak, emoji, and coded protests in Russia against the war in Ukraine to demonstrate the democratic possibilities and hazards of coded language within democracies.

*Failure to launch: Tracing the trajectory of democratic innovation institutionalization in Canada:* Joanna Massie (McMaster University), Megan Mattes (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** Canada is regarded as an early adopter of institutionalized democratic innovations. The citizens? assemblies on electoral reform held in Ontario and British Columbia both led the way and framed much of the literature for subsequent democratic innovations. Since then, there have been notable increases in the adoption and institutionalization of democratic innovations in countries around the world. But the trajectory of democratic innovations in Canada has not followed the growth path seen elsewhere. We argue that while Canada demonstrated an early adoption of institutionally-led and high-profile citizen assemblies, institutionalization of democratic innovations within governments has stagnated. Within a comparative framework of Canada versus the US and Europe, we conduct textual analysis using data from government documents (e. g., summary reports of democratic innovations), third-party reports, media reports, and academic case studies. Looking primarily at provincial- and municipal-level innovations, we interrogate the failure of governmental leadership to spearhead deliberative processes and explore the emergence of private organizations in leading these processes. By examining Canada in a comparative perspective to other nations, we seek to craft a story of the distinctly Canadian trajectory of democratic innovations, with special focus on their adoption and institutionalization. This paper contributes to the literature on the institutionalization of democratic innovations as an approach to addressing political distrust and rising polarization in Canada.

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## H11(f) - Examining the Balance of Power

### Political Theory

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 303

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Stefan Macleod (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Marlene Sokolon (Concordia University)

***A Product of the 1980s? A Genealogy of ?Liberal Democracy? in British and Canadian Political Discourse:*** Hugo Bonin (University of Jyväskylä)

**Abstract:** Since 2016, the notion of ?liberal democracy? has become increasingly common, both in political discourses and academic circles. But from a conceptual point of view, this expression can be seen as a bit oxymoronic. Historically and theoretically, there is a tension between the (absolute) exercise of popular sovereignty implicit in democracy, and liberals? goal of limiting the State?s power. Most political theorists of the 19th century clearly perceived this duality: liberals were quite wary of democracy?s ?tyrannic? tendencies, while for socialists and anarchists, fulfilling the democratic promise meant going beyond liberalism. So, the question turns out to be how did this apparent reconciliation of liberalism and democracy happen? In line with recent historical and theoretical re-evaluations, this presentation will argue that their rapprochement under the expression of ?liberal democracy? took place much later than usually thought: around the 1980s in the English-speaking world. It does so through a study of the uses this expression in Canada and the United Kingdom, with a focus on parliamentary discourses in the second half of the 20th century. Doing so allow us to see the multiple conceptual transfers and entanglements at play, highlighting the seemingly transnational character ?liberal democracy?, while being sensitive to its local appropriations and variations. Because, if there is a global convergence towards a celebration of ?liberal democracy? in the 1990s, this dual analysis nonetheless underscores the contrasted and ever contested nature of the reconciliation of liberalism and democracy.

***Distributive Justice in Coordination: Toward a Political Theory of Antitrust Law:*** Chi Kwok (Lingnan University)

**Abstract:** Despite the fact the political theory of the corporation has correctly drawn our attention to the constitutive relationship between law and corporate power, there is surprisingly little attention, especially among normative political theorists, to the central role of anti-trust law in shaping the behaviors and scope of power of business corporations. In particular, competition law distributes coordination rights and exemption, which have significant implications to the balance of power between different contractual parties. The gig economy provides an illuminating example to illustrate this. For example, under the classification of Uber, drivers are considered ?independent contractors?. Because drivers are considered independent service providers, instead of workers under standard employment relationship, anti-trust law forbids drivers from collaborating together to set price or bargain with Uber (whereas in standard employment relationship, anti-trust law grants the ?labor exemption? for workers to collaborate together to bargain with the firms or their employers).

This paper develops a political theory of anti-trust law. In particular, this paper aims to reconstruct the problem of corporate power as a problem of distributive justice ? the appropriate distribution of the right to coordination among different interest groups in economic competition under a broadly defined liberal democratic context. The contribution of the paper lies mainly at reframing the question of corporate power in terms of the right to coordination and demonstrating the normative relevance of antitrust law to existing debates concerning workplace arrangements.

***Democratic Boundaries and Arguments for Federalism:*** Michael Da Silva (University of Southampton)

**Abstract:** This work offers a new democratic argument for federalism, understood as a form of governance in which multiple entities in a state possesses final decision-making authority (viz., can make decisions free from other entities? substitutions of their own decisions and fines) over at least one subject (e.g., immigration, healthcare, defense). It argues that leading solutions to the democratic boundary problem concerning who should be ?eligible to take part in which decision-making processes? (Arrhenius 2005: 14) provide overlapping arguments for federalism. The underlying logic and many details of two leading solutions focused on those relevantly affected by and subject to particular decisions each support arguments for multiple demoi possessing authority in a polity. And federalism remains the best available method for recognizing those distinct demoi.

Part I motivates the inquiry, providing necessary background information and detailing why I believe the boundary problem is relevant for federalism studies. Part II argues that proponents of plausible affect- and subjection-based should each desire multiple voting fora within states that are best realized through federal rule. Part III argues that parallel arguments are available for those who seek to operationalize influence over a decision through non-voting means. These arguments may prove even stronger since federalism offers distinct forms of influence over decisions unavailable in more unitary states. Part IV offers an alternative argument that proponents of both approaches should be concerned with persistent minorities whose interests are best protected through federalism. Part V addresses objections. A conclusion follows.

***Federalist Ideology as an Alternative to French Jacobinism:*** Etienne Schmitt (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** France is perceived as the archetype of a centralized and homogeneous nation-state. However, the resilience of minority nationalism in Alsace, Brittany, or Corsica refutes the national narrative, as well as decentralization, is a long-term trend which invalidates partially this stereotype. If the narrative of the central state is hegemonic in France where Jacobinism plays the role of political culture, a dissenting federalist ideology has always fought the model of a unitary state. From the federalist party during the French Revolution named the ?Girondins? to the precursor of anarchism Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, federalism was continuously debated in France. In contemporary times, the federalist ideology remains in some political movements like mutualism, social liberalism, environmentalism, and the ?integral nationalism? from Charles Maurras that is popular for a part of the current far right. Those movements reanimate it every time the nature of the state?s institutions is questioned such as the European integration debate, or the decentralization and the local authorities autonomy debate. With a normative approach, this paper introduces the development of federalism in France through several historical debates serving as milestones, and the contemporary controversies that renew the federalist ideology. Because French federalism generates rich ? but

understudied ? sources, it seems relevant to describe it. However, and except a brilliant article by Ralph Nelson in 1975, the academic literature in English is not that extensive. Thus, this paper aims to refresh this topic and brings new methodological perspectives on French federalism.

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## J11 - Roundtable: Breaking Barriers and Building Better Research: Southern Scholars and Northern Communities in Conversation

### Provincial and Territorial Politics in Canada and Beyond

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 305

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Gabrielle Slowey (York University)

Gabrielle Slowey (York University)

Amanda Buffalo (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education)

Gary Wilson (University of Northern British Columbia)

Lois Moorcroft (Feminist, Community Activist and former MLA and cabinet minister in the Government of Yukon)

**Abstract:** This session will discuss the future of northern research by southern institutions. What are the priorities? How do they intersect? How can they be facilitated? Where synergies don't exist, how can relationships be fostered and knowledge be mobilized? Where are the spaces for collaboration? This panel will further focus on both international and domestic developments in circumpolar studies and knowledge mobilization. It will discuss emerging linkages and cross-polar collaborations and developments in circumpolar studies across universities. At the same time, it will reflect on local, place based, applied research and KT/mobilization and the development of knowledge sharing to develop guidelines for new aids including implementing UNDRIP in health. This dynamic panel will generate conversations about the importance of continuing to build local and pan-Arctic relationships across the social sciences and the critical role of collaborators to generate new protocols, policies and processes of knowledge sharing.

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## K11 - Making Space, Mobilizing Marginalized Policy Voices: Discourse

### Public Administration

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 306

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Tammy Findlay (Mount Saint Vincent University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jacquetta (Jacquie) Newman (King's University College, Western University)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=99](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=99)

*The EFW Index: It's Supposed to be About Your Economic Freedom. Really?:* Thaddeus Hwong (York University)

**Abstract:** The Fraser Institute has been hawking its brand of anti-tax free market mythology in the guise of research on economic freedom for decades. Every year when its Economic Freedom of the World index comes out, news organizations do stories about it, falling prey to the Koch brothers-funded propaganda like clockwork. In this very short data visualization essay, the analysis behind the annual rankings of countries is probed, and the agenda behind the facade of economic freedom is prodded. Illustrated by the data used by the Fraser Institute in manufacturing economic freedom, the essay pokes at the veil of not only the anti-redistribution worldview this kind of think tank sells but also who this kind of merchant of doubt is.

*Race and the politics of law and order in Canada:* Anne-Marie Livingstone (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** The paper examines why policymaking on racial inequality in Canada so often coincides with moments of crisis, when a rhetoric of law and order takes the place of reasoned decision-making. Gradually, the carceral state has become the primary means through which problems of racial inequality and racism are understood and resolved, leaving Black communities worse off than ever.

*Reverberations of Treaty Relations: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Political Environment Animating Chief Spence's Hunger Strike:* Sarah Marie Wiebe (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** This year marks a decade since former Attawapiskat Chief Theresa Spence's ceremonial fast, widely framed by the mainstream Canadian media as a hunger strike. In the shadow of Canada's parliamentary buildings, during the cold Canadian winter, for six-weeks Chief Spence survived on medicinal fish broth and tea with her body on the line while catalyzing unprecedented social mobilization in Canada and around the world. Her actions sparked dialogue about the failures of the Canadian government, its Crown representatives and the general public to understand and uphold treaty relations. This paper presents a critical discourse analysis of mainstream coverage of her fast?framed as a hunger strike?and highlights themes of crisis, accountability and blame. In doing so, this paper seeks to interrupt these hegemonic frames with an account of Spence's life story. Fusing grounded theory with phenomenology and governmentality studies, this paper argues that these predominant frames misrepresented Spence's core request: a revitalized dialogue about treaty relations. Spence's story speaks back to and intervenes upon the colonial status quo in Canada. Drawing upon the highly charged political environment of settler-colonial relations in Canada, to move beyond current atmospheres of indifference while centering insurgent relations, this paper presents some insights and lessons learned from her fast, while advocating for alternative, decolonial futures.

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## L11(a) - Panel: Indigeneity and Colonialism in the Global South - Sponsored by CPSA Reconciliation Committee

### Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics

Date: May 31 2023 | Time: 10:30am - 12:00pm | Room: ACW 304 HYBRID / hybride

Chair/Président/Présidente : Emily Grafton (University of Regina)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Shaista Patel (UC San Diego)

Sponsor / Commanditaire : CPSA Reconciliation Committee

*Resistance, Resilience, and the Palestinian Experience or minding the gaps of theories of Settler-Colonialism:* Jasmin Habib (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** In this paper, I discuss the limitations of the settler-colonial paradigm in understanding the contemporary lives of Palestinians. I will argue that while the paradigm and the approach most often associated with Patrick Wolfe is critically useful for grasping settler practices, both with respect to the emergence and embodiment of an Israeli identity, and in its wake the cruelty of displacement, dispossession, and oppression of Palestinians, one is left to consider the extent to which Wolfe's framing of the practices of settler colonialism ?as structure not event? also performs a kind of ?elimination? of Palestinian resistance. The argument emerges from an analysis of ethnographic research with Palestinians who live in Israel and who hold Israeli citizenship. While the world's attention primarily focuses on the experiences of Palestinians living under military occupation in the West Bank and under political and economic siege in Gaza, it is only quite recently, with the NGO reports on Apartheid, that the world's attention has begun to take seriously the lives and experiences of Palestinian citizens of Israel. While their existence and their very identities as Palestinians is continually repressed in the Israeli imaginary (which labels them "Israeli Arabs?"), Israel's legislative practices are structured by Palestinian resilience. Their experiences force us to reconsider not only the structure of settler practices and how embedded within them is an unsettled or existential anxiety but to (re)examine the repressed and the ?event?, that is the Nakba or Catastrophe of the dismembering of Palestine.

*Colonialism (s) and Kashmir: an Exploration:* Idrisa Pandit (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** This paper will argue that Kashmir has never experienced a post-colonial moment. I will examine the new (post August 5, 2019) settler colonial policies of the Indian state and its military occupation as a continuation of historic colonialism. Using an auto ethnographic approach, I will ask the essential questions of who is a ?native Kashmiri? and what may self-determination mean for Kashmiris at the intersections of coloniality, colonialism, settler colonialism, military occupation, and increasing Indian ethnonationalism? Examining various stages of Genocide, the main thrust of this paper will be on Epistemicide, and how colonial and settler colonial policies have enabled this project of erasure of indigenous knowledges, and occupation of minds. Through stories and poetry, I will examine my own identity and positionality. Reflecting on the journey of awakening of my own consciousness as a student and teacher in the North American geographical context, I will situate my personal in the larger framework of reclamation of heritage, language, history, and culture as an essential tool to counter ongoing colonialism(s). Ending oppression is a common goal of all colonies, and settler colonies. As a native Kashmiri, I will offer suggestions on what ethical solidarities among scholars and activists across geographic locations may look like.

*Caribbean Indigeneity and Self Determination:* Erica Neeganagwedgin (Western University Faculty of Education)

**Abstract:** This presentation centers the stories and perspectives of the Taino people. More than 530 years ago the Caribbean world experienced a process of colonization which saw Europeans expand onto their ancestral territories. The Taino people visited with each other prior to outside contact, and they continue to do so today. In fact, prior to Europeans arriving on Taino lands, historically as well as in contemporary times, what is known as the Caribbean today has always been a place of people, movement, and relationships. This presentation provides a critical reflective analysis and discussion of Taino people's history, Indigeneity, and contemporary voices and experiences. It demonstrates that Taino people and cultures are alive and are not fixed in time. It also looks at how contemporary Taino people are regenerating their ancestral knowledge and legacies as a way of remembering and knowing. The presentation focuses on the Yamaye (Jamaica) framework and context of Caribbean Indigenous life.

*Erasing Assyrians: National Narratives, Indigeneity and Constitutional Imaginings in post-2003 Iraq:* Mariam Georgis (University of Manitoba)

**Abstract:** Locating the dispossession of Assyrians within modern state-making which has resulted in the dispossession of Indigenous peoples globally, this paper is concerned with the interplay between nationalist narratives and the legal-political possibilities imagined from such narratives in Iraq. I look at the continuities in the dispossession and erasure of Assyrians whereby Kurds in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq claim Mesopotamian history as Kurdish in their attempts to build a Kurdish region/state much like the Arabs in the rest of Iraq claim Mesopotamian history as Iraqi (Arab). Arvin (2019) argues whiteness making itself Indigenous is descriptive of global settler colonialism: globally, across settler colonial contexts, white settlers often claim that white people are the rightful owners of a place; they are more Indigenous than Indigenous people. Drawing on Arvin and applying an Indigenous feminist lens to look at Indigeneity in a global South context, I analyze the Kurdish Constitution (draft) as one legal mechanism with which to usurp Assyrian Indigeneity and deny Assyrians rights to self-determination and self-governance. Kurds claim Indigeneity through this legislation to legitimate their claims to the land, which is based on Kurdish possession. Despite attempted erasure and appropriation, Assyrians have long worked against this logic of possession and continue to regenerate connections and relations with this land.

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## L11(b) - Modalities of State Governance: Violence and Exclusion

### Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics

Date: May 31 2023 | Time: 10:30am - 12:00pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 307

Chair/Président/Présidente : Riva Gewarges (McMaster University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Éléna Choquette (Université du Québec en Outaouais)

*The Denial and Minimization of Indigenous Genocide in North America:* Maureen Hiebert (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Denial is a feature of genocide. Part of a multi-author study of genocide denial, my paper maps the terrain of denial and minimization in North America. Examining the evolution of denial, I argue that the denial of Indigenous genocide in Canada and the US has some of the characteristics of other cases, including the use of euphemisms to disguise genocidal acts, blaming the victims, and conflating the intentional destruction of targeted groups with armed conflict. Despite these commonalities, denial/minimization in North America is more persistent and resistant to correction. This is because denialism is integral to the logic of elimination? (Wolff) of settler colonialism unlike the transient ideologies and regimes that visited destruction on the Jews, Tutsis, and others. Denial of Indigenous genocide during the establishment of the settler colonial system, the residential schools, the Sixties Scoop, and now in the era of reconciliation is foundational to how settlers need to think about the political community. To fully end the denial of Indigenous genocide would require settlers to acknowledge the fundamental wrong at the heart of settler colonialism: the physical and cultural destruction of another and the permanent taking (and retention) of land and resources for our permanent home. This does not, however, mean that settlers cannot have a home in North America without denialism. Acknowledging genocide is a necessary step toward substantive decolonization and the careful crafting of a new relationship between Indigenous and settler communities.

*The 'Unmaking' of the Victim: Anti-Muslim Violence in the Construction of a Hindutva State:* Nidah Kaiser (SOAS, University of London)

**Abstract:** This thesis argues that the present observed increase, and shift in the nature, of communal violence? in Modi's India, marks a sharp departure from the past communal violence of the late 1980s to the 2000s; a crucial difference being an intensification in the role of state agencies in both, permitting and perpetrating this violence.

Ethno-religious violence scholarship foregrounds the state's capacity to control violence; the state has both, a monopoly on violence,? and a monopoly on peace. My research inquires: how has anti-Muslim violence been used as a modality of governance? in the democratically backsliding India? I conducted ethnographic fieldwork over one year, with 200 interviews, across 20 districts in Uttar Pradesh, examining incidents of vigilante and police violence. Using case studies, I analyse the modus operandi of state and nonstate violence workers? in India, which involves, not only a co-ordinated effort to perpetrate anti-Muslim violence, reminiscent of the 20th century communal violence, but also additional processes that cause the unmaking? of victims of the said violence. These processes of de-recognition of the victim include: erasures of the hate? in official crime documentation; invocation of laws against, and subsequent criminalisation of, the deceased victim; deprivation of forms of social redressal, state rehabilitation, financial compensation, or fair access to justice.

My study is situated within the emerging literature on the new forms? of anti-Muslim violence in majoritarian India, which invariably de-centre the victims. My thesis addresses this gap by understanding and analysing the post-violence victims? experiences, that reveal meanings of this violence.

*La difficile intégration socio-économique des albinos au Cameroun:* BODO BELLA Claude Vanina (Université de Douala/Cameroun)

**Abstract:** Les albinos sont en effectif réduit dans le monde entier, à ce jour le Cameroun compte environ 2200 albinos ; représentants une toute petite tranche de la population, les albinos sont régulièrement victimes de préjugés et de discriminations dans la vie quotidienne. La plupart du temps, ils sont stigmatisés et confrontés à de nombreuses difficultés. Dans certaines régions, on leur attribue des pouvoirs surnaturels, un pouvoir maléfique et on estime que leurs organes portent chance et c'est la raison pour laquelle certains sont tués à la naissance. Ces diverses superstitions à leur sujet sont donc à l'origine de leur exclusion dans leurs familles, dans la société et dans la sphère décisionnelle de l'Etat. On constate par ailleurs qu'il n'y a presque pas d'albinos ministre, secrétaire général dans de grandes institutions, directeur d'hôpital, général de l'armée, commissaire de police, directeur de Banque, etc. L'intégration de cette catégorie de la population est donc difficile et très lente, même lorsqu'ils sont de grands intellectuels ils ont de la peine à trouver un emploi à la hauteur de leurs compétences. Ils sont toujours à la recherche d'un bon poste dans des organisations privées, dans les institutions étatiques et même dans des organisations internationales qui promeuvent l'inclusion. Comment favoriser l'inclusion socio-économique des albinos au Cameroun ? La théorie constructiviste nous permettra à construire des éléments visant à favoriser l'inclusion socio-économique des albinos au Cameroun.

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## M11 - Understanding and Building Learning Communities

### Teaching

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0013

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

*Liminal Parallels: A Case Study of Graduate Student Pedagogies in the Digital Age:* Evangeline Kroon (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper explores the dual liminality of the graduate student experience and the digital age and how graduate student community, in this case an online writing group, uniquely prepared graduate students for teaching 21st century literacies to political science undergraduates. Graduate students find themselves in a space that Grady et. al. (2014) calls "betwixt and between" neither fully students nor fully professionals, and are navigating institutional situations with low levels of support and "often-unspoken expectations" (O'Regan, 2022). Similarly, the digital age is constantly in flux with updates to technology, the advent of online classrooms, and the ever-expanding boundaries of post-truth discourse; it is an ongoing project for academics to educate themselves and update their pedagogy.

This paper will discuss how, within this milieu, a group of interdisciplinary scholars from York University came together at different stages of their graduate degrees to form a writing café, fostering a rejection of the alienation and isolation of this liminal space, instead creating support and solidarity. Taking on the role of professors and mentors, they taught each other, which resulted in learned knowledges that far exceed traditional means of updating pedagogy to keep up with changing times. Therefore, these graduate students' teaching methods have not been handed down to them by their older mentors within the institution, but instead have been co-created with their peers, coming together for mutual support and aid in navigating the liminal space of digital pedagogies.

*Social Connection in Large Classes: Can it Promote Well-Being and Learning?:* Sanjay Jeram (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** The idealized vision of the university campus as a hub of social interaction does not conform with the lived experience of most modern postsecondary students. A 2019 study of over 43,000 Canadian undergraduate students reported that a majority felt "very lonely" (American College Health Association 2019). Potential consequences can stem from student isolation, such as attrition, stress, disengagement from classroom conversations, alienation from the institution, and harm to one's well-being (Astin 2001; Newbold, Mehta, and Forbus 2011; Stanton et al. 2016; Tokke 2020). The importance of social connection to various desirable outcomes, such as persistence, well-being, and an improved learning experience, has been established in previous research (Schuetz 2008; Bers and Smith 1991; Stanton et al. 2016). Moreover, social connections do not have to be "deep" to foster these benefits; even "loose" social bonds among students can improve well-being and academic performance (Sandstrom and Dunn 2014).

A common assumption persists that social connection occurs through extracurricular activities; however, social integration for many commuter students primarily occurs in the classroom (Jacoby 2000; Newbold, Mehta, and Forbus 2011). To this end, I utilized three interconnected methods of active cooperative learning to provide the context for increased social connection in a large (n = 209) introduction to political science course. Data from an end-of-course survey "featuring quantitative and qualitative indicators" and small focus groups were collected to assess the impact on student well-being and learning perceptions. Results indicate that the strategies vastly increased perceptions of social connection, well-being, and performance.

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## N11 - Gendered Violence: Reconsiderations and Responses

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 2008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Kelly Gordon (McGill University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Kelly Gordon (McGill University)

***Defending Queered Space against White Supremacists and Police in Hamilton:*** Alexa DeGagne (Athabasca University)

**Abstract:** In 2019, Pride Hamilton warned police that a group of white supremacists and homo/transphobic street preachers were planning to disrupt the annual pride festival in Gage Park. Pride Hamilton, like many pride organizations across the country, had debated whether police should be present at pride events and in queered spaces. That year, Pride Hamilton barred police from wearing their uniforms and denied their request to have a police recruitment booth, acknowledging that police presence in the space could be unsafe for racialized and marginalized Two-Spirit, queer, and trans community members.

As Pride Hamilton warned, groups of white supremacists and homo/transphobic preachers entered Gage Park during the 2019 pride festival and began yelling transphobic and homophobic slurs, and physically attacking the pride attendees. Two-Spirit, queer, and trans activists ? later called Pride Defenders ? lifted a large black banner to block out the far-right protesters, shoring up queer and trans public space. Despite warnings of potential violence, police were slow to react to the escalating tensions, and blamed their inaction on being excluded from the pride events.

The story of the Pride Defenders disrupted carceral narratives of progress and inclusion, bringing into sharp relief that police protection of marginalized people remained conditional. For Hamilton police, protection would be provided if they had access to queered space, perpetuating state regulation of marginalized communities. By rejecting these conditions, the Pride Defenders carried on the long tradition of Two-Spirit, queer, and trans people protecting each other and defending their queered space.

***Queering the Arbour Report: Gendered Tropes of Crisis Response:*** Dan Bousfield (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** This paper critically assesses the Independent External Comprehensive Review of the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces produced by The Honorable Louise Arbour in May of 2022. Adopting a queer reading of the report, the paper argues that popular gendered tropes structure the analysis of the culture of the Canadian military, impeding the ability to respond to systemic crises and recent events. Drawing on the work of Stéfanie von Hlatky and Maya Eichler, this paper examines the role of gendered analyses of masculinity and military culture to argue for a re-examining of the persistence of tropes in the report. In the framing of ?toxicity? in the report, the paper examines the way in which closed-system analyses from the natural sciences have been reproduced in the framing of military culture. Drawing on the shadow archive of queer experiences in the Canadian military, the use of gendered tropes shift the analysis from systematic characteristics (such as toxic leadership) to individual traits (toxic practices) without adequately unpacking the assumptions of these tropes. Moreover, this paper argues that the gendered framing of ?crises? and ?culture? do not adequately subvert the inherent normalizing of policy coherence tasked by the report and reproduce blind spots that a queer analysis can provide. This paper challenges the proliferation of gendered tropes in the report to develop an alternative framing of the problems facing the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces.

***Complaints in Canada?s North: Navigating the aftermath of gendered sexual violence in social and political research in northern Canada:*** Tara Joly (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** In her recent work, Sara Ahmed (2021) shows how complaints processes illuminate the political structures of power in academic institutions. Based on auto-ethnography and interviews with social scientists working in northern regions of Canada, this paper analyzes the process of filing complaints or taking legal action in response to gendered sexual violence in both academic and independent research contexts. Examining case studies of formal responses to gendered sexual violence experienced during academic and non-academic research, I compare how complaints travel through these two contexts to unpack the structural conditions that allow this violence to propagate. The northern Canadian context in which participants work, often characterized by remoteness and masculinist extractive industries, plays a role in how violence is experienced and navigated in its aftermath. This paper shows that while the structures of academic and non-academic institutions differ, academic training upholds informal narratives about expected hardships of research that put researchers at risk in both contexts. I also argue that the opportunities for recourse available for researchers who experience violence in the course of their work are limited ? which further perpetuates violence. The paper concludes with reflections on the potential for structural change and improved training for graduate students.

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## P11 - Poster Session 2

### Posters

Date: May 31 2023 | Time: 10:30am - 12:00pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW Second Floor Alcove

Click the following link for complete session information:

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=87](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=87)

***Bridging the Gap: The Relationship Between Federal Members of Parliament and Respective Municipal Leader:*** Sonja Tilroe (Parliamentary Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** This paper explores the nature of relationships between municipal leaders and federal members of parliament. Many municipal services are either shared between higher levels of government (both provincial and federal), or are solely the responsibility of municipalities. This paper characterises how municipalities use their relationship with their respective federal members of parliament to achieve goals and fulfil responsibilities, if at all. I compare how these relationships can change, becoming more or less useful for municipal leaders, depending on a province's political context and the extent to which that province engages in a combative relationship with the federal government. The findings of this paper rely primarily upon semi-structured interviews with municipal leaders and federations, along with their respective members of parliament.

***Pandemic Performance: Accountability in Canada's COVID Elections:*** Matthew Taylor (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Did Canadians hold their governments accountable for their performance during the COVID-19 Pandemic? Accountability theory has long found that voters will reward good governance while punishing governments that fail to perform as well. However, for the most part, research into accountability has primarily revolved around economic indicators. In Canada, for instance, prior research has found that incumbents that govern during better economic conditions are rewarded with larger vote shares. In essence, voters hold governments accountable by rewarding them for economic growth. This paper builds off of this earlier work into accountability theory to see if it still holds in the context of managing a health crisis. Taking advantage of questions in both C-DEM provincial election studies and the 2021 Canadian Election Study that probe satisfaction with government responses to the pandemic, this paper will apply the accountability theory in the context of COVID-19. The main hypothesis guiding this paper will be to examine if voters rewarded parties that were perceived as better managers of the health crisis. Additionally, by integrating studies from both the federal and provincial levels, this paper will capture substantial differences in pandemic context and differences in how governments managed the impacts of the COVID pandemic.

***Des barrages aux pont: Hydro-Québec et la réconciliation avec les peuples autochtones de la Côte-Nord:*** Clara Commier (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Sophie Brochu, PDG d'Hydro-Québec, témoigne d'un important désir de solidifier les relations entre la société d'État et les peuples autochtones. Notre étude porte sur le cas du Complexe de la Romaine, un projet de construction de quatre centrales hydroélectriques sur la Côte-Nord. Nous posons les questions suivantes : Est-ce que les intentions d'inclusion et de collaboration d'Hydro-Québec permettent un réel changement structurel de l'organisation vers la réconciliation? Si oui, de quelle manière les politiques d'Hydro-Québec prennent en considération les réalités culturelles et politiques des peuples autochtones concernés par leurs projets d'exploitation du territoire?

Pour y répondre, nous conduisons des entrevues semi-dirigées auprès des acteurs concernés. La conception de l'étude et l'analyse des données se fondent sur des concepts issus du courant de l'institutionnalisme constructiviste. Le rôle des idées dans la fonction publique y est mis à l'avant-plan. Suivant la grille d'analyse proposée par le multiple-stream-analysis de Kingdon (1984), nous tentons de comprendre si les intentions de réconciliation d'Hydro-Québec ont le pouvoir d'opérer des changements structurants au sein de l'entreprise.

Suivant les cadres d'analyse établis ci-dessus, nos observations préliminaires suggèrent que, bien que l'approche de réconciliation d'Hydro-Québec soit sincère, elle est basée sur des stratégies de stabilité politique et de développement économique n'ayant pas pour effet de transformer de manière durable les structures coloniales qui la composent.

Notre recherche vise à acquérir une meilleure connaissance des dynamiques de collaboration entre la fonction publique québécoise et les peuples autochtones, ainsi qu'un regard englobant sur les stratégies de réconciliation dans le secteur public.

***Do All Roads Lead to the House? Sector Employment and Electoral Politics in Canada:*** Dawn Moffat McMaster (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** What factors influence the decision to run for political office, and how might those be influenced by a candidate's past occupation? While occupations in law and business are associated with nascent political ambition (Mechtel 2014), there is little focus on whether employment sector – that is, public, private, or nonprofit – plays a role in how candidates acquire skills for political campaigning and democratic politics. Women are less likely than men to work in the private sector, more likely to be public sector workers, but especially more likely to be employed in the nonprofit sector. Canada is exceptional in the OECD for direct service provision from nonprofits, which suggests these should be a particularly fruitful pipeline for potential women candidates. To address this, I use Alberta as a case study and ask: Is the proportion of public, private and nonprofit employment in the economy mirrored in political candidate pools? Using a unique dataset and a new method of calculating sector employment, I document patterns of prior sectoral employment for electoral candidates, disaggregated by relevant factors including level of government, urbanity, party, district competitiveness, and gender. Results show evidence of gendered patterns in candidate pools. These findings help explain why women's educational and occupational gains have not yet translated to equitable descriptive representation in Canada's elected political institutions.

***Government as Stimulus of Interpersonal Warmth: Could there be a Policy of Friendship?:*** Andrea Chandler (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Friendship and politics is a theme much discussed in political theory, but less often explored by comparative politics and policy studies. This is largely because friendship is typically regarded as belonging to the private realm, outside the appropriate domain of government involvement. Furthermore, friendship is often associated with undemocratic forms of politics, such as clientelism and corruption. In my presentation, I explore the literature from a variety of disciplines in order to develop the following theses:

- ? Friendship improves an individual's quality of life,
- ? Exclusion from friendship can have adverse effects on a person's life,
- ? Neoliberal capitalism and political polarization can undermine the prevalence of friendships in society,
- ? Policies could be adopted by government in order to encourage interpersonal friendships, as part of an overall strategy to promote equality and social cohesion.

The presentation will be based on my Research Report, "Alleviating Loneliness Encouraging Friendship: the Role that Political Society can Play," the main outcome of the Knowledge Synthesis Grant for this project that I was awarded in April 2022. The project is co-funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and Employment and Social Development Canada. By the time the conference takes place, the report should be available on the Web as an open-access document.

A poster is the appropriate format for this presentation, because the report contains a number of colour infographics that help to illustrate the work in a visual manner, and because I would like to have copies of the infographics available for distribution.

***Examining Liberal and Republican Theories of Antitrust in America:*** Piers Eaton (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Economic law is underpinned and shaped by larger political philosophies, creating subtle differences in laws and enforcement that can have significant impacts. Therefore, I will examine how liberal and republican theories of freedom can form the theoretical basis of antitrust action and law, particularly regarding the Sherman Act. A republican vision of antitrust, represented by Judge Learned Hand's reasoning in *United States v. Alcoa*, will take non-domination as its goal, viewing the accruing of sufficient market power in a single company to enable that company to act arbitrarily as a violation of antitrust law. A liberal vision of antitrust, represented by Robert Bork and Ralph Nader, uses non-interference as its goal, viewing an infringement against consumer welfare and consumer rights as a violation of antitrust law. This division allows us to consider antitrust as a proactive or reactive force, as well as whether power or behaviour is to be considered antitrust action's main focus. Following on from this discussion, I consider the idea of "benevolent monopolies" - monopolies which through their monopoly status are said to provide a social good - and their possibility and acceptance in the context of each theory. Through this exploration, broader themes about the economic values and views of power associated with both liberalism and republicanism will be elucidated. I will end the discussion by applying these ideas to the age of internet monopolies, which are often argued to be a form of natural monopoly, both because of capital costs and network effects.

**Participants**

Amanda Bittner (Memorial University)

Janique Dubois (University of Ottawa)

Ethel Tungohan (York University)

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## Q11 - Analyzing and Doing Politics Differently

### Practitioners

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0004

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jared Wesley (University of Alberta)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Reagan Seidler (Smart & Biggar LLP)

**Title:** *An experimental study involving an intra-deliberative instrument: Facilitating an individual's ability to assess their climate policy opinions:* Darielle Talarico (UBC)

**Abstract:** A healthy democracy needs civic engagement, yet many people abstain to avoid the negative consequences of social interactions or acts of incivility. What if individuals could explore their political views in relation to others as a private activity designed to be deliberative? This study proposes a method and experimentally tests a digital intra-deliberation instrument that facilitates a private practice set to standards. The instrument relies on an opinion sorting statistical process called a Q sort for its deliberative function and gamification to motivate its use. The instrument is tested in an experimental study (N=470) with a control and three treatments. The results suggest that the deliberation within instrument increases the likelihood of self-reported willingness to participate in civic engagement activities (T1 and T2). Specifically, treatments indicate increased willingness to attend future in-person political events (T1, T2, and T3) and increased willingness to vote (T2). While gamification enhances these effects, the use of roleplay produces mixed results. This study demonstrates the value of experimental studies in assessing ways of facilitating an individual's internal reasoning processes.

**Political Support and Participation in Canada: Digging Deeper into the Drivers of Unconventional Participation:** Sophie Courchesne (Concordia University), Mebs Kanji (Concordia University), Kerry Tannahill (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Over the past 50 years or so, scholars have noticed that the patterns of political participation have been changing (Dalton 2008; Copeland 2014; Christensen 2016). While conventional political participation in the form of voting appears to be declining despite increased access to information, unconventional political participation, such as signing petitions and participating in protests, has increased (Nevitte 2002; Christensen 2016). With more growing dissatisfaction with democratic political systems, some have linked low political support to elite-challenging or unconventional forms of engagement (Christensen 2016; Norris 1999). Gaining a better understanding of why citizens are increasingly engaging with the political system from the outside is crucial and could potentially point to gaps or faults in our political system. As participation and engagement are necessary to a healthy democracy, studies exploring the drivers of unconventional participation could potentially suggest reforms or new conventional forms of participation (Cho & Rudolph 2008; Stockemer 2014). Does political support influence unconventional participation in Canada? At what level? authority, regime, or political community? does political support have the most significant relationship to unconventional participation? Are some forms of unconventional participation more related to political support than others? To address these questions and shed some light on what drives Canadians to engage extra-electorally, this study explores the relationship between political support and political participation through survey data that was collected Canada-wide through multiple waves by the Political Communities Survey Project.

**The Layman and the Expert: Improving the Wisdom of Crowds Principle through Weighting?:** Philippe Mongrain (McGill University), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval), Nadjim Fréchet (Université de Montréal), Brian Thompson Collart (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Many studies, primarily of American, British, and Canadian elections, have shown citizens' forecasts to be an efficient prediction tool. Not only are citizens quite astute at guessing which candidate or party will prevail at the national level and in their own state or district, their expectations can also be transformed into relatively accurate vote share or seat number projections. According to the "miracle of aggregation" principle, in the absence of systematic biases, errors in individual judgments within a population should cancel each other out and lead to a correct decision at the aggregate level. This phenomenon reflects the idea of collective intelligence (or "wisdom of crowds"). Aggregation would thus have epistemic properties. The proposed article tests a number of strategies to improve upon the raw aggregation of citizens' election forecasts using data collected through Datagochi, a web application predicting individuals' vote choice according to their lifestyle. Hence, "raw" aggregation (i.e., without any statistical intervention) will be compared to four different methods of aggregation: (1) weighting for representativeness, (2) weighting according to political sophistication, (3) correcting for partisan biases, and (4) combining methods 3 and 4.

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

### D12 - Canadian Public Policy - 50th Anniversary Lecture: Fiscal Federalism and Public Policy in Canada: An Interdisciplinary Approach

#### Law and Public Policy

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Peter Graefe (McMaster University)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=15](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=15)

Daniel Béland (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Canadian Public Policy is celebrating its 50th anniversary in 2023-2024. To mark the occasion, it is holding a series of lectures at the meetings of scholarly associations. In his lecture, Dr. Béland will show the value of integrating law, political science and economics in the study of Canadian fiscal federalism, through an analysis of the contemporary evolution of the major federal transfers to the provinces and territories.

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## **F12 - Workshop: Building Solidarity in the Context of Divergence: Different Values, Different Identities, Different Perspectives**

**Political Behaviour/Sociology**

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 005

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Fiona MacDonald (University of Northern British Columbia)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=273](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=273)

### **Participants**

S. Laurel Weldon (Simon Fraser University)

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## M12 - Three Minute Thesis Competition (Preliminary)

### Teaching

Date: May 31 2023 | Time: 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Room: Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0013

Click the following link for complete session information:

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=255](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=255)

*A Comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of the Syrian and Ukrainian Refugee Crises: How Refugees are Framed [and Blamed] by the Media:* Nahian Salsabeel (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** Over the past decade, refugee crises have been at the center of public and international debate. Just as the world grappled with the Syrian refugee crisis, one of the greatest refugee crises of the 21st century, it now faces a tragic refugee emergency with the Russian invasion of Ukraine. However, the reaction by governments and the media towards these refugee populations have been vastly different. Canada is no exception to this. This thesis employs a comparative critical discourse analysis to examine how Syrian and Ukrainian refugee populations, and the Canadian government's policies towards them, are framed differently by news media. As public policy is shaped by public opinion, which, in turn, is shaped by news media, this thesis will specifically focus on news coverage and commentary of government policy towards refugees. The thesis will analyze news articles from the Globe and Mail and the National Post three months prior and three months after the adoption of refugee policies for each case. The central research question is: How are Ukrainian and Syrian refugees represented in Canadian news media, in relation to humanitarian, economic, and national security concerns? Drawing on Edward Said's concept of 'clash of definition' as a problematization of Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations, the thesis will examine how national security and humanitarian framings Orientalize Syrian refugees as risky and needy, while welcoming Ukrainian refugees as industrious and valuable nascent Canadians.

*Prefigurative Care: Everyday Activism in Nova Scotia's Childcare Deserts:* Kenya Thompson (York University)

**Abstract:** My MRP, completed at Carleton University's Institute of Political Economy, investigates care as an inherently political act, by exploring the experiences of mothers and caregivers in Nova Scotia's 'childcare deserts', focusing on how they navigate childcare, and care for themselves and their families, when formal childcare options (and other supports for families) are sparse or unavailable. Using Photovoice methodology, with a participatory action research approach, I worked alongside participants over a two-week period as they visually and textually documented moments of caregiving in their everyday lives. In follow-up interviews, they expounded upon their entries, providing vital context and insight into their experiences of care and caring. Considering these experiences, as they captured them, through a narrative inquiry lens reveals the dynamic, innovative solutions caregivers, families, and communities employ (and have employed, across generations) to coordinate and navigate childcare, domestic labour, and other affective care, while working to make ends meet in the face of various social and economic realities. As the Canadian government develops its national childcare strategy, it is critical that existing strategies employed by mothers and caregivers to meet their care needs in their homes and communities are considered. Understanding these efforts as prefigurative activism—as enacting future childcare and social policy they want to see, now—sheds light on strategies that could be publicly supported to create an inclusive, accessible social policy framework that supports caregivers, families, and communities in a sustainable, holistic way, in Nova Scotia and across Turtle Island.

*Cadrage en période de crise: Réponses à la Covid-19 des influenceurs de la droite radicale au Québec:* Khaoula El Khalil (Université de McGill)

**Abstract:** La Covid-19 a créé une situation d'infodémie sans précédent. De plus, Internet a offert un espace propice pour la diffusion des théories conspirationnistes. Toutefois, les études antérieures mettent l'accent uniquement sur le rôle transformateur des espaces numériques et moins sur le discours tenu par les influenceurs de la droite radicale. Cette recherche représente donc la première incursion pour comprendre l'évolution des «cadres de crise?» au sein de la droite radicale au Québec. Nous tentons de répondre à deux questions de recherche : comment les influenceurs de la droite radicale cadrent-ils leur discours durant la période de Covid-19? Et dans quelle mesure le discours de la droite radicale a-t-il changé en réponse à la crise sanitaire??

Nous supposons que la crise du COVID-19 a détourné l'attention sur le vieux discours de la droite radicale (anti-immigration, antisémitisme, islamophobie, xénophobie, etc.) qui porterait moins dans le nouveau contexte de crise sanitaire. Nous analysons un corpus de 10 500 tweets de cinq influenceurs très prisés de la droite radicale au Québec sur une période de deux ans (janvier 2020 au 30 décembre 2021). En combinant la modélisation thématique LDA (Allocation de Dirichlet latente)<sup>1</sup> et l'analyse qualitative, nous estimons les thèmes qui reflètent adéquatement le cadrage fait par ces influenceurs. Les conclusions théoriques et empiriques de notre étude permettent d'évaluer les implications pour la résilience sociétale : améliorer la réflexion sur les contre-mesures pour contrer le modus operandi des auteurs contemporains de la droite radicale et prévenir éventuellement la radicalisation menant à la violence.

*Dynamics of Intergovernmental Collaboration in Digital Government: institutions, actors, and instruments in the Canadian federation:* Silvana Gomes (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Digital government has become a central issue in the policy agenda of governments across Canada. Implementing digital policies is a complex endeavour in and of itself. Yet, it gains even more nuances in the context of the Canadian federal system, which highlights the role of intergovernmental collaboration in pushing digitalization forward. In contrast with other policy areas, intergovernmental collaboration in digital government is highly institutionalized in Canada, thus contradicting the usual ad hoc depiction of intergovernmental relations in the country. This puzzle motivates the present research, which aims to answer the following question: what explains the dynamics of intergovernmental collaboration in the implementation of digital government in Canada? Through a series of case studies employing the process-tracing method, the dissertation argues that the main explanations offered

by literature to date face important shortcomings because they do not account for the absence of jurisdictional conflict and a shift towards user-centric perspectives that lie at the core of intergovernmental collaboration in digitalization. It concludes that it is possible to identify three patterns of intergovernmental collaboration in the field of digitalization (multilateral vertical collaboration, horizontal collaboration at the provincial level, and horizontal collaboration at the municipal level) that are shaped by different causal mechanisms. The theoretical significance of the dissertation is three-fold: 1) re-examining long-established hypotheses about the drivers of intergovernmental collaboration in the digital age; 2) offering new explanatory insights into intergovernmental collaboration, and 3) shedding light on and exploring different collaborative patterns.

*Is Social Media Affectively Polarizing? An Experiment Comparing Facebook and Instagram Users:* Juliette Leblanc (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Do social media raise levels of affective polarization by increasing animosity towards opposing partisans? Research shows that affective polarization is influenced by the growing levels of elite ideological polarization and most importantly, the changing media systems. Social media platforms, where users are more inclined to be exposed with information consistent with their predisposition, such as what they believe in regard of their likes, comments and follows, might act differently based on configuration characteristics like algorithms, comments sections and presentation. I present a two-wave experimental study where around 425 respondents from Québec were asked to follow pre-identified political accounts in line with their self-reported ideology between two social-media platforms: Facebook and Instagram. This month-long study where I recreated echo-chambers administered in a natural environment, will allow us to shed light on how different social media platforms operate and how the habit of getting political information on social media could alter people's feelings towards opposing partisans. Most importantly, explaining how affective polarization takes place in a multiparty system and where the definition of who represent the "them" group might not be so precise.

### Participants

Willem Maas (York)

Sule Tomkinson (Laval)

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## Q12 - Roundtable: Getting to Practitioners: Policy Papers, Op-eds, and How to Get Knowledge Mobilization Right

### Practitioners

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Nikola Brassard-Dion (Privy Council Office)

Charles Breton (Centre of Excellence on the Canadian Federation (IRPP))

Rosana Tamburri (Policy Options (IRPP))

Sherill Sutherland (The Globe and Mail)

**Abstract:** Making sure that research has the reach and influence it deserves and ultimately getting research findings in the hands of policy makers is an essential part of knowledge production in academia. In fact, mobilizing knowledge is now often an important aspect of grant applications. However, how to do it effectively is seldom taught in grad school and beyond. This roundtable will discuss best practices, tips and common pitfalls when writing for a larger audience, especially policy practitioners.

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## Day 2 - Business and Committee Meetings (12:00pm - 01:00pm)

**S12 - CPSA Women's Caucus Meeting - AGM / Réunion du caucus des femmes de l'ACSP - AGA**

**CPSA Business and Committee Meetings**

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=212](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=212)

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## Day 2 - Special Event (12:00pm - 01:30pm)

**A12 - Book launch: Constitutional Crossroads, Kate Puddister and Emmett Macfarlane, eds. (UBC Press).**  
**Canadian Politics**

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Timber Lodge Social Grill (in the York Lanes Mall)

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## Day 2 - Session 4 (01:30pm - 03:00pm)

### A13(a) - Roundtable: Still the Exception? The Ascent of Right-Wing Populism(s) in Canada

#### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Curtlis Lecture Hall (CLH) E

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Emily Laxer (York University, Glendon Campus)

**Joint Session / Séance conjointe :** Canadian Sociological Association

Emily Laxer (York University, Glendon Campus)

Frédéric Guillaume Dufour (Université du Québec à Montréal)

Kelly Gordon (McGill University)

Bessma Momani (University of Waterloo)

Jean-François Bélanger (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** The notion of Canadian "exceptionalism" has become a mainstay in the expanding literature on populism. According to research, a combination of forces – including regionalism, party political strategies deriving from the first-past-the-post electoral system, and the significance of multiculturalism to public policy and identity – have hindered the nationwide success of right-wing populist movements in Canada. Yet, the recent ascent of right-wing parties (e.g., People's Party of Canada, Conservative Party of Quebec), leaders (e.g., Pierre Poilievre, Danielle Smith), and movements (e.g., the "Freedom Convoy") who use populist rhetoric to foster antagonism between the "people" and the "elite" belies this tale of exceptionalism. This interdisciplinary panel offers a timely opportunity to reflect on the what, the why, and the how of right-wing Canadian populisms. Featured works highlight a range of themes, including: the supply and demand factors that enable and impede populism in provincial and federal politics, the salience of nativism and anti-immigrant sentiment to populist political movements in Canada, and the implications of emerging populisms on the Canadian landscape of rights (including linguistic, religious, and reproductive) and legality.

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## A13(b) - Roundtable: What do Canadian Courts Need to Know about Democracy?

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Dennis Pilon (York University)

Dennis Pilon (York)

Brian Studniberg (Henein Hutchison LLP)

Allan Hutchinson (York Osgoode Hall Law School)

David Johnson (Cape Breton University)

Kathy Brock (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** A legal challenge to Canada's First-Past-the-Post voting system will be heard in Ontario Superior Court in the fall of 2023 arguing that it violates the democratic rights enshrined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Since the adoption of the Charter in 1982 Canada's courts have been increasingly called upon to assess a variety of challenges to the country's political processes and governing institutions. Decisions have been handed down on topics ranging from voting rights and voter equality in districting to limits on registering political parties and reforming the Senate. While many of these decisions have been met with broad approval from experts and the public alike some have proven contentious, results complicated by the fact that the public remains largely unaware of how Canadian political institutions work. A variety of critics have argued that, on some decisions, the courts have departed from established democratic values (like strict voter equality) or given too much credence to "constitutional architecture" ideas that limit reform efforts unduly. The upcoming voting system case only underlines the need to assure that the courts are operating under a broad and substantive understanding of just what democracy entails.

This roundtable brings together a number of critics of Canadian electoral institutions, past court decisions on electoral processes, and the role of courts and constitutions as they relate to Canadian democracy to assess the debate over just what the courts need to know about democracy to make sound and just decisions in the present moment.

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## A13(c) - Parliament and Governance

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 206

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Robert Schertzer (University of Toronto)

**Leavers and leaders: It takes two to tango! A study of how party switching in Canada is mediatized:** Mireille Lalancette (UQTR), Alex Marland (Memorial U.), Jared Wesley (U. Alberta)

**Abstract:** The act of leaving one's party to become independent or to join a new one often comes with a lot of media attention. Media storms often follow the defection events. Even if the storms calm down after the defection events, the media present these events in a spectacularized and personalized perspective. In the eye of the storm, articles are published about the politician; interviews are made with ex and new colleagues to understand the events leading to this important decision. Editorialists, columnists write open-ed that condemn or praise the decision. This media attention could scare some politicians and make them stay in their party. Some decide to leave anyway. This paper is based on an extensive media analysis of media stories (n= 312) about all party defections in Canada from 1980 to 2018. It shows that the events are highly spectacularized and personalized. The focus is often on leavers and leaders and the tango between the two is the focus of the media attention. Leavers are presented as focusing only on their personal agenda. They are also presented as having ambitions that blind them and keep them away from their party. Leaders are also the heart of the storm. They are presented as the reason for the exit, they are described as being too autocratic or having lost perspective on real issues. This research provides an understanding of how this mediatization might affect voters' perceptions of democratic institutions and, more largely how it could potentially fuel cynicism in politics.

**Mandate Letters and Ministers as Policy Actors in the Canadian Federal Executive:** Kenny Ie (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** Canadian prime ministers and most provincial premiers have adopted the practice of issuing 'mandate letters' to their ministers. These letters reinforce the government's strategic agenda, policy goals, and ministerial responsibilities and tasks. In this paper, I analyze the current (December 2021) mandate letters as windows into the role of cabinet ministers as policy actors and, more broadly, choices of policy goals and means. I ask: what characterizes the policy work of cabinet ministers in Canada? My argument is that ministerial mandate letters frame both the substantive and procedural engagement of ministers in policy development and implementation; they inform ministers what tasks the prime minister expects them to achieve and how they are expected to achieve them. In doing so, they illuminate the use of different modes of policy governance ? e.g., networks, regulation, or market-based approaches ? and the use of information, authority, financial tools, and organization as policy instruments (Howlett 2009). Empirically, I code every policy task in the thirty-eight mandate letters for their governance approach and choice of policy instrument and analyze the results by minister and policy sector. This work contributes to our understanding of how prime ministers use mandate letters to frame the role of ministers in policymaking and how ministers and portfolios compare in their policy orientations.

**Legislative Log-rolling: Using a Proposal Lottery to Identify Causal Effects:** Semra Sevi (Columbia University), Donald Green (Columbia University)

**Abstract:** Although much has been written on legislative logrolling, rarely have scholars had an opportunity to leverage a randomly assigned asset to see whether and how legislators reciprocate. Using the Canadian lottery that assigns priority numbers that allow Members of Parliament (MPs) to propose bills or motions, we examine whether MPs' priority numbers affect their proclivity to second motions made by other MPs, which would be expected if MPs sought to build support for their own proposals by supporting proposals by others. Although MPs almost always make a proposal if their priority number allows them to do so, we find no relationship between an MP's priority number and their probability of seconding others' proposals. The apparent lack of logrolling may reflect the strength of parties in the Canadian system, although we also see no evidence of logrolling within parties.

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## **A13(d) - Authors Meet Critics: The Paradox of Parliament**

### **Canadian Politics**

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=266](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=266)

### **Participants**

Meagan Cloutier (University of Calgary)

Anna Esselment (University of Waterloo)

Joanna Everitt (University of New Brunswick)

Jonathan Malloy (Carleton)

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## A13(e) - Nouvelles formes de participation et de leadership politique / New forms of participation and political leadership

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 307

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Mireille Lalancette (UQTR)

**Co-Chair/Président/Présidente :** Stéphanie Yates (UQAM)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Vincent Raynauld (Emerson College Boston)

*Eleven years of online debate on hydrocarbons in Quebec: From the digital billboard to a complex strategic communication tool:* Stéphanie Yates (UQAM), Justine Lalande (UQAM)

**Abstract:** Recognizing that social media have transformed activism, we look at the online communication of eight environmental groups that opposed three hotly debated hydrocarbon projects in Quebec between 2010 and 2021: the shale gas project in the St. Lawrence Valley, the construction of the Energy East pipeline from west to east in the province, and the construction of the GNL Quebec terminal in Saguenay. These three projects have all stalled for a lack of social acceptability, notably due to the strong opposition of the groups studied, we are looking at how they have used Facebook in to rally the greatest number of people to their cause. Based on an examination of the 2 943 Facebook posts made by these groups in relation to these projects, we first propose a categorization of the types of posts they made. We then examine the online reactions generated by them, all from a longitudinal perspective. Our results show that the use of Facebook has become more complex, and that it has evolved from a simple tool for disseminating information to a real instrument for mobilization, with various functionalities developed over the years (hashtag, emojis) having favored this transition. Finally, we look at the offline communication of these same groups, to see how the strategy as deployed on Facebook fits in and complements the so-called traditional communication strategies.

*La révolution se fera par les mêmes : motivations et pratiques de gestion des créateurs des pages de mêmes:* Colleen McCool (Concordia U.)

**Abstract:** L'étude de même est en pleine effervescence depuis près d'une décennie (Shifman, 2014, Douglas, 2014, Penney, 2017, Lalancette, Small et Pronovost, 2019, Fitzay, 2020). Cependant, son créateur reste méconnu. Notre étude vise à combler ce vide et s'intéresse aux créateurs de mêmes politiques qui partagent leurs créations par l'entremise de pages Facebook et Instagram. ?

Nous concevons la création de mêmes politiques comme une forme de participation politique, dans la lignée de la culture participative, théorisée par Jenkins (2009). Nous mobilisons également le concept d'espace d'affinités de Gee (2004), selon lequel les pages Facebook et Instagram de nos créateurs deviennent des espaces de partage et d'apprentissage. Néanmoins, nous soulignons qu'en tant que principaux responsables de leurs pages, les créateurs de mêmes sont imbus de responsabilités envers leur public et leur plateforme, faisant d'eux des modérateurs. ?

Nous avons procédé à une série de neuf entretiens semi-dirigés avec neuf créateurs de mêmes. Notre analyse s'est faite de façon inductive à partir des transcriptions de ces entretiens. Nos résultats démontrent que les créateurs de mêmes politiques sont doublement motivés par un désir d'expression politique et humoristique. Ils sont peu influencés par leur public dans leur processus de création. Toutefois, leurs pratiques de gestion de page sont en partie influencées par ce public et par les normes de la plateforme où ils partagent leurs mêmes.

*Dancing, Singing and a Little Bit of Politicking. A Study of the 2022 Quebec First Tik Tok Electoral Campaign:* Mireille Lalancette (UQTR), Vincent Raynauld (Emerson College Boston)

**Abstract:** The 2022 Quebec provincial election was marked by TikTok being used extensively for political outreach and engagement - especially with younger segments of the voting public - by candidates across party lines. Of particular interest is Québec Solidaire co-spokespeople Manon Massé and Gabriel Nadeau-Dubois who were featured in a TikTok update by a Quebec comedian dance to a rap song with controversial lyrics. The popularity of this platform for political communication was also confirmed by the Directeur général des élections (DGE) launching a TikTok account to engage with younger members of the public and promote voting on Election Day. This paper takes interest in this dynamic and sheds light on the TikTok-based political messaging and communication strategies deployed by the leaders of the five primary political parties. It does so through an exploratory audio, textual, and visual discourse based analysis of all TikTok updates shared throughout the 2022 Quebec provincial elections. This paper also examines aspects of the media coverage of the phenomenon and what strategies the DGE used for political and civic education. In many ways, this paper offers among the first looks at how the structural, cultural, and functional properties of TikTok are shaping the public electoral conversation. Links with previous studies on digital media technology adoption by political actors will be established in order to theorize and explain the phenomena and provide insights into TikTok's specific contributions to politics. As such, this paper makes contributions to both political communication and digital media literature.

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## **R13 - Keynote Address: Shiri Pasternak - The State, the Company, and the Police: Who Invaded Wet?suwet?en Lands?**

### **Special Events**

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Lecture Hall ? ACW 109 HYBRID / hybride

**Sponsor / Commanditaire :** CPSA Reconciliation Committee & CPSA 2023 Programme Committee

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=254](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=254)

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## Day 2 - Business and Committee Meetings (01:30pm - 03:00pm)

## Day 2 - Plenary Session (03:15pm - 05:15pm)

### R14 - Plenary: Territory, Place, and Power

#### Special Events

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 05:15pm | **Room:** Lecture Hall ? ACW 109 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Allison McCulloch (Brandon University)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=261](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=261)

#### Participants

Karen Bird (McMaster University)

Éléna Choquette (Université du Québec en Outaouais)

Debra Thompson (McGill University)

Sarah Marie Wiebe (University of Victoria)

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## Day 2 - President's Dinner and Awards (06:00pm - 10:30pm)

### R15 - CPSA President's Dinner / Dîner du président de l'ACSP

#### Special Events

**Date:** May 31 2023 | **Time:** 06:00pm - 10:30pm | **Room:** Convention Centre and Lobby - Second Student Centre 15 Library Ln, North York.

Click the following link for complete session information:

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=270](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=270)

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## Day 3 - Session 1 (08:45am - 10:15am)

### A16(a) - Roundtable: How Political Commentators Manage Trolls, Threats and Intimidation

#### Canadian Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Alex Marland (Memorial University)

Duane Bratt (Mount Royal)

Melanee Thomas (Calgary)

Mireille Lalancette (UQTR)

Jean-Christophe Boucher (Calgary)

**Abstract:** A permanent campaigning mentality has crept across Canadian politics whereby political actors strive to win every communications battle as though the election campaign never stopped. For some political operatives, this means aggressive media management to hit back at commentators who critique a leader, party or policy. The combativeness can include elected officials and staffers publicly criticizing academics, contacting them privately and complaining about them to university officials. At the extreme, the intensity can escalate to initiating legal action against academics, or engaging in criminal harassment and other forms of violence in an effort to silence them from speaking out. The toll of dealing with disparagement and legalities adds to an already challenging public square where public intellectuals are subjected to cyberbullying, harassment, threats and hateful rhetoric. In the first half of this session, panellists and audience members will be encouraged to share their stories and experiences dealing with the negativity that accompanies public commentary. The second half of the session will focus on what can be done about it.

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## A16(b) - Diversity, Emotion and Mobilization

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Saaz Taher (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Amanda Bittner (Memorial University)

**Exploring Emotions in the Canadian Legislative Context:** Linda Mussell (University of Ottawa), Elizabeth McCallion (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** What role do emotions play in the policymaking process? Canadian Senate committees are known for their rigorous policy investigations, where senators speak to witnesses from government, NGOs, civil society, and individuals. This paper investigates how emotion is used in Senate committee meetings to make impactful policy arguments. To do this, we use affect theory (drawing on Deborah Gould and Arlie Hochschild), focusing on the expression of emotions as structured by social convention and culture. Examining the role of emotions in the legislative context allows us to explore whether policy actors mobilize or appropriate particular emotions to attain specific objectives. We also ask how the ability to feel or to be seen as a feeling person may be governed by features of the environment that facilitate or constrain such opportunities. Using quantitative content analysis techniques, we identify and categorize the emotions expressed in Senate committee meeting transcripts. To enrich the analysis, we perform a qualitative content analysis of video recordings on a selection of Senate committee meetings. The dataset covers the period before and after major changes to the Senate's institutional dynamic in 2014 and 2015, allowing us to investigate the effects of the Senate reforms on the emotions displayed in committee meetings. This exploratory paper opens the door for more research into the effects of emotion in legislatures, including whether certain emotions, by certain people, are more likely to produce specific policy outcomes.

**Overt, Covert and Implicit Biases towards Linguistic Groups in Canada:** Evelyne Brie (Western University), Adrien Cloutier (Université Laval), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval), Félix Mathieu (University of Winnipeg)

**Abstract:** To what extent do French and English speakers hold prejudicial attitudes towards each other in Canada? This paper evaluates the salience and the determinants of overt, covert and implicit bias towards linguistic groups across all Canadian provinces. Data emanates from a Léger Marketing survey conducted in 2022 (n=1,768). Measures of bias are both self-reported and assessed using the Implicit Association Test. Results obtained using multivariate regression models show that for all types of biases (i.e. overt, covert and implicit), prejudicial attitudes are strong between French and English communities, yet that prejudice towards French speakers is more widespread and more pronounced than against English speakers. Moreover, while linked fate and political knowledge in Francophones are correlated with higher prejudice scores against English speakers, these determinants do not explain animosity towards French speakers in Anglophone respondents. Our results bolster claims about the existence of a societal divide between French and English speakers in Canada.

**Political response to LGBTQ+ mobilization in Canada (1990-2019):** Valérie Lapointe (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Political response to the mobilization of the LGBTQ+ movement in Canada has intensified over the last decades. Yet, a systematic analysis of Canadian political parties' responses to this mobilization has not yet been carried out, while the relationship emerging from this interaction remain under documented. Thus, this paper tackles issues such as what are the explanatory factors that motivate political parties to respond to this specific social movement? What are the variations over time of these responses? To achieve this, the relationship between the LGBTQ+ movement and political parties in Canada has been analyzed from two particular angles: 1) the mechanisms of interpellation between the LGBTQ+ movement and elected officials (Dehesa, 2010; Rayside, 1998, 2012; Smith, 2009, Tremblay, 2022) and 2) the governance choices, strategies and political games that have led to the legal and institutional changes demanded by the LGBTQ+ movement (Farney, 2012; Larocque, 2005; Tremblay, 2013). Based on an extensive data collection including the analysis of all political party election platforms since the early 1990s, a press review of mainstream (Globe and Mail, La Presse, Toronto Star) as well as LGBTQ+ (Xtra! Fugues) media and the conduct of 27 semi-structured interviews, our article analyzes the temporal variations in the responses of Canadian political parties (New Democratic Party, Liberal Party of Canada and Conservative Party of Canada) to the mobilization of the LGBTQ+ movement from 1990 to 2019 in order to better understand what motivated the different positions of federal political parties with respect to LGBTQ+ issues.

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## B16(a) - Exploring the Far-Right in Canada and Beyond - Session 2

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Amarnath Amarasingam (Queen's University)

***Building a New World Order: COVID-19 Conspiracy Theories and the Far Right:*** Katherine Kondor (University of Oslo)

**Abstract:** Throughout history people have turned toward conspiratorial beliefs to explain the origins of various pandemics. The coronavirus is no exception, with a host of attempted alternative explanations for the origins of the virus and the efficacy of safety measures. Indeed, this correlates with studies showing that conspiracy belief is heightened when people feel powerless and may afford people some sense of control as they can reject official narratives (Goertzel 1994). While conspiracy beliefs are found on both sides of the ideological spectrum (Sutton and Douglas 2020), studies have found links between a belief in COVID-19 conspiracy theories and a support for right-wing attitudes. This study aims to add to the literature on conspiracy beliefs among the far-right, specifically those involved in far-right activist movements in various European countries. With the use of semi-structured qualitative interviews with members of European far-right organizations, this study will examine conspiracy narratives and, hence, conspiratorial thinking around the COVID-19 pandemic. This study argues that the COVID-19 pandemic, and measures implemented by various governments, have lent to foster specific far-right conspiracy theories. Particularly concerning is the perception of pandemic measures as support for the New World Order conspiracy theory, suggesting that the pandemic was part of a grand plan for total control. As these conspiracy theories tend to travel across boundaries, including in Canada and the United States, they are able to reach larger audiences ? thus posing a potential threat to liberal democracies.

***Le cadrage de l'enjeu de l'immigration : une analyse des discours électoraux français (2002 - 2022):*** Fanny Martin (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** L'immigration est devenue un enjeu électoral central dans les démocraties occidentales (Dancygier et Margalit 2020). Pourtant, les travaux sur la question rencontrent des lacunes face à l'évolution du paysage électoral français. Premièrement, ces études se concentrent sur les partis politiques d'extrême droite alors que la mobilisation de cet enjeu n'exclut plus les partis politiques du centre-droit et de la droite (Hadj Abdou et al. 2021). Deuxièmement, les travaux tendent en faveur d'un alignement des partis politiques du centre-droit et de la droite sur le premier parti d'extrême droite (Alduy 2017 ; Betz 2002 ; Hadj Abdou et al. 2021 ; Mondon et Winter 2020 ; Nadeau et al. 2012). Néanmoins, cet appel semble évoluer en fonction des élections (Carvalho 2012 ; Nadeau et al. 2012). Troisièmement, les études ne focalisent pas suffisamment sur les ressorts discursifs et émotionnels alors que le discours est vecteur de transformations partisans et sociales (Brown, Mondon et Winter 2021). En réponse à ces carences, l'étude cherche à répondre à cette question principale : Quelles sont les variations dans le temps du cadrage du discours électoral sur l'enjeu de l'immigration par les partis politiques français? Pour y répondre, la recherche propose une analyse de contenu des discours électoraux lors des élections présidentielles françaises entre les années 2002 et 2022. Considérant l'absence d'études longitudinales et empiriques sur le phénomène, incluant les partis politiques de l'extrême droite, cette étude apporte des éléments de réponse sur l'évolution des stratégies discursives et électorales liées à l'enjeu de l'immigration.

***Far-Right Protest Mobilization in Europe: Introducing the CFP Dataset:*** Iris Beau Segers (University of Oslo), Anders Ravik Jupskås (University of Oslo), Pietro Castelli Gattinara (Université Libre de Bruxelles), Tamta Gelashvili (University of Oslo)

**Abstract:** Existing research on far-right politics dominated by political scientists has applied a narrow understanding of political mobilization, focusing almost exclusively on electoral channels, neglecting how the far right mobilizes via grassroots groups and social movement activism. Moreover, to the extent that sociologists have considered the non-institutional side of far-right politics, they have often equated it with the use of violent repertoires of action, limiting non-electoral participation to unlawful activities. Consequently, very limited research is devoted to the protest arena, at least beyond violence, where mass mobilization aims at influencing the decision-making process via protest action. In response to this gap, this paper presents the first outputs of the Comparative Far-Right Protest (CFP) dataset, which seeks to ascertain whether, when, and how the far right engages in contentious politics. First, we will present the Protest Event Analysis (PEA) methodology used to collect data on far-right protest mobilization, along with a detailed overview of all the measured variables. Second, this paper presents a comparative overview of 4000 protest events from 2008 to 2021 across ten country cases (Germany, Austria, Poland, Spain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Georgia and Ukraine). Overall, the CFP dataset allows for the in-depth analysis of the main characteristics, cross-national variation and temporal change in far-right mobilization beyond the electoral arena.

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## B16(b) - Power Asymmetry, Law and Governance

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 005

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Éric Desrochers (University of Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Éric Desrochers (University of Ottawa)

***Legalizing Equity: Quotas, Legislative Representation, and the Law:*** Marcus Closen (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Practices such as quotas and reserved seats are frequently mired in controversy. They are seen by some critics as replacing competent men with incompetent others. These measures are argued against as a type of discrimination which undermines representative democracy. In some cases, when party practices like internal quotas have been introduced, they have been discussed as potentially incompatible with equality legislation as it stood. This paper looks to the legal and rights law frameworks in four cases - Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Norway - to examine the ways that various women-centered quota systems interact with law, to more fully understand the intersection between these legal frameworks and the development of practices that seek to further group representation. Using legal research methods such as doctrinal analysis, this paper evaluates the legal changes in response to changing politics of representation in the latter half of the 20th century. This paper finds that in the 1980s and 1990s, rights law went through a period of reformation that led to changes in the way equality and equity were considered to make them compatible with such programs as gender quotas and other systems of positive discrimination.

***When Pre-Colonial Legacies Translate into Post-Colonial Relevance: A Comparative Look at the Relationship Between Modern Institutions and Traditional Structures of Law and Governance across Africa:*** Jan Erk (Université Mohammed VI Polytechnique (UM6P))

**Abstract:** From development economics to comparative public policy, across the various social-science disciplines conducting research on Africa there is a growing realisation that traditional structures of law and governance predating colonialism ? be it those of ancestral clans, tribal confederations, paramount chieftaincies, and kingdoms ? still exert unofficial, unwritten, and uncodified influence on post-colonial life. However, no discipline on its own has the tools and repertoire which can explain which of these structures still matter, why, and how in comprehensive terms. In this paper, we combine comparative politics, law and public policy, and political history to propose a multifaceted but integrated explanation. The first historical part is a large-N look at the role of indirect rule vs. direct rule during colonialism in allowing the survival and resilience of traditional structures. This second part is based on the field-research the author has done on the Asante Kingdom in Ghana, the Buganda Kingdom in Uganda, and the Lozi Kingdom in Zambia, and takes an in-depth look at the factors that might explain why some surviving traditional structures retain more influence over modern politics while others have been relegated to more folkloric roles. The explanation rests on a combination of demographic size, presence in urban areas, and access to or ownership of independent financial sources. The third part of the paper builds on the scholarly conclusions of the first two parts and explores what this might all mean for the applied side of law and public policy in Africa ? and elsewhere where tradition and modernity coexist.

***The political economy of settler states in Africa:*** Alex Dyzenhaus (University of Toronto), Salih Noor (Northwestern)

**Abstract:** Studies of European and settler colonialism present settler projects in Africa as homogenous phenomena with small numbers of European settlers with monopoly control over economic resources, territory and political power in the image of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) before majority rule. In this paper, we analyze the historical and institutional foundations of settler states that emerged in colonial southern, central, eastern, and northern Africa, and their varied implications for future political, institutional and economic development. By developing a new typology of African settler states, we both categorize African settler states against the "New World" settler institutions and systematically describe their internal differences. We advance two major arguments. First, given the historical context of global capitalism and their small size of settler populations, settler projects within Africa created enclaves of property rights institutions that effectively excluded much larger non-white majorities and, contrary to standard explanations, consequently often diminished prospects for long-run development. Second, the political economy of settler states in Africa widely varied internally. Based on the dominant mode of production and settler power, we identify four subtypes of African settler states. Finally, the variations in settler institutions within Africa left remarkably varied legacies for postcolonial institutions and development.

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## **B16(c) - Workshop: Conflict, Intersectionality and Systemic Ableism: Contemporary Scholarship and Practice**

### **Comparative Politics**

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** ACW 209 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Stephanie Kerr (University of Lethbridge)

### **Participants**

Nancy Hansen (University of Manitoba)

Martha England (South-East Ottawa Community Health Centre)

Stephanie Kerr (University of Lethbridge)

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## C16(a) - Gender, Politics and Power in Global Trade Governance: Contesting the 'Inclusive Trade' Agenda in Canada and Beyond

### International Relations

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 006

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Sarah Sharma (University of Victoria)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Erin Hannah (King's University College at the University of Western Ontario)

**Gendering Trade: Exploring the Transformational Potential of African Free Trade Agreements:** Sophia Price (Leeds Beckett University)

**Abstract:** This paper recognises the recent shift in International Trade Agreements that seek to address gender inequality and the gendered impacts of trade. This emergent global trade policy norm (Hannah, Roberts and Trommer 2020) prompts questions about the extent to which this represents a truly transformational turn in global trade politics (Hannah, Roberts and Trommer 2021). This paper explores these questions in relation to recent African trade agreements, focusing on the African Continental Free Trade Agreement. It argues that a comprehensive approach to understanding the gendered structures of trade, and therefore potential transformational impacts of regulatory measures within trade agreements, needs to be located within specific geographic, social and historic contexts. In the context of African trade agreements this requires a rethinking of how international trade is conceptualised and operates, particularly through the liminal spaces of national borders and the terrain of the informal economy that operate beyond the regulatory reach of formalised international agreements. It argues that while recent trade agreements discursively embrace commitments to gender equality, they tend to reproduce the economic orthodoxy that underpin global free trade and threaten to reproduce rather than transform gendered inequalities.

**Trade and Gender in North America: The Impact of the Renegotiation of NAFTA on Women Workers' Rights:** Laura Macdonald (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Neoclassical economic studies imply that trade liberalization in developing countries should be particularly beneficial to women, since it will place pressure on industries and firms that discriminate against women workers. Substantial evidence from the case of Mexico suggests, however, that increased trade after the implementation of NAFTA did not translate into increased gender equality, despite increased incorporation of women into export industries. This case draws attention to the importance of women's labour rights in Mexico, since women make up the main labour force in factories dominated by so-called protection contracts, and are poorly represented by male-dominated Mexican unions. In this paper, I examine the gendered impact of measures to address labour rights violations in Mexico that resulted from the negotiation of the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA). Drawing upon interviews with labour unions and women's organizations, I will examine how gender is incorporated (or not) into the use of the labour chapter and the Facility-Specific Rapid Response Labour Mechanism, as well as the projects that have been supported by the United States and Canada to support labour rights in Mexico.

**The Contested Politics of Gender Equality in/and Global Trade:** Adrienne Roberts (University of Manchester), Silke Trommer (University of Manchester)

**Abstract:** This paper seeks to document and analyse the evolution of the gender and trade agenda that has been advanced by a number of influential actors involved in the global governance of trade. Specifically, it surveys the evolving landscape of gender and trade between 2017, when the WTO Ministerial Conference in Buenos Aires endorsed the 'Joint Declaration on Trade and Women's Economic Empowerment', and the passage of the updated 'Joint Ministerial Declaration on Gender Equality and Women's Economic Empowerment within Trade' in 2022. This period also witnessed the proliferation of gender chapters in bilateral and regional free trade agreements, and the emergence of various other inter- and trans-national initiatives aimed at empowering women through trade. This paper uses document analysis to critically assesses this agenda, asking which understandings of empowerment are hegemonic at different sites and scales, and what, if any, aspects of empowerment are being silenced. Analysing official documents from a range of national and international trade governance institutions, it seeks to understand the extent to which economic empowerment is advocated above other, less individualistic and marketised, understandings of empowerment, and what this means for feminist praxis in the context of the contemporary post-COVID global political economy.

**Sustainable Trade and Trade Fetishism: Between Token and Substantive Change in the New NAFTA 2.0:** Gavin Fridell (Saint Mary's University)

**Abstract:** Countless sustainable trade initiatives have emerged in recent years offering an uncertain mixture of token and substantive changes to Free Trade Agreements (FTAs). After decades of contentious battles over free trade, this marks a significant shift, challenging established debates over free versus regulated markets by promoting labour, gender, human, and environmental rights through trade agreements. What is it about the popularity of 'trade' that make it necessary to pursue sustainability through trade agreements, and what is lost and gained through this approach? Drawing on the concept of 'trade fetishism,' this article argues that the desire for trade involves not only its material motivations, but its seductive content as a fetishized object of global capital, offering the fantasy of 'trade' as a seemingly magical source of pleasure?meeting not just material needs, but nonrational human desires. Through the case of in the United States Mexico Canada Agreement (USMCA) and its new sustainability components, it points to the relevance of a trade politics that aspires not to overcome trade fetishism, but, as Lucas Pohl suggests, to 'get with' it. Trade justice advocates have been able to push for previously unanticipated changes within FTAs, while also ceding to the limitations of the global trading order. The outcome is a perpetual process of contesting the symbolic content of what trade is and is not about, with significant material and policy impacts.

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## C16(b) - International Relations in the Indo-Pacific

### International Relations

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Chen Zhong (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jane Parpart (University of Massachusetts Boston)

**Social Media: A Battlefield for Authoritarian Repression:** Isabella Aung (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Social media is widely recognized as a tool for grassroots political activism and mobilization. However, in the context of authoritarian regimes, activists are not the only ones utilizing the Internet for political action. This paper illustrates how contemporary authoritarian power is both contested and sustained through social media, by examining the #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar online movement. Civic resistance against the military regime in Myanmar continues to gain momentum in 2022. The anti-authoritarian social movement encompasses different actors and initiatives, such as the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM), frontline protests, and the People's Defense Force (PDF), among others. To strengthen cooperation across these different branches as well as with the National Unity Government (NUG), a government in exile formed by elected officials ousted in the 2021 coup d'état, activists in Myanmar and the diaspora are increasingly relying on social media. In response to the growing anti-authoritarian resistance, the Burmese junta has implemented internet shutdowns and introduced new cyber laws persecuting civilians based on their social media activity. There is also heightened surveillance and harassment by the regime's supporters toward activists. This paper examines social media as a key battlefield between the junta and the anti-authoritarian social movement, focusing particularly on the regime's repression of online activism. It relies on content analysis of tweets using the #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar hashtag and the junta's new cyber laws and surveillance activities. This paper suggests that a better understanding of the regime's Internet usage is needed if grassroots activists are to participate in more creative and safer acts of subversion.

**Bridging the gap: The Women, Peace and Security agenda and disaster response operations in Southeast Asia:** Emma Fingler (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Over recent years, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has put several new development-related issues on its comprehensive security agenda, including disaster response and Women, Peace and Security (WPS). Located in the most climate-vulnerable region in the world, ASEAN has developed several mechanisms, including the Disaster Management Framework (ASEAN 2020), which presents an opportunity to align disaster response with security governance at the regional level. Simultaneously, ASEAN has also developed a Regional Action Plan (RAP) on WPS, drawing from UNSCR 1325, to incorporate a gendered perspective on security issues. Yet while the notion that disasters are gendered is fairly consensual, these two priority areas are still treated in silos by the organization, which hinders its ability to produce effective policy. Thus, this paper asks: how can ASEAN effectively integrate the WPS agenda into its disaster governance mechanisms? It argues that the WPS agenda has a key role to play in disaster response, especially as climate change increases the frequency of major disasters that pose security risks. It analyses not only what ASEAN can gain by securitizing disasters through the WPS agenda, but what risks and pitfalls to avoid when integrating these two agendas. The paper undertakes a content analysis of key documents outlining ASEAN's approach to disaster governance and to WPS including reports, public statements, declarations, and its upcoming RAP. The paper's main aim is to improve our understanding of how gender and disaster response operations connect, and how the WPS agenda can lead to better disaster response.

**China and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the era of post-Cold War U.S.-China rivalry:** Chien-peng (C. P.) Chung (Lingnan University (Hong Kong))

**Abstract:** China's post-Cold War relations with Southeast Asia can be divided into three periods: (1) From 1990 to 2009, to break out of its June 4th isolation, China projected a 'Good Neighbor' image, supported ASEAN-centered regionalism, and offered Southeast Asian states financial aid during the Asian Financial Crisis. To 'socialize' China's peaceful rise amidst competing South China Sea territorial claims, ASEAN attempted economic engagement, while pursuing a multilateral foreign policy to tie other major powers to Southeast Asia with the ASEAN Regional Forum and ASEAN Plus Three. (2) From 2010 to 2017, China adopted a 'Carrot-and-Stick' strategy to entice ASEAN with the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area and Belt-and-Road infrastructure investments while asserting sovereignty over the South China Sea. In response, Cambodia and Laos chose to bandwagon with China, while the rest of ASEAN assumed a hedging posture on China to maximize economic benefits and minimize security threats from it. Although Southeast Asia was generally receptive to U.S. President Obama's 'Pivot/Rebalance', no country in the region wanted to antagonize China by balancing against it with a foreign power. (3) Since 2018, Southeast Asia and the world have witnessed U.S. import tariffs and high-technology embargoes on China, and the spread of the COVID-19 virus and lockdowns in major Chinese manufacturing sites. Will Southeast Asian states benefit from decoupling or 'China plus One' supply chain strategies of Western states and Japan as alternative networks, or will they antagonize China? ASEAN does not wish to choose between China and the U.S., but may have to.

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## C16(c) - Security Studies: Norms, Narratives, and Nukes

### International Relations

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 009

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Dawn Walsh (University College Dublin)

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

***The Plane in the Park: Childhood Encounters in Mundane Militarism:*** Marshall Beier (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** For a generation of children, the play area in San Francisco's Larsen Park included a popular centerpiece: a repurposed Vought F-8 Crusader fighter aircraft. Eventually deemed unsafe due to lead contamination, the original warplane was replaced with a sculpted replica. In Anaheim, California, a Grumman F9F Cougar (another carrier-based fighter aircraft) used in the Korean War was installed as a play feature in Boysen Park in the early 1960s and later underwent repairs and modifications to make it safer for children. Elsewhere, military museums market themselves as family- and child-friendly leisure attractions, many hosting children's birthday parties and encouraging play in and around military equipment, in warplane simulators, and indoor playgrounds. Together with insights drawn from amusement parks, airshows, and more, this paper inquires into the domestication of weapons of war in contexts of children's leisure activities. Making war materiel 'safe' for some children implies particular kinds of relationships to political violence. For children of military families, leisure is specifically targeted as part of a wider set of militarized practices concerned with the maintenance of family cohesion and resilience of children confronting psychosocial problems in order to mitigate the effects of stress on military parents' work focus and mission readiness.

***From Permissive to Punitive: The Evolution of the Nuclear Normative Regime since 1945:*** Emile Lambert-Deslandes (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Since the first use of nuclear weapons by the United States in 1945, international norms have played a key role in promoting or preventing their proliferation by states. Yet there have been considerable changes in the nature, aim, and enforcement of those norms. How have those norms evolved since the beginning of the Atomic Age and how have they impacted nuclear proliferation? This paper proposes a periodization of the international norms on nuclear weapons, dividing them in three distinct chronological normative regimes. First, from the 1940s to the 1960s, the normative regime was 'permissive': nuclear weapons acquisition was ill-perceived by the United States and the Soviet Union, but only for defence and self-interested reasons. No international norms prevented proliferation, and the result was a nuclear arms race. Second, in the 1960s, the normative regime evolved to become 'prohibitive': it was designed to prevent further nuclear proliferations, establish nuclear weapons-free zones, and limit nuclear tests by nuclear weapons states. This involved the ratification of multilateral anti-nuclear treaties and of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It successfully slowed down the growth of the nuclear club. Third, in the 2010s, a new 'punitive' regime began emerging with the introduction of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. This new regime seeks to stigmatize and disallow nuclear weapons ownership, but remains contested and dismissed by the nuclear weapons states.

***Make Law Not War: International Law and Canada's Response to the Vietnam War:*** Sean Richmond (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** While Canada often identifies as a peaceful middle-power that only uses military force in accordance with international law, this view may be based more on collective myth than historical fact. This paper, which is part of a larger SSHRC project, aims to shed conceptual and empirical light on this issue by doing two innovative things that will be useful to scholars of International Relations (IR) and International Law (IL). First, drawing on sociological theories in IR and IL, I develop a new interdisciplinary perspective on the impact and limits of international law in Canadian foreign policy. Second, I apply this perspective to better understand Canada's response to one of the most controversial crises in its diplomatic history: the Vietnam War. Unlike the Korean War, which was authorized by the United Nations, the conflict in Vietnam unfolded outside the UN. And unlike in Korea, Canada refused to fight with the US in Vietnam, even though other allies did so and Canada shared America's fear of communist expansion. Inspired by this puzzle, I examine previously unreleased archive documents to analyze how international law influenced Canada's response to the Vietnam War. I argue that, contrary to what older studies suggest, international law played four underappreciated roles in Canada's response: it constituted identity; regulated conduct; legitimized behaviour; and structured the development of new rules. However, contrary to what IL scholars might predict, it is unclear whether these effects were ultimately attributable to an obligatory quality in law.

***The road(s) to future violence: How nuclear weapons fragment our understanding of power:*** Rebekah Pullen (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Deterring violent conflict with nuclear weapons communicates a sustained promise of exceptional destruction. While the decision to employ nuclear weapons has been unique, the decision to use them has been taking place since a fourth bomb was assembled and held in reserve. The perpetuity of the nuclear threat situates what we colloquially consider the single decision-making 'moment' as an expanding space, encompassing the violence of nuclear destruction and the power manifested by the weapon. The pillars of deterrence - capability, credibility, and communication - require an expectation of control in order to be successfully directed towards an enemy. This sets up 'control' to be synonymous with 'power'; but the exceptionality of nuclear weapons betrays the fallacy of such an equivalence.

Reinterpreting Arendt's breakdown of how we can understand the social construction of power in violence, I consider differentiated interpretations of power as expressed in nuclear weapon decision-making narratives, which are often applied interchangeably: power, responsibility, control, authority, and accountability. Exploring these overlapping forms of decision-making power reveals the mythic violence of the sole nuclear decision-maker narrative.

Incorporating Benjamin's Critique of Violence allows us to trace the interwoven threads of nuclear power, authority, responsibility, accountability and control and how they have been twisted to perform the narrative of nuclear security. Nuclear weapons have become Benjamin's 'great criminal,' and their

seemingly singular power has overwhelmingly influenced our contemporary global security paradigm; exposing it to be intrinsically unstable, and deterrence theory to be a violent façade generated to convince us otherwise.

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## D16 - The State, Public Policy and Private Actors

### Law and Public Policy

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 104

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Francis Garon (Glendon)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Peter Graefe (McMaster)

**Responding to Canada's Care Deficit in the Provision of Health Services for Underserved Communities:** Michael Sullivan (St. Mary's University)

**Abstract:** Canada's universal health care system is a source of national pride and identity for Canadians, particularly when they compare Canada with the United States and its for-profit health care system (Bloemraad 2012, 11). Nevertheless, Statistics Canada reports that 4.6 million Canadians do not have access to a primary health care provider (Statistics Canada 2020). Immigrants and Canadians outside of major cities in rural and northern communities have less access than urban Canadians to family health care providers. Fewer family doctors are willing to work in rural, northern and Indigenous communities, which is a problem that the current federal government has noted in its mandate letters. In this paper, I analyze the gaps in health care coverage through the lens of care ethics, revealing the moral shortcomings of denying Canadians the access to health care based on their geographical location and lack of connections. In this paper, I argue that diminished access to primary health care services in rural and northern communities diminishes the credibility of the Canada Health Act as a key guarantee of Canadian social citizenship. Multiple levels of governance must coordinate to address this care deficit. The federal government should expand the rural and northern immigration pilot program to prioritize applications by individuals who make a commitment to practice family medicine in rural areas. The provincial governments should require new doctors to serve a term in underserved areas, recognizing that the practice of medicine is a privilege dedicated to ensuring the equal provision of care to all Canadians.

**The 'Hollow Hope' of Colonial Courts: Limits of Indigenous Legal Mobilization in Ktunaxa Nation:** Danielle McNabb (Queen's University), Minh Do (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** With the patriation of the Constitution in 1982, including the addition of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and new provisions delineating the rights of Indigenous peoples, the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) inherited profound political powers. In response to the Court's expanded power of judicial review, the number of non-governmental actors intervening in cases sharply increased. In this way, judicial review produced a democratizing effect because a new window of opportunity for marginalized groups to enact social change through the Court was opened. However, within forty years of its passing, several scholars suggest that in practice, the Constitution has led to very few gains for Indigenous peoples (Ladner 2015; Ladner and McCrossan 2009; Borrows 2016). To better understand the legal mobilization of Indigenous peoples, and to assess their potential to enact change through the courts, we conduct an in-depth analysis of intervener participation in *Ktunaxa Nation* (2017), a landmark case on the duty to consult and Indigenous religious freedom. Specifically, we conduct a qualitative content analysis and text-matching analysis that compares intervener submissions to the Court's written decision, to measure the extent to which intervener testimony is reflected in the Court's ruling. We find that while Indigenous interveners contextualized their rights claims by explaining relevant spiritual and cultural practices, and the effects of enduring legacies of colonialism, the Court neglected to meaningfully engage with this testimony. We conclude that intervention represents a 'hollow hope' for Indigenous peoples seeking to enact social change through the legal arena.

**Sustainable Mobility: Examining Rural Transportation Networks in Atlantic Canada:** Elizabeth Schwartz (Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador)

**Abstract:** For most people living in rural areas of Canada, private vehicles are their only transportation option. Recent fluctuations in fuel prices, along with aging populations and overlapping and intermingled global crises such as pandemics, supply chain interruptions, climate change, and war, make this reliance increasingly unsustainable.

This paper is the result of the preliminary stage a new research program on sustainable rural mobility in Atlantic Canada. Since its introduction as a key concept in the European Union's 1992 Green Paper on the Impact of Transport on the Environment (European Commission 1992), the concept of sustainable mobility has been widely explored in the context of urban areas in the Global North (Holden et al. 2019). However, this literature has been largely independent of research on rural transportation.

To understand the current and potential state of sustainable mobility in rural communities, I use a systematic review methodology to map academic literature, government reports, and other grey literature on the topics of rural transportation and sustainable mobility. To dig deeper into the role of transportation policy decisions, I focus on the case of Newfoundland and Labrador and review relevant federal, provincial and municipal government policy documents as well as national and local news sources.

References:

European Commission. 1992. 'Green Paper on the Impact of Transport on the Environment - A Community Strategy for Sustainable Mobility.' Publications Office of the European Union. <http://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/98dc7e2c-6a66-483a-875e-87648c1d75c8/language-en>.

Holden, Erling et al. 2019. 'Sustainable Mobility at Thirty.' *Sustainability* 11 (7): 1965. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11071965>.

**Enforcing Legal Compliance in the Age of Governance: the case of long-term care (LTC) homes in Ontario:** Poland Lai (York University)

**Abstract:** Compliance is defined as the interaction between rules and behavior (Van Rooij and Sokol 2021). While the state has traditionally been assumed as key actor in the regulation and enforcement of business behavior, in the past few decades the responsibility and authority for monitoring and enforcement of compliance have increasingly been delegated to a wide range of private actors (van Wingerde and Bisschop 2022). A regulatory vacuum may be created due to state inaction. An example of such regulatory vacuum is long-term care (LTC). This paper reports on the analysis of inspection reports of LTC homes in Ontario. The analysis is part of a larger research project about enforcement and compliance in LTC in Ontario. This paper relies on quantitative analysis. A dataset of ~ 650 homes was created. The dataset includes: 1) background information about the homes (such as number of beds, geographic location, ownership status); 2) information extracted from inspection reports released in 2021 and 2022 (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). Also, the data will be used to hypothesize how regulated entities react to the weakening, or at the very least, the symbolic withdrawal of state regulatory activities. This project has implications for designing inspection and enforcement strategies in social services.

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## F16(a) - Immigration and Political Behaviour

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 203

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Randy Besco (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Randy Besco (University of Toronto)

***Identity, Recognition, and Minority Nation-Building: The Case of Immigrants in Quebec:*** Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia University), Stephen White (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** When examining the sense of belonging among newcomers, scholars usually investigate whether immigrants think of themselves as members of the national group, but rarely do they examine whether they think others see them as members of the group. Using the case of immigrants in Quebec, we investigate to what extent immigrants identify with Quebec society and feel recognized as full members of Quebec society. Moreover, we investigate implications of identity and recognition, more specifically how they relate to the desire to leave back for the country of origin or to leave for another province in Canada. Data for this paper are drawn from a survey conducted from August 8 to September 9, 2019. The survey was available in English and French only and includes a sample of 1129 first generation immigrants. We limited data collection to immigrants who arrived in Quebec after 1977.

The findings indicate that sense of identification and recognition do forms two distinct dimensions of immigrants? sense of belonging and that both are relatively strong among immigrants in Quebec. Moreover, the findings indicate that both dimensions are significantly related to the desire to not leave back to the country of origin or for another province, but that the sense of recognition is a much more powerful predictor of the desire to stay than the sense of identity.

***Learning Politics while Immigrating: How Public Programs Shape Political Engagement of Immigrants:*** Valérie-Anne Mahéo (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** This study addresses an important question: What role do public programs play in promoting or discouraging participation in political life? 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 more specifically on a context in individuals? life when they are more likely to use government programs and to interact frequently with public services: immigration. Drawing on an online survey of 5,000 immigrants and non-immigrants in Quebec, coupled with administrative data confirming participation in governmental integration programs, the paper explores immigrants? use of government services, and how these experiences relate to their political knowledge, interest in public affairs, as well as their civic and political engagement. By comparing immigrant users and non-users of governmental services, we examine whether social integration programs can facilitate political integration.

***Measuring the Ideological Gap between Immigrant and Native-Born Canadians:*** Sophie Borwein (Simon Fraser University), Mohsen Javdani (Simon Fraser University), Meghan Snider (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Do immigrants to Canada hold systematically different political attitudes than native-born Canadians? A common finding in the comparative literature is that immigrants are more left-leaning than their native-born counterparts (e.g. Moriconi et al. 2022), but it is not evident that we should expect to see a similar pattern among Canadian voters. Economically, Canadian immigrants have been relatively more successful in labour markets than their peers in other advanced industrial countries (Banting 2010). Politically, they have historically been a core constituency of the federal Liberal Party (Blais 2006), and have more recently been thought by Conservative Party strategists to be highly amenable to their appeals (see Gidengil 2022). Thus, evidence points to the possibility that comparative findings may not translate to the Canadian case, but there currently exists no systematic analysis of differences in the attitudes of immigrant and non-immigrant Canadians over time. This study addresses this gap by measuring attitudinal gaps among immigrant and non-immigrant groups using two decades of Canadian Election Study data. We examine, first, if immigrants and native-born Canadians have discernibly different attitudes on the "economic" and "cultural" dimensions of ideology. Second, we examine if further differences exist between immigrants from white and non-white source countries.

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## F16(b) - Partisanship

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 204

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Ka-Ming Chan (University of Waterloo)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Ka-Ming Chan (University of Waterloo)

**The Nature of Online Talk: Civility of Political Discussion and Inter-party Hostility:** Natasha Goel (University of Toronto), Eric Merkley (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Concerns that social media platforms are generating 'echo chambers' and exacerbating polarization have led to calls for increased exposure to opposing political views online. In practice, this has yielded differing effects. Studies demonstrate that opposing views can either challenge our beliefs and decrease polarization or 'backfire' and increase it. We use a survey experiment on an online sample of approximately 1,000 adult Canadians who support one of Canada's three major parties that will be fielded in the winter of 2023 to examine whether the civility of online discussion affects the attitudes and behaviours of our respondents, specifically their feelings towards supporters of the major parties and their willingness to economically discriminate against these same supporters.

Respondents will be randomly assigned exposure to a pre-tested Twitter profile of a (fictitious) individual who either supports or opposes their political party. That profile will include their political affiliation and their most recent tweets which will communicate their political views in either a civil or uncivil manner. We expect that affective polarization and economic discrimination will be higher for participants exposed to uncivil political views, particularly from their political opponents. The findings invite the inference that rather than rejecting opposing political views online, individuals are rejecting uncivil discourse that they aren't accustomed to, but are exposed to regularly in online spaces. This has implications for the nature of political communication and the role that social media plays in an increasingly politically polarized society.

**"I would never vote for you": Negative partisanship in Canada:** Thomas Galipeau (University Of Toronto)

**Abstract:** How persistent and (un)stable is negative partisanship in Canada? Recent research demonstrates that partisan identification has significant explanatory power. However, as part of this explanatory analysis, it is essential to consider the counterpart: negative partisanship. Defined as an affective repulsion from a party, negative partisanship implications for political behaviour and vote choice literature. However, we do not know how it relates to cleavages and salient issues in Canada.

Negative partisanship is embedded in the negative bias psychological mechanism. It is the premise that negative information is more salient than positive informational appeals. Institutionally, electoral systems that systematically produce a majority government tend to make politics more confrontational; it is easier for citizens in polities with fewer parties to identify a party to dislike. Ideologically distinguishable parties also increase the probability of observing negative partisanship. There are good reasons to believe that negative partisanship is important in Canadian electoral analysis.

This paper explores how negative partisanship has evolved in Canada during the last twenty years using Canadian election study data from 2004 to 2021. More specifically, the research examines how citizens' salient issues influence negative partisanship. The analysis demonstrates that some issues (economy and environment) reveal significant party cleavages because they are consistently associated with negative partisanship. Additionally, when respondents tend to be more negative about the incumbent party when they think that the "Leaders" is one of the most important issues of the election, this last finding connects negative partisanship and Canada's institutional arrangement and to similar majoritarian institutions.

**Housing for Me, but not for Thee: Ideological Motivations of NIMBYism in Canada:** Alex B. Rivard (Université de Montréal), Eric Merkley (University of Toronto), Dominik Stecu?a (Colorado State University)

**Abstract:** Canada is currently facing a housing affordability crisis. Housing prices continue to rise as demand outpaces supply (Boynton 2022) and Scotia Bank's Chief Economist has recently argued that a considerable problem standing in the way of improved housing affordability is local opposition to new housing development (Labine 2022). Many Canadians express support for policies that encourage housing construction and increase affordability. Yet the same Canadians often oppose housing developments in their community, expressing concerns about neighbourhood character, strains on public services, parking availability, and construction quality.

This paper is the first of its kind in Canada to leverage a national survey experiment in order to determine the ideological effects that correlate with support or opposition to the development of new housing, including market-rate and affordable housing or housing that is or isn't proximate to the respondent. In addition to a traditional left-right scale of ideology, we examine the relationship of other ideological constructs to support for housing, like free-market ideology, moral traditionalism, and egalitarianism. Moreover, we include measures related to racial animus and social dominance orientation in order to determine the extent to which opposition to new housing projects reflects broader, racially-motivated concerns. This paper has considerable implications for the development of social policy as well as the role in which ideology plays in structure opposition/support for public policy.

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## G16 - The Political Economy of International Migration

### Political Economy

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 206

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Korey Pasch (Queen's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Korey Pasch (Queen's University)

*When the uneven is combined with forced migration: development of racial capitalism in Turkey:* Canan Sahin (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Racism in the Global South has not been studied rigorously in terms its relation to the processes of capital accumulation, surplus-value extraction and state formation in itself, unlike racism in the Global North. Existing literature is either confined to sociological studies which seek to situate racism at societal-ideational level, or to studies which look at the early state formations with their sectarian and ethicist projections without analyzing the transformation in their respective labour regime and its racialized governance. This paper argues development of peripheral capitalism involves mobilization and governance of multiple ethnic and national segments of surplus labourers through their absorption by competing fractions of capital, whose character has gone through major shifts prompted by mass displacement due to wars and conflicts. Today, 85 percent of displaced populations are contained in the Global South as mostly urban refugees trying to valorize their labour power in exploitative outlets of capital. Combined with the Internally Displaced Populations, the changing texture of the labouring classes induced reconfiguration of relational power within the state. Recomposed surplus labour have met the sub-imperial ambitions of Turkish state caught in the wind of global economic and political crises. By attempting to synthesize historical materialist theories of development, state and racism, this study aims to situate racial capitalism and its political expression in the Global South with a focus on Turkish case, as a thing in itself, rather than as an epiphenomenon that is resorted to explain the central tenets of racialization in the Global North.

*Entrepreneurship Out of Necessity: Livelihood Strategies of LGBTQ+ Venezuelan Asylum Seekers in Brazil during COVID-19:* Yvonne Su (York University), Tyler Valiquette (University College London)

**Abstract:** The Venezuelan refugee crisis has displaced 7.1 million Venezuelans since 2014 and one of the most vulnerable and overlooked groups are LGBTQ+ asylum seekers. Despite the homophobia, transphobia and xenophobia they face in host communities like Brazil, LGBTQ+ Venezuelan asylum seekers have been able to be creative and entrepreneurial during the pandemic to earn an income. The literature has covered that refugees often own their own businesses due to discrimination in the workplace, language barriers and a desire to have control over their livelihoods. Based on surveys and interviews with 74 LGBTQ+ Venezuelan asylum seekers, of which 18 are trans Venezuelan asylum seeker sex workers in Brazil and 16 key informant interviews with sex workers, trans activists, and humanitarian and NGO staff, we present some preliminary findings on the livelihood insecurity this group faces and the entrepreneurial strategies and agency they employ to overcome livelihood insecurity during the pandemic.

*Climatic Heterogeneity, Agrarian Labour, and the Governance of North American Migration:* Daniel Troup (Bishop's University)

**Abstract:** Why do the US and Canada have such different migrant agricultural labour systems and why have concerns about exploitation persisted in both countries despite this difference? Canada's formalized system of migrant agrarian labour regulation contrasts with the significant employment of undocumented workers in the US. Geographic circumstances undeniably play a role, as Canada's only land border is with a similarly affluent state. However, such an explanation offers only limited answers. The presence of a more significant source of undocumented migration might equally incentivize the development of an especially robust system of regulation in the US. Accordingly, this paper hypothesizes that the difference in formalization also results from climatically determined temporal and geographic unevenness in the demand for agricultural labour. The US's climatic diversity has fashioned a heterogenous structure of demand in terms of agricultural employment time and location. Canada, though environmentally diverse, has a far more homogenous structure of seasonal demand across provinces that has facilitated coherent federal regulation. However, regulation has not prevented apparent exploitation. The agriculture sectors of both Canada and the United States have relied on the politically generated precarity of non-citizenship in order to accommodate the sector's particular economic imperatives. Unlike industrial production, agriculture does not usually invite year-round employment of equal intensity. The use of non-citizen labour allows for greater labour market flexibility, often at the cost of working standards and compensation. Therefore, climatic conditions and the structure of agrarian production have intersected to produce different levels of formalization through which precarious employment is channeled.

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## H16 - Riots and Resistance

### Political Theory

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 302

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** John Grant (King's University College, Western University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Hayley Malouin (Carleton University)

*Politically motivated property destruction: the case of riots:* Alexis Bibeau (University of Virginia)

**Abstract:** The surge in both violent and nonviolent protests across Western countries in recent years have reanimated questions about justifications for politically motivated property destruction. In political theory, the interest in property destruction is connected to the development of a theory of uncivil disobedience, protest, and resistance which seeks to move past the Rawlsian approach to civil disobedience and to grapple with urgent questions of ecological, democratic, and anti-racist resistance.

In this paper, I develop a theory of politically motivated property destruction in the context of riots which hinges upon the recognition that a cogent normative justification for property destruction should stipulate *who* is justified in destroying *what* property. I do so on the basis of two criteria. The first criterion is what I call the connection condition, which specifies that the targets of destruction must be connected to rioters' grievances. Such properties can be construed as reasonable targets of destruction because they are *tainted* by their connection to rioters' grievances. The second condition stipulates that property destruction in riots should be constrained on the basis of the livelihood condition. This point shows how justifying property destruction depends on whether the property targeted for destruction is public or private, individual or corporate, and the level of vulnerability of the property's owner as a function of its livelihood and capacity to fully participate in common life. Finally, I show how we can differentiate property destruction from violence, and how the actual distribution of property matters for how we think about property destruction.

*Marx's Lycurgus: The Figure of the Legislator and the Division of Labour:* Paul Gray (Brock University)

**Abstract:** Modern revolutionaries have often drawn inspiration from Rousseau, but few have seriously engaged with what Rousseau deemed an essential part of his theory: the paradoxical figure of the Legislator. For Rousseau, the Legislator has numerous characteristics, all of which seem to contradict each other, including seeing all human passions but feeling none of them, knowing human nature but having no relation to it, and having superhuman powers but an authority that is nil. Most importantly, however, the Legislator must be capable of changing human nature. Each individual must be transformed by taking away their powers and substituting them for alien powers which can only be used with the assistance of others. Indeed, the seemingly divine character of Rousseau's Legislator makes him appear as unlikely as any revolutions that would depend on him. If we turn to Marx, and, in particular, his theory of revolution, he, like most revolutionaries, does not directly engage with Rousseau's Legislator. Nevertheless, in this paper, I show that Marx's theory of the capitalist division of labour, and, in particular, the socialization of production, changes human nature in all of these aforementioned ways. For Marx, fetishized commodity production substitutes for a divine Legislator. As such, the capitalist division of labour provides the necessary preconditions for revolution as Marx envisions it.

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## J16 - The Canadian Federal Partnership at Crossroads

### Provincial and Territorial Politics in Canada and Beyond

Date: Jun 1 2023 | Time: 08:45am - 10:15am | Room: Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0010

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

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Marc-Antone Rancourt (Université Laval)

*Fiscal Federalism and Devolution in Canada's Three Territories:* Christopher Yurris (McGill University), Daniel Béland (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Fiscal is a widespread source of contention in Canadian politics, especially equalization as it relates to the politics of natural resources. While much of the fiscal federalism literature has focused on the provinces, Canada's three northern territories have been largely excluded from this research area. Unlike the provinces, the territories do not receive equalization payments, but instead are recipients of Territorial Formula Financing. Moreover, unlike the provinces, the territories do not have constitutional jurisdiction over natural resource revenues. However, in recent decades there has been a push for the territories to have increased control over these revenues through devolution negotiations. Yet, devolution has varied across the territories, from Yukon, where an agreement was signed in the early 2000s, to Nunavut, where negotiations remain ongoing. This paper will use an institutionalist approach to explain why devolution in the territories has occurred at differing rates, by examining the historical and political development of the territories, and how they have informed the current fiscal federalism framework in the territories. The paper will then provide a prognosis on the key issues on devolution in the territories in the coming decades before explaining why the territories are valuable case studies for the analysis of fiscal federalism in Canada.

*Representing the Future in Canada's Northern Territories:* Michael MacKenzie (University of Pittsburgh), David McCoy (University of Texas at Austin), Eleonore Fournier-Tombs (United Nations University, Macau)

**Abstract:** This paper reports findings from a large-scale analysis of legislative speeches in Nunavut, Northwest Territories (NWT), and Yukon. The legislatures in Canada's three territories are similar in many ways – they each have approximately the same number of members, they represent northern populations, and they have similar jurisdictional powers – but there are cultural and institutional differences between them. In cultural terms, the majority of elected representatives in the NWT and Nunavut legislatures are indigenous, while a majority of representatives in the Yukon legislature are not. In institutional terms, the legislatures in Nunavut and NWT operate on a non-partisan model, while the Yukon legislature uses a party-based system. We have developed a tool to measure the future-regarding qualities of legislative speech acts. This tool combines an extensive dictionary of future-regarding terms (such as 'future', 'future generations', 'posterity', and 'long-term') with syntactical analyses of a speaker's uses of the future tense. We explore three questions: 1) How often do elected representatives in Canada's northern legislatures mention the future during Question Period?; 2) Which types of representatives are most likely to talk about the future in their legislative speech acts?; and 3) Which representatives are most future-regarding? We find that elected representatives in the northern territories do not talk about the future very often, but when they talk about the future the speech acts of indigenous representatives, members of government, and older representatives are significantly more future-regarding.

*Unequal permanent austerity and the distribution of power in the Canadian federation.:* Olivier Jacques (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** The pressures induced by 'permanent austerity' are unequally distributed between provinces and the central government in Canada. The concept of permanent austerity (Pierson 1998) has three components: 1) endogenous pressures (slower productivity growth, the maturation of welfare state commitments and population aging) increase the size of the state relative to the economy 2) while governments are unable to retrench popular welfare commitments and 3) tax revenues are stagnating. Firstly, endogenous pressures are unequally distributed between provinces and the federal government since the costs of programs under provincial responsibility, such as health care, are more likely to grow overtime, whereas the costs of federal programs are under control. Secondly, retrenchment has been easier to achieve in the federal welfare state than in the provinces since the latter are responsible for the most popular and visible programs. Thirdly, revenue constraints are more severe at the provincial level since provinces are constrained by tax competition between them while the federal government has few political incentives to raise intergovernmental transfers. Consequently, unequal permanent austerity may be constraining provinces' ability to respond to the public's policy demand, which may lead to a re-centralization of the Canadian federation via an encroachment of provincial jurisdictions by the federal government. The study concludes by discussing reform options and the political and institutional constraints preventing a departure from the status quo, as well as the role that the Council of the Federation could play in these reforms.

*Multilateral interprovincial leadership: How strong is the national voice of the Council of the Federation?:* Julie M. Simmons (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** In 2003, the premiers of Canada's ten provinces and three territories established the Council of the Federation (CoF) to strengthen interprovincial cooperation and exercise leadership on national issues. While, through CoF, provincial governments frequently position themselves as a collective voice and viable alternative to federal government leadership, the functioning of CoF in practice has only been the subject of one systematic study (Simmons 2017), which does not take into account the JustinTrudeau/Liberal era of intergovernmental relations. Against the backdrop of its less formal predecessor, the Annual Premiers' Conference, and the broader institutional and economic forces that contribute more generally to weak institutionalization of Canada's multilateral intergovernmental forums, this paper considers the functioning of CoF up to the beginning of 2020, (after which interprovincial meetings were disrupted by the global pandemic). It analyses the depth of interprovincial collaboration evident in the joint positions of premiers expressed in every communiqué issued over the seventeen year period spanning the Chretien-Martin (collaborative federalism), Harper (open federalism) and Trudeau (pragmatic cooperation) eras. By comparing communiqués across the three federalism eras, it tests both whether interprovincial cooperation has grown over time with the maturation of the CoF as an institution, and also the assumption that, in periods and policy areas where the federal government is less willing to engage, provincial governments collectively exercise leadership with tangible results. It concludes that CoF is not immune to the underlying forces contributing more generally to the weak institutionalization of multilateral intergovernmental councils, irrespective of the federal



## L16(a) - Enunciations of and Disruptions to White Settler Governmentality

### Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics

Date: Jun 1 2023 | Time: 08:45am - 10:15am | Room: Accolade West-ACW 303

Chair/Président/Présidente : Miranda Leibel (University of Lethbridge)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Laura Pin (Wilfrid Laurier University)

*From reconciliation to 'Idle No More': 'Articulation' and Indigenous struggle in Canada:* Matt Robertson (Métis Nation of Ontario)

**Abstract:** How do different discourses lead to changes in understandings of the world, identity, meaning and practice in Indigenous politics in Canada? This article introduces the poststructuralist theory of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe to Canadian Indigenous studies and demonstrates that it is a unique and effective theory for understanding this question. It finds that in the last few decades, two principal discourses regarding Indigenous peoples and colonialism have circulated in the Canadian body politic—namely, (1) 'reconciliation' and (2) 'Idle No More.' These discourses shape the identities of both Indigenous peoples and settlers, construct understandings of the world, and determine the meaning of related political struggle, leading to real world practice and politics. The reconciliation discourse has at times been effective at becoming a dominant discourse and has often been able to constitute the meaning of important terms such as 'decolonization.' It serves to pacify Indigenous resistance to colonialism. Counter-hegemonic discourses on reconciliation such as 'Idle No More' have been able to challenge that discourse. Academic literature, newspaper articles, YouTube videos, podcasts developed by Indigenous scholars, public letters and speeches delivered by Canadian politicians are analyzed to examine the utterances and enunciations of the two discourses.

*Developing Disappearance: The Implications of Social Planning on the Disappearances of Indigenous Women and Girls in Vancouver's East End:* James FitzGerald (York University)

**Abstract:** In a period of increasing state development projects, there is a need to revisit how social planners were implicated in furthering the dispossession of Indigenous communities and the disappearances of Indigenous women and girls. Recent studies have pointed to the role of high modernism in displacing Indigenous territorial and cultural presence through a focus on economic and social "rehabilitation" and integration (Langford 2012; Tina Loo 2019; Allyson Stevenson 2020). Drawing on archival planning reports and legal and political analysis, this paper considers how social planning and the logic of disappearance in Vancouver's East End from the 1960s to 1970s was shaped by high modernist assumptions and conflicting impulses in planning. I consider how social planners sorted between different Indigenous peoples entering Vancouver and enacted narrow policy protections along these lines. Drawing upon the insights of Indigenous feminist thought and post-structural discourse analysis (Foucault 1980; Tuck 2009), the paper examines the operation of governance and damage-centred assumptions in social planning reports by the City of Vancouver and the Community Chest targeting Indigenous peoples entering Vancouver. I also situate Indigenous and non-grassroots and political resistance to these planning projects within the broader socio-historical context of the 1960s and 1970s. This paper sheds light on the histories of privatization, downloading, and individualization operating around federal and provincial policies targeting Indigenous peoples entering Vancouver. I situate how these planning reports maintained gendered and sexualized settler readings of Indigenous womanhood that further upheld disappearance.

*Taking up the work of discretion: Mapping white settler colonial governmentality at the meso-level with public sector workers:* Nisha Nath (Athabasca University), Willow Samara Allen (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** In this paper, we bring together findings from our qualitative study of public sector workers (n = 36) on Treaty 6, 7 and 8 (Alberta) and unceded Coast Salish territories (British Columbia) in which we consider how they are socialized to reproduce settler colonial structures, and to resist them. We articulate the interdisciplinary framework of 'settler colonial socialization', which attends to the social processes through which non-Indigenous people variably learn to normalize dispossession of and violence towards Indigenous peoples in their sectors, while making it appear impossible to comprehend living within Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination.

Focusing on the meso-level, or the institutional spaces between systems and the people positioned within them, we map this space of 'deep colonizing' (Rose, 1996), and specify the myriad ways that public sector workers, of varied social locations/positionalities variably take up the work of settler colonial governmentality. In particular, this paper considers how discretion operates as a primary way in which white settler colonial governmentality is embodied in daily public sector work, and how this articulation of discretionary power fundamentally structures what theories of change get embedded within public sector work.

*Framing Indigenous Housing Policy:* Joanne Heritz (Brock University), Liam Midzain-Gobin (Brock University)

**Abstract:** Indigenous Peoples disproportionately face housing challenges as compared to the general population. This has been recognized in national data and reports such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Missing and Murdered Women and Girls National Inquiry. There are particular pressures in urban areas such as in Niagara. The region's Housing and Homelessness Action Plan found Indigenous Peoples make up 24.3 percent of those without a home, despite comprising 2.8 percent of Niagara's population. While the challenge of unhoused Indigenous Peoples has been acknowledged, and engagement of Indigenous peoples themselves identified as a potential solution, their substantive Indigenous inclusion in housing policy lags.

This paper aims to understand this divide, reading it as a question of solitudes between a consultation-based approach to inclusion, contrasted with one that is rooted in Indigenous self-determination. In doing so draws on international frameworks such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and other affirmations of Indigenous self-determination, in identifying Indigenous ways of knowing provides a holistic approach to caring for community as resistance to the trauma of colonization. In doing so it proposes a decolonial, holistic framework for approaching Indigenous

housing policy, understood as a re-storying approach. This framework reaches back to settler colonialism to illustrate how the past has influenced policies that presently stymie equitable Indigenous access to housing in Niagara, proposing Indigenous Knowledge as offering alternative visions of living together.

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## L16(b) - The Paradox of International Human Rights and the UNDRIP

### Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics

Date: Jun 1 2023 | Time: 08:45am - 10:15am | Room: Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0014

Chair/Président/Présidente : Mariam Georgis (University of Manitoba)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Lindsay Larios (University of Manitoba)

**International Human Rights Regime: Does it Support or Hinder the Nationalist Movements in Asian Contexts?:** Hari Har Jnawali (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** This paper uses document analysis to examine the impact of the international human rights regime on the success of autonomy struggles in Nepal and China. The Madheshis in Nepal and the Tibetans in China are seeking their self-determination through the provision of territorial autonomy. But the Nepalese and the Chinese governments consider the demand for autonomy a design for secession and reject its concession. Notwithstanding this rejection, the nationalist groups present territorial autonomy as a human right and demand its recognition under the international human rights regime. Against this background, this paper examines: Does the international human rights regime obstruct or facilitate the recognition of Indigenous self-determination and autonomy in Nepal and China? It argues that the international rights regime does not support the recognition of Indigenous self-determination in these two countries. International human rights norms defend Indigenous rights on the grounds of 'distinctness' and 'historic marginalization' that are insufficient to address Indigenous realities in non-settler and non-colonial societies. In Nepal and China, mainstream nationalities also possess distinct cultural practices and a history of marginalization. Therefore, the Nepalese and the Chinese governments consider all or none as Indigenous peoples and refuse to grant autonomy under international legislation. The existing literature identifies how international norms cannot accurately describe Asian Indigeneity but does not examine the impact of this limitation on the nationalist movements. Therefore, exploring the interface between international human rights' limits and the failure of nationalist movements can become a contribution to the field of nationalism.

**Indigenous rights and international law: should signed treaties make a difference?:** Lev Marder (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Indigenous peoples have had to negotiate among themselves and with settler states in drafting various international legal instruments. The resulting rights package, which through negotiations settles on the lowest common denominator, does not sufficiently differentiate between various Indigenous peoples and their needs. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, for instance, insists only on the enforcement of treaties between states and Indigenous peoples, disregarding that to protect Indigenous peoples, some of the treaties need to be kept, while the outdated treaties need to be annulled or updated.

In this paper, I examine the utility of highlighting differences between Indigenous peoples who signed and did not sign treaties with settler states in identifying their needs and defining their rights in international law. I ask how such subcategorization of Indigenous peoples could (1) relieve some of the internal pressure on the Indigenous category, which in being so inclusive faces the challenge of offering adequate protection (2) sharpen the currently fuzzy distinction between Indigenous peoples and stateless nations, which contributes to the reluctance of some states to protect Indigenous rights and (3) clarify how the well-established international recognition of treaties may both bolster and hamper the rights claims of Indigenous peoples who have signed treaties that may be outdated, have been broken, or require to be updated and kept.

**Paradox and Power in the United Nations: Stateless and Non-State Actors Reconsidered:** Abigail Bakan (University of Toronto), Yasmeen Abu-Laban (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The post-war emergence of the United Nations and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights were central to the ascendancy of human rights as a frame with which to advance claims and pursue justice. However, what Hannah Arendt termed the 'right to have rights' has not only depended on state membership, sovereignty and representation in the UN General Assembly, but also on what Charles Mills has termed the 'racial contract'. The racial contract points to an inherent privileging of whiteness in liberal democratic power structures and discourse. In this paper we explore the tension between the promise of universal human rights on one side, and requisite state membership, sovereignty, and racialized privilege as conditions to accord such rights on the other. We consider select issues concerning redress claims for violations of human rights for stateless and non-state actors through the UN, including those of racialized, colonized and dispossessed populations. This SSHRC-supported research relies on UN documents and original interviews with UN stakeholders to consider how these inherent tensions operate in the UN system. This is part of larger research project attending to what we see as a foundational, contradictory framework of the UN, theorizing this major international body in the context of wider tensions which we consider an inherent paradox.

**Linking Culture to Territoriality: Indigenous Land Rights in Latin America and Europe:** Eva Bergdolt (Heidelberg University)

**Abstract:** The focus of the international community on indigenous land rights and their significance for preserving cultural identity has been acknowledged by distinct bodies of human rights (United Nations, 2007). This research defines indigenous people in international law, explains the international Human Rights system on indigenous rights, examines the linkage between culture, territory, and land in international legislation on indigenous rights and elaborates on the impact of such a linkage in indigenous case disputes in Europe and Latin America. On a legal base, the two most important documents of indigenous human rights deal with culture in regard to indigenous land rights. As a matter of fact, the importance of culture is mentioned frequently and the need to protect indigenous culture is stated by: Firstly, James Anaya (James Anaya, 2009), who emphasizes the enduring injustices and human rights violations according towards indigenous people in regard to land disputes and the raising influence of multinational corporations. Secondly, often it has been argued that the raising recognition of indigenous human rights is a form of reconciliation and redemption to colonization, nation-building and cultural assimilation. The growing acknowledgement of the suffrage of the cultural identity of indigenous people when their land rights were neglected, indeed,

impacts the form of interfering indigenous cultural rights (Ben Saul, 2016). On the whole, culture is indeed highly related to indigenous land rights and the cultural integrity of indigenous people is of significant value for land disputes.

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## M16 - Roundtable: Teaching Canadian Politics: (Re)Centering the Margins

### Teaching

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 304

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Ryan Catney (University of Waterloo)

Alana Cattapan (University of Waterloo)

Elizabeth Baisley (Queen's University)

Rachel Laforest (Queen's University)

Heather Millar (University of New Brunswick)

Arjun Tremblay (University of Regina)

**Abstract:** What counts as Canadian Politics? How is power replicated and interrogated in Canadian political science classrooms? How can instructors bring topics that are currently in the periphery of Canadian political science into focus? How might we adapt our teaching, assessment, and participation methods to facilitate student-driven learning?

This roundtable examines these themes of inclusion, exclusion, and power in the instruction of Canadian politics. Bringing together established faculty with early career scholars, we examine how to challenge and interrogate core areas of Canadian political science, including topics such as: inclusion and belonging; federalism, interest groups and social movements, Quebec in Canada, and Canada and the world, among others. Together, this roundtable explores why topics like these are important (or not) in the study of Canadian political science, how they have been taught in the past, how the area is changing, and opportunities for the future.

The roundtable will also share the work of Welcome to Canadian Politics, ([welcometocanadianpolitics.ca](http://welcometocanadianpolitics.ca)) a pedagogical project that guides students in collaboratively writing plain-language primers on subjects with the goal of working towards a digital, open-access introductory textbook/resource updated by students participating in the project from across Canada. Participants in the roundtable are contributing topic introductions to the Welcome to Canadian Politics project, and the roundtable will serve as launch for those texts, as well as a site of conversation between and among contributors.

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## N16 - Equity and Care in Women's Political Representation

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 08:45am - 10:15am | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 306

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Stephanie Paterson (Concordia University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Stephanie Paterson (Concordia University)

**Leading by Caring ? Mediation of Care-related Political Leadership Dimensions in Election Campaigns:** Clémence Deswert (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** Political leadership has historically been associated with masculinity and men. In addition, media have contributed to the gendered conception of political leadership. Yet, research on the gendered mediation of political leadership have highlighted new understandings of the concept, showing a positive appreciation of some stereotypically feminine attributes, such as collaborative skills, in media discourse on leaders. As promising as it is, this strand of literature remains limited and relies mostly on quantitative analyses. This study intends to bring new theoretical and empirical insights by examining aspects of care in the discursive conceptualization of political leadership during an electoral campaign. Using quantitative content and qualitative discourse analysis, the paper investigates the press coverage of the 2022 French presidential campaign to examine how care-related political leadership dimensions are evaluated by journalists in their depictions of candidates.

**Parliaments and Parenthood: Elite experiences of family (un)friendly institutions:** Susan Franceschet (University of Calgary), Jessica Smith (University of Southampton), Sarah Childs (University of Edinburgh)

**Abstract:** Who our representatives are matters and, in turn, is shaped by the institutions they occupy. Most studies of members of parliament (MPs) socio-demographic backgrounds have examined gender, race, education, and profession, without much attention to MPs' parental status and whether it differs between women and men (see Campbell and Childs 2014 for an exception). Yet advocates for diversity sensitive or gender sensitive parliamentary reform have long highlighted the lack of family friendly practices as a barrier to inclusive and equitable representation in our elected bodies (Childs 2016; Palmieri 2020). Advocates call for reforms such as formal parental leave, remote participation, and on-site childcare.

Our paper advances such efforts through an empirical study of MPs' parental status and their level of support for family-friendly parliamentary reforms. We conduct surveys of MPs in Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and the U.K., exploring their experiences of balancing politics and parenthood in their institution and their level of support for institutional reforms like parental leave for MPs and the continuation of the remote participation options pioneered during the COVID-19 pandemic. The findings from the research provide empirical knowledge about how many MPs have (or had) young children when first elected, whether there is a gender gap in parental status, and how much support there is among elected women and men for procedural and infrastructure changes that make it easier to combine a political career with parental responsibilities. We conclude with evidence-based policy recommendations for parliamentary reform to build and maintain diverse and inclusive elected bodies.

**In a Different Partisan Voice: The Role of Women in Canadian Conservative Politics:** Kelly Gordon (McGill University), Esli Chan (McGill University), Jaymes McKinnon (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Relative to their male counterparts, scant attention has been paid to the role of women in conservative thought and politics. Most historical and contemporary studies and theorizations of right-wing ideology and politics overwhelmingly focus on men as the founders, practitioners, and primary supporters of conservatism. Moreover, when studies of conservatism do address women and gender, they tend to downplay the place of women in conservative causes and/or present conservative parties and movements as uniformly and similarly patriarchal, thereby glossing over the ideological diversity within conservative politics itself.

Drawing on data from over 30 interviews with women active in Canadian conservative politics, this paper begins to address these gaps in our knowledge about the role and involvement of women in conservatism. In particular, we examine two key facets of women's involvement in conservative politics: (1) the pathways through which women are becoming involved in conservative politics, and (2) how women conceive of their own relationship to conservatism. By centring the perspectives and experiences of women themselves, this paper opens up conservative politics to a new set of interrogations and enables a more robust understanding of the ideologies and identities that conservative parties produce and the ways in which women are intimately implicated in these processes.

**La mobilisation des thématiques de genre par le Rassemblement National lors des élections présidentielles françaises de 2022:** Romain Biesemans (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** Cette communication portera sur la mobilisation des thématiques de genre du Rassemblement National lors des dernières élections présidentielles françaises de 2022. Parti de droite radicale, le Rassemblement National et sa présidente Marine Le Pen ont mobilisé ces dernières années une stratégie de dédémonisation du parti (Mayer 2013; Geva, 2020) et ce notamment autour des thématiques liées au genre. À travers une analyse de discours du manifeste du Rassemblement National ainsi que du compte Twitter de la candidate à la Présidence Marine Le Pen, nous tenterons de comprendre comment ce parti de droite radicale et sa présidente ont cadré et mobilisé les thématiques de genre. Par thématique de genre nous entendons plus spécifiquement la dimension de la famille, l'égalité hommes femmes, les politiques de "gender mainstreaming" ainsi que le rapport aux minorités sexuelles et de genre. Pour ce qui est de l'analyse du compte Twitter de Marine Le Pen, notre cadre temporel s'étendra du 28 mars (date d'ouverture de la campagne électorale du premier tour) au 24 avril (date du second tour de scrutin).

## 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 1 2023 | **Time:** 09:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 305

#### Participants

Nikola Brassard-Dion (PCO-BCp)

Jörg Broschek (WLU)

Erin Crandall (Acadia)

Anne-Marie D'Aoust (UQAM)

Nicole De Silva (Concordia)

Aude-Claire Fourot (SFU)

Genevieve Fuji Johnson (SFU)

Megan Gaucher (Carleton)

Amy Janzwood (McGill)

André Lecours (Ottawa)

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## Day 3 - Session 2 (10:30am - 12:00pm)

### A17(a) - Roundtable: World Value Survey-7, Canada in Perspective

#### Canadian Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Guy Lachapelle (Concordia University)

Guy Lachapelle (Concordia University)

Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia University)

Nick Ruderman (Concordia University)

Sarah Wilkins-Laflamme (University of Waterloo)

Éric Montigny (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Canadian values are changing. Evidence from the first six waves of the World Values Survey (WVS) demonstrate that people's orientations concerning politics, religion, gender roles, work motivations, and sexual norms are changing -- along with their attitudes toward child-rearing, their tolerance of foreigners, gays and lesbians and their attitudes toward science and technology. These changes are not without consequences and result in societal-level transformations. Canada was included in the last WVS-7 and the goal of the panel is to analyze cross-nationally the data on Canadian values, beliefs, and attitudes. The WVS-7 offers the possibility of comparing results among regions in Canada and with past Canadian data sets available in the WVS. This will allow us to contribute to scientific understanding of value changes and its manifold impacts within the Canadian context. Therefore, this panel hopes to provide relevant insights about the evolution and change of values in Canada. For instance, various variables such as economic and migration values will allow us to assess how Canadians view continental integration. For stakeholders, including policymakers and the public, this will be of interest in the North American context. Furthermore, the 7th wave includes variables monitoring a set of sustainable development goals and allow policymakers to gain an understanding of Canadian public opinion on Canada's progress on sustainable development as it fits within broader values, beliefs, and attitudes.

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## A17(b) - Guns, Refugees, and Policy Engagement

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Chris Tenove (University of British Columbia)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Chris Tenove (University of British Columbia)

**Targeted - The ?Gun Rights? Movement in Canada:** Noah Schwartz (University of the Fraser Valley)

**Abstract:** The term "gun rights" seems almost sacrilegious in the Canadian context. Despite this, a large social movement has reemerged following the election of the Trudeau government in 2015 to take on the mantle. The movement has been influential in pushing back on several of the Liberal government's firearm policies through court cases, lobbying, and influencing conservative politicians at both the federal and provincial levels. But how can we make sense of claims to "gun rights" in the context of Canadian politics?

This paper will present research from an online survey of over 16,000 Canadian gun owners, and semi-structured Zoom interviews with 84 Canadian gun owners, and 14 activists. It argues that talking about gun rights is a type of rights-claiming that helps to unify the movement in pursuit of its policy goals. The pro-gun movement in Canada sees itself as a highly regulated group of Canadians that have worked hard to comply with the nation's strict gun laws. As a result of Canadian identity and institutions, a unique vision of gun rights has emerged in Canada, distinct from the focus on self-defense and Jeffersonian Republicanism in the U.S. Gun rights in Canada are tied to notions of citizenship, and expectations around the relationship between citizens and their government.

**Reconceptualizing the Rural Refugee Problematique: ?The Refugee? as the Demonstrative Case for Policy Inertia in Canada:** Lars Hallstrom (University of Lethbridge), Stacey Haugen (University of Lethbridge), Rachel McNally (University of Lethbridge)

**Abstract:** At a time when there are over 100 million displaced people around the world, refugees present a significant challenge for public policy. In Canada, an urban bias exists across refugee focused research and policy. While rural Canada has been characterized by population decline for well over a century, the movement of refugees into rural spaces is historically limited and politicized both practically and rhetorically. As a result, even though there are rurally-settled refugees in Canada, the broader paradigm is grounded in positive rhetoric, but governed by policy inertia and historical path dependencies.

This paper utilizes historical institutional theory to reconceptualize the challenges facing refugees in rural Canada. Funded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, this paper combines qualitative (focus group), quantitative (survey) and synthesis (scoping review) data to account for the policy design of rural refugee resettlement, the impacts of that design, and the challenges presented by the intersectoral, historical and institutional dimensions of the problematique.

We conclude that the challenges refugees face reveal not only the stagnation of resettlement policies, but also demonstrate the long-lasting, integrative, and harmful impacts of policy inertia across sectors and governments. While refugees may experience the implications of inadequate social policies particularly acutely, the obstacles they face cannot be solved through changes to immigration policy alone. Rather, these barriers are the result of a broader policy design across immigration and rural development that hinges upon the principles of minimal disruption and status quo maintenance, and a settlement model that is grounded in rural-urban differentiation.

**Civil Society and Public Policy Engagement in Canada:** John Cameron (Dalhousie University), Lauchlan Munro (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the factors that shape civil society engagement in public policy advocacy in Canada focusing on civil society organizations (CSOs) in the environmental and international development sectors. Such CSOs generally have mission statements calling for engagement in public policy debates rather than just service delivery.

The paper analyses CSO engagement in public policy advocacy using data from four sources from 2000 to 2021: the Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying, House of Commons Standing Committees, Canada Revenue Agency records on "political activities" by charities, and Elections Canada records on third party spending on election advertising. Despite widespread recognition of the importance of CSO engagement in public policy making, the data show that few CSOs have engaged consistently in public policy advocacy at the federal level over this time period.

Using CSO publications and qualitative interviews, we then explore factors that shape public policy engagement by CSOs in Canada, including the historical development of organized civil society, legal framework, funding sources, organizational culture, the legacies of past governments, and strategic advice from charity lawyers and government relations consultants. Drawing on a social constructivist interpretation of neo-institutionalism, the paper analyses of what, if any, changes occurred following the 2018 amendments to the Income Tax Act and 2019 changes to the regulations of the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) that eliminated the restrictions on charities engaging in so-called "political activities." CSOs' organizational culture and history matter greatly in their interpretation of the rules; there is evidence of path dependence.

**Group Politics and Canadian Refugee Policy:** Geoffrey Cameron (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** There is a growing consensus among political scientists that the post-war liberalization of Canada's immigration policy can be explained by the insulation of decision-makers from popular pressures. The opportunities afforded by political insulation allow the Prime Minister and Cabinet to use immigration policy to advance economic and foreign policy goals without incurring significant popular backlash. However, another consequence of political

insulation is the opening it creates for group politics to shape Canada's immigration regulatory framework. This paper explains how group politics has interacted with political insulation to expand and develop Canada's refugee policy during the Cold War period. Indeed, group politics have produced and sustained Canada's idiosyncratic system of private refugee sponsorship, which accounts for a substantial and growing share of Canada's annual contribution to international refugee resettlement.

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## A17(c) - Representation in an Unequal Society

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** André Blais (Université de Montréal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Patrick Fournier (Université de Montréal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Valérie-Anne Mahéo (Université Laval)

*We are Family: Family Dynasties in Canada, Ontario, Québec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, 1790-2020.:* Alex B. Rivard (Université de Montréal), Jean-François Godbout (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** The literature on family dynasties in Canada is relatively scant. Using a unique dataset of legislators' electoral and biographic data in the Canadian provinces of Ontario, Québec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the federal parliament, this paper analyzes the extent to which family dynasties affected the career development of legislators since the late 18th century. Leveraging this dataset allows us to determine whether members of a family dynasty are more likely to be appointed to cabinet, party leadership, or benefit from an electoral advantage. On the one hand, an electoral advantage might demonstrate that voters are responsive to these dynastic links. On the other hand, if members of dynasties reflect only parliamentary concerns, it indicates that the effects of dynasties occur largely within parliaments, promoting dynastic relations at the expense of meritocratic career advancement. If there is both legislative and electoral benefits, this indicates that the import of family dynasties are, perhaps, more important than once thought. We find that family dynasties have been consistent in Canadian politics although their prevalence is waning. Moreover, we find that the longer one serves in office, the more likely they are to have a posterior relative elected to office?this raises questions both about the meritocratic nature of Canadian politics as well as the nature of politics as an inherited skill.

*Communicating Commitment to the Nation: A Social Media Experiment:* Allison Harell (UQÀM), Matthew Polacko (UQÀM)

**Abstract:** The relationship between ethnic diversity and social solidarity has become increasingly tenuous with the advance of globalization. Immigrant access to the welfare state has been a salient issue throughout the West recently. Migration and diversity have been attributed with stimulating welfare chauvinism, which has led to a burgeoning body of research into this line of political inquiry. In this paper, we draw on new research that focused on membership penalties that immigrants face, and how (if) they can be overcome by communicating commitment to the host society. We draw on a unique social media experiment embedded in a four-country survey fielded in four advanced democracies (Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States), from November 2021 to March 2022, with 8,104 respondents (roughly 2,000 in each country) recruited from Cint, an online panel provider with quota-based sampling to mirror the population. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of twelve social media profiles that varied the race of the immigrant (white or black), their work status (unemployed or employed), as well as a pinned post about a fundraiser. The fundraiser varied whether the immigrant was fundraising for a natural disaster in the host society, the home society, or for a personal issue. The respondent then was asked a series of follow-up questions about the respondent, including if the person should be eligible for social assistance if they needed it, and how the person perceived their commitment to the host society. In this preregistered experiment, we expect that support for redistribution

*Les accents comme facteur de différenciation dans une société ethniquement diversifiée:* Marc A. Bodet (Université Laval), Joannie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke), Dietlind Stolle (McGill University), François Vachon (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Il existe de nombreuses recherches sur les caractéristiques physiques qui influencent la définition du « Nous » identitaire. On parle le plus souvent de couleur de la peau, de signes culturels ou religieux, ou encore de maîtrise (ou non) de la langue commune. Dans le cadre de ce projet, nous nous intéressons à l'accent comme facteur de différenciation, en particulier les différents accents (modal québécois, parisien, créole haïtien et maghrébin) audibles en français, en interaction avec la couleur de la peau. À l'aide d'une expérience en ligne, nous testons si la présence croisée d'un accent et d'une couleur de peau influence l'évaluation d'énoncés politiques liés à la gestion de la diversité. Notre hypothèse ici est que bien que la couleur de peau joue un rôle, la présence d'accents autres qu'un accent modal québécois joue un rôle encore plus important dans le processus d'évaluation du locuteur et des propos énoncés.

*La menace linguistique au Québec : les sources et liens avec le nationalisme:* Lydia Laflamme (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** La langue française a un statut symbolique, culturel et identitaire unique au Québec. Elle est également en déclin constant, du moins comme langue parlée à la maison, menant à un sentiment de menace linguistique. La protection de la langue est un enjeu saillant et sensible chez de nombreux Québécois.es francophones. Alors que les tensions linguistiques entre Francophones et Anglophones de la province sont étudiées par les chercheurs depuis le début des années 1960, il apparaît pertinent d'examiner la transformation de ces dynamiques dans le contexte contemporain, particulièrement à la suite de l'adoption de la Loi 96 sur la langue officielle et commune du Québec. L'objectif de cette recherche est de comparer, avec des questions de sondage expérimentales, si le sentiment de menace linguistique est davantage associé à la langue anglaise ou à l'immigration chez les Francophones. Les liens entre le sentiment de menace et certaines attitudes politiques, notamment envers la protection de la langue française ainsi que la souveraineté du Québec, seront également explorés. Les données ont été récoltées par le biais d'un sondage par la poste dans la région de la Capitale-Nationale, au Québec (n = 500). Cette recherche permettra de préciser notre compréhension des comportements politiques des Québécois.es, particulièrement le rôle que représente la menace linguistique dans ceux-ci.

## C17 - International Relations and China

### International Relations

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 006

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Sean Richmond (Carleton University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Sean Richmond (Carleton University)

***A Potential Flashpoint: South Asia in the U.S.-China Great Power Competition:*** Saira Bano (Mount Royal University)

**Abstract:** South Asia is a potential flashpoint in the great power competition between the United States and China. The region is an important site where both great powers are competing for influence by forging alliances against each other. China's border dispute with India incentivizes New Delhi to seek external American support to balance the stronger position of Beijing. Similarly, the Indian border disputes with Pakistan motivates Islamabad to solidify its relations with Beijing to strengthen its weaker position vis-à-vis New Delhi. Under the growing strategic partnership between the world's oldest democracy and world's largest democracy India has hailed the US Indo-Pacific strategy by joining QUAD (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) to hedge against China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). New Delhi actively works to influence, cultivate, and potentially even alter US interests and policies to better accommodate India's aspirations and expectations. India uses its relations with the US as a means to counter the adverse impact of China-Pakistan strategic cooperation, and reaps the benefits from the US' containment of China in the region. Pakistan is also benefiting from China's great power competition with the United States by seeking military and economic support from Beijing to counter the growing influence of India in the region. The Indo-China border dispute draws Beijing directly in the region and has the potential to intensify Sino-US great power competition. Due to the involvement of the United States and China in the region, India and Pakistan have active agency to influence great power competition in their national interests. This chapter argues that the China-US rivalry is both a challenge and an opportunity for India as it continues to cultivate its relationship with the US to manage China. The way India manages China, in turn, influences Beijing's strategic relations with Pakistan. The evolving bipolarity in the region with the United States and India on one side and China and Pakistan on the other signals intensifying great power competition in South Asia.

***Challenging the Status Quo-Revisionist Dichotomy: China and the United States in the Trade Regime:*** Kristen Hopewell (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** There has been intense debate about whether China is a 'status quo' or 'revisionist' power. More recently, prompted by the Trump administration's aggressive unilateralism and assault on international institutions, many have questioned whether it is in fact the US that is the revisionist power in the international system. In this paper, I argue that this debate rests on a false dichotomy that fails to recognize the changeable, multivalent and contested nature of international norms, rules and principles. The paper draws on analysis of the trade regime, a key pillar of global order and a site where US-China conflict has been particularly destabilizing. As I show, the US and China have each been able to present their conflicting positions as derived from established norms and principles, while portraying the other as a threat to the system. Existing debates about revisionist versus status-quo powers miss the fact that there are multiple, conflicting norms in existing governance regimes and the rules of many regimes are contested and evolving, rather than fixed and static. Understanding the implications of contemporary power shifts requires a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of international norms, drawing on the insights of cultural sociology.

***China and the Problems of Order Formation: A Spatial Perspective:*** Husnain Iqbal (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** A growing body of research investigates the consequences of the rise of China on the international order; equipped with sophisticated theoretical frameworks and methodologies these works contemplate the future of international cooperation on key issues as well as the possibility of hegemonic transition. This article contributes to these discussions by illuminating a key dimension of world orders—territoriality or spatiality—which is largely overlooked by recent discussions. The article argues that China's unique geography presents a barrier to a Chinese hegemonic succession. Whilst many have noted the possibility of the encirclement of China by its neighbors restraining China's hegemonic ascent, the article argues that China's geographical predicament is much deeper than what is pointed out by standard realist explanations. China is surrounded by an arc of instability which is marred by the chronic prevalence of undergoverned spaces and interstate rivalries. Any effort by China to construct a hegemonic order, or even play a greater role in the existing order, would involve China's increasing entanglement with these local rifts severely constraining China's hegemonic prospects. Overall, the article specifies the link between order formation and the geolocation of the rising power.

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## E17 - Housing in Canadian Cities

### Local and Urban Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Blair Cullen (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Laura Pin (Wilfrid Laurier University)

***Reinventing Renting for Whom? Pension funds, housing financialization, and build to rent in Toronto and London:*** Jessica Parish (De Montfort University)

**Abstract:** Initially focused on mortgage-backed securities, the financialization of housing has widened to include rental housing as well (August and Walks, 2018; Wijberg et al, 2018). Scholars have used the term "financialization 2.0" (Wijberg et al, 2018), to describe a process whereby longer-term investment strategies of holding assets to extract rents displaced an earlier, speculative strategy of "buying low and selling high" (ibid). In the Canadian urban context, the literature has documented strategies used by investors to produce large-scale gentrification cycles and drive investment returns: rents are increased, units are neglected, and working class and racialized tenants are pushed out either because they can't afford to stay, or because buildings are identified for major renovations or demolition (August & Walks, 2018; August, 2020; Crosby, 2019; Zigman & August, 2021). This literature has focused on the acquisition of aging multifamily residential towers and housing complexes, and shed important light on the impact these processes have on tenants as well as the erosion of critical affordable rental housing stock in large cities. However, less is known about financialized institutional investment in the growing, largely up-market and luxury-focused "built-to-rent" (BTR) sector, and its claims to be "reinventing renting". This paper draws on a case study of Canadian public sector pension fund investing in BTR in Toronto and London to shed light on the growth of this investment model. Through critical attention to the entanglements of housing, land, and power, it asks: reinventing renting for whom?

***Institutionalization and Systemic Ableism in Canadian Housing Policy for People Labelled with Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities:*** Daniel Dickson (Concordia University), Megan Linton (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The COVID-19 pandemic has increased public attention to the shortcomings of social housing arrangements – specifically, congregate institutions such as long-term care facilities, group homes and shelters. While significantly higher rates of COVID-19 infection, severity and death among Canadians labelled with IDD reflect broader systemic ableism, IDD advocates and scholars alike have pointed to housing policy as a key area of emphasis. Specifically, they highlight the risks associated with the institutionalization of people with IDD into congregate living facilities – the entrenched housing policy model that persists despite 50 years of organized advocacy by the deinstitutionalization movement. To assess the extent of systemic ableism in Canadian housing policy, this paper asks: why does the institutionalization of people labelled with IDD still occur in Canada? Following a brief sketch of the history of Canadian IDD housing policy, we examine three interrelated explanations for the persistence of institutionalization. First, we address the failure of community living alternatives to fully replace the institutional model across Canada. Second, we examine a current trend toward the inappropriate placement of people with IDD in long-term care facilities designed to support older adults. Last, we address COVID-19 and the deeper entrenchment of ableist housing policy during pandemic responses. Empirical support is drawn from textual analysis and interviews with policymakers, IDD advocates and people labelled with IDD in three Canadian provinces (Ontario, Nova Scotia and Quebec). We conclude by discussing the interrelation of institutionalization and systemic ableism in Canada and presenting implications for future IDD housing policy.

***Community Land Trusts and Municipal Government:*** Liliana Bechtold (University of Toronto), Alison Smith (University of Toronto Mississauga)

**Abstract:** Across Canada's urban centers, market-controlled, commodified housing has been rendered increasingly unaffordable. Alternative forms of land use and housing such as Community Land Trusts have received attention as a potential solution, but there has not yet been enough study to develop a complete picture of how these projects develop and operate in Canadian cities. This thesis will collect qualitative data from land trusts across Canada to understand how Community Land Trusts function as alternative housing models in urban spaces, focused specifically on their relationships with municipal governments

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## F17(a) - Diverse Pathways to Political Participation

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

Date: Jun 1 2023 | Time: 10:30am - 12:00pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 009

Chair/Président/Présidente : Edana Beauvais (Simon Fraser University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Edana Beauvais (Simon Fraser University)

**Unity in Diversity? Coalitional Identities and LGBTQ Linked Fate in the United States and Canada:** Quinn Albaugh (Queen's University), Michael Donnelly (University of Toronto), Julie Moreau (University of Toronto), Marc-Antoine Rancourt (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Social movements often construct collective identities and build coalitions across different groups. Some movements, such as the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) movement, have adopted coalitional identities that explicitly mention constituent groups within the coalition. Past work suggests that broader coalitions may decrease the motivating power of group identity by increasing the social distance between members of the group. Do coalitional identities dilute group attachments? We use data from two separate representative survey experiments conducted in 2021 in Canada and the United States to examine whether linked fate—the belief that what happens to members of one's group matters for what happens to oneself—varies when we present respondents with coalitional identities (such as LGBTQ people) vs. narrower group identities (such as lesbians). In a pre-registered analysis, we show that coalitional identities do not decrease linked fate. If anything, our results suggest that presenting respondents with coalitional rather than narrower group identities can increase linked fate. Our findings contribute to literature on linked fate and coalition building by demonstrating the potential strength of group identification that transcends gender and sexual difference. Our findings also imply that LGBTQ identification in the US and Canada is robust against the recent upsurge in transphobic gender critical public discourse and policy proposals that seek to divide the movement.

**Do strategic voters have a strategic personality? Examining the role of Machiavellianism in vote-switching:** Luke Mungall (Dalhousie University), Julie Blais (Dalhousie University), Scott Pruyers (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Many citizens are floating voters, who switch their vote between different parties from one election to the next (Stiers & Dassonneville, 2019). There are many antecedents to vote-switching, but one explanation is individual differences in personality traits. For example, previous studies have consistently found that curious and open-minded people are more likely to engage in vote-switching (Bakker et al., 2016; Erisen & Blais, 2016). Theoretically, people with Machiavellian personality traits should also be vote-switchers, since their cold, calculating, and status-driven nature should lead them to break partisan ties and vote for candidates that have the best chance of winning. A recent study suggests that Machiavellianism is not associated with a history of vote switching, but this cross-sectional study relied on self-reports of past voting behaviour, where the reasons for vote-switching are unknown (Pruyers & Blais, 2022). To resolve these limitations, we are conducting an experiment that examines whether receiving pre-election polling information increases strategic vote-switching among those with Machiavellian personality traits. We hope to demonstrate that Machiavellianism plays a nuanced role in voting behaviour, characterized by an interaction between situational and personality characteristics. Our conference paper will present the results of this experiment.

**Does Context Matter? Effects of District Heterogeneity on Voter Affinity and Political Engagement:** Karen Bird (McMaster), Kenny Ie (UBC), Mirelle Lalancette (UQ Trois Rivieres), Angelia Wagner (UALberta)

**Abstract:** It is widely recognised by scholars and policymakers alike that the incorporation of minority groups into electoral politics is a major challenge facing modern democracies. Inequalities in participation may be regarded as especially problematic if a minority group has distinctive political attitudes, preferences or interests. Low levels of participation may lead not only to a failure to represent these interests, but also undermine the legitimacy of the state in the eyes of the minority group.

Our study posits that there may be a relationship between ethnic candidate-voter affinity and district-level contextual factors. Specifically, we ask whether ethnic heterogeneity at the electoral district level in Canada impacts how candidate-voter affinity operates on political engagement. Our core hypothesis is that voters in districts with higher levels of ethnic heterogeneity are more likely to be mobilized by shared candidate-voter identities than voters in districts that are more ethnically homogenous. We assess this hypothesis through a conjoint survey experiment and a sampling design which oversampled in diverse but ethnically homogenous districts (that is, districts with heavily Chinese, South Asian, or Black population shares), diverse but ethnically heterogenous districts, and districts which are non-diverse (White) and homogenous.

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## F17(b) - Participation, Occupation, and Class

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

Date: Jun 1 2023 | Time: 10:30am - 12:00pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 104

Chair/Président/Présidente : Sophie Borwein (Simon Fraser University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Sophie Borwein (Simon Fraser University)

*Public Sector Employees? Varying Disposition to be Politically Active: The Underlying Role of Personality and Partisanship:* Christopher Cooper (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** For the last 30 years public service motivation theory has claimed that public sector employees are more likely than other citizens to engage in a range of political and civil activities. More recent research, however, examining online political activity suggests that this is not always the case. This paper expands our understanding of variation in the nature of the relationship between public sector employment and political activity by paying attention to the type of political activity, specifically, how partisan the activity is, as well as the underlying personality traits of public sector employees. Analyzing survey data from Canada, the findings first show that while public sector employment has a positive relationship with political activity that is nonpartisan, public sector employment has a negative relationship with partisan activities. Secondly, the findings show that the relationship between personality traits and proclivity to be politically active for activities that are more partisan also differs between public sector and private sector employees, suggesting that employees' benefit-cost calculations to be politically active are affected by their sector of employment.

*Across the Detroit River: Labour Unions, Identity, and the Electoral Divergence of the White Working-Class in North America:* Lewis Krashinsky (Princeton University)

**Abstract:** There has been extensive scholarship on the electoral shift of American white working-class voters to the GOP and Donald Trump. However, minimal work has sought to explain why at the same time that white working-class voters across the Rust Belt shifted to Trump, a similar bloc of voters in Canada remained largely consistent in their electoral preference for left-wing parties. Correspondingly, the overarching research question of this project is why has there been such a stark electoral divergence between white working-class voters in Canada and the United States.

This project will analyze the comparative effect of labour unions and will focus on how the group identities of white working-class voters might differ between the U.S. and Canada. To do so, this project employs a mixed-methods empirical design. First, this project conducts a paired qualitative case-study of Macomb County, Michigan and Windsor, Ontario: two working-class areas, historically tied to the auto industry, that have diverged in their voting patterns. Second, this project will field an original quantitative design that contains an observational survey and a candidate-choice conjoint experiment. This design will sample a large number of Canadians and Americans and will include a significant oversample of white working-class respondents. Accordingly, in comparing white working-class voting in Canada to the U.S., this project aims to provide both empirical and theoretical evidence towards understanding a significant contemporary phenomenon in North American politics and aims to generate new insights from an under-utilized comparison for the wider study of white working-class voting.

*Different Kinds of Left? Class Appeals in Liberal and NDP Manifestos Between 2008 and 2021:* Daniel Westlake (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** The first decades of the twenty-first century have seen a remarkable shift in the Canadian party system. As the Liberal party's brokerage coalition has fractured, the party has shifted leftwards and come into closer competition with the NDP for centre-left voters. During the same period, the NDP has professionalized (McGrane, 2019) and shifted towards the centre looking to expand its support. These two phenomena have created a narrative in which the parties are perceived to be converging on similar positions and trying to attract similar voters. Yet, a simple left-right analysis may hide some of the nuance and differences that exist in these two parties' appeals to voters. This paper uses new coding of party manifestos to examine the class and economic appeals made by the Liberals and NDP over the 2008-2021 period. It tests the hypothesis that the Liberal party's centrist roots have led it to try to appeal to middle-income voters through tax cuts aimed largely at the middle-class while the NDP's social democratic roots have led it to try to appeal to voters by advocating for the expansion of the welfare state. The paper's findings shed important light on what happens when two parties converge on similar centre-left positions. These findings have important implications for party competition in Canada as well as in Western European countries where different centre-left parties are occupying increasing similar space on the left-right spectrum.

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## G17 - Global Political Economy

### Political Economy

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 203

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Gavin Fridell (Saint Mary's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Gavin Fridell (Saint Mary's University)

***Territory and Power: Tracing the Participation of African Actors in Global Tax Governance Processes:*** Badriyya Yusuf (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Previously relegated to tax administrators and professionals, international taxation governance is now high on the agenda for most governments around the world. Spurred largely by a series of tumultuous global events -- from globalisation, the 2008 financial crisis, and more recently, the COVID 19 pandemic -- there is now unprecedented cooperation between states and non-state actors in this high-stakes issue area. The OECD/G20 BEPS Inclusive Framework (BEPS IF) includes non-OECD, non-G20 states, and other actors in tax standard setting processes. As a form of inclusive governance, this multistakeholder arrangement is claimed to mark the end of the OECD's club-of-developed countries' model of tax rulemaking. It purportedly operates on an equal footing basis. More specifically, the BEPS IF was created to address tax challenges arising from the digitalization of the global economy. The BEPS IF attempts to overhaul existing tax rules which have prevailed for over a hundred years.

Aligned with the conference theme of 'Territory, Place and Power?', this paper presents findings from recently conducted fieldwork that examines the participation of African actors in the BEPS IF processes. The paper adopts an Agential Constructivist lens to process trace and analyze how African actors navigate power relations in the negotiations. Theoretically, the research further refines Agential Constructivism by expanding its scope as a theoretical approach within International Relations. The study makes empirical, theory-based, and policy contributions to the understanding of how multistakeholderism is understood, experienced, and the extent to which it is driven by actors from and within Africa.

***Examining the Indian Enigma: The Political Economy of Manufacturing in India:*** Neel Vanvari (University of Canterbury)

**Abstract:** In recent years, partly due to COVID-19 related supply chain issues and due to the consequences of a rising China, countries and companies are increasingly looking to India as the next manufacturing hub. However, manufacturing has historically played a diminished role in India's economy, with the service sector leading India's economic growth after the 1990s. This study asks why India's economic trajectory has been different from other late developing countries wherein Indian manufacturing has not played a huge role and failed to reach the 'commanding heights of the economy'? Using primary data collected from interviews with Indian manufacturing elites, this study focuses on interest groups and institutions to explain why manufacturing in India has struggled to grow to the levels seen in East Asian Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs). The first factor examined in this study is the role of interest groups. While large business houses in Indian manufacturing continue to be 'concentrated?', the small, micro and medium-sized firms (MSMEs) continue to be 'dispersed?'. As a result, forming a 'coalition' which supports manufacturing becomes difficult to achieve in India. The second factor examined is the role of institutions. Institutions in India have transformed over time, with state-level institutions playing a greater role. This has increased the number of veto-layers, making it more challenging for 'dispersed?' interest groups to mobilise successfully. Moreover, the prevalence of other important political constituencies such as agriculture and labour along with the variation in state-level factors further help in explaining why Indian manufacturing has struggled to grow.

***Temporal and Spatial Expansion of Financialization in the Global South: Student Indebtedness Crisis in Turkey:*** Havva Ezgi Dogru (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** An article published in 2013 by the Nobel prize laureate in economics and the former chief economist of the World Bank, Joseph Stiglitz, warned the policy-makers of an impending student debt crisis. In the Global North, the student loan industry is fully developed for it has been integrated into the financial markets. The uniqueness of the Turkish case comes from the fact that student loan, unlike its counterparts in the Global North, is not fully commodified, and it is not connected to secondary international markets. For this reason, this proposed research seeks to explore how state-led student debt policies actively contribute to the formation of the student loan industry with the transformation of the state apparatus. In Turkey, the number of indebted students increased 24 times between 2003 and 2019 and exceeded 11 million. In addition to the remarkable expansion of student debt, the unemployment rate among university graduates exceeded 20% in 2018, and almost half of them are not covered by basic income security. Taking this into account, this research aims to answer the following question: How to approach the 'new?' role of the Turkish state regarding financial inclusion of the youth who cannot get long-term mortgage-type student loans under private market circumstances? A large number of key documents published by different international (UN-Habitat's and World) and national institutions (Chamber of Accounts, Turkish Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Credit and Dormitory Agency), newspapers between 2002-2022 are subjected to a close and critical reading.

***Open Markets?: Problematizing the Third Pillar of Liberal International Order:*** Pascale Massot (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Various conceptualizations of the Liberal International Order (ILO) exist, among others as being constituted of three pillars: multilateral institutions, liberal values, and open markets, underpinned by a US dominated power architecture. One of the most commonly cited components of the ILO is the concept of open markets. Ikenberry argues that: 'the United States provided 'services' to other states through (?) its commitment to stability and open markets' (2011, p.2). The concept of 'open markets?' is also, I argue, the least problematized component of the ILO and often conflated with the concept of 'free trade?'. Interestingly, this cuts across theoretical proclivities, as liberal and realist scholars alike have characterised global markets as 'open?'. This paper problematizes of the concept of 'open markets?' as the third pillar of the ILO. It looks at the history of the concept, the way openness has been measured, and some arguments that have been made about the relationship between power and 'open markets,?' such as the interest of large states to provide the public good of 'open markets,?' or to coerce others to open their markets. This project evaluates these questions in light of the rise of

China and power shifts underway in the global order.

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## H17(a) - Decolonization and Critical Re-examinations

### Political Theory

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 205

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Terry Maley (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Kaitie Jourdeuil (Queen's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Terry Maley (York University)

***Decolonizing the Politics of Recognition:*** Caleb Basnett (Mount Allison University)

**Abstract:** In contemporary political theory, many have advocated a politics of recognition to supplement what was understood as an overly procedural and general approach to particular questions of freedom of justice, claiming such questions required more nuanced theorization of how identity relates to difference. However, recent work by indigenous political theorists has rejected the politics of recognition as, at best, insufficient to deal with the particular problems faced by indigenous communities relative to broader society and the state; at worst, the politics of recognition has been criticized as advancing colonialism by new means. In light of these criticisms, it has been argued that the politics of recognition must be understood not in the terms of its Kantian and Hegelian inheritance, but rather in terms of a multiplicity of recognition "games" played in different contexts, but which can be commonly evaluated according to the freedom of the players to participate in and change the rules of these respective games.

This paper examines whether or not this transformation of the politics of recognition into a multiplicity of contextually-specific recognition games is sufficient to "decolonize" the politics of recognition. Or put differently, is this move sufficient to meet the criticisms raised by indigenous political theorists? In response to this question, this paper differentiates between legal and cultural forms of recognition, considers some of the problems related to each, and offers a way of theorizing their relation that challenges the shift to contextually-specific language games in the politics of recognition.

***Ch'ixi Philosophy of History and the Possibility of Decolonial Dialectics:*** Erich Daniel Luna Jacobs (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** When addressing the question concerning place and belonging, one of the most influential accounts, from a Modern and Eurocentric perspective, has been Hegel's idea of philosophy as reconciliation, or as seeking to be "at home" in the world. From a Latin American and anti-colonial perspective, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui's political thought operates as a rejection such Hegelian view, for it is seen as determinist, progressive, Eurocentric, teleological, and dialectical. This last aspect is especially rejected because it is understood as an ontological process where contradictions get sublated in a higher "synthesis" that, ultimately, attempts to "complete" history. Instead of the Hegelian Geist, Rivera Cusicanqui will speak in terms of the Aymara Ch'ixi to address a condition in the Latin American "postcolonial" context, while connecting this understanding to a philosophy of history reconstructed from Walter Benjamin's Theses, and from indigenous struggles, in order to properly make sense of time and history. In this paper I will first present Rivera Cusicanqui's Ch'ixi philosophy of history through a reconstruction of her "implicit" engagement with Benjamin. Second, I will emphasize how this perspective for her necessarily implies rejecting dialectics. Finally, I propose to qualify this, by showing plausible convergences between her theoretical account, with works on dialectics developed by Roy Bhaskar and Geo Maher. I conclude by suggesting the possibility of rehabilitating dialectics in a realist and decolonial way that evades her strong criticisms, while making sense of the processes that she thinks and describes.

***What's Next for Critical Theory? Remarks on the Past and Future of the Frankfurt School's Critique of Alienation:*** Isabelle Le Bourdais (York University)

**Abstract:** The critique of alienation has been an essential element of the Frankfurt School's Critical Theory since its foundation in 1923. However, since the 60's, the critique of alienation has suffered harsh criticism and was gradually marginalized in academic thought (Jaeggi 2014). Thus, "nothing signals more clearly the danger that Critical Theory might become obsolete than the death of what was once its fundamental concept" (Honneth 2014). Faced with this challenge, three important members of contemporary Frankfurt School (A. Honneth, H. Rosa, R. Jaeggi) offer a "reconstruction" of the critique of alienation in recent publications.

On what basis is this return of this critique carried out? Despite the abundant literature on the Frankfurt School, very few scholars studied this recent turn and its implications. My paper addresses this issue through a genealogy of the Frankfurt School's critique of alienation in relation to Nietzsche and Heidegger. They indeed constitute two of the greatest challenges to Marxism in its relation to Hegel's philosophy and powerfully question the theoretical anchoring that supports the critique of alienation in its classical version. This allows me to show that Heidegger serves as an ally for the recent Frankfurt School, which distances itself from Nietzsche and Marx; and, consequently, from the Nietzschean and Marxist dimensions of the first Critical Theory. I argue that these profound changes within Critical Theory support a rebirth of the critique of alienation on existential and phenomenological grounds "grounds that weaken the critique itself and offers very few solutions to collectively overcome alienation."

***Ecology and Nonidentity in a Time of Crisis:*** Michelle Mawhinney (York University)

**Abstract:** There has been a resurgence of interest in the Frankfurt School in light of the various crises "economic, political and ecological - marking the current conjuncture. Along with Horkheimer and Adorno's early critique of dominative reason and the "othering" of nature, fruitful for many have been the themes of non-identity and the primacy of the object as a way to re-articulate our relation to materiality, sensuousness and nature. As an engagement with this growing field of research, I want to explore the negative, "limit" dimension of Adorno's thought, specifically in relation to more recent materialist approaches that take their models from innovations in science and quantum physics, as well as Deleuzian, Foucauldian and Nietzschean perspectives on creativity, positivity, assemblage, and so on. While the latter may well capture the differentiating, creative and fecund dynamics of ecosystems, I will argue that in the current context of ecological catastrophe brought on and accelerated by the ongoing reign of reification, quantification and the reduction of all value to the abstract number, there is a place for "tarrying with the negative." Given the ease with which the current system seems to be able to capture

living systems (via enclosure and dispossession) and living critiques (via shallow diversity politics, pseudo-feminist ?empowerment? clichés, and ever-widening circles of greenwashing tactics), dialectical negativity has promise ? not as an essentialized strategy or mystification of an abstract fantasy of ?nature,? but in recognition of the very material conditions that have made the very possibility of limits anathema

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## H17(b) - Representation

### Political Theory

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 206

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Victor Bruzzone (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Afsoun Afsahi (University of British Columbia)

***Do Legislators? Ages Matter? Conceptualising the Issue of Youth Representation:*** Michael Wigginton (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** The issue of the representation of young people in legislatures has been the subject of increasing empirical study, with many scholars addressing the causes of low rates of youth representation in many contexts. While prior literature has addressed various factors which contribute to the low rates of youth representation around the world, far little has been written to establish why (and even if) the age of representatives matters in a democratic society. In this paper I take a step back from the causes of youth representation to address the theoretical importance of legislators? ages to providing effective representation.

I argue that the relevant consideration is not age-specific but generational representation. Youth representation is fundamentally different from that of other underrepresented groups, such as women and racial minorities, as age is a fundamentally transitory state that shares little with ?sticky? identities such as gender, religion, or ethnicity. Consequently, I argue that younger citizens being represented in legislatures at lower rates than their incidence in the population should not in itself give rise to claims of underrepresentation and that legislatures will naturally skew towards middle-aged members. Instead, the issue of youth representation should be understood from a perspective of ?critical mass?, with a small number of younger representatives being sufficient. Finally, I argue that authors should take care to disentangle the distinct issues of age representation and generational/cohort representation

***Representing the Representative: Understanding Political Staff?s Role in the Representation Process:*** Meagan Cloutier (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** This paper investigates how political staff contribute to the process of representation by connecting politicians and constituents. It evaluates how current theorization of political representation is extended, complemented, and disturbed by including political staffers as additional actors within the representative process. Building on the theoretical work of understanding of representation as a process, this paper argues that political staff are key gatekeepers in political systems: They evaluate and respond to constituent concerns, and they control constituents' access to their politicians. How staff engage in their work, whether through constituents or through the politicians, is a key indicator of how the process of representation occurs. This paper traces the development of representation theory while considering political staffers as contributing actors to the process of representation, with the goal of developing conceptual tools for researchers to look at political staffers within the representation process.

***Theorizing Representation, Participation, and Agency in the Global Refugee Regime:*** Kiran Banerjee (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Building on recommendations of activists, scholars, and civil society actors, policymakers have begun to rethink approaches to international protection that have predominated for the past half-century. These have largely treated refugees as objects of humanitarian intervention, giving little place to voice or participation, thereby effacing the agency of displaced persons. This current development offers to address one of the deepest normative failures of the current refugee regime: if refugeehood is theorized in terms of the denial what Hannah Arendt called the ?right to have rights? then the treatment of displaced persons within the international system constitutes more of a continuation, rather than a remedy or reprieve, of this a situation. Addressing the voice and agency of refugees is urgent and long overdue. However, formulating what meaningful representation constitutes in this situation remains challenging. Indeed, supporting participation and agency in the context of contemporary displacement must contend with the challenges that refugeehood is defined by the loss of membership and that to speak of refugee representation often assumes a commonality that risks obscuring diverse experiences and the possibility of power differentials informed by structural conditions. To address these considerations, I proceed by taking up this issue from both a normative and historical perspective in order to map out and complicate the way representation could be understood in this context. I do so by reconstructing several distinctive models of representation to underscore the different normative considerations that underlie these approaches. I conclude by showing how this might transform contemporary international protection.

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## H17(c) - Social Movements and Transformation

### Political Theory

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 302

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Paul Gray (Brock University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Amir Fleischmann (University of Michigan)

*From Social Pathology to Socialist Politics: A View of the Good Life:* John Grant (King's University College, Western University), Mallory Dunlop (University of Ottawa, Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The concept of a social pathology and societal "health" has a long history within social critique. Debates over the substance of the concept have resulted in the growth of formal-theoretical approaches that are notable for the absence of political statements regarding what material alternatives are needed to improve the health of our society and the well-being of the people within it. This article takes on the material demands of social pathology critique by arguing for a democratic socialist transformation of society. We begin with a survey of the formal-theoretical approaches to the concept of social pathology as a tool for social criticism, highlighting our position on three important questions: who or what exactly is "ill" when we talk about social pathology? What exactly causes or is the ultimate cause of social pathologies? And what is the standard by which we determine something as pathological versus non-pathological? We use our answers to these questions to demonstrate the diagnostic power of this approach in relation to the pathologies of neoliberal capitalism. Our claim is that the necessary responses to these pathologies must be socialist. We envision a socialist response that willingly explores rather than evades what is required for people to live a good life. Unlike traditional socialist approaches, we go beyond the workplace to consider responses to pathologies in the political sphere, the public (civil society) sphere and the private (family) sphere.

*Self-activity: A Contested Concept in the History of Democratic Socialism:* Abigail Bakan (University of Toronto), Paul Kellogg (Athabasca University)

**Abstract:** In the realm of theory, the concept of self-activity, and the related notion of self-emancipation, is most commonly associated with Marx's claim that: "the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves." In the realm of practice, this idea evokes the council (in Russian: soviet) tradition which emerged in Europe in the context of WWI. However, that soviet tradition was captured by the post-revolutionary Russian state, which evolved as a one-party autocracy – the very antithesis of self-activity. This paper will trace a hidden genealogy and history of the concept of self-activity and its relationship to democratic socialism. An epistemic shift is required in uncovering this genealogy, opening a line of inquiry and a new evaluation of several pivotal moments in Russian history associated with the emergence and subsequent suppression of democratic workers' councils. Methodologically, the paper considers original Russian language sources and extensive personal archives, indicating this complex history of the concept of self-activity. This involves close readings of C.L.R. James and Rosa Luxemburg, as well as Pavel Akselrod and Iulii Martov who were associated not with the autocratic post-revolutionary Russian state, but with the democratic socialists (Mensheviks) who were its bitter opponents. According to Leopold Haimson, "samoupravlenie, samostoiatel'nost', samodeiatel'nost'" [lit. self-government, autonomy, self-activity] were terms used by the Mensheviks to express "the active involvement" of workers in public affairs. The authors of this paper share decades of experience in progressive social movements where the idea of self-activity was periodically elevated, and also elided.

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## H17(d) - Constitutions and World-building

### Political Theory

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0010

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Elaine Coburn (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Elaine Coburn (York University)

**What is Political in Another: Simone Weil's Phenomenology of Attention:** Tim Charlebois (Northwestern University)

**Abstract:** Many political theorists turn to Hannah Arendt when theorizing the boundaries of the political sphere, given her robust theorization of politics as the realm where one is able to make use of their capacity for new beginnings, as opposed to politics as governance or rule-following. While relying on this understanding of politics and the sphere that connects individuals, and one is able to speak and act among others, ethical considerations of what is due to others so that they might speak are often dismissed as merely ethical and displacing of the political. While Arendt herself wrote of the importance of representative thinking, wherein one must be able to view things from the point of view of another before forming one's own political judgments, critics of the ethical turn often dismiss the activity of paying attention to others that seems to be required of sharing a common world. For this reason, I turn to the often-missed French political theorist Simone Weil, who shared Arendt's concern for politics as the sphere all may enter and participate in, but more robustly developed this activity of giving attention. Focusing on how she develops attention as a particularly difficult experience that would be easier to forego, I develop Weil's phenomenology of attention by focusing on the tensions that make attention both important but difficult to enact in politics, in particular the binaries of waiting vs calculating, compassion vs. force, and decreation vs. the self.

**Rethinking Constitutional Democracy from the Margins: Toward a Methodological Innovation in Democratic Theory and Beyond:** Jun-han Yon (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Today's influential schools of democratic theory often understand pluralism as a defining feature of constitutional democracy. Namely, constitutional democracy, in its ideal form, ensures equality among citizens by including everyone in the same public space regardless of whether they stand in the majority or minority position. This paper first argues that such a conception of constitutional democracy systematically obfuscates the category of the persistent minority in constitutional democracies, thereby making it difficult to empower historically marginalized groups and, at worst, exacerbating their conditions of marginalization. I then turn this observation into an epistemological/methodological critique of mainstream democratic theory. How do democratic theorists who are committed to promoting equality end up failing to capture the category of the persistent minority in constitutional democracies, and how do we overcome this tendency?

I claim that making sense of and correcting the problem identified above requires democratic theorists to adopt the methodological approach that would allow them to abandon an outsider perspective and focus on how individuals, especially persistent minorities, within constitutional democracy actually construe the meaning of their regime. To this end, I bring together interpretive social science and feminist standpoint theory to advance a methodological stance in democratic theory that is historically oriented, agent-centric, and power-sensitive. This paper demonstrates how taking this methodological approach allows us to envision and justify radical interventions to the status quo while providing a fresh look at some of the pressing issues of our time, such as authoritarian populism and polarization.

**Utopian Corruption: Political Realism and the Pathologies of Perfection:** Robert Sparling (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** This paper will read Thomas More's Utopia as a reflection on the problem of political corruption, understood both in the mundane sense of the abuse of political power for private gain and in the more profound sense of decay and moral depravity. More's ambivalent text is neither a blueprint nor a satire, but a dialogue between purity and disease, immortality and decay, insular perfection and the evil exported to the mainland. Utopia suggests that though corruption can be forestalled by institutional design, its fundamental sources—pride and envy—cannot be extirpated by such means. Corruption suppressed within emerges without in more virulent forms. But this is not a counsel of despair—on the contrary, More invites us to admire Utopia's institutional cures even as he diagnoses the Utopians' persistent, unrecognized—and externalized—corruption. In contrast to ideal theory, which brackets the core pathologies of the political in devising its notions of well-ordered societies, Utopia is a thoroughgoing reflection on the difficulties of human weakness and institutional design. If the term 'utopia' has come to be widely employed as a synonym for dreamy idealism, More's text is an exercise in political realism of the first order.

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## **J17(a) - Roundtable: Ontario's Past, Present, and Future: Disinvestment, Neoliberalization, and the Struggle for a Better Tomorrow**

### **Provincial and Territorial Politics in Canada and Beyond**

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 303

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Karen Murray (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Sanober Umar (York University)

Siobhan Saravanamuttu (York University)

Cynthia Spring (York University)

Ryan Kelpin (York University)

Jon Careless (York University)

Vinnie Collins (York University)

**Abstract:** This roundtable discussion brings together scholars of Ontario's policy and socio-political history across various critical perspectives. Presenters will grapple with the status of political life in Ontario, considering the historical trajectory of a breadth of provincial policy and the government's treatment of its most precarious residents. Paying particular attention to the Ford government's attacks on public investment and democratic decision-making, presenters will contend with question such as:

? What forces, processes, policies, and events led us to where we are now?

? What are the effects of disinvestment, privatization, and austerity measures on renters, students, workers, the unemployed, BIPOC communities, disabled people, among others?

? How effective are recent policy interventions aiming to improve support for Ontario's most precarious residents?

? What can we learn from work being done to confront climate crisis and threats to democratic decision-making by grassroots political movements and union coalitions?

? What might transformative policy directions going forward look like?

Drawing on critical insights regarding housing, education, labour, disability policy, and democratic institutions, we will discuss not only how the province arrived at the neoliberal moment it is currently in, but also what can and is already being done to try to change the future trajectory of Ontario and beyond.

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## J17(b) - Canadian Provinces and the Path towards Reconciliation

### Provincial and Territorial Politics in Canada and Beyond

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0014

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jan Erk (Mohammed VI Polytechnic University)

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

**Red River Resistance: Reading the Defeat of Bill 57 in the Manitoba Legislature as an Act of Indigenous Resistance through Counter-Securitization Discourse:** Aidan Trembath (University of Alberta), Kelly Saunders (Brandon University)

**Abstract:** Securitization scholars in Canada have investigated how settler-colonial governments discursively construct extractive infrastructure and policing on Indigenous lands as "critical" for Canada's economic security. However, less has been written about how Indigenous activists, through provincial institutions, counter colonial securitization discourse and dismantle Othering depictions of Indigenous peoples. The Manitoba Legislature offers a research puzzle relating to the dialectical interactions between the government and Official Opposition, where the Official Opposition has indefinitely stalled "The Protection of Critical Infrastructure Act" (Bill 57) despite the government's majority status. This paper interrogates discourse in the Manitoba Legislature pertaining to three "critical infrastructure" Bills presented by the Pallister government during the fall 2020 and winter 2021 sessions: "The Protection of Critical Infrastructure Act," "The Animal Diseases Amendment Act" (Bill 62), and "The Petty Trespassers Amendment and Occupiers' Liability Amendment Act" (Bill 63). I employ a comprehensive comparative reading of debates of the three Bills, drawn from Hansard, combined with an interview with Official Opposition house leader, Nahanni Fontaine, to illustrate the interactions between securitization and counter-securitization discourse(s). I hypothesize that Indigenous MLAs' counter-securitization discourse not only exposed the Bills' anti-Indigenous intent but also rendered their passage as an indefensible attack on Indigenous ontological, environmental, and physical security. Because Bill 62 and Bill 63 passed third reading while Bill 57 did not, the study suggests that counter-securitization discourse as resistance finds more success alongside legislative mechanisms, as with Bill 57's designation. I conclude with counter-securitization discourse's capacity to dismantle and transform colonial discourse, culture, and legislation.

**The Politics around the Implementation of UNDRIP: The Case of Québec, Canada:** Isabelle Côté (Memorial University of Newfoundland), Matthew Mitchell (University of Saskatchewan), Dimitrios Panagos (Memorial University of Newfoundland), Landon Wagner (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** The 2007 adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) represented a watershed moment in the struggle for global Indigenous rights. However, as a non-legally binding document, the implementation of UNDRIP is left to the discretion of states. While this raises concerns about the willingness of states to enshrine Indigenous rights in their laws, there is an added challenge in federal systems where sub-national political units have some autonomy over their legal affairs. Using the case of the Province of Québec, Canada, this paper examines the politics around implementation of UNDRIP. Whereas the federal government of Canada has recently passed legislation to create an Act for implementing UNDRIP, the Government of Québec has signaled its unwillingness to do so. The paper draws upon insights from recent fieldwork to examine the diverse political factors associated with the implementation of UNDRIP. Moreover, it extends the analysis beyond the federal-provincial divide to consider how Indigenous groups within the province interpret the significance of UNDRIP. Specifically, it considers how different groups (e.g. Cree, Innu, Inuit) invoke two principal components of UNDRIP in their ongoing legal and political struggles: the right to self-determination and to free, prior and informed consent.

**Divide, Contain, Counter: Some Anti-Imperialist notes on Judge Thompson's decision regarding the Fairy Creek Blockades:** Brydon Kramer (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** This paper uses BC Supreme Court Justice Douglas Thompson's September 2021 ruling to not renew an injunction granted to Teal-Cedar Group Ltd. against protesters and land defenders in Adait'sx (Fairy Creek, BC) to theorize imperial modes of relationship within so-called Canada. More specifically, I ask how the Provincial Court's decision fits within the longer imperial histories and trajectories of Canadian institutions and processes that actively support the death-dealing regimes of capital at the expense of Indigenous nations like the Nuuchahnulth. In considering this question, the paper offers a two-fold argument. First, I build on others to emphasize how the Canadian state emerges as both a physical and epistemic reaction to the different Indigenous nations whose territories it seeks to claim. Following Joanne Barker, Manu Karuka, and others, I show how the Canadian imperial state continuously seeks to divide and contain people and place along white supremacist and heteropatriarchal lines to shore up empire while "simultaneously" countering the persistence and resistance of Indigenous people as nations. This leads to my second argument: by placing Judge Thompson's ruling within these longer imperial histories, we can see how it serves as part of the epistemic counter-formation that proceeds in reaction, and opposition, to the place-based modes of relating often embodied by Indigenous nations. As such, the ruling does not seek to render the Canadian state more just but "instead" serves as a counter-revolutionary tactic to shore up the Canadian imperial project and its capacities to war against Indigenous nations.

**Do Governments Prioritize Indigenous Peoples' Soft Rights or Hard Rights?:** Md Mujahedul Islam (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Do governments prioritize all Indigenous Peoples' rights, or do they selectively prioritize certain rights over others? To examine this question, I employ Sheryl Lightfoot's theory of "selective endorsement" that suggests that states selectively comply with some rights while not others. Such compliance is often reflected in "soft rights," such as rights to language, childcare, and training, etc., but not in such "hard rights," as rights to political self-government, rights to land and resources, and rights against state development on traditional territories, broadly conceived as Indigenous Peoples' rights to self-determination. I analyze texts of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Principles Respecting the Government of Canada's Relationship with Indigenous Peoples, and a range of open-ended opinions of the Indigenous Peoples. The results from a textual analysis suggest that governments prioritize soft rights rather than hard rights, particularly the right to self-determination. These findings have important implications: governments are strategic in their priorities of Indigenous

Peoples' rights, which hinder Indigenous Peoples from revitalizing their own laws and governance systems within their own communities and in their dealings with governments.

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## K17 - Canadian Public Administration

### Public Administration

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 304

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Justin Leifso (University of Victoria)

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

**Missing Out: University Students and the COVID-19 Pandemic:** Thomas Bergeron (University of Toronto), Blake Lee-Whiting (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** What do students want from their universities during a pandemic? University students adapted unevenly to online learning, were exposed to COVID-19 infection clusters, and experienced challenging mental health outcomes. Considering that university students are already an at-risk group for negative health outcomes, the pandemic exacerbated existing challenges.

Coinciding with the challenges of their students, universities around the world were faced with unprecedented challenges themselves. Public funding and revenue from tuition fees decreased, enrollment, particularly among international students, decreased, and universities became more responsible for the physical health of their students.

Considering that the COVID-19 is only the first of what are expected increasingly prevalent pandemics, public health and education scholarship should consider how best to address the next pandemic. Using a proprietary sample of 4,812 students in 78 countries.

Using two conjoint experiments, this paper investigates student pandemic-era preferences, and suggests that students substantially prefer when universities adopt meaningful policies to address health outcomes.

**Moving Up and Moving Out: Analyzing the Career Trajectory of Political Advisors in Government:** Zachary Spicer (York University)

**Abstract:** Political advisors are a key contributor to the policy process in Canadian government. In recent years, a significant amount of research has advanced our understanding of the role of political advisors and helped bring clarity to how these individuals contribute to policy and service delivery in Canada. What is fascinating about this work is how temporary it is. Most political advisors serve for only a few years before departing for careers elsewhere. We know very little about where former political advisors seek out work after they leave government. What they do and how they use their experience is important for us to know, given that these individuals absorb significant institutional knowledge about service delivery and policy creation during their time in government. Making use of employee directories secured from the Ontario Legislative Assembly library, we cross-list directory information with LinkedIn profiles to track the career progression of every political staff member to serve in government since 1990. While we find that most former political staff tend to migrate to industries that allow them to leverage their political connections (ie lobbying and communication firms) there are distinct differences between political affiliations, with more NDP and Liberal staff members joining non-profit organizations. A significant portion also find their way back to public service after time away from government.

**Colonization and the Administrative State: The Transfer of the Government of the Northwest Territories to Yellowknife in 1967:** Jerald Sabin (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** In September 1967, the federal government transferred the Government of the Northwest Territories from Ottawa to Yellowknife. From 1905 to 1967, the territory had been governed by mostly appointed councillors and administered by public servants in Ottawa. While the brought the machinery of government closer to the governed, it also established settler institutions in the homelands of Dene, Métis, and Inuit peoples. Using the tools of administrative history and historical institutionalism, this paper traces the administrative transfer of government from the colonial core to the colonized periphery of Canada. It reconstructs this transfer using the newly released archival papers of Northwest Territories Commissioner Stuart Hodgson, who oversaw the transfer and the development of government in the NWT until 1979. In particular, the paper reveals 1) how political actors chose Yellowknife as the new capital and the timing of that decision; 2) how federal public servants developed administrative structures to facilitate the transfer; and 3) how newly resident public servants engaged in administrative design and policy implementation. The transfer had profound effects on Indigenous-settler intergovernmental relations. While the transfer entrenched Westminster parliamentary government in Northern Canada, it also served as one focal point for Indigenous resurgence and resistance to the settler state.

**The Public Sector Bargain in Saskatchewan:** James Farney (University of Regina)

**Abstract:** Much recent commentary on the public service at both the federal (eg Wernick 2022; Savoie 2013) and provincial (eg Wesley 2022) levels draws attention to the challenges facing public servants in their relationship with elected politicians and appointed political staff when they seek to "speak truth to power". Though the nature of this challenge is debated (Brodie 2018), it is clear that there are important shifts occurring in important aspects of the public sector bargain (Marland and Wesley (2019)). These represents a significant practical challenge at a moment when state action and power is of renewed import. Saskatchewan is represents a crucial case to understanding this dynamic, as a single conservative party has dominated the province's politics since 2007. This paper will review alternative normative frameworks of the relationship between elected members and public servants, trace the historical evolution of the relationship in Saskatchewan, and assess the implications of that trajectory for other Canadian jurisdictions.

**Enrolling Users to Monitor Compliance in Long-Term Care (LTC) in Ontario: Can it Work?:** Poland Lai (York University)

**Abstract:** Regulation and governance scholars have, for some time now, challenged the notion of regulation as simply a government function (for example, see Grabosky 1995). In the age of governance, regulation, monitoring, and enforcement can have many different sources and that there is no longer one centralized actor responsible for overseeing and coordinating the entire process (van Wingerde and Bisschop 2022). The influence and pressure from various ?third parties?, neither official regulatory agencies nor businesses themselves, might be harnessed or ?enrolled? to drive business compliance with

the law (Nielsen and Parker, 2008). This paper is intended to extend the debate about enrolment of third parties in regulatory processes by investigating the willingness and capabilities of third parties to influence the behaviours of regulated entities and activities of the regulator. This paper will focus on a subset of third parties in the long-term care (LTC) sector (residents and their families and friends) in Ontario. This paper draws on the results from an on-line, anonymous survey (English and French) conducted in January and February 2023. The survey will be based on convenience sampling. The survey will ask respondents questions about: 1) their prior experience and knowledge of the regulatory processes in LTC (e.g. compliant procedures); 2) their willingness and capabilities to participate in the regulatory processes; and 3) likelihood of exercising vigilance over the actions of the regulator (Ministry) and the homes. The survey results will be used to hypothesize pre-conditions necessary for third parties to be enrolled to promote compliance in LTC.

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## **L17 - Authors Meet Critics: Containing Diversity: Canada and the Politics of Immigration in the 21st Century**

### **Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics**

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 306

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Erin Tolley (Carleton University)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=42](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=42)

### **Participants**

Ethel Tungohan (York University)

Yasmeen Abu-Laban (University of Alberta)

Christina Gabriel (Carleton University)

Christopher Anderson (Wilfred Laurier University)

Keith Banting (Queen's University)

Aude-Claire Fourot (Simon Fraser University)

Patience Ademu (Toronto Metropolitan University)

John Carlaw (Toronto Metropolitan University)

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## N17 - Workshop Feminizing in Political Science: Roundtable 1: Publishing Feminist Political Science

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 307

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Fiona MacDonald (University of Northern British Columbia)

Emily Andrew (Senior Editor McGill-Queen's University Press)

Mat Buntin (Editor University of Alberta Press )

Tracey Raney (Toronto Metropolitan University/ Gender and Politics Editorial Board )

Fiona Jeffries (Editor Fernwood Publishing)

**Abstract:** Join book experienced and engaged book editors from university presses and trade publishing, journal editors, and others helping to get your scholarship to the world, as we explore how feminism can help inform our work. How might feminist praxis shape publishing processes like knowledge production, peer review, and author-editor relationships? How might storytelling and autoethnography figure into scholarship? How can authors help to amplify their books through the media and other networks? Bring your questions!

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## Q17 - Property, Place, and Learning

### Practitioners

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 204

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Cem Utku Duyulmus (Privy Council Office)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Darielle Talarico (University of British Columbia)

**Worldliness: *Libraries and Stolen Land*:** Sam Popowich (University of Birmingham)

**Abstract:** Worldliness: Libraries and Stolen Land

Since their inception in the mid-19th century, tax-funded libraries have been deeply implicated in social and political projects of subject-formation and hegemony. Crucial to the library's hegemonic function is a narrative of the library as independent from worldly considerations of class, race, and power. The so-called "Enlightenment" thesis is the clearest example of this, but various library policies and positions – for example, "intellectual freedom" and "neutrality" – also contribute to a metaphysical conception of the library which places the library's authority and trustworthiness beyond critique. The contemporary prominence of "land back" as a call for Indigenous sovereignty raises serious questions for libraries in Canada. How can libraries adhere to a Eurocentric, settler-colonial "Enlightenment" thesis while they occupy stolen land? This paper looks at the theory of hegemony in Gramsci and Stuart Hall and then analyzes the philosophical commitments of librarianship through the lens of Edward Said's notion of worldliness. The paper argues that, contrary to its own narrative, librarianship has always been implicated in dynamics of power in capitalist and settler-colonial societies. "Land back" makes explicit a deep contradiction between librarianship's self-image and the material realities in which libraries are situated.

**Copy(al)right: *Intellectual Property as Protest or mere Pseudolegalism?*:** Reagan Seidler (Smart & Biggar LLP)

**Abstract:** In 2020, a phenomenon emerged wherein activists began registering copyrights on pieces of legislation. Foundational pieces of law including the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Indian Act, and even the Copyright Act itself are – at least in the records of the Canadian Intellectual Property Office – the personal property of several individuals. Many of these individuals are well-known to the Canadian public given their association with causes like the Freedom Convoy and other anti-lockdown campaigns. Following interviews with these registrants, this paper reports on why the registrants chose to register ownership over pieces of legislation, what power they believe they now hold, and what they intend to do with their presumptively-valid copyrights. More importantly, it explores the question of whether this phenomenon should be seen as a novel new way to "register" protests with the government, or whether it is merely another example of Sovereign Citizen-style pseudolegalism.

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## Day 3 - Special Event (10:30am - 12:30pm)

### R17 - <strong>CPSA Reconciliation Committee Event</strong> - Roundtable: Decolonization with Katsi'tsakwas Ellen Gabriel

#### Special Events

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 10:30am - 12:30pm | **Room:** ACW 209 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Daniel Sherwin (Carleton University)

Ellen Gabriel (Kanehsatà:ke)

Riley Yesno (University of Toronto)

Phil Henderson (Carleton University)

Amanda Buffalo (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This roundtable panel will begin with an opening talk from Katsi'tsakwas Ellen Gabriel, followed by responses and conversation from Riley Yesno and Amanda Buffalo.

Ellen Gabriel (Turtle Clan) is Kanehsatà:ke Mohawk. She served as the official spokesperson for the People of the Longhouse during the Oka Crisis. From 2004-2010, she was president of the Quebec Native Women's association. She is an advocate for gender equity, the revitalization of Indigenous languages, culture, traditions and Indigenous governing structures.

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

### F18 - Roundtable: Gender-based Online Violence against Women Political Scientists in Canada

Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Jonathan Rose (Queen's University)

Sule Tomkinson (Université Laval)

Ethel Tungohan (York University)

Melanee Thomas (University of Calgary)

Amanda Bittner (Memorial)

Rebecca Major (Windsor)

**Abstract:** This round table brings women political scientists who faced gender-based online violence together. It aims to explore the dynamics of this violence and asks what our institutions are doing to protect them and how they can do better.

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## M18 - Three Minute Thesis Competition (Final)

Teaching

Date: Jun 1 2023 | Time: 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Room: Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0014

Click the following link for complete session information:

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## Q18 - Roundtable: Book Publishing in Political Science: Tips and Tricks from Publishers

### Practitioners

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 204

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Alex Marland (Memorial University)

Dan Quinlan (University of Toronto Press)

Emily Andrew (McGill-Queens University Press)

Randy Schmidt (UBC Press)

**Abstract:** Thinking about publishing a book with a Canadian academic press? Wondering how the book publishing process works? Join us for a lively Q&A with editors at McGill-Queens University Press, University of Toronto Press and UBC Press. Perhaps you're looking to transform your PhD dissertation into a monograph; maybe you're curious about coordinating an edited collection; or possibly you're putting the finishing touches on a magnum opus -- whatever your interests, you're certain to benefit from the wisdom of experienced book publishers who are keen to engage with aspiring authors and editors.

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## Day 3 - Session 4 (01:30pm - 03:00pm)

### A19(a) - Political Actors and Legislation

#### Canadian Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

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

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

*The Consequences for Canadian Politicians who leave a Political Party:* Alex Marland (Memorial University), Mireille Lalancette (UQTR), Jared Wesley (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Elected officials face considerable implications when they cross the floor to join another party or leave their party to sit as an independent. This paper itemizes and describes the various consequences of shunning a political party. We present findings from news stories and in-depth interviews with Members of Parliament and provincial legislators in Canada who have been expelled from a parliamentary group or who have left of their own accord. We argue that while every situation is unique there are some themes of leaving a party or switching caucuses, in particular an exit is the climax of brewing discontent with the leadership.

*People Effects, Place Effects, and the Urban-Rural Divide in Recent Canadian Elections:* Jack Lucas (University of Calgary), Zack Taylor (Western University), Dave Armstrong (Western University)

**Abstract:** Scholars of the urban-rural divide typically distinguish between two mechanisms of place-based cleavage: people and place. "People effects" capture differences in the demographic composition of urban and rural districts; for instance, if people in urban districts are more likely to have university degrees, and if levels of education predict vote choice, then observed urban-rural divides in election outcomes could originate in these underlying demographic differences. "Place effects," in contrast, capture the effects of place characteristics on citizens' voting behaviour -- differences in economic opportunity, cultural history, built environment, and so on. To understand the sources of Canada's large and growing urban-rural divide in federal election outcomes, this paper uses individual and aggregate data to estimate the proportion of the urban-rural divide that could plausibly be explained by "people effects." We show that a substantial fraction of the urban-rural divide remains to be explained by "place effects." Simply put, much of the urban-rural divide in Canada is due to differences in voting behaviour among Canadians who are demographically similar to each other but who live in urban or rural districts.

*Out political staffers: a new actor redefining interactions mechanisms between political parties and LGBTQ+ movement in Canada.:* Valerie Lapointe (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** In this paper, we analyze the components that structure the relationship between the LGBTQ+ movement and political parties in Canada by focusing on the emergence of a new actor, the out political staffers. Political staffers who identify as LGBTQ+ are non-elected state actors who have played a major role in shaping the mechanisms of interaction between this social movement and political parties in Canada since the early 1990s. Yet, to date, the literature has ignored their meaningful presence and the key role they play in securing gains for the LGBTQ+ movement. Based on 27 interviews with Canadian LGBTQ+ leaders, politicians, and political staffers from the four main political parties (New Democratic Party, Liberal Party of Canada, Bloc Québécois and Conservative Party of Canada), our study contributes to redefine the concept of ally (Tarrow, 2012) in the social movement literature, which poorly reflects the key role played by outspoken supporters within political parties. It thus responds to the recent call for more work on Canadian political parties and the LGBTQ+ movement (Tremblay, 2022).

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## A19(b) - Political Discourse and Protest Politics

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Michael Wigginton (University of Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Anne-Marie Livingstone (McMaster University)

**Political Discourse and Temporary Foreign Workers: The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic:** John Sutcliffe (University of Windsor), Tartil Shaheen (University of Windsor), Lori Buchanan (University of Windsor), Kriti Kapoor (University of Windsor)

**Abstract:** The COVID-19 pandemic exposed longstanding problems in Canada's temporary labour regime. In 2020, temporary foreign workers were amongst the groups most vulnerable to infection. This health emergency and associated travel bans led to severe labour market shocks and highlighted the importance of temporary migrants in maintaining essential economic activities and services. For rights advocates, the pandemic seemed like an opportune time for a shift in political discourse with respect to the socioeconomic contributions of temporary foreign workers in Canada. There was a hope that the federal government would expand the rights of temporary workers in the country. This study examines discussion of these issues in Canadian political discourse. Through a qualitative content analysis of federal parliamentary debates and committee discussions before and after the pandemic, it studies policymakers' views on temporary foreign workers' place in Canada. The content analysis allows for the systematic identification of themes and patterns in text and speech using a process of coding. In this study, identified themes come both from the data (inductive approach) and from prior theoretical understanding of the phenomenon under study (a deductive or a priori approach). Through examining political discourse before and after the COVID-19 pandemic, the study identifies which understandings of temporary migration are valued, taken for granted, not recognized, or changed. Two years on from the pandemic's onset, it is unclear whether temporary foreign workers are/remain a political priority. It is also unclear whether the pandemic shifted Canadian policymakers' perceptions of temporary foreign workers.

**You're Just a Puppet: Online Attacks on Expertise and Democratic Institutions During the Pandemic:** Chris Tenove (University of British Columbia), Heidi Tworek (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** Accurate and effective health communication has been critical to address the COVID-19 pandemic and other public health challenges. Health communicators, from public health officials to university-based experts, have used social media innovatively to engage broad publics and specific communities. They have also tried to address widespread misinformation, created inadvertently, and disinformation, intentionally spread for political and economic aims. Drawing on in-depth interviews with 35 health communicators, as well as quantitative and qualitative analysis of over 500,000 Twitter mentions at health communicators in 2021, this paper analyzes contests over the authority of public health officials and advocates. We trace three threads of attacks on authority: 1) identity-based abuse of women and racialized communicators; 2) and character-based attacks on role performance; 3) ontological challenges about the democratic integrity of public health agencies and democratic institutions. We argue that all three of these lines of online abuse illuminate different dimensions of vulnerability of the role of expertise in democratic policy-making in contemporary Canadian politics.

**Parliamentary Discourse Index: Examples from Canadian Legislatures:** Chris Greenaway (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper develops the first domain-specific discourse-analysis index for partisan parliamentary debate. Unlike the often-cited Discourse Quality Index (DQI) that assumes Habermasian discourse ethics, the Parliamentary Discourse Index (PDI) develops discourse quality indicators that aim to specifically analyze by-design adversarial chambers. Parliamentary discourse is institutionalized adversarialism: based on the principle of responsible government, it is distinct from deliberative discourse. The normative framework of adversarial discourse is then applied to the case study of Canadian legislatures in a comparative context. Despite the centralization of power in Canadian legislatures, this paper finds that the absence of deliberative ideals does not preclude democratically adversarial discourse in Canadian legislatures. The Parliamentary Discourse Index bridges discourse ethics theory with its operationalization of tools in natural language processing for the study of legislative speech.

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## A19(c) - Bandwagons, Convoys, and Canadian Constitutionalism

### Canadian Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Stacey Haugen (University of Lethbridge)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Èvelyne Brie (Western University)

***Bandwagon Effects in Strategic Voting: Evidence from Recent Canadian Federal Elections:*** Nabil Afodjo (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** The present study adds to the growing literature on tactical voting by attempting to quantify social influence on the decision to vote strategically when presented with the opportunity. How much are electors affected by their peers' decision to vote strategically? Using data from two recent federal elections in Canada, I investigate the

existence of social effects in strategic voting behavior. It is found that voters are significantly impacted by the expected percentage of strategic voting around them. At the constituency level, a 1 percentage point (pp.) increase in average tactical voting leads to 3.5% increase in the individual odds of voting strategically. On average, this is equivalent to 0.42 pp. rise in an elector's probability of voting tactically. Overall, the percentage of peers within a constituency who vote tactically explains 10% of the variation in individual strategic voting.

Further investigation into possible mechanisms showed that the social impact of the group on the decision to vote tactically occurs mainly through interactions with peers who share the same preferred party. Strategic behavior from supporters of other parties has limited impact on electors' individual behavior. These findings remains valid when I account for the non-random nature of the preferred party choice.

***Time Immemorial: History and Principle in Canadian Constitutionalism:*** Neil Montgomery (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** From the early-modern period onward, claims to 'time immemorial' rights in common law jurisdictions have tended to function within the broader bounds of 'ancient constitutionalism', a discourse in which rights claims are justified on the basis of historically-constituted, rather than abstract, principles. In the history of Canadian constitutionalism, 'time immemorialism' has remained largely implicit, and thus has not been developed as a coherent doctrine by either the courts or constitutional or political theorists. This paper describes how 'time immemorialism' has developed in contemporary Canadian constitutional thought concerning Indigenous-state relations alongside a more general trend towards 'ancient constitutionalism' in Canadian constitutional culture. Through a critical examination of recent Supreme Court of Canada jurisprudence, I argue that while the Court has increasingly embraced facets of 'time immemorialism' in Aboriginal law and 'ancient constitutionalism' in constitutional law, its tentative approach to these trends has resulted in unresolved theoretical tensions with its otherwise-dominant 'living tree' paradigm. Should the Court continue to expand on the unwritten principles of the Canadian constitution, its turn to a more historical jurisprudence in Aboriginal and constitutional law may justify an ideational transition away from the broadly progressive character of post-Charter jurisprudence. I conclude by considering the potential benefits of a more historically-grounded constitutional order for the reconciliation between Indigenous and Canadian legal and political orders.

***A Convoy to Where? The Post-2015 Conservative Party of Canada and its Approach(es) to Citizenship, Immigration and Belonging:*** John Carlaw (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** The ouster of former leader Erin O'Toole and competing approaches amongst party leadership contenders towards the 'Freedom Convoy' and legacy of the party's Islamophobic 2015 election campaign during its recent leadership contest demonstrated important debates over political strategy, social exclusion, and the future of the Conservative Party. With Pierre Poilievre's decisive victory, these debates appear to have been settled on the terms of the party's right-populist core of support.

Attempting to assess where the party may be headed, this paper employs primary and media sources to examine developments concerning the post-2015 party in the realms of citizenship, migration and societal belonging. Since that campaign Canada's Conservatives have struggled to achieve a politically successful balance between xenophilia and xenophobia to return to power as they attempt to consolidate and grow a right wing base of support with policies and discourses that often draw stark lines between 'good' immigrants and often racialized others while also seeking to earn the support of many immigrant and 'ethnic' voters.

Despite Poilievre's relative silence on these matters aside from comments that he is in favour of immigration and a xenophilic appeal to remove the 'gatekeepers' standing in the way of immigrants' economic success, the party's organic ties to domestic and global right-populist forces, internal debates, and reactions to asylum seekers have demonstrated a significant appetite within the party for divisive policies and rhetoric concerning 'Canadian values,' citizenship, immigration and refugee policy that is likely to greatly outweigh the substance of any inclusive rhetorical shifts in practice.

***Tweets From the Locals: An Analysis of the Personalised Local Digital Campaign in the 2021 Canadian Federal Election:*** Andrew J.A 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 Twitter'have been noted for their personalising nature. In fact, it is suggested that social media has contributed to the personalisation of politics (Rahat and Kenig, 2018). Personalisation is the 'process in which the political weight of the individual actor in the political process increases over time, while the centrality of the political group' declines' (2007: 65). While a substantial literature on personalisation exists, it remains firmly focused on leaders and elites (McAllister, 2015). There is also a modicum of research at the local level; however, it relies heavily on survey (Chiru, 2018; Cross et al. 2020) and aggregate data (Haleva-Amir, 2021; Rahat & Zamir, 2018). In fact, none of the studies conduct a content analysis on the posts of local actors; this limits findings as the level of personalism must be determined by the self-reporting of local actors or by

simplified indicators. To fill this gap in the literature, this paper will conduct a content analysis of tweets sent by local actors during 2021 Canadian federal election. More specifically, it will address two questions: To what degree do local actors engage in personalism on Twitter? And what factors (e.g., gender, age, and party) can explain this level of personalism? Indeed, this study aims to make a theoretical contribution by examining digital personalism at the local level.

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## **B19(a) - Book Panel: Putting Federalism In Its Place**

### **Comparative Politics**

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 005

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** André Lecours (University of Ottawa)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Scott Greer (University of Michigan)

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=162](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=162)

*Comments on Putting Federalism in its Place 1:* Katherine Fierbeck (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Comments on Putting Federalism in its Place 1

*Comments on Putting Federalism in its Place 2:* Alain Noël (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Comments on Putting Federalism in its Place 2

*Comments on Putting Federalism in its Place 3:* R. Kent Weaver (Georgetown University)

**Abstract:** Comments on Putting Federalism in its Place 3

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## B19(b) - Territory, Policy & Public Opinion

### Comparative Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 006

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Savannah Ribeiro (University of Alberta)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Ali Dizboni (Royal Military College of Canada)

**Implementing Educational Quality: Teachers, Unions, and Subnational Politics in Mexico:** Julia Coyoli (Harvard University)

**Abstract:** Improving educational quality is essential for bettering the lives of millions around the world, spurring developing country governments in recent decades to pursue reforms designed to increase their students' learning. Yet, these reforms are frequently unevenly implemented, resulting in uneven improvements to educational quality. To understand the source of this variation, I look to both when subnational elected officials have the incentives to implement and how they create the necessary capacity. I use a mixed-methods approach, focusing on a 2013 national education reform in Mexico. Through a conjoint survey experiment and a fuzzy regression discontinuity design I examine politicians' incentives to implement. Both approaches allow me to test whether voters reward political parties and candidates that implement educational quality policies. I find that voters do not and conclude that there are no electoral incentives for subnational politicians to implement these policies. I show that this occurs because educational quality policies are difficult for voters to both observe and correctly attribute to politicians. However, despite the lack of incentives, through a Medium-N analysis of all Mexican states, I find that there are some politicians who attempt to implement. I find that these elected officials can create the capacity necessary for implementation by enacting a bargain with the teachers' union. Through interviews in one state, I show how a bargain creates the capacity necessary to implement by exchanging benefits for teachers for the teachers' union's reach, which ensure teachers are informed about and comply with the reform.

**United in Division: Explaining attitudes towards Muslims in Canada and Quebec:** Maxime Héroux-Legault (University of British Columbia-Okanagan)

**Abstract:** The article evaluates the gap in attitudes towards Muslim in Quebec and the ROC and compares the provincial gap to the importance of other explanatory variables. To do so, the article provides a comprehensive model that constitutes the most extensive study of attitudes towards Muslims in Canada yet. This model boasts the highest explanatory power found in the recent literature. The article finds that while there is a difference in attitudes between Quebec and the ROC, these differences are modest in comparison to inter-individual differences within each region and have weak explanatory power. The new variables included in this study, for instance support for pluralism, openness to immigration, and leader evaluations all show greater explanatory power than the aforementioned Quebec gap. None of the variables associated with Quebec nationalism appear to have a statistically significant effect in the analysis focused on Quebec cases either.

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## C19(a) - IR Theory III: Relations and Ordering

### International Relations

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Marc Doucet (Saint Mary's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Marc Doucet (Saint Mary's University)

**Post-Cold-War World Order and Global Democratic Backslide:** Sagheer Ahmad Khan (Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan)

**Abstract:** Polarization, exclusion of minorities, distrust about established institutions and norms and; consequent rise of authoritarian leaders, trends of centralization---at the expense of the principle of separation of power---and declining impartiality of state institutions are prevalent features of recent time in many societies throughout the globe. This particular type of democratic backslide has largely been studied either at state or at individual?s levels. The third level---international system/global power structure---however, has been ignored despite the fact that the phenomenon is global in its character as it affected societies throughout the globe. The study is an attempt to explain the gradual development of a discourse of exclusion which influenced societies throughout the globe.

Therefore, the phenomenon has been studied in relation to determining effects of changes in nature of global order and ensuing policies of the super power with regard to its global engagement in military and economic affairs. It is concluded that limitation on choices (for citizens) set by global order and nature of global engagement of the super power facilitated a discourse of exclusive nationalism; technological changes gave the discourse a populist touch and generated demands for its assertive expression (authoritarianism) finally; the discourse gained momentum with changes in power relations at global level (declining role of USA in world politics).

**Global International Relations and Worlding Beyond the West: A Pedagogical Critique:** Aaron Ettinger (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** This paper addresses the pedagogical implications of the ?Global IR? and ?Worlding Beyond the West? agendas. Those two programs have criticized IR?s Western-centrism and have offered systematic ways to expand beyond IR?s Euro-Atlantic roots. Their development coincides with other high profile theoretical and historiographic developments, not to mention societal imperatives, to expand the substantive remit of the discipline. However, the diversification agenda has been overwhelmingly concerned with the research output of IR and it misses the pedagogical side of IR?s intellectual life. Converting the Global IR and Worlding agendas into a classroom setting is a challenge all its own that has gone underexplored in the respective literatures. By overlooking the pedagogical aspects of IR?s diversification, the literature has avoided the practical and theoretical limits of GIR and Worlding in the classroom. This paper fills that gap. It critiques the practical and intellectual limits of GIR and Worlding pedagogies. More importantly, it provides theoretically informed ways to transpose their diversification projects into the undergraduate classroom. In doing so, this paper bridges disciplinary analysis, IR theory, and IR pedagogy in an integrated analysis of IR?s much-needed attempts at diversification.

**Just don?t call it feminism: Canada?s feminist foreign policy between strategic pragmatism and liberal cooptation:** Gloria Novovic (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Canadian government officials frequently reference the country?s feminist foreign policy even though only its international assistance pillar includes explicit references to a feminist approach. The ?What We Heard? document summarizing recommendations issued to the Government during the 2020 consultations on feminist foreign policy prioritizes economic justice, demilitarization, and environmental protection, in addition to the reformed global tax regime, trade justice, and coherence across the domestic and foreign policy. Leveraging publicly available data, this article demonstrates that Canada?s economy is not currently set up to accommodate these recommendations: domestic policy requisites are lacking. Canada?s economic model is explained as overly reliant on domestic and international natural resource exploitation, arms production, and the status quo of current global trade and tax regimes. Without a long-term feminist transformation of Canada?s economy that transcends the ambitions of the current government?s Green Transition, feminist endorsement of Canada?s feminist foreign policy would constitute neoliberal cooptation. The endorsement of a foreign policy that is feminist in name only would not only continue the liberal feminist legacy of historical revisionism but also obfuscate Canada?s ongoing geopolitics of imperialism.

**The Role of Personality in International Negotiation: President Donald Trump?s Approach to International Negotiations:** Scott Fitzsimmons (University of Limerick)

**Abstract:** One of the most consistent aspects of President Donald Trump?s approach to foreign policy is his attempt to (re)negotiate treaties and other international agreements to, in his words, reach ?better deals? for the United States. This paper puts forward an explanation for this trend that highlights aspects of Trump?s personality that should plausibly influence his approach to international negotiations. To this end, it develops and conducts a plausibility test of propositions that draw a causal link between a leader?s personality traits and their approach to negotiating international agreements. It argues that a leader?s belief in their ability to control events, distrust of others, and task orientation strongly influence both the nature of the objectives the leader will seek to accomplish through international negotiations and their willingness to cooperate with other parties to the negotiations by applying these propositions to a case study of Trump?s attempt to negotiate a nuclear non-proliferation agreement with the Government of North Korea.

**?Imagining? IR: Uncovering Physics at the Foundations of International Theory:** Michael Murphy (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Ideas about International Relations do not emerge from infinite possibility, but instead are informed and constrained by what the theorist imagines to be possible. The argument that pre-existing assumptions structure the limits of what is possible is not a new one, as scholars throughout the decades have argued that our conscious thought about international politics is always bounded by our moral philosophy (Wolfers 1962), our discourses (Cohn 1987), the ?comfortable assumptions? we make about gender (Enloe 2000), or worldview (Katzenstein 2018). To explore how these

pre-assumptions serve as foundations of international theory, I turn to an emergent research tradition in international theory?quantum IR. Quantum approaches to international theory draw attention to the tacit role played by physics in shaping social inquiry, arguing that the Newtonian assumptions present in conventional social science are ill-suited to describe the complexity and relationality of social life (Wendt 2015; Zanotti 2019; Murphy 2021). While international theorists have explicitly called for the bracketing of physics and theology (Jackson 2016), I argue instead for a direct interrogation of the assumptions that inform and constrain what is imaginable in International Relations. By examining the foundations of the House of IR (Agathangelou & Ling 2004) we can realize the unspoken and uninterrogated boundaries to our thought and answer Carol Cohn's call to imagine the unimaginable.

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## C19(b) - Roundtable: Women, Peace and Security: Feminist Futures

### International Relations

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** ACW 209 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Allison McCulloch (Brandon University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Allison McCulloch (Brandon University)

Siobhan Byrne (University of Alberta)

Beth Woroniuk (Women, Peace and Security Network - Canada)

Marie-Joëlle Zahar (Université de Montréal)

Sandra Biskupski-Mujanovic (University of Waterloo)

Nazik Kabalo (Sudanese Women Rights Action)

Leigh Spanner (Mount Saint Vincent University)

Wazhma Frogh (WPSO - Afghanistan)

**Abstract:** As Canada gets ready to introduce a third National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), there is no better time to reflect on the impact of state-level WPS instruments ? like national action plans and feminist foreign policy commitments, as well as international WPS programs, institutions, and processes ? like UN gender advisory teams, WPS-informed peace processes, and new constitutions. There is a diversity of work being done in what we might call the WPS space across Canadian campuses, the NGO sector, and research networks. As such, this roundtable brings together participants to critically reflect on the future of WPS as a feminist project from our various research, practitioner, and activist perspectives.

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## C19(c) - International Relations Perspectives on Canadian Foreign Policy

### International Relations

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 104

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** S. Laurel Weldon (SFU)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jeffrey Rice (MacEwan University)

***Canada's Liberal Internationalism in the 21st Century: The Impact of China's Rise on the Strategy's Continued Political Viability:*** Benjamin Toettoe (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Canada's foreign policy has been characterized as having espoused the principles of liberal internationalism since the end of WWII. While scholars have proposed many alternative definitions of this strategy, commonly recognized central tenets of it include broad engagement with international institutions, an emphasis on international law, and support for multilateral approaches for cooperation and peacekeeping. Canada's liberal internationalist approach has garnered broad multi-partisan support in the post-War period. However, cracks in such support emerged during the Harper years and have persisted ever since.

The proposed article will assess the outlook for the continuation of Canada's liberal internationalist tradition in foreign policy by evaluating levels of popular support for its central tenets in the context of emerging international bipolarity and the intensifying US-China rivalry. Specifically, it will argue that China's rise has led to an unprecedented situation for Canada in which it is significantly economically tied to a state not fully committed to the maintenance of an open rules-based liberal international order. This reality has altered the calculus associated with Canada's embrace of liberal internationalism and likely shifted the views of domestic actors on the latter. Using yet-unpublished representative public opinion survey data compiled by the Sinophone Borderlands North America Survey, the proposed article will evaluate Canadians' support for the continuation of a liberal internationalist foreign policy through their preferences on policy towards China. This analysis will provide an updated understanding of the prospects of the survival of such orientation in the changing international context of the 21st century.

***?A Sacrificial Lamb?: Robert Stanfield and the Evolution of Canadian Policy towards the Palestine Liberation Organisation:*** Colter Louwerse (University of Exeter)

**Abstract:** This paper sheds new conceptual and evidentiary light on the political evolution of Canadian foreign policy towards the Palestine Question as part of a broader international transition towards acceptance of Palestinian rights within a hegemonic two-state framework. It does so via the prism of a 1979 Middle East trip led by Robert Stanfield, mandated with giving recommendations to Joe Clark's Conservative government for resolving the Jerusalem Embassy Affair and, more broadly, for managing Canadian relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and the rest of the Arab world. This is the first study to analyse Stanfield's landmark report with the benefit of declassified Canadian External Affairs documents uncovered in the National Archives of the United Kingdom. It demonstrates how, by pulling Canadian officials into deepening engagement with the PLO, Clark's proposed Jerusalem embassy move unexpectedly subjected Canada to the pressures of normative international opinion favouring Palestinian rights. Resultantly, a decision intended to favour Israel paradoxically spawned, via Stanfield, a Canadian policy shift towards recognition of Palestinian self-determination. In explaining this apparent paradox, this paper draws upon and contributes to a strand of constructivist international relations literature which sheds light on the political determinants and processes of norm creation and institutionalisation. It concludes by considering the relevance of Stanfield's trip to contemporary Canadian policy, particularly in light of the Conservative Party's revived pledge to move Canada's embassy to Jerusalem and recent revelations of an internal push within Global Affairs for a return to active Canadian support for the two-state settlement.

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## E19(b) - Governance

### Local and Urban Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 204

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Salomé Vallette (INRS)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Zachary Spicer (York University)

**Local governance of 5G. The case of Quebec municipalities.:** Jérémy Diaz (INRS), Sandra Breux (INRS)

**Abstract:** Municipalities are often considered to be places of innovation. However, certain issues, such as 5G, suggest that this level of government is nonetheless hampered by challenges. Based on the analysis of the results of a survey of 220 Quebec municipalities of various sizes, alongside interviews with their representatives, we show that 5G is indicative of the challenges pertaining to multi-level governance, the presence of a significant information deficit and the clout of the private sector on public planning. Based on these findings, our results question municipal governance more broadly and the relevance of creating intermunicipal cooperation.

**Partisanship and Local Autonomy: Towards a Comprehensive Framework for Measuring Autonomy in Canadian Cities:** Katelynn Kowalchuk (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** Notwithstanding the expansion of the role, capacity and democratic legitimacy of municipal governments in modern Canada, they remain vulnerable to the whims of their provincial governments. Smith and Spicer's (2018) work, "The Local Autonomy of Canada's Largest Cities", is the first attempt within the Canadian urban politics subfield to quantitatively measure local autonomy in Canadian cities. The Political Autonomy dimension of their index associates political interconnectivity between provincial and local governments with higher levels of political autonomy for the city, building on previous work regarding local autonomy and political relationships. I aim to answer the question: Can the influence of partisanship and careerism contradict the assumption that political interconnectivity leads to higher levels of local autonomy?

In this paper, I provide a constructive critique of the assumption that increased political interconnectivity will necessarily bolster local autonomy. I begin with an analysis of the source material for these measures of political autonomy, and find that they are not fully supported by the literature. Further, I conduct an historical examination of Vancouver politics vis-à-vis the British Columbia provincial government through a combination of archival research and secondary sources, and find that political integration between the provincial and municipal governments weakened local autonomy in the presence of a partisan conflict. I will supplement my historical analysis with two examples from modern politics which demonstrate similar findings. This research has important implications for the measurement of local autonomy in Canada, particularly in the presence of municipal political party structures.

**Intergovernmental Relations in Immigration in Canada: Will Municipalities be a Part of the Turn to Multilateral Collaboration?:** Blair Cullen (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** By making the case, in his 2015 article, "Intergovernmental Relations in Canada's Immigration System: From Bilateralism towards Multilateral Collaboration," for the turn to multilateral collaboration in intergovernmental relations in Canada, Robert Schertzer carved out a unique place in the literature. His argument served as an effective counterpoint to the emerging consensus that bilateralism had become the form of intergovernmental relations in immigration. While Schertzer's article focusses primarily on federal-provincial relations, near his conclusion, he makes passing mention to municipalities, wondering if multilateral collaboration will give municipalities a greater role in immigrant settlement and selection policy. This article starts where Schertzer's ends, examining his observation regarding municipalities. Looking at the current state of municipalities in terms of selection and settlement policy, this article finds bilateral and trilateral immigration agreements responsible for municipalities' most significant roles in each to date. With this in mind, through multiple scenarios, the article examines whether multilateral collaboration is capable of building on these gains. Results demonstrate a divergence between municipalities and multilateralism, as including municipalities in the process of multilateralism changes the federal-provincial dynamic crucial to its success. To acquire additional insight, in particular, how the local level impacts intergovernmental relations, the article considers the federal government's policy of Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) to draw lessons. This article extends Schertzer's argument to municipalities, creating a more comprehensive picture, of an often overlooked part of intergovernmental relations in immigration, while building knowledge on multilateralism, the latest development in intergovernmental relations in immigration but considerably understudied.

**Immigrant integration in small and medium sized towns and rural areas: local policies and policymaking relations in Canada:** Maissaa Almustafa (York University), Kathryn Barber (York University), Willem Maas (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper looks at multilevel governance dynamics and at the integration policies targeting migrants developed by six small and medium-sized towns and rural areas in Canada between 2016 and 2021. Governance in this paper, which is based on a report produced for the Whole-COMM project, is understood as a process that involves diverse range of organizational forms and actors which collaborate with each other at different levels, or in a multilevel framework. Thus, the paper explores the responses to the presence of migrants and refugees in those towns by assessing, first, the policies that have been developed and implemented in these small and medium sized towns, or, in other words, how have SMsTRA mobilized vis-à-vis the new challenge and in relation to the policies and funding schemes put forward by other levels of government. In doing so, the paper looks at the embeddedness of local actors in multilevel frameworks in which regional and national policies and stakeholders may play a decisive role in shaping local integration policymaking. Second, the paper focuses on the interactions between the actors involved in integration policymaking, focusing on different patterns of interaction between local (policy) actors and regional/provincial/federal authorities and stakeholders, and the factors that led to the emergence of collaborations as well as tensions between actors at different government levels. The paper also examines how actors involved in these policy networks perceive and frame the integration of immigrants, under the assumption that frames can play a key role in influencing policymaking processes.



## F19 - Explaining Recent Elections and Events in Canada

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 205

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

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

**Who Talks About Class? Local Candidates and Class Identity in the 2022 Ontario Election:** Daniel Westlake (University of Saskatchewan), Jacob Robbins-Kanter (Bishop's University)

**Abstract:** Local candidates seeking to personalize their campaigns (Cross et al. 2020) and build affinity with target voters may emphasize certain aspects of their identities in campaign communications. These efforts may include aspects of their class background, for example, by describing themselves as middle- or working-class. They may also use education or occupation to provide more subtle cues to voters to indicate a shared class background or status. Although class identities remain understudied, they are viewed as an increasingly important factor in Canadian elections (Polacko et al. 2022). This was the case in the 2022 Ontario election as the Progressive Conservative party made a concerted effort to attract working-class voters from the NDP and Liberals. This paper examines whether such efforts were reflected in local campaign communications for Ontario parties. It uses biographies from local candidate websites in the 2022 Ontario election to examine the factors that shape the class identities that candidates emphasize. In doing so, it tests the extent to which party affiliation, riding demographics, and riding competitiveness shape the ways in which local candidates present class-based identities to voters.

**Out of the Blue? The Drivers of Support for the Parti Conservateur du Québec in the 2022 Election:** Éric Bélanger (McGill University), Valérie-Anne Mahéo (Université Laval), Philippe Mongrain (McGill University), Thomas Gareau Paquette (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Even though the Parti Conservateur du Québec (PCQ) did not manage to elect any members to the Assemblée Nationale in Quebec's October 2022 provincial election, this political party nonetheless received 13% of the popular vote in that election, up from only 1% in the previous 2018 election. The PCQ received significant media attention during the electoral campaign and its leader, Éric Duhaime, was even invited to participate in the televised leaders' debates. The party campaigned on issues related to the economic right (with a clear state retrenchment agenda) but also discontent with the Legault government, especially its COVID-19 health measures. The question remains as to which of these issue dimensions drove support for the PCQ the most. If more the former, it would point to the party's potential for fostering, and perhaps broadening, a long-term, ideologically well-defined partisan niche within the provincial party system. If more the latter, it would suggest that with the end of the pandemic the party may have a hard time sustaining its support base going into the next 2026 election. We assess the extent to which these different drivers of support, on top of leader evaluation, explain vote choice in favour of the PCQ in the 2022 election using individual-level survey data from the Quebec Election Study.

**A Generational Story about Nationalist Attitudes and Nationalist Parties in Quebec:** Valérie-Anne Mahéo (Université Laval), Éric Bélanger (McGill University)

**Abstract:** The existence and persistence of nationalist movements among substate nations can have many different causes. One of these causes seems to lie with the socializing context of cohorts of citizens and generational replacement. Hence, to better understand the roots of nationalism in substate nations, it proves to be important to examine the development and reproduction of nationalist attitudes and behaviours through a generational lens. This paper aims to examine the relationship between generational groups and nationalism in Quebec by using an Age-Period-Cohort model and examining a large set of public opinion indicators related to nationalism. The results from our analyses of public opinion data from the last six Quebec Election Studies (from 2007 to 2022) reveal that there is indeed a generational story to tell about nationalism in Quebec. There are clear differences in how generational groups relate to nationalism and Quebec's independence project. First, the generation of the Baby boomers is much more likely to feel Québécois than to feel Canadian, especially when compared to the youngest generation – the Millennials. Secondly, support for Quebec's independence also opposes the Baby boomers – more supportive of this project – and the Millennials – who are less supportive of this project compared to their elders. Finally, the youngest Millennials are more supportive of Québec Solidaire than other cohorts, while the oldest GenXers are more likely to support the Coalition Avenir Québec. These results lead us to envision that there are currently distinct –nationalist generations? in Quebec.

**Dimensions of Risk: The Political Impacts of Risk Tolerance and Economic Confidence:** Tyler Romualdi (Western University), Cameron Anderson (Western University), Michael McGregor (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Individual personality traits – persistent, stable individual-level dispositions have become an important research area for political behaviouralists. Much of this work has focused on the 'Big Five' personality traits (Gerber et al., 2011) and their impact on turnout (Blais & St. Vincent, 2020), political knowledge (Blanchet, 2019), and ideological or partisan identities (Bergeron & Galipeau, 2021). One personality trait that has gained momentum in political science is risk tolerance – the level of risk an individual is willing to accept (Callan & Johnson, 2022). Studies suggest risk-taking impacts participation levels (Kam, 2012), incumbency advantage (Eckles et al., 2014), candidate evaluation (Kim & Simas, 2012), and policy preferences (Kam & Simas, 2010). In this paper, we explore the relationship of risk tolerance with political and economic attitudes. Using data from the 2021 Canadian Election Study, we provide measures for two distinct aspects of individual risk attitudes: risk tolerance and economic confidence – an individual's sense of the extent to which they feel economically insulated from risk. We expect that these distinct dimensions of risk-taking will lead to different political preferences. We examine three related questions. First, what are the correlates of risk tolerance and economic confidence? Second, how are attitudes toward risk and confidence associated with opinions about wealth inequality and attitudes toward government intervention in the economy? Lastly, how do these concepts relate to federal vote choice? Our results show that risk tolerance and economic confidence are critical for understanding voting patterns and attitudes toward the role of government.



## G19 - Digital Economies and the State

### Political Economy

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 206

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Alicja Krubnik (McMaster University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Havva Ezgi Dogru (Anadolu University)

**"COVID-19, Pandemic Surveillance and E-government":** Robert Marshall (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** When the topic of e-government is addressed, it has largely been done in terms of how government's use information communication technologies to deliver policies; how they are employed in the internal organization and operationalization of the state and its bureaucracy; or how increasingly politicians use social media as a tool of "permanent campaigning". But during COVID-19 a darker version of e-government was evidenced as the state and its agencies, including health departments and security agencies, increasingly found ways to monitor citizens. Further, many governments extended executive powers by framing their pandemic responses through a process of securitization.

This paper addresses e-government from the perspective of "pandemic surveillance" and asks what it contributes to state theorization? It explores how governments employed their powers of data collection to institute a larger culture of surveillance in a time of crisis when "states of emergency" were being declared. To help make sense of this, it will employ a Social Construction of Technology approach arguing that technology does not determine human action, but rather that human action shapes technology. By doing so I wish to argue that the technologies of pandemic surveillance were embedded with politics; and, as such were not neutral artefacts. In the same way that E.P Thompson argued that the law is not neutral and serves the interests of somebody, I wish to make an analogous argument vis the technologies of e-government and pandemic surveillance.

**Platformization and Social Goods in the Chinese Context: Rethinking Embeddedness:** Chi Kwok (Lingnan University), Ngai Keung Chan (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

**Abstract:** This paper argues that platforms in China face a rather different logic of operation as opposed to that of the market liberal societies. Drawing on Polanyi's concept of embeddedness, the paper argues that platforms face social and political constraints that shape the ways how they behavior and discursively legitimize themselves. Platforms in the Chinese context are under a distinctive kind of embeddedness that we call "state-led embeddedness."

The concept of "state-led embeddedness" captures the idea that, rather than seeing platforms as an innovation of a relatively autonomous market, they are intentionally supported, sustained, and developed by the state. As a result, state-led embeddedness denotes a non-competitive and subordinating state-platform relationship. As such, platforms' fiduciary obligations under this context are first to the general society under which they operate. Because of this special feature, platforms in a state-led embeddedness context often have to discursively legitimize themselves as providers of social goods and rely less on discourses concerning their individualistic economic benefits. What is at stake here is not simply that the Chinese national government always succeeds in shaping how platforms act to provide social good but that the nature of intergovernmental relations may carry out various notions of "platform for social goods" in practice.

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## H19(a) - Democracy, Power, and Poverty

### Political Theory

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 302

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Ritwik Bhattacharjee (University of British Columbia)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Alexis Bibeau (University of Virginia)

**Origins and Futures: Radical Democracy's Roots in Ancient Athenian Poverty:** Hayley Malouin (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The late 20th century saw a number of radical democratic thinkers look to ancient Athenian society in efforts to make sense of the rapid and troubling changes to democratic discourse. This turn was informed by a central question that can be summarized thusly: what is missing from current democratic regimes that makes them susceptible to totalitarianism and capitalist degradation, and that may have been present in its ancient forms? For these thinkers, as for this research, both the conceptual nature of poverty and the political role of the poor stand out as key factors in Athenian democracy. A fundamental link can be identified between radical democratic thought and ancient Athens; politicizing poverty?conceptualizing poverty as a political experience, rather than merely a social or economic one?is both a cornerstone of ancient democracy and the fulcrum upon which radical democratic projects pivot.

Yet the lack of substantial investigation into poverty as a foundational political element in ancient democratic Athens produces a dearth in our understanding of the very origins of democracy itself. By ignoring poverty and the poor, political theorists preclude a deeper, more comprehensive, and more actionable understanding of how the ancient world can inform our own. A necessary project for radical democratic thinkers is to remedy this oversight and re-centre poverty in political conversations and re-conceptualize the poor as political actants. To these ends, this paper proposes a framework of interrogation and action, which identifies poverty as the conceptual project of our time and the poor as political actants par excellence.

**Why the Poor Don't Rule: An Archive of Democracy as Threat:** Amir Fleischmann (University of Michigan)

**Abstract:** This project is an investigation into the ways democracy has been understood, articulated, and intermittently enacted as a threat. For thousands of years, from Aristotle to the Federalist Papers, democracy's critics and advocates both understood it as a threat that would bring about equality. Rather than a shining beacon of freedom for one and all, democracy is cast as the threat of the disempowered many using their numerical majority to seize wealth and power from the few. Yet, with democracy ascendant the world over, its threat has not, in fact, come to pass. We have lost sight of that aspect of democracy that Aristotle and Madison found so threatening. To recover this aspect of democratic theory, this paper collects the work of diverse authors from different settings and normative commitments into an archive. Together, these works bring into relief a recurring idea within democratic theory. The undercurrent and themes that emerge go beyond the terms of any one project within it. These themes provide the foundation for a theory of democracy centred on the poor and excluded assembled in the name of equality. By placing the assembled poor and excluded back at the centre of the way we think about democracy, we can achieve a deeper appreciation of the forces conducive and inimical to popular power.

**La Liberté Artistique Mise à l'Épreuve : Typologie des Censures Contemporaines au Canada:** Edith Brunette (Université d'Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Les enjeux liés à la liberté artistique ont fait grand bruit dans les médias canadiens, à la suite d'une vague de protestations récentes contre l'appropriation culturelle et le racisme en art. D'aucuns voient dans les revendications des communautés racisées ? et dans les réponses des institutions artistiques à celles-ci ? une menace à la liberté artistique, celle-ci étant considérée, dans les sociétés libérales, comme un gage de bon fonctionnement de la démocratie (Marcin Górski, 2017). Or, qu'en est-il de l'impact réel des discussions entourant ces revendications sur la liberté artistique? L'attention médiatique qui leur est consacrée est-elle proportionnelle à la place qu'elles occupent dans l'ensemble des obstacles posés à la création? À partir d'entretiens semi-dirigés avec vingt-six artistes professionnels canadiens de profils ethnoculturels divers, réalisés en 2020-21, nous avons examiné les limites à la création artistiques qu'ils et elles rencontrent dans l'exercice de leur travail. En nous basant sur leurs récits, nous proposons une typologie des formes de contraintes à la liberté artistique, afin de mettre en perspective le poids relatif des considérations éthiques ? incluant les enjeux d'appropriation et de racisme ? sur cette liberté. Ce faisant, nous chercherons aussi à mieux situer la notion polysémique de censure (Arnaud Esquerre, 2020), au regard du contexte actuel de production et de diffusion de l'art au Canada. Nous défendons que les principales contraintes à la liberté des artistes canadiens découlent plutôt de leur dépendance financière envers l'État, et des pratiques intrusives de ce dernier dans la production culturelle.

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## H19(b) - Nature, History, and the Foundations of the Liberal State

### Political Theory

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0010

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Terry Maley (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Terry Maley (York University)

***From Power to Legitimation: Liberalism and Democracy in Social Contract Theory:*** Grant Andersen (York University)

**Abstract:** The social contract is an ambiguous artifact. In most respects, it is unmistakably a product of the liberal political imaginary. Even in Rousseau's time, it was already evident that the first civil philosophers to imagine a social contract attributed the properties of their own societies and the qualities of the people inhabiting them to nature. In this nature, subjects are depicted as appetitive, acquisitive, and atomized proprietors, a rudimentary form of the homo oeconomicus that anthropologically underpins economic discourse and modern commercial societies. On the other hand, there is undeniably a democratic element in the social contract. As Hobbes observed in *De Cive*, when men have met to erect a commonwealth, they are, almost by the very fact that they have met, a Democracy. This is puzzling given that none of the contract theorists (Spinoza excepted) were democrats, and that most key works of social contract theory reiterate or renew the body of anti-democratic polemic that is coextensive with the Western tradition of political thought. In each social contract theory, a democratic moment appears briefly only to be attenuated immediately afterwards. In one way or another, every covenant transforms democracy from a form of power into a form of legitimation. The following essay conducts a historical survey of Hobbes, Rousseau, and Kant's contract theories, giving special attention to the variety of ways that the social contract as an argumentative form has been employed to repress a democratic moment that it cannot deny altogether, given its premises.

***Feelings, Progress, and the Utopian Liberalism of the Nineteenth Century:*** Veronika Reichert (York University)

**Abstract:** My paper will illuminate the role of feeling in the ideology of liberalism at its height in the nineteenth century. Especially strong in the Anglo-sphere, liberal philosophy contained within it the premise that a rational, natural, and inevitable progress towards a just and rational international order was being pursued and developed through the realisation of rational liberal principles, elaborated concisely by historian Duncan Bell. This progress was said to be harnessed by the innate feelings of benevolence inherent in the human being, from the moral sentiment famously developed by Hutcheson and Smith. From J.S. Mill to T.H. Green, the feeling of benevolence and the pursuit of happiness was the driving force behind the self-development of an individual who followed rational self-interest, and the progress of national and international justice through rational liberal principles, notably liberal economic principles, that moved towards world peace and cooperation. Politically, this can be understood as a continuation and perhaps culmination of the countervail theory, elaborated upon by Albert Hirschman, in which dangerous and irrational passions, in the political realm in particular, are balanced and neutralised by more beneficial passions (and later, sentiments, affections, and rational interests). The liberal state, and liberal project as a whole, thus rests upon very specific understandings of certain feelings as intertwined with the picture of an inherently progressive human nature. Moreover, this interpretation of feelings served to justify contradictory and illiberal actions on the part of the state as compatible with liberalism and a goal of eventual peace and justice.

***Can Politics Be More than Security? Thinking Beyond Liberalism's Politics of Security:*** Zach Pfeifer (York University)

**Abstract:** Montesquieu begins Book 12 of *The Spirit of the Laws* by distinguishing two types of liberty, philosophical liberty as the exercise of one's will and political liberty as the opinion of one's own security (Montesquieu, 1749/1989). This distinction is carried down through various liberal traditions, cementing a notion of the political that is consubstantial with security. A core aspect of the liberal political ontology is thus: the purpose of the political is security, so politics becomes an activity of securing a liberty that is external to it. But what about democracy? If the political is consubstantial with security, how can the freedom to choose one's own political arrangements to judge and alter the political be fulfilled? In search of a resolution to this question, I will turn to the thought of Cornelius Castoriadis; whose political thought attempts to rejoin the political to the philosophical, re-introducing a political ontology in which an ongoing activity of judging and choosing serves as the structuring principle of the political. This article draws explicit attention to the liberal political ontology of security and the imperative, uncovered through an analysis of Castoriadis' thought, to sever the notion of politics from security to think beyond the liberal order. Through this analysis, I aim to present the possibility of a radically democratic notion of political liberty that rests in the indeterminacy of the political arrangement rather than its secured determinacy.

***Democracy Beyond the State? The Gauchet/Abensour Debate:*** Samuel de Brouwer (York University)

**Abstract:** With recent events on the international scene, democracy once more reveals itself as a regime particularly prone to crisis. In a polemical debate that has not yet received adequate critical scrutiny, French political theorists Marcel Gauchet and Miguel Abensour have argued over the nature of this recurring sense of unrest. Even if both thinkers offer very different reasonings, they agree that an explanation to the democratic problem can be found within the troubled relationship that modern democracy maintains with the liberal state, as its foundational political institution, and the principle of autonomy, as the historical process that questions the legitimacy of every institution. My argument is that examining the debate between Gauchet and Abensour will provide necessary clarifications over the meaning of the democratic experience, today and in the foreseeable future. This analysis contributes to the question of how much the true spirit of democracy requires reaching beyond the state-nation form. My method consists of identifying the main concepts at the heart of the debate between Gauchet in *La condition historique* and Abensour in *Lettre d'un révolté*, such as state, autonomy, revoltism, liberal democracy, and insurgent democracy. Each of these concepts needs to be interpreted in order to understand their implications for both Gauchet and Abensour in the context of their debate, but also within the broader evolution of French political theory. I aim to demonstrate how an essential intellectual debate has been largely ignored even if it provides crucial input on the paradoxical relationship of democracy and the state.

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## J19 - Contemporary Issues in Alberta Politics

### Provincial and Territorial Politics in Canada and Beyond

Date: Jun 1 2023 | Time: 01:30pm - 03:00pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 303

Chair/Président/Présidente : John McAndrews (McMaster University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Patrick Desjardins (University of Ottawa)

*Alberta Exceptionalism? Public opinion and Covid-19 politics:* Duane Bratt (Mount Royal University), Lisa Young (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** The COVID-19 pandemic created political division everywhere in Canada, but there was no Canadian jurisdiction where the division was so deep and the consequences for politics and government as dramatic as in Alberta. Controversies over COVID precautions, vaccines, and vaccine mandates created deep conflicts within the governing United Conservative Party, eventually resulting in the resignation of Premier Jason Kenney and the selection of a new party leader (Danielle Smith) intent on 'setting right the wrongs' that had been committed in the government's efforts to manage the pandemic. At various times during the pandemic, those who opposed COVID restrictions engaged in protests and civil disobedience; at other times, activists who considered the provincial response inadequate held daily protests at the legislature. This study focuses on two key questions: 1) why was COVID so divisive in Alberta (as compared to other Canadian provinces) and 2) what are the enduring effects of the pandemic for Alberta politics (if any). The methodology is to drill down into a series of public opinion polls: including Janet Brown Opinion Research, ViewPoint Alberta data (2018, 2020, 2021, and 2022), and publicly available Angus Reid Institute data. These data analyses will examine the influence of ideology, partisan attachment, geographic location and demographics on attitudes toward pandemic response. They will also track shifts in populism and partisan identification over the period of the pandemic.

*"It's not me it's you." The inertial populisms of Alberta:* Clark Banack (University of Alberta), Lars Hallstrom (University of Lethbridge)

**Abstract:** Alberta is routinely depicted as an anomaly among Canadian provinces, due both to the overwhelming record of success conservative-leaning parties have enjoyed, both federally and provincially, going back to at least 1935, as well as the existence of a strongly 'populist' political culture that has structured much of its approach to public policy and intergovernmental relations. While a pervasive anti-elitist sentiment, often considered the essence of populism, is clearly present in the province, this paper argues that previous analyses of Alberta have tended to overlook the more complex and multi-faceted ways in which populism is intersecting with its politics. More specifically, we offer an initial reconsideration of the politics of Alberta that argues not simply that Alberta is 'populist,' nor that the province has evolved through different stages of populism (agrarian, plebiscitarian, neo-liberal, extractive, etc), but rather that there are multiple types of populism operating simultaneously in the province and it is in fleshing-out these unique forms of populism that the exceptionalism of Alberta politics can best be illuminated. Drawing upon several historical and contemporary examples, this paper will elucidate these unique forms of Alberta populism and demonstrate the ways in which their interaction has heavily influenced, rather than reflected, the political culture, electoral outcomes and public policy trajectories of the province. We conclude by situating the current UCP government within this context, with an emphasis upon the change agenda that underwrites this populist history.

*The Alberta 2023 Election: Has the Polarization Pendulum Swung Left Again?:* Peter Ryan (Mount Royal University)

**Abstract:** This study analyzes the social media communications and web campaign strategies of the Alberta provincial parties in the lead up to the scheduled Monday, May 29, 2023, 31st general election. Has Alberta's two-party polarization that solidified in 2019's election started to swing back to the left, possibly due to the right splitting under the leadership of new Premier Danielle Smith? Ryan (2021) and Bratt (2022), among others, identified how the 2019 Alberta election secured two main professionalized parties the position of dominating the political battlefield, based on factors including excelling in communication strategy, donations, polling and electoral success.

The 2019 Alberta Election ended with the Jason Kenney led United Conservative Party (UCP) taking 63 seats, compared to the 24 seats for the incumbent Rachel Notley led New Democratic Party's (NDP), which was a drop of 28 from their previous historic 52 seat majority. Three years later Kenney stepped down as UCP leader on May 18, 2022, after the UCP leadership review's support came in at 51.4%. He led the province through two years of the pandemic, during turbulent internal party dynamics and regional support fluctuating from polarization, with many feeling the party leadership's intellectual capital had run its course to burnout from those trying times. Overall, this study analyzes the strategic communications and web technologies available on the party websites to better understand how the framing the language of the top five party platforms was used to attract and retain voters during the polarizing pre-election period to develop partisan brand command.

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## K19 - Public Administration: Canada and Beyond

### Public Administration

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Victor Phillip Dahdaleh Building-DB 0014

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Thomas Bergeron (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jerald Sabin (Carleton University)

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: A critical analysis:** John Enyinnaya (Vivend15 Media)

**Abstract:** Local Government Administration, indigenous called Local Government Areas (LGA), have the responsibility of ensuring the total development of the areas under their jurisdiction. Despite the ample evidence indicating their increasing effectiveness in delivering economic and social services, the LGA have not been highly effective and efficient. The study, therefore, set out to critically examine the role of LGA in economic and social development in Nigeria. The study focused on Alimosho Local Government Area in Lagos state. The study analyzed how the LGA carried out its economic and social development functions, its capacity, the involvement of other stakeholders and other factors influencing their involvement in the process. The use of qualitative method was employed. Both primary and secondary sources of data were used and a variety of methods including interview, documentary variety analysis, focus group discussion and questionnaires. Research questions include: Is there any significant relationship between the local government administration and the current economic and social development in Nigeria? The study revealed that the LGA were less committed to the implementation of programs and projects stated in their development plans that were of direct benefits to economic and social entities in their areas. Also, the LGA had inadequate capacity in terms of funds, logistics and human resources. Recommendations include: that the LGA should be empowered with the needed capacity, employ pragmatic and relevant strategies and tools and should consciously involve all the necessary and potential stakeholders. Also, annual national budget must have more percentage allocated to the LGA in Nigeria.

**We Should Not Be Afraid of Innovation?: Public Sector Innovation in Canada:** Justin Leifso (University of Victoria), Sarah Stilwell (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** In August 2022, Ontario's Minister of Health announced a series of initiatives to address a backlog in surgical procedures in the third year of the COVID-19 pandemic. She signalled a willingness to increase privately delivered surgical procedures and argued that the challenges facing health care delivery required the provincial government to be "bold, innovative and creative." When faced with criticism that she was suggesting the government would pursue privatization of services, she responded that "we should not be afraid of innovation" (Southern and Visser 2022). The pronouncement is a quintessential example of public officials appealing to public sector "innovation" as key to solving any manner of policy problem. In this paper, we explore the emergence of public sector "innovation" in Canada. We trace the concept of "innovation" from its roots in classical political economy through to Marx, from Schumpeter's conceptualization of creative destruction to the emergence of public sector "innovation" as an enduring legacy of the neoliberalization of Canadian bureaucracies. We argue that "innovation" is a concept inseparable from market governance, and that its translation (Clarke et al 2015) for consumption and deployment in the public sector reflects both a reconceptualization of its meaning and a crisis of the neoliberal state's ongoing efforts to "do more with less."

**Measuring the "developmental state" in liberal countries: a comparison of policy agendas in Canada and the United States, 1989-2022:** Matt Wilder (University of Toronto, Employment and Social Development Canada), Sean McGowan (Industry, Science and Economic Development Canada)

**Abstract:** Despite widespread belief that government action is required to promote innovation and sustainable growth, little is known about state intervention in nominally liberal economies. This paper adds precision to the concept of "developmental network states" by leveraging data from the American Policy Agendas Project and a new dataset on Canadian program expenditures. Examination of federal and sub-national policy agendas from 1989 to 2022 permits assessment of two premises advanced in the literature on liberal developmental states: (1) that liberal developmental states are characterized by "coordinated decentralization" and (2) that programmatic durability and success depend on political insulation. The first premise is evaluated by developing measures of coordination and decentralization using a mixed-methods approach that involves case investigation of data points identified via quantitative analysis. The second premise is evaluated by assessing the correspondence between political turnover and policy change. The discussion proceeds to disentangle political insulation from possible confounders related to political attention and degree of consensus, failure to control for which may result in over-estimation of the effect of political insulation. Biased estimation should be taken seriously, as it may lead analysts to unduly favour insular technocracy over more inclusive and democratic alternatives. Case analysis reveals that political insulation varies on at least two dimensions related to government interference and lobbying. Some constraints and opportunities affecting political influence vary predictably across Canadian and American institutions governing the budgetary process, while others vary idiosyncratically according to institutions governing policy subsystems. Complexity is handled by a simple typology of developmental states.

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## L19(a) - Epistemic Contestations: Ethics, Narrative, and Decolonial Praxis

### Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics

Date: Jun 1 2023 | Time: 01:30pm - 03:00pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 304

Chair/Président/Présidente : Elaine Coburn (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Elaine Coburn (York University)

*Phoebe Nahanni on Dene Method, Work and the Gender of Colonialism:* Rebecca Hall (Queen's University), Mark Stoller (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Phoebe Nahanni, a Dene activist, researcher and geographer, was a central figure in the Dene political movement and a prominent advocate for Indigenous rights in northern Canada from the 1970s to the 1990s. Through her activist and scholarly research, she offered unique place-based and gendered perspectives on Dene history, labour, and experiences of colonialism. These include a typology of Dene women's labour in the northern mixed economy; a gendered analysis of the impacts of colonialism on Dene livelihoods; and a lived analysis of place-based practices of Dene empowerment. Though Nahanni passed away in 2001, her work exemplifies Dene commitments to place (Coulthard 2014) and a grounded approach to knowledge production that holds important insights for contemporary decolonizing approaches to research.

In this paper, we bring these insights into conversation with recent literature on the Canadian northern political economy and ongoing processes of colonialism. In so doing, we examine the ethical space we locate, as settler researchers engaging with Dene theory: we write through the imperative to learn from grounded theories of colonialism, rather than importing theories from elsewhere, while remaining attentive to the power relations and possibilities of appropriation, made especially apparent by the time that separates Nahanni's writing and our own engagement. Indeed, time plays a central role in our analysis, as we think through the chronology of Nahanni's own scholarship, the cyclical tempo that characterizes the feminized Dene labours she engages, and the ways in which our own time, and experiences of it, shape our reading of Nahanni's work.

*Enacting Feminist Epistemologies: Photovoice and Narrative Inquiry as Feminist Research Methods:* Kenya Thompson (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper explores how Photovoice and narrative inquiry as a methodological approach, rooted in community-based participatory action research, operationalizes feminist epistemologies. Though rarely applied to political science research, narrative inquiry provides a lens through which to appreciate and encompass the complex stories that comprise individuals' lives. Expanding upon standpoint theories often utilized in feminist research, narrative inquiry makes meaning of the sociopolitical and material conditions in which participants are enmeshed, and by which their life's circumstances are informed. Photovoice complements narrative inquiry by giving participants the means to tell those stories through photography and other modes of visual expression in creative and accessible ways. With the agency to identify subjects that, according to their lived experience, are worthy of scholarly documentation and analysis, participants act as research collaborators, and are enabled to draw explicit connections between the challenges they face in their lives and their structural origins. In this way, it can set the foundations for transformative activism. I describe how I utilized this methodology in research alongside participants in Nova Scotia's 'childcare deserts' who are unable to access formal childcare, who documented moments of caregiving in their everyday lives. This methodological approach revealed the innovative solutions caregivers, families, and communities employ to navigate care while working to make ends meet. I argue this approach would be generative in feminist political economy research that aims to enact social change inform policymaking, and moreover has the potential to advance political science research in critical, innovative directions.

*Haitian Cosmopolitanism: Hospitality, International Law, and Race in the Work of Baron de Vastey:* Andrew Young (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Drawing on Adom Getachew's concept of 'worldmaking' as an attempt to contest a hierarchical, imperial world order, I suggest that the language we now associate with cosmopolitanism, especially hospitality, allowed Haitian thinkers to contest racialization by affirming a singular humanity subject to universally binding rights and responsibilities.

In 1816, Haitian writer Baron de Vastey's publishes his *Reflections on the Blacks and the Whites*, a pamphlet entering the debate raging in France on the economics and ethics of resuming the transatlantic slave trade after the Napoleonic Wars. Both sides had deployed the writings of Mungo Park, detailing his search for the source of the Nile, to argue for or against the civility of African nations and the humanity of people of African descent. Vastey, in his turn, reframes the debate to focus on the hospitality of the Africans that Park encounters, in one case even performing what we would now call a postcolonial reading against the text to explain African thinking through the lens of hospitality. By naming the law of hospitality, only implied in the writings of his European interlocutors, Vastey makes subtext text, thereby shifting the terrain of contestation to the firmer ground of international law.

Against realist or pessimist framings of international relations, which disavow lawful powers above sovereignty, Vastey uses cosmopolitan language to give tangible form to European accusations against Africans, so that they can be answered then dismissed, and to create an order in which it is Europeans in African who are violating international law.

*Decolonial Queer Praxis as Prefigurative Politics:* Leonard Halladay (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** In the wake of a 'summer of revolt' marked by Indigenous resurgence and renewed calls for racial justice (Maynard and Betasamosake Simpson, 2022: 103), this paper reflects on the ways settler-colonial nation building informs the politics of belonging in Canada's political present. Following Scott Morgensen (2011: 54), I am preoccupied with the settler-colonial and homonationalist implications of a so-called queer liberalism, structured by liberal multicultural logics of equity, diversity, and inclusion, relative to radical queer projects seeking anti-oppression, structural change, and liberation from within that same frame. To that end, I explore how queer politics can act in solidarity with Indigenous struggles for decolonization despite "queer radicalisms and liberalisms aris[ing] interdependently within white-supremacist settler colonialism." To sketch these possibilities, I revisit the tenets of gay liberation by way of queer liberation theory (Mulé 2019; Mackenzie 2020) in order develop a decolonial queer praxis in line with 'prefigurative politics' (Raekstad and Gradin 2020). Reacting to Tuck and Yang's (2012) insistence that "decolonization is not a metaphor," this paper examines what queer solidarity with Indigenous

struggles for decolonization can and should look like in the context of settler-colonial Canada.

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## L19(b) - The Politics of Reconciliation: Articulation from Above and Below

### Race, Ethnicity, Indigenous Peoples and Politics

Date: Jun 1 2023 | Time: 01:30pm - 03:00pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 306

Chair/Président/Présidente : Yann Allard-Tremblay (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Veldon Coburn (University of Ottawa)

*The Future of Reconciliation from the Standpoint of its History:* Corey Snelgrove (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Since 2015, reconciliation has been deployed to justify and evaluate a range of associated policies, while also representing the goal of transforming a colonial relationship into a non-colonial one. Yet, in recent years, reconciliation has been announced dead given the recalcitrance of the state. One tendency within the interdisciplinary study of Canadian-Indigenous politics has been to 'rescue' reconciliation through a conceptual distinction: colonial versus transformative conceptions, state versus Indigenous conceptions of reconciliation. While it is important to understand competing visions that traffic under the same concept, the limit is the gap between alternative conceptions and their realization. Stuart Hall's conception of articulation is helpful because it speaks to the connection between ideas and social forces while viewing this connection as contingent and so capable of revision for different purposes.

I turn to the history of reconciliation, drawing attention to Indigenous struggles that gave rise to its emergence in 1996 in RCAP and explain its belated take-up in 2015. I argue that it was in 2015 that reconciliation became an answer to a legitimation deficit for a resource-led accumulation strategy; reconciliation was articulated to this resource-led accumulation strategy as a way to stave off an emerging legitimation crisis. However, articulations are also contingent and, as our context makes clear, it is not certain whether this particular articulation will hold. Returning to the pre-history of reconciliation ? what explains this turn to a resource-led accumulation strategy ? discloses the social forces that might have an interest in a transformative, decolonial politics.

*With Allies Like these? The Figure of the Ally? in Toolkit Literatures as a Trace on the Limits of Reconciliation:* Phil Henderson (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Following decades of Indigenous-led anti-colonial struggles, and especially in the wake of the 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the fact of Canada as an ongoing project of colonization is a reality which more settlers seem to be confronting. This has frequently prompted the question: what is to be done? In this paper?part of a broader dissertation project?I review a number of 'ally toolkits,' which purport to offer guidance or principles for settlers seeking to support Indigenous peoples' decolonizing and anti-colonial work. Methodologically, I study these toolkits as texts of political theory; more specifically, to approach them as a form of what Stuart Hall called 'low theory,' though I reposition this as theory from below.

The toolkits are drawn from a number of sources, including single-authored documents, NGOs and NGO-funded community organizations, labour unions, and professional associations. Outlining the common political program across these toolkits as one of allyship in pursuit of reconciliation, I also consider the strategies that are put forward to achieve this goal. Through critical discourse analysis, however, I also interrogate how these toolkits construct the would-be ally as both normatively white and of a professional/managerial background. Ultimately, I argue that this has significant consequences in terms of both who is interpellated into the work of 'allyship,' as well as for the potential scope of that work might entail. The theory of allyship developed in these toolkits, I argue, works as a technique of articulation that narrows the more politically expansive work of anti-colonial struggle for would-be allies.

*Water Protection, Land Defence and Class Struggle:* John Carlson (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** This paper argues that the general class struggle is a fundamental condition for the exercise of Indigenous self-determination in anti-capitalist form. This is based on an analysis of the infrastructure of solidarity that allows Water Protectors and Land Defenders to exercise Indigenous law on the frontlines in the face of capitalist resource extraction. This infrastructure is constituted, on the one hand, by a politicized form of redistribution that releases Water Protectors and Land Defenders from direct capitalist exploitation, creating a relative degree of autonomy to engage in a form of self-activity less constrained by capitalist social relations; and, on the other hand, by a solidarity network that provides leverage to enforce Indigenous law in struggle. The analysis also reveals, however, that the means of struggle remain dependent on wealth in the form of capital, which is generally redistributed through an atomized and fragmented Indigenous and settler working class. As such, Indigenous anti-colonial self-determination continues to be grounded on and constrained by capitalist social relations. This suggests that the process by which Water Protectors and Land Defenders are released from the immediate compulsions of capitalist exploitation contains a latent class struggle that remains depoliticized insofar as it is only grasped in instrumental terms as a means for the assertion of Indigenous jurisdictional and political power. Developing these implications, I argue, points not only to the possibility of a more robust form of Indigenous self-determination, but to the general class struggle as an essential condition of the latter in a non-capitalist form.

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## N19 - Workshop Feministing in Political Science Roundtable 3: Conspiring Feminist Friendships: ? Relationalities beyond Borders

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 307

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Fiona MacDonald (University of Northern British Columbia)

David Semaan (York University)

Sheema Khawar (York University)

Rawan Qaddoura (York University)

Zhi Ming Sim (York University)

**Abstract:** This roundtable brings together political scholars from diverse backgrounds to discuss how we negotiate and form subversive friendships within Canadian universities. We speak about how experiences of exclusion, alienation and racialization within academic spaces informs and nourishes our political orientation towards feminisms grounded in anti-imperialist, abolitionist, queer-anarcho epistemologies. Through these political projects, we situate our positionalities in opposition to the academic machinery that disciplines, dilutes, and deradicalizes the work that we seek to do. Engaging everyday collaboration, epistemic friendships, exchanging advice and pedagogical techniques, we form material and practical strategies that make our scholarship thinkable and possible. This includes citing names and reiterating points articulated by one another; supporting each other through explicit agreement through our body language; sharing notes and class lectures; intentionally and strategically collaborating in-class activities, and critiquing one another when our ideas are reproducing violent frameworks.

Significantly, this discussion rethinks the capacity of colonial classrooms as emancipatory sites for our knowledge towards disrupting the everyday violence that comes with it. Our capacity for emancipatory solidarities goes beyond identities. Rather, it is our politics and strategic engagement with critical scholarship that allow us to pave the way for epistemic friendships and collaboration. In our roundtable, we will discuss our vision for an alternative classroom follows a feminist pedagogical approach. The collective labour of building epistemic friendship foregrounds an agenda that centers critical knowledge toward decolonization.

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## S19 - 2024 CPSA Programme Committee Planning Meeting / Réunion de planification du comité de programme de l'ACSP 2024

### CPSA Business and Committee Meetings

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 01:30pm - 03:00pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 305

**Click the following link for complete session information:**

[https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp\\_2023/sessions\\_details?id=259](https://mycpsa-cpsa-acsp.ca/cfp/cfp_2023/sessions_details?id=259)

### Participants

Raul Pacheco-Vega (FLACSO-Mexico)

Valérie Vézina (Kwantlen Polytechnic)

Genevieve Fuji Johnson (CPSA Team ? Équipe ACSP)

Silvina L. Danesi (CPSA Team ? Équipe ACSP)

Sean Hart (CPSA Team ? Équipe ACSP)

Marybelle Issa (CPSA Team ? Équipe ACSP)

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## Day 3 - Session 5 (03:15pm - 04:45pm)

### B21 - Voters, Politicians and Public Policy: A Comparative Perspective

#### Comparative Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 002

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Hideki Kido (Ritsumeikan University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Jim Farney (Johnson Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy, Regina)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Hideki Kido (Ritsumeikan University)

***Understanding the Role of Candidates? Visual Information - Application of Conjoint Analyses and Eye Tracking Techniques:*** Etsuhiro Nakamura (Aichi Gakuin University)

**Abstract:** Because the methodological foundations and online survey platforms for conjoint analysis have been developed, conjoint analysis has been used widely to analyze Japanese electoral politics and candidate choice by voters. Although these analyses provide very interesting insights, they are based on verbal descriptions of candidates. Recently, several studies indicated the importance of visual information about candidates. Some scholars contended that voters infer important traits, such as competence, from candidates' faces. Other researchers found that attractiveness helps candidate win more votes. Japanese electoral studies using conjoint analysis have not incorporated the facial information into their analysis so far.

Although a great deal of experimental evidence suggests that better-looking candidates have some electoral advantages, the extent to which voters use facial information compared with other information remains unknown. For example, candidates' faces convey information about their ages and genders. It is remains unclear whether age and gender or facial information has the stronger effect. The comparison of facial information and policy platforms is another important research target, but researchers are unsure how facial information affects the voters' choices.

Thus, in order to fill the gap between the conjoint literature and facial information research, in this paper, I examine whether facial information affects voters' choices even when other traits are controlled. I accomplish this using conjoint analysis to compare verbal and pictorial descriptions of candidates. Then, I investigate whether voters' information processing styles are influenced by facial information using eye tracking techniques. Finally, I summarize the experimental results and present this study's conclusions.

***Measuring the Implementation Gap of Land rights for Indigenous and Afro-descendant Peoples in Central America: Comparative analysis of four key aspects:*** Ritsuko Funaki (Chuo University)

**Abstract:** Latin America is one of the most crucial regions regarding realization of Indigenous Peoples' rights. Most states have reformed the Constitution with the aim of recognizing the rights of Indigenous Peoples and Afro-descendant peoples during the last two decades. However, in practice, they have frequently failed to comply with the responsibilities established in national and international laws, which is why researchers and stakeholders have repeatedly reported situations of such implementation gaps. But it has not been clear how much gap exists in comparative view, basically because of the methodological limitations of above-mentioned reports, and the qualitatively complex features of the gaps themselves. Within various aspects of the gap, violation of the right to lands and territories for the Indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples demonstrates one of the most conflictive and controversial situations with respect of the phenomenon.

Considering its population and geographic diversity, in the present study we will analyze the gaps in Central American countries focusing on following four key aspects of the right to lands and territories: 1) Collective property titles; 2) Territorial security against invaders; 3) Territorial security against evictions and displacement; and 4) Consultation about natural resources in the lands occupied by Indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples.

***Connecting Intergovernmental Relations? Career Paths 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. 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.

***The Changing Relationship between Politicians and Bureaucrats in Japan: A Focus on Personal History of Government Official:*** Masatoshi Kato (Ritsumeikan University), Kyoko Tokuhisa (Ritsumeikan University)

**Abstract:** The relationship between politicians and bureaucrats is changing to meet the needs of the times and the power balance of them. Postwar Japanese political history also applies to this pattern. In the early postwar years, bureaucrats had the power in policy making over politicians based on information asymmetry and expertise. Under the LDP government, politicians improved their abilities during the long careers and had the power over bureaucrats. In recent years, the power has been concentrated on prime minister since political-administrative reforms. Political scientists usually find this

change based on case study and explain it focusing on institutional and/or political factors. While these analyses show the changing relationship and reveal the causal factors, they understate the perspective of actors such as government official. This paper reconsiders above analysis on Japanese political system based on the interpretation of personal history of government official. According to the perspective of official, the cooperative relationship based on mutual trust is changing, but endure until recently. This paper shows that the superficial changes result from transformation in issues and the unintended consequences of political-administrative reforms destroy the cooperative relationship.

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## C21(a) - IR Theory IV: Challenges to Conventional Concepts

### International Relations

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 003

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Surulola Eke (Queen's University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Surulola Eke (Queen's University)

*The Conceptualization of Terrorism: What is Necessary?:* Tara Cranna (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** This paper evaluates the common properties typically included in conceptualizations of terrorism in academic literature, outlining the common debates, and highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches. While there are many debates about what the essential variables are for an accurate conceptualization of terrorism, a combination of form, actors, motive, intent, impact and response are needed in order to provide a comprehensive definition. The conceptualization of terrorism is a significant debate in political science literature, with most scholars assuming that a universal consensus on a definition is unreachable. Part of this complexity stems from the misuse of the term by the public, media and even governments, and the conflation of the concept with other types of political violence in research. Whether universal agreement is possible or not, continuing to strive for the most valid conceptualization of terrorism continues to be an important endeavour for political scientists.

*International Relations and the Problem of Distance:* Christopher LaRoche (Central European University)

**Abstract:** Although international relations scholarship has benefitted from concepts imported from sociology (practices), philosophy (difference), and critical geography (space), it has not yet explored "distance," broadly conceived. This lacuna is notable given that IR studies the global level of human interaction, where distances between political actors is extreme. In this paper I introduce international relations scholarship to "psychological distance," borrowing from its development in psychology, political theory, and sociology. In these fields, cultural, physical, temporal and hypothetical distance are intertwined in our subjective understanding of distance. Importantly, the further away a subject perceives an object on any of these dimensions, the less the subject is motivated to act toward that object. What is near is dear; what is distant is indifferent. Both nearness and distance are not given, however; they are subject to change and manipulation. I bring these findings into communication with IR scholarship through "the problem of distance": much of what we see, hear, and must act on in the course of everyday life happens at great psychological distance. I examine in particular the everyday aspects of global humanitarianism and climate change, showing how a psychological distance to either approach helps explain variations in support for humanitarian and climate policies. Finally, I argue a distance research program could break the usual pattern of IR concept importation, and become a concept uniquely developed by studies of world politics, particularly in terms of theorizing how the micro-foundational dynamics of psychological distance aggregate to national and global levels.

*The Old is Dying and the New Cannot be Born: the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria:* Shehnoor Khurram (York University)

**Abstract:** The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) was officially launched in 2014 with the purpose of establishing a transnational Islamic Caliphate. In the years following, it emerged as a major global actor in world politics, demonstrating significant resilience in constructing a 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. Its meteoric rise and conquest of vast swathes of territories across Iraq have given rise to an abundance of perspectives about the genealogy of the movement. To contribute to these ongoing debates, I examine the political-economic logics underpinning ISIS' emergence and statecraft. Employing international political economy, I locate the rise of ISIS within the breakdown of the Iraqi states. I argue that three processes have facilitated state (de)formation in this context, consequently creating a void that ISIS has attempted to fill through the creation of a transitional Islamic caliphate: (1) imperialism and the integration of Iraq into the world market through sanctions (1960), invasions (2003), and occupations (2003-2004); (2) neoliberalism and the internationalization of class and state in Iraq; and (3) the failures of the Arab Spring and deepening sectarianism.

*This is why we can't have nice things: tracing the colonial legacy in Canada's change-resistant legislation on international cooperation:* Gloria Novovic (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Traditional paradigms of global development have proven insufficient to address the urgency, the scale, and the scope of international solutions needed to address concurrent planetary threats of climate change, declining global health, and rising inequality. After 60 years of global development reforms across multilateral, non-government, and so-called "developing country" governments, critical development scholarship is turning toward so-called "donor" countries issuing official development assistance (ODA). The isomorphism found between Canada's global commitments and change-resistant ODA mechanisms are explained by tracing the legislative genealogy of Canada's approach to international assistance, outlined in the Income Tax Act and the Official Development Assistance Accountability Act (ODAAA). Employing Carol Bacchi's "What is the Problem Represented to Be?" approach, policy frames of international assistance across these two documents are compared with those outlined in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Paris Agreement to which Canada is a signatory. Employing Jacob Hacker's concept of policy drift, this article argues that Canada's legislative frameworks stand at odds with the country's global commitments but also, in the increasingly global context, state responsibility to deliver domestic social, economic, and environmental prosperity.

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## C21(b) - International Relations and Ukraine

### International Relations

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 004

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Palmo Brunner (University of Zurich)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Guy Juillet (Universidad de Belgrano)

***Diaspora mobilization during political crisis at home. The case of the Hong Kong, Ukrainian and Tunisian diasporas in Canada.***: Pietro Marzo (TELUQ University), Jean-François Dupré (TELUQ University), Klavdia Tatar (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** The academic debate conceptualizes diasporas as non-state actors with the ability to wield power in international relations. Diasporas transnational activism increases mostly during political crisis in their homeland, including major political change (transition to democracy or autocratization) and political shocks (internal coup d'état or foreign military invasion). Scholars have focused on the mobilization of diasporas during periods of democratization (Moss 2020, Carmen et al. 2021), yet less attention has been paid to diasporas' power dynamics and assistance capacity when other types of political crises occur. How do diasporas react to major political crises and shocks in their homeland? What influence do they exert and what tools do they possess to help their co-nationals in navigating them?

This paper tackles these questions by analysing the behaviour of three prominent diasporas in Canada that have witnessed significant political crises in the last decades: the Ukrainian, Tunisian and Hongkongese diasporas. The article examines the role that these diasporas played during periods of political change as well as their activism during particularly momentous political shocks. The article is organized into two main sections. Firstly, drawing on the secondary literature, the article unpacks dynamics and typologies of assistance during political crises, thus contributing to conceptualizing patterns of diasporic mobilization. Secondly, relying on authors' preliminary findings, the article investigates the behaviour of the three diasporas in Canada, comparing their strategies and assessing their agency during periods of political crisis at home.

***L'Afrique du Nord et la gestion de l'impact de la guerre en Ukraine:*** SAMAR KHAMLICHI (Institut Universitaire des Etudes Africaines, Euro-méditerranéennes et Ibéro-américaines Université)

**Abstract:** La guerre de la Russie contre un pays voisin qu'est l'Ukraine déclarée le 24 février 2022 a réitéré les inquiétudes mondiales sur des rapports de force mondiales déséquilibrés et un droit international qui ne réussit pas à s'affirmer face aux Etats forts. Au vu de son emplacement stratégique, l'Afrique du Nord n'est pas loin d'être impactée par la guerre en Ukraine. Sur le plan économique, la majorité des pays de la région achètent des matières premières de la Russie et de l'Ukraine, tandis que d'autres constituent les principaux importateurs des armes russes. D'un autre côté, la suspension du gaz russe n'a pas seulement impacté l'Europe, mais aussi l'Afrique du Nord. A rappeler que la proximité géographique des pays de l'Europe a favorisé les échanges et la coopération économiques. Maintenant, l'Europe souffre de la pénurie du gaz et par conséquent, les échanges entre les deux rives de la Méditerranée se retrouvent face à une crise non pas seulement régionale mais aussi mondiale. Désormais, les pays de l'Afrique du Nord se retrouvent face au dilemme de la crise interne multidimensionnelle politique, économique et sociale accentuée par la période du Covid-19 et maintenant la guerre en Ukraine. Entre les pays voisins, les conflits ne cessent de s'amplifier, sans pour autant oublier que durant cette crise mondiale, les pays de l'Afrique du Nord sont courtisés par les grandes puissances : le camp est et le camp ouest. Eviter la polarisation ou choisir un camp est un choix stratégique assez complexe pour ces Etats en besoin continu des appuis extérieurs des grandes puissances. Toutefois, cette dynamique devrait accélérer la mutation de la région de l'Afrique du Nord.

***Not in my Backyard!: Ukraine's Azov Battalion and the Challenges of Hybrid Security Governance in Practice:*** Eric Tanguay (Balsillie School of International Affairs)

**Abstract:** An extensive literature has emerged in recent years concerning hybrid security governance which has highlighted the potential benefits of integrating both state and non-state security actors in contexts of active conflict or contested statehood. This body of work has illustrated the pitfalls associated with identifying ideal, liberal partners in conflict-affected contexts, and has suggested a more pragmatic approach by peacebuilders would be to cultivate relationships with informal security actors already active on the ground, regardless of their potentially illiberal characteristics. This paper examines the practical challenges associated with pursuing hybrid security governance particularly in contexts beyond Africa and the Middle East, which has been the primary focus of literature thus far through an analysis of the Azov Battalion's role in the war in Ukraine's Donbas regions since 2014. Despite playing a crucial role in the conflict, fascistic sympathies within the paramilitary group have raised understandable concern among Ukraine's allies and have further fueled Russia's ongoing information war. This paper suggests such hybrid security arrangements may stabilize national power structures in the short term, while weakening them in the long-term. The conclusion draws on literature on the reintegration and political marginalization of rebel groups to outline potential future solutions for Ukraine.

***Wars of Aggression: The Role of Technological, Territorial and International Relations factors in the Russian Invasion of Ukraine:*** Ali Dizboni (Royal Military College of Canada), Robert Addinall (Royal Military College of Canada)

**Abstract:** This paper focuses on the evolving linkages between warfare and politics, including civil society and international relations. The 2022 Russo-Ukraine war has demonstrated that technological aspects such as Raymond Aron's concept of technical surprise, have empirical relevance for explaining how this situation emerged. Russia failed to anticipate not only the will of the Ukrainian state to resist invasion, but also the effectiveness of a number of new technologies. Resolution of the conflict will therefore involve more than the technological, organizational and morale factors that have brought it to its current stage. At least two of these additional aspects can be identified. The first has to do with territory: the growing motivation of both sides to fight for territory, and in Ukraine's case to regain territories lost in the past, may ironically become one of the greatest threats to a negotiated

settlement. In this case the value placed on territory may well be destabilizing and replace technological factors in the risk of further escalation. This leads to a second issue: how much should the value placed on territory be allowed to supersede regional and perhaps international peace and security? This means that this conflict has evolved into a war that now places in stark relief an inherent tension between the values of the state and those of the international system and international stability.

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## D21 - Law and Legal Institutions

### Law and Public Policy

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 005

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Caroline Dick (Waterloo)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Andrew McDougall (Toronto)

**Checking our blind spots: assessing the common (and distinctive) contributions of recent work on the Supreme Court's Charter, Federalism, and Indigenous caselaw:** Minh Do (University of Guelph), Robert Schertzer (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** We tend to stay in our lanes when we study politics and law. The complexity of legal issues, the long lineage of precedent, and the voluminous literature that decisions generate all draw us toward specialization. But legal and political scholars often extrapolate from particular areas of expertise to make grander statements about the role of the judiciary, the nature of public law, and the state of the democratic system. These questions about the appropriate relationship between law and politics arise particularly in the context of constitutional law cases, where the most salient issues in Canadian politics are tied to questions about the division of powers, individual human rights, and Indigenous rights.

In this paper we seek to systematically map how scholars of socio-legal and political science are writing and researching about constitutional law and its effects on political systems. Our paper surveys the socio-legal and political science scholarship in three areas of constitutional law: federalism, Charter rights, and Aboriginal rights. We examine whether the work in these areas reflects and applies broader insights about courts' appropriate role and scope of power in modern democracies or whether these areas are siloed and narrowly focusing on their respective legal developments. To do this, we analyze scholarship from leading socio-legal and political science journals across a ten-year period (2012-2022). The journals under investigation include: The Canadian Journal of Political Science, Canadian Journal of Law and Society, Review of Constitutional Studies, The Supreme Court Law Review, and University of Toronto Law Review.

**Law without Order: Policy Implications of Joint Sentencing Practices in Canada:** Sharmi Jaggi (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** Approximately 90% of Canadian criminal cases are resolved with a guilty plea and sentencing after a guilty plea is more a part of the Canadian justice system than a formal trial. Principles of separation of powers, accountability in government and impartiality in judicial administration are inconsistent with the extensive delegation of judicial power to Crown Prosecutors and defense lawyers under our current guilty plea system.

The principle of judicial deference towards joint submissions leaves considerable power to the Crown prosecutor and defense lawyers to determine sentence. Since trial judges depart only rarely from joint submissions, as the common law imposes strict limitations on when a judge may order a punishment that is different than jointly submitted by counsel, counsel have a crucial role to play in order to ensure they are doing justice to Parliament's sentencing intentions. This study examines to whether lawyers sentencing decisions are contingent on the substance of the Criminal Code.

Oral narratives obtained through thirty depth semi-structured interviews are used to explore how the strategies of lawyers either reflect or contradict law on the books. Results show that joint sentencing recommendations do not follow the purposes, principles and assumptions of sentencing as articulated in the Criminal Code. Rather, they are driven by the desire for expedient negotiations and reaching the goal of certainty of outcomes and prioritizes these goals over procedural fairness. Findings have important implications for the transparency and accountability of our criminal justice system and the legitimacy of our democratic institutions.

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## E21 - Mayors, Council, and Councillors

### Local and Urban Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 006

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Salomé Vallette (INRS)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Martin Horak (Western University)

*In Service to the Mayor: Policy Advisory Systems in Canadian Local Government:* Zachary Spicer (York University)

**Abstract:** The Mayor of a Canadian municipality is the head of council, chief executive of the organization and a central intergovernmental actor. However, very little has been written about this key position in Canada. Very few studies have focused on the role of the Mayor in Canadian local government in providing leadership to council and the municipality as a whole and none to date have focused on the role of the Mayor and his or her office in providing thought and policy leadership to the municipality. This project focuses on the nature of policy advisory systems in the Office of the Mayor, using the post-amalgamation Office of the Mayor in Toronto as a case study. In doing so, this project asks a series of key questions about the nature of policy development in Canadian local government: Is the Mayor a key policy actor in Canadian local government? In what ways (if at all) does the Mayor play a leadership role in creating or shaping policy in Canadian local government? What role do the staff supporting a Mayor play in policy development in Canadian local government? Overall, this project finds that the Mayor's staff play a key bridging role with council, aggregating policy choices from key allies and aligning them with the Mayor's agenda and that of the provincial government.

*When Councillors Harass: Public Perceptions of Accountability in Ontario Municipal Politics:* Tracey Raney (Toronto Metropolitan University), R. Michael McGregor (Toronto Metropolitan University), Cameron Anderson (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** In the lead up to Ontario's 2022 municipal elections, media have reported on several instances of sexual misconduct in city halls across the province. Over the last few years, municipal Integrity Commissioners have reported that numerous councillors across the province have violated their own municipal codes of conduct. Behaviour has ranged from vandalising property to sexually harassing staffers and members of the public. Despite the importance of this issue, relatively little is known about sexual harassment in municipal politics more broadly, nor of the Canadian context specifically. Research in the United States and Sweden demonstrates that the more power women local politicians have, the more likely they will experience violence and harassment (Herrick & Franklin 2019; Håkansson 2021). What we know less about is what the public thinks should happen when a local councillor engages in this troubling behaviour. Utilizing data from a two-wave survey fielded in the fall of 2022 (at municipal election time), this paper evaluates what eligible Ontario voters believe should happen when a municipal councillor is alleged to have, or has been found to have, engaged in sexual misconduct. The paper offers new theoretical insights and empirical findings on voter perceptions of accountability in municipal politics. It also includes practical recommendations for city halls, administrative officers, Integrity Commissioners, and provincial government actors on how to address this problem in a way that accords with the expectations of the Canadian public and as an important step to strengthening local democracy.

*?We yelled at them until they stopped?: An examination of prayer in municipal council meetings in BC:* Teale Phelps Bondaroff (BC Humanist Association), Ian Bushfield (BC Humanist Association), Olivia Jensen (BC Humanist Association)

**Abstract:** This paper evaluates compliance levels of British Columbia (BC) municipalities with the Saguenay decision and how compliance has changed over time and as a result of advocacy from non-governmental organizations. In its 2015 decision in *Mouvement laïque québécois v. Saguenay (City)*, the Supreme Court found including prayer in municipal councils to be unconstitutional and a violation of the state's duty of religious neutrality. In 2020, we published a report that found that despite this ruling, 23 BC municipalities had included prayer in their 2018 inaugural council meetings. The report also found that all the prayers were delivered by members of Christian clergy, and most (73.9%) were delivered by men. This report was part of an advocacy campaign, run by the BC Humanist Association, which included lobbying municipal staff, publicity, and encouraging grassroots outreach. This paper seeks to evaluate the impact of this advocacy and overall compliance with Saguenay by comparing the number of BC municipalities that included prayer in their 2018 inaugural meetings with those that continued the practice at their 2022 inaugural meetings. In order to isolate the impact of advocacy, we looked at changes in Saguenay compliance rates in provinces where minimal or no advocacy occurred. The paper concludes by contextualizing Saguenay compliance rates in BC with those of other provinces (Manitoba, Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Alberta).

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## F21 - Explaining Recent Elections and Events in Comparative Perspective

### Political Behaviour/Sociology

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 008

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Maurits (MJ) Meijers (Radboud University Nijmegen / Université de Montréal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Maurits (MJ) Meijers (Radboud University Nijmegen)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Joel Martinsson (Linnaeus University / Harvard University)

*The Primacy of Place: Articulating 'The Elite' in England's 'Red Wall':* Adam Dinsmore (University of York)

**Abstract:** In the last year alone, anti-elite populists have consolidated power in places as far afield as Chile, Colombia, Hungary, Italy, Peru, the Philippines and Sweden. The ideological breadth of these movements demonstrates the many ways that 'the elite' can be articulated by political actors, and the capacity of anti-elite discourses to serve both progressive and reactionary ends.

Since the 1980s, Poststructuralist Discourse Theory (PDT) has enriched formerly essentialist theorising about populism by foregrounding the role of discourse and contingency in the construction of the social. On this telling, political actors engage in a perennial 'War of Position' in which they compete to define key rhetorical categories such as 'the people' and 'elite' in terms favourable to their goals. Populists of the left, right and centre are each therefore able to profess opposition to 'the elite' while advancing radically divergent hegemonic programmes. However, this discursive turn has frequently obscured the active roles played by place and materiality in populist subjectification, compounding the marginalisation of materially deprived voters for whom anti-elitism is a common sense response to their experience of social reality.

This paper combines the insights of PDT with certain strands of New Materialism via a discursive-material analysis of interviews with residents of England's so-called 'Red Wall' - band of formerly-industrial towns whose apparent opposition to 'the elite' was said to be crucial to the 2016 Brexit referendum. Findings suggest 'the elite' is a much-contested floating signifier in British political life, understood according to residents' discursively constructed identities and material life conditions.

*Racial Attitudes and Learning about Historical Injustices: Evidence from the Discovery of Unmarked Graves in Canada:* Mark Williamson (New York University)

**Abstract:** How do revelations of historical injustices shape the attitudes of a dominant group towards a victimized out-group? Existing research suggests that learning about past wrongdoings can trigger either guilt or defensiveness, with downstream effects on support for redress. I explore these predictions in Canada, where, over the course of six weeks in 2021, hundreds of unmarked graves were discovered at former state-sponsored schools for Indigenous children. According to data on internet search traffic and media coverage, Canadians paid more attention to their country's history with Indigenous Peoples during this period than at any point in the prior decade. Using a natural experiment, I first show that the initial grave discovery caused a robust improvement in attitudes towards Indigenous Peoples among non-Indigenous respondents that were surveyed just before versus just after the news broke. Yet this change was short-lived: repeated public opinion polls show that interest in reconciliation dropped precipitously after the first discovery and ultimately returned to baseline a few months later. Moreover, in an original survey experiment fielded over a year later, I find that providing respondents with updated information about several more recent grave discoveries does nothing to move racial attitudes. I argue that these patterns are emblematic of a more generalizable challenge in informing dominant group members about their history with out-groups. Shocking revelations of past injustices can alter the salience of intergroup relations, but these events are too infrequent and too ephemeral to durably shift support for redress.

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## H21 - Colonialism, Structural Injustice, and Reconciliation

### Political Theory

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 009

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Afifa Khwaja (The University of Western Ontario)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Will Kujala (College of Wooster)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Corey Snelgrove (University of Toronto)

**Learning to let go: Diagnosing the socio-psychopathology of settler-colonial Canada:** Ritwik Bhattacharjee (University of British Columbia)

**Abstract:** Western political theory's engagement with settler colonialism has tended to consistently focus on its capitalist-materialist aspects viz., ownership of territory, extraction of resources, and the resultant genocidal erasure of Indigenous peoples of the land. Insofar as radical Indigenous responses to settler domination move between the wholesale rejection of colonial relationship on the one hand and direct action against the colonial state (blockades, protests, etc.) on the other ? this paper argues that until the socio-psychopathological aspect of settler colonialism is uncovered and addressed, reconciliation itself will remain impossible or primarily settler-mandated (hence, rejected). Using Canadian settler society as its case study, and further utilizing the recent turn towards understanding the thing-based nature of democratic polities, the paper follows Winnicottian object relations psychoanalysis to trace the logic of settler colonial attachment to land-as-object. It argues that the desire for and dependence on land as a transitional object turns into exceptional Oedipal psychopathology since the attachment not only fails to get decathected but instead ensures itself through the structural regulation and hegemonic domination of Indigenous peoples.

Keywords: settler colonialism, object relations, transitional object, Oedipus Complex, Canada

**The Concept of "Domestic Colonialism" and the Practice of Social Criticism:** Will Kujala (College of Wooster)

**Abstract:** In 1960s North America, the language of 'colonialism' proliferated as an 'analogy' for sexual domination, regional inequality, and racial injustice (among other things) throughout North America. This paper reconstructs the version of this concept of "domestic colonialism" offered by Black, Chicano, and Indigenous thinkers in the 1960s, who argued that racial 'minorities' are in fact colonized 'nations,' members of a worldwide Third World struggling against imperialism. Social scientific and critical theoretical literature acknowledges the massive importance of the thinkers who propagated this idea (Stokely Carmichael, Huey Newton, and Harold Cruse, for example), but largely dismisses the concept itself. Critics have argued that it is both an inadequate 'model' for race relations and a bygone rhetorical strategy, one either useless (the heyday of the 1960s is over) or dangerous (it assumes a clear analogy between racism and colonialism that has been upset by settler colonial studies). I argue for a redemption arc in the history of this concept, one that emphasizes that it cannot be reduced either to an explanatory model for racism or a rhetorical strategy. On the contrary, theorists of domestic colonialism were engaging in social criticism meant to make novel forms of antiracist struggle intelligible in the broader context of decolonization. Therefore it remains a source of important lessons about the meaning of social and political criticism, or, indeed, "critical theory." Situating struggles in the US and Canada in worldwide struggle against imperialism, they unsettled the very idea of 'domestic politics' as itself a colonial technology of power.

**The Dialectics of Implication: Billy-Ray Belcourt, Theodor Adorno, and the Politics of Reconciliation:** Corey Snelgrove (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper brings Cree poet and theorist Billy-Ray Belcourt and Critical Theorist Theodor Adorno into conversation to think through what I call the dialectics of implication against a politics of reconciliation. To be implicated in something signals participation without control; it offers an explanation of one's connection to and participation in injustice that is causally complex and so exceeds what Iris Young calls the liability model of responsibility. Beyond describing non-Indigenous peoples participation in injustice in a way that does not ignore or flatten causality, I argue that the use of implication is also normative. Implication discloses non-Indigenous peoples social alienation which might be mobilized for the end of injustice. Not only does social alienation suggest that non-Indigenous peoples should join Indigenous peoples in debating the very possibility of reconciliation with this society, but it could also ground the participation of non-Indigenous people in decolonization struggles in their own interest in non-domination ? or a free form of interdependence.

**Looking Forward to Our Ancestors in Normative Political Theory: Indigenous Disruptive Conservatism:** Yann Allard-Tremblay (McGill)

**Abstract:** I propose to synthesize various theoretical approaches adopted by contemporary Indigenous scholars in Canada and the US to articulate a situated and engaged methodological approach to normative political theorizing. This method grounds normative political theorizing in existing Indigenous political traditions and practices, simultaneously countering the disavowal and erasure of Indigenous lifeways operated by modernity/coloniality. I begin by explaining how Indigenous political practices and traditions are already centered in the work of many Indigenous scholars. I present this engagement with traditions and practices as normative, critical, and progressive: it provides sources for, and ways of, reflecting about what ought to be done; it challenges dominating (modern/colonial) systems of thought in the service of Indigenous lifeways; it is done in the service of liberation and of a better world, and thus remains critical and does not preclude re-storying and reinterpreting traditions. As an approach to normative political theory, this method is grounded and guided by concerns for relationality and locality, such that the scope and reach of its normative conclusions are limited. I refer to this method as disruptive conservatism to highlight how it relates to and yet constitutes a disjuncture from two ideal-type modes of political theorizing recognizable within the Western tradition: classical conservatism and modern rationalism. My intervention ultimately helps to situate this method among significant and relevant methods of normative political theorizing, especially for non-Indigenous scholars who might be tempted to regard it as improperly normative or as providing historical or ethnographic accounts.

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## J21 - Governance and Provincial Politics / La gouvernance et la politique provinciale

### Provincial and Territorial Politics in Canada and Beyond

Date: Jun 1 2023 | Time: 03:15pm - 04:45pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 104

Chair/Président/Présidente : Thomas Gareau Paquette (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Philippe Chassé (Sciences Po Paris et Université de Montréal)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Matthew Taylor (Université de Montréal)

*Understanding provincial political executives: What are the defining traits of the 21st century premier's government?:* Erin Crandall (Acadia University), J.P. Lewis (University of New Brunswick)

**Abstract:** The premier and cabinet are the most powerful institutions in provincial political systems, yet provincial political executives are understudied, with only a small and increasingly dated literature on the topic (Dunn 1995; Bernier et al 2005). While previous work has helped to articulate the overwhelming power of provincial cabinets, we attempt to address some of these gaps. As the introductory part of a SSHRC-funded project on cabinet government in Atlantic Canadian provinces, our paper will act as a review of 'premier government' across Canada in the 21st century. To answer our research question 'what are the defining traits of the 21st century premier's government?' we will complete three parts of the initial research project. First, we will construct a database of provincial cabinets of the 21st century to document key trends on representation and tenure in portfolios. Second, we will use this database to trace ministerial appointments/exit/shuffles and the political survival rates of premiers and their ministers. Third, we will complete a media scan of local newspapers to assess if similar narratives of centralization that exist at the federal level are being replicated at the provincial level. By capturing this information on provincial governments it will provide us with a better starting point for our next step which will be surveys and semi-structured interviews of deputy ministers.

*When do Feminist Policy Triangles Work? The Case of Provincial Abortion Access Zone Legislation in Canada:* Sylvia Bashevkin (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Violent attacks against abortion providers and clinics occurred in four Canadian provinces during the 1990s. In response, pro-choice groups in Alberta, BC, Manitoba and Ontario sought to protect medical staff, patients as well as facilities by limiting protest in specified areas targeted by anti-abortion campaigners. Yet only one province, BC, passed an access zone law within months of the attempted murder in fall 1994 of a Vancouver physician. Ontario and Alberta eventually enacted legislation similar to the BC statute in 2017 and 2018, respectively, while Manitoba has yet to pass a safe zone law. This paper, among the first to compare the willingness of provincial governments to legislate safe zones in the wake of violent threats, uses the concept of feminist policy triangles to evaluate how constellations of social movement, parliamentary and bureaucratic actors come together (or not) to respond to abortion rights interests.

*La réforme de la gouvernance locale au Nouveau-Brunswick : pourquoi maintenant ?:* Christine Paulin (Université de Moncton), Mathieu Wade (Université de Moncton)

**Abstract:** En décembre 2021, la Loi concernant la réforme de la gouvernance locale entrait en vigueur ; mettant en ?uvre une réforme attendue de longue date et qualifiée par plusieurs comme ambitieuse. Sous l'égide du gouvernement progressiste-conservateur de Higgs, cette réforme suggère une importante restructuration territoriale et une réorganisation majeure dans l'offre des services publics. Elle diminue le nombre d'entités locales de 340 à 89, elle abolit les territoires non-incorporés où résidait près du tiers de la population et elle transfère vers les commissions de services régionaux (CSR) de nouvelles compétences en termes de développement économique et d'aménagement du territoire, notamment. Si cette réforme était attendue depuis près de 60 ans, son annonce quelques semaines seulement après l'obtention d'un mandat majoritaire en 2020 eut néanmoins un effet de surprise. En effet, la gouvernance locale n'était pas un enjeu central des campagnes électorales sous le leadership de Higgs (en 2018 et en 2020). En plus de mieux comprendre les problèmes et les solutions que propose cette réforme (en comparaison avec les autres provinces), nous répondons à la question centrale : Pourquoi la réforme fut mise en ?uvre par ce gouvernement, en particulier ? À partir du prisme de la théorie de l'action rationnelle, nous suggérons que c'est à partir de la nature inédite de l'électorat de Higgs qu'une fenêtre d'opportunité s'est ouverte, ce qui ne s'était jamais présentée aux gouvernements antérieurs. En réussissant à obtenir une majorité sans l'appui de la population acadienne, le coût politique d'une telle réforme fut considérablement réduit.

*Babines et bottines: Issue salience and electoral promises on inflation and poverty:* Marc-Antoine Rancourt (University of Toronto), Axel Déry (Université Laval), Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (University of Toronto), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Recent polls suggest that inflation is one of the most frustrating issues for Quebecers with respondents ranking it higher than the housing market, the rise of gas prices, and the 'Freedom Convoy'. Polls demonstrate that Quebecers have strong feelings about inflation, but they fail to address how citizens understand the phenomenon in question and how they react to it, as well as the salience of the issue. How are attitudes formed towards inflation in Quebec? How do politicians treat the issue? This paper relies on two unique and large-n granular data sets. The first one is collected during the 2022 Quebec provincial elections and is composed of tweets from the candidates from the five principal political parties in the province. Scaling methods as well as latent Dirichlet allocation is used to measure the salience of the issue for the different parties and how these parties framed inflation. The second data set is composed of transcripts of questions and debates from the National Assembly of Québec from 1867 to today. Automated textual analysis is used to understand how the issue of inflation has evolved over time in the political sphere. This paper aims to understand how Quebec's politicians talk about and perceive the country's past, present, and future economic situation. This paper represents the first study to address inflation from a political elite-based perspective in such a comprehensive way in the Canadian context. It has important implications for economic policy-making in the province.



## M21 - Transforming Graduate Education in Canadian Political Science

### Teaching

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 203

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Evangeline Kroon (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Dax D'Orazio (Queen's University)

**Graduate Education for the Public Good:** Jonathan Malloy (Carleton), Loleen Berdahl (University of Saskatchewan), Lisa Young (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** The authors present their book project, titled Graduate Education for the Public Good. They demonstrate that Canada has pressing public problems that need to be addressed, that Arts graduate education needs a complete overhaul, and that these two issues are each other's solution. They argue for an informed and deliberate approach to Arts graduate education that responds to Canada's imperatives to address wicked public problems, to further equity, diversity, inclusion, and decolonization, and to build talent. The work draws on the authors' research as well as experience in a range of administrative roles relating to graduate education.

**Emotional Labour in Graduate Education:** Meagan Auer (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** The neoliberal university requires a considerable amount of emotional labor to carry out its work. While numerous studies have explored this from the perspective of faculty, staff, and administrators, few have investigated the emotional labour of graduate students as a resource that sustains university life. In this paper, I present Ph.D. students' own accounts of the emotional labour they engage in as part of their programs of study. Drawing on in-depth interviews with doctoral students, I trace the everyday experiences through which their (our) emotional labor is institutionalized, managed, and used to fulfill organizational objectives. In doing so, I call attention to an important tension. While emotional labour can be experienced as an empowering part of the Ph.D. experience, its institutionalization normalizes precarity and reproduces patterns of subordination. Building on calls to transform graduate education, I advocate for deeper intellectual engagements with the affective politics of the neoliberal university. As well, I encourage a 'care-full' consideration of how norms and expectations around emotional labour get embedded into graduate programs.

**Graduate Skills Development: Lessons from the Teaching and Pedagogy in Political Science (TaPPS) Working Group:** Elise Sammons (University of Alberta), Rissa Reist (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Responding to calls to professionalize students for the world of work, many Canadian universities offer interdisciplinary teaching and learning programs that help graduate students to refine a wide range of transferrable skills. Students refine core competencies like group facilitation at the same time as they develop a foundational understanding of how to design course components like learning outcomes. While the interdisciplinarity of these programs can be viewed as a strength, graduate students in Political Science at the University of Alberta observed that they resulted in a one-size-fits-all approach to teaching and pedagogical development (TPD) that does not go far enough to prepare students for their role in the classroom. Instead, offering training within units has benefits for both students and departments. Working with our peers and our senior colleagues at the University of Alberta, we initiated the Teaching and Pedagogy in Political Science (TaPPS) working group. Co-led by graduate students and faculty members, the TaPPS working group develops resources and implements initiatives that directly respond to emergent and discipline-specific needs of graduate students. We offer lessons learned from the grassroots creation of TaPPS, speak to the importance of discipline-specific TPD, and attest to the importance of student-led approaches to transformation in graduate education.

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## N21(a) - Regulating Women's Rage

### Women, Gender, and Politics

Date: Jun 1 2023 | Time: 03:15pm - 04:45pm | Room: Accolade West-ACW 204

Chair/Président/Présidente : Shannon Bell (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Leah Bradshaw (Brock University)

*A Lack of Understanding: Women's Rage in Other Relation:* Hailey Murphy (Brock University/Brandon University)

**Abstract:** In "An Eye for an Eye" Simone de Beauvoir muses over the question of vengeance. She poses serious questions not just about rage; but our ambiguous reaction to it. Beauvoir identified an issue present when punishment is inflicted to satisfy a need for the "balancing of wrongs". The ambiguity of responded to a perceived injustice with rage leaves us in a moral dilemma. The reactionary response (one's rage) is often cited as the location for intervention; rather than the impetus for the reaction itself. A constant evaluation of whether a certain, even irascible, response is warranted leads us down a cyclical path. For women, there is a lot to be angry about. Yet, when this is addressed there is an impulse to control women's emotional experience, or to adjust their behaviours to mitigate risk. None of this works to positively change our world politically. A women's adjustments to the repressive forces of a hetero-patriarchal society simply incorporate her into it; and as such there is not avenue for a justified response to injustice. The experience of rage is then something to be overcome; not a tool to displace oppression or fundamentally change our world. To look at Beauvoir's question on vengeance in relation to women's rage we are often missing the point entirely, vengeance, or taking "an eye for an eye" is not the problem, a society that consistently undermines women and makes them unsafe is.

*Niceness as the Status Quo: Regulating abortion activist rage in New Brunswick:* Tobin LeBlanc Haley (University of New Brunswick), Jessi Taylor (University of New Brunswick)

**Abstract:** With the overturn of Roe v. Wade feminist scholars, activists, politicians, and community members are displaying their rage in the streets, on social media, and through arts-based activism like song and poetry. In this context, Canada was framed as a refuge for those needing abortion.

And yet, in the province of New Brunswick (NB), access to surgical abortion continues to be limited by a regulation in the Medical Services Payment Act that restricts publicly funded surgical abortion provisioning to 3 hospitals in 2 cities. NBers in need of surgical abortions often must make multiple, long trips to the designated hospitals and/or pay out of pocket for an abortion in the sole clinic that provides them. Despite continued pressure from abortion advocates, the withholding of health transfers by the federal government, and multiple lawsuits the province has refused to repeal the now infamous regulation 84-20. Premier Higgs, when asked about his government's abortion policies, told pro-choice advocates to take it to the courts.

This paper explores the public displays of rage expressed by abortion activists in New Brunswick since the election of the Higgs conservatives and the public characterization of rage. Drawing on Ahmed's (2010) work on feminist killjoys, we interrogate the weaponization of female politeness against abortion activists in NB. This paper documents the political rage of abortion activists in NB and its regulation through public demands that activists perform female politeness and niceness. It tempers claims that access to abortion in Canada is secure.

*Rage, rage against the dying of the light! - Using Counterhegemonic Theory to Expand Feminist Religious Agency:* Nuzhat Khurshid (York University)

**Abstract:** The topic of feminist rage is one that is hard to discuss, for a myriad of reasons. Women of colour are especially impacted by societal pressures to conform to patriarchal expectations, while facing cultural and gendered misrepresentations and discrimination. In my presentation, I will discuss two levels of rage and disillusionment that impact religious women. At the level of the academy, a secular bias presents epistemological and practical obstacles for research that incorporates religion. At the level of feminist theory, theories of agency present a one-dimensional view of religious agency, focused on their submissive form of subjectivity. According to this literature that prioritizes piety, religious agency does not entail resistant or oppositional motivations, such as rage. By supplementing this literature with views of feminist universalism as a part of religious agency, we can explore the multidimensional characteristics of religious agency, which can be pious but is not restricted by it. I thus position religious women alongside all women who are pushing back against academic and societal patriarchal norms that seek to limit or misrepresent them. As Dylan Thomas suggests, maybe raging against what seems inevitable can help open up space at the institutional and personal level to allow for the full complexity of women's agency.

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## N21(b) - Queer Activism and Rights Discourse

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 205

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** David Semaan (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Tara Joly (University of Northern British Columbia)

**Boundary Work, Bodies, and the Politics of Evidence in Trans Health:** Suzanne Hindmarch (University of New Brunswick), Lee Whelan (University of New Brunswick)

**Abstract:** Trans health has become intensely politicized, with gender-affirming care (GAC) for trans youth becoming a key focal point for contestation between the state, anti-trans activists, and trans youth and their advocates. At the core of contestations over the rights of trans youth to access GAC are debates about medical and scientific expertise and authority, with both advocates and critics invoking 'objective' scientific, expert knowledge about gender, medicine and bodies. This paper explores the politics of GAC at the intersection of science and politics, drawing on science and technology studies literature about the co-production of knowledge, and theories of boundary work, to show how the invocation of biomedical and scientific expertise works to produce both subjectivities and bodies in ways that establish medical professionals as authoritative experts, while trans peoples' knowledge from lived experience is continually produced as 'lay' knowledge. Simultaneously, forms of medical care that are non-controversial when provided to cisgender patients are politicized and produced as risky when provided to trans youth, in ways that produce trans bodies as unknowable, requiring medical expertise and assessment. The paper shows that, because contestations over GAC have become contestations over who can lay claim to 'objective' knowledge and expertise, this has shaped and constrained the rhetorical and other political strategies available to trans youth and their advocates, limiting the ways that trans people can claim expert knowledge of their own health and bodies.

**Law, Blood, and Custody: Sexual Minority Mothers Challenging Heteronormativity:** Joanie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke), Kevin Lavoie (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Parenthood narratives commonly make three assumptions: the presence of two parents, the expectation that they identify as a cis man and a cis woman, and the presumption that they both share genetic material with their child (Déchaux, 2014). These elements, built around heterocisnormativity, were called into question by the opening of conjugality and kinship to same-sex couples, and, in particular, by female couples. Indeed, it is common to find in these families that at least one mother has no genetic and/or gestational link to her child. Moreover, for a long time, the mother who did not give birth had no legal connection to the child or acquired it later through an often long and uncertain legal process. While the struggles for legal equality have been discussed at length in the literature, we still know little about how heterocisnormativity intervenes years after these rights are obtained. We, therefore, ask the following question: in the context of long-established legal equality and at the time of parental divorce or separation, to what extent do sexual minority mothers depart from the heteronormative family model?

Based on interviews with 17 separated mothers, 24 legal professionals (judges, lawyers, mediators), 6 LGBTQ+ community workers in the province of Quebec, and on court cases in which these people were involved, this presentation shows that these separations are notably defined by the fact that custody disputes, albeit rare, almost always involve the place of each mother in the procreative process, depending on whether or not she carried the child.

**In transition: Multiple temporalities of displacement for Trans Venezuelan asylum seekers in Brazil:** Yvonne Su (York University)

**Abstract:** Gender and sexuality politics are omnipresent during displacement and 'borders breed uneven geographies of power and status' (Hyndman 2000, p. 1). Our research with 31 Trans Venezuelan asylum seekers in Brazil, 18 of which are Trans sex workers, have found that these folks have a multi-layers and complicated experience and relationship with temporalities of displacement. First, research on LGBT populations displaced by conflict and disaster, have found that one's sexual orientation, gender identity and other identities 'such as race, age, migration status, and disability status' impact their experience of displacement (Cowper-Smith et al., 2021; Su et al., 2021). Second, Trans Venezuelan asylum seekers are often forced to take paths which often take them on longer and more dangerous journeys. Most of our respondents were forced to travel through trochas (informal paths) to escape danger in Venezuela's political crisis and crippling economy and because of fear of transphobia and xenophobia at the Brazilian border. Lastly, Trans Venezuelan asylum seekers often find themselves going through multiple transitions in displacement as they transition both 1) internally, through a recognition of the greater freedom of expression afforded to them, 2) externally, as many go through hormone therapy or reassignment therapy and 3) geographically, as they migrate from city to city looking for work and acceptance.

**LGBT Discourse in South Korea:** Gabrielle LaFortune (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Research indicates the use of LGBT rights discourse is connected to both positive and negative outcomes. On one hand, LGBT rights discourse provides identities and ideas around which individuals can coalesce, access to networks and resources, and prior cases on which to premise demands for rights (e.g., Altman and Symons 2016, Langlois 2018). On the other hand, this discourse has been tied to homonormativity (e.g., Duggan 2004), homonationalism (e.g., Puar 2007), the Gay International (e.g., Massad 2007), and state homophobia (e.g., Bosisio 2014), suggesting the spread of LGBT rights discourse is part of neoliberalism, neo-imperialism, and may cause states to pre-emptively suppress the rights of those identified as LGBT. Much of this research has been conducted on communities in North America (e.g., Chávez 2015), North and Western Europe (e.g., Jungar and Peltonen 2017, Hubbard and Wilkinson 2015) and, to a lesser extent, in Eastern Europe (e.g., Badali 2019), Africa (e.g., Tucker 2020), the Middle East (e.g., Hartal and Sasson-Levy 2018), and South (e.g., Upadhyay 2020) and Southeast Asia (e.g., Treat 2015), with limited attention paid to East Asia (though see Bao 2013 and Han 2018). Using written data collected at the 2022 Seoul Queer Culture Festival, this research seeks to expand the discussion of LGBT rights discourse both by analyzing data from the Korean context and by applying Political Discourse Analysis (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012) to better understand how arguments regarding LGBT rights are made in this context.



## N21(c) - Workshop Feministing in Political Science Roundtable 2: Feminist Pedagogy

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 206

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Laura Parisi (University of Victoria)

Rebecca Thiessen (Ottawa)

Veronica Kitchen (Waterloo)

Nick Dorzweiler (Wheaton College)

Kimberley Manning (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Workshop Feministing in Political Science Roundtable 2: Feminist Pedagogy

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## N21(d) - Roundtable Feminist Approaches to Environmental Politics

### Women, Gender, and Politics

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** Accolade West-ACW 302

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Leah Levac (University of Guelph)

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Sarah Marie Wiebe (University of Victoria)

Gabrielle Daoust (University of Northern British Columbia)

Katie Mazer (Acadia University)

Rebecca Hall (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** This roundtable brings together scholars with a shared interest in feminist and intersectional approaches to environmental politics and the examination of environmental challenges through a gendered lens. Collectively, our approaches to these issues encompass a range of interdisciplinary perspectives, and different forms and locations of community, practice, and policy engagement. This roundtable discussion will cover themes that reflect our collective interests and ongoing work, including: 1) gendered experiences and impacts of environmental resource extraction and climate change, and of environmental protection interventions ? including among Indigenous communities, and especially in relation to land and water; 2) relationships between environmental and gendered power and violence, and responses and resistances to these; and 3) conceptions of environmental care, justice, and sustainable futures that challenge extractivist, colonial and settler colonial, and gendered forms of violence. We explore these dynamics in a range of ?localised? contexts and across boundaries and borders, and in their ?everyday? and intimate as well as more public political and global dimensions. Bringing together scholars adopting feminist approaches to the study of these issues from varied perspectives and in varied contexts, the more flexible format of this roundtable will provide an opportunity to engage in deeper dialogue on our respective approaches, experiences, and understandings, and to discuss areas of shared interest as well as directions for collective and collaborative work. In turn, this supports our broader aim of facilitating community-building in this important area of research, community engagement, and political action.

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## R21 - Roundtable on Indigenizing the Curriculum in Political Science - Sponsored by CPSA Reconciliation Committee

### Special Events

**Date:** Jun 1 2023 | **Time:** 03:15pm - 04:45pm | **Room:** ACW 209 HYBRID / hybride

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Rita Dhamoon (University of Victoria)

**Sponsor / Commanditaire :** CPSA Reconciliation Committee

Joyce Green (University of Regina)

Emily Grafton (University of Regina)

Daniel Sherwin (Carleton University)

Rebecca Major (University of Windsor)

Rebecca Wallace (St. Francis Xavier University)

Abigail Bakan (University of Toronto)

Gina Starblanket (University of Victoria)

Mariam Georgis (University of Manitoba)

**Abstract:** In 2022, Rebecca Wallace published an article in the CJPS based on her study of comprehensive exam lists for Canadian politics doctoral students in programs across the country. Her findings show that ?Indigenous knowledges, histories, languages, customs, legal traditions, systems of governance and research methodologies are integral to Canadian politics, but calls for indigenization have often not been met.? As Wallace goes onto state, ?Indigenous content remains largely underrepresented on exam lists and siloed into Indigenous or diversity focused sections of the political science literature. Most Indigenous politics readings engage centrally with sovereignty and the Constitution, with very few exploring the political dimensions of residential schools, gendered violence and other contemporary political issues.? This roundtable will consider some of these failings in the discipline; the possibilities and limits of Indigenizing the curriculum; whether indigenization of mainstream Canadian political science is possible and even desirable; and the problem of methodological nationalism underlying the discipline.

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