

---

# **Association canadienne de science politique**

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

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

**Organisé à l'Université McGill**

12 juin au 14 juin 2024

---

## **Données en temps réel**

Ce PDF contient le programme du congrès mis à jour

**au moment où vous le téléchargez.**

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

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

## A01(a) - Political Attitudes

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**Where Did My Money Go? Unveiling citizens' understanding of inflation:** Marc-Antoine Rancourt (University of Toronto), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval), Axel Déry (University of Western Ontario), Sarah-Jane Vincent (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** In recent years, major events have impacted the economy, both at the national and global levels. Most notably, poverty and inequality raised drastically worldwide, labor productivity decreased, many lost their jobs, and others, their businesses. While not everyone has been confronted to the same consequences, one phenomenon that affected most citizens is inflation. Indeed, cost of living issues have been at the forefront of economic discussions, both in the political sphere as well as in the citizenry. Whether their collars are white, blue or pink, recent polls show that citizens of many countries are waiting for their politicians to act on inflation-related issues. However, while the request of different groups might be sound similar, their experiences and resulting needs are very different. The first step to addressing citizens' needs are to understand them. But do citizens know what they need? Using a representative sample of respondents surveyed following the 2022 Quebec provincial election, we inquire into the understanding of citizens of inflation and their policy preferences on the subject. Using automated textual analysis on open-ended questions, we first look at the way in which citizens understand the phenomenon of inflation and related cost of living issues. Preliminary results show that there are multiple ways to understand inflation, and that one's understanding of inflation varies greatly based on socioeconomic and political factors. This is highly relevant to effective and representative design of public policy.

**Citizen representation in Canadian federal electoral districts:** Benjamin Ferland (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** The objective of the project is to assess the representation of citizens by politicians in federal electoral districts in Canada. Local needs and interests vary significantly across Canadian regions and provinces due to important socioeconomic differences. In this context, elected representatives, and political elites more generally, are central actors to advance and represent those realities at the national level in Canadian political institutions. As such, for this representational linkage to be effective, we would expect some correspondence between the political positions of politicians and those of their constituents. This connection between constituents and politicians is essential for the representation of constituents' needs and opinions in the Canadian democratic process.

To study this question, we conducted two surveys, one large representative sample of Canadian citizens and one of the candidates who ran in the 2021 Canadian federal election, to evaluate the quality of representation in Canada's federal electoral districts. Representation is evaluated based on a multidimensional approach in considering several ideological/policy dimensions salient in Canadian politics. Citizens and political elites' attitudes are examined on the traditional left-right ideological dimensions and related economic issues (government intervention in the economy, economic inequality, and social welfare), and on six policy issues associated with the more recent cultural dimension: immigration, environment, same-sex marriage, women discrimination, law and order, and abortion. Using these two surveys and multilevel regressions with poststratification to estimate public opinion in districts, we measure the congruence between the preferences of citizens and those of political elites. The study also considers several possible individual and riding determinants of local representation. In particular, we examine the role of incumbency, party competition and multipartyism, district residency, and the social diversity of the ridings. The study will break new ground in the study of political representation in Canada, particularly as it relates to the representation of constituents by their elected representatives and candidates.

**What's in a name? Given names as predictors of political attitudes in Canada:** Evelyne Brie (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** This paper explores the predictive power of given names and prospective parental naming choices for political attitudes among Canadians. We examine the correlation between the popularity and cultural symbolism of respondents' name and their socioeconomic and political backgrounds. We also discuss how educational attainment and economic standings shape naming trends, both for respondents and their parents. The study mobilizes survey data from Léger Marketing (n=3,000), with each respondent receiving a customized questionnaire tailored to their gender and year of birth in order to assess naming popularity patterns while ensuring participants' anonymity.

**Who Deserves to be Homeless? Perceptions of Personal Responsibility as a Determinant of Public Attitudes Towards Homelessness in Canada:** Marc-Antoine Rancourt (University of Toronto), Michael Donnelly (University of Toronto), Alison Smith (University of Toronto), Daniyal Zuberi (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Homelessness is on the rise in Canada. This is a concern for reasons ranging from healthcare to economic to human rights violation and suffering. Unfortunately, the current governmental approach regarding homelessness is one of short-term initiatives and of ad hoc policies which were unsuccessful. Why are politicians going forward with this type of approach? Scholars have suggested that public opinion can influence Canadian politicians in their role as policymakers. Some have argued that Canadian politicians have the green light from voters to not prioritise large-scale and long-term efficient homelessness programs in part because of the way Canadians see people who experience homelessness. This is especially the case for deservingness and personal responsibility. The limited scholarship on the matter shows that negative perceptions of people experiencing homelessness leads to less support for redistributive and supportive policies. The first step in testing this phenomenon is to better our understanding of Canadians' perceptions of people experiencing homelessness. Using data from a 2024 survey (n=2500), we analyse the answers from three vignette experiments regarding people who experience homelessness. We inquire into Canadians' perceptions towards people experiencing homelessness and how they vary

based on reasons, time frame, place of birth and where they took shelter. Preliminary results show that Canadians? show a lot more sympathy for people experiencing homelessness if they feel like the situation wasn?t their fault. They also show that some Canadians? think that if personal responsibility is in play, some people experiencing homelessness deserve their fate. This contributes to the literature large literature on public opinion towards homelessness, and specifically to the literature on perceptions of personal responsibility and homelessness policies.

---

## A01(b) - Nonroutine proceedings: Research by the 55th Parliamentary Internship Programme Cohort

### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 3 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Lisa Young (University of Calgary)

**Co-Chair/Président/Présidente :** Feodor Snagovsky (University of Alberta)

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Erin Crandall (Acadia University)

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

*The Impact and Potential of AI in Parliament:* Michelle Lewis (Canadian Political Science Association)

**Abstract:** TBC

*The role of committees in a minority Parliament:* Emily Wheaton (Canadian Political Science Association)

**Abstract:** TBC

*Decolonizing Canadian Parliament: A Path Forward for Meaningful Indigenous Representation:* Justin Langan (Canadian Political Science Association)

**Abstract:** TBC

---

## B01 - Authoritarianism, Propaganda, and Regime Survival

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Up against the Wall: An Empirical Study on the Ideology and Propaganda of Contemporary China:* Rui Tang (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** During the decade of the so-called "New Era" rules, the propaganda institution of the Chinese Communist Party encountered problems. Namely, the ineffectiveness of the party's propaganda machines caused by the lack of theory innovation and discourse capabilities, the traditionalist trends deviating from the orthodox principles, and the abuse of hyping and anecdotal narratives in its media campaigns have resulted in multiple flawed campaigns and eroded its credibility and ideological legitimacy. The problems came from the unresponsiveness of the party-state authorities due to the destruction of institutionalization, the party's appeals to the conservative and nationalist sentiments among the society to sever its own needs and demands, and the overwhelmingly utilitarian beliefs of the propaganda machines led by its eagerness to restore its authority and influence to the public. These perils reflect not only the degeneration of China's public discussion atmosphere but also the vulgarization of propaganda, and how the CCP is managing to adapt to the contemporary society of China.

*Social Mobility, Authoritarian Regime Survival, and Transition to Democracy:* Christian Houle (Michigan State University)

**Abstract:** How does social mobility affect stability in authoritarian regimes? While extensive literature examines how economic inequality influences regime stability and regime transition, there has been little work on the effect of social mobility. However, although related, inequality and social mobility are fundamentally distinct, and social immobility is likely to be perceived as even more unfair than inequality, meaning that it may generate more discontent. This paper fills this gap and argues that social mobility has different effects on different types of regime transitions. The key is distinguishing between transitions initiated by the autocratic elites and those triggered by outside actors. On the one hand, transitions to democracy initiated by the ruling elites are more likely to occur at high mobility levels. Mobility reduces the demand for redistribution from the poor, making democracy less threatening for the elites. On the other hand, the lack of mobility in an authoritarian regime increases the likelihood of instability, such as protests, and can lead to its collapse, potentially opening the door to democratization. Mobility thus has opposite effects on different types of transitions. I find support for the argument using several mobility measures and a sample covering over 90 autocracies between 1960 and 2015. Heckman selection models show that mobility stabilizes autocracies. However, mobility fosters transitions to democracy in the absence of an authoritarian breakdown. I further conduct a causal mediation analysis and, consistent with the argument, find that mobility fosters authoritarian breakdown through its effect on mobilization and unrest.

*Beyond the Ballot: Opposition Party Tactics under Competitive Authoritarian Regimes:* Selin Bengi Gumrukcu (Rutgers)

**Abstract:** The third global wave of autocratization has triggered widespread democratic backsliding across numerous regions, including Turkey. While most scholarship has focused on the strategies incumbents use to gain or maintain power in autocratizing regimes, a growing body of recent analysis has shifted its attention to the opposition.

Dahl (1966: 333) argued that "a political party is the most visible manifestation and surely one of the most effective forms of opposition in a democratic country." While there is an established tradition of examining competitive authoritarian regimes through a party-focused lens (Helms 2023: 399), this scholarship primarily concentrates on institutional tactics, such as coalition-building (Gandi and Reuter 2013; Selçuk and Hekimci 2020; Baskan et al. 2022), legislative resistance (Lastro and Bieber 2021), and election boycotts (Hauser 2019).

What is often missing in this literature is an exploration of other protest tactics employed by opposition parties. This paper addresses this gap by examining the main opposition party, the Republican People's Party (CHP), since 2002. Using process tracing and semi-structured in-depth interviews, the study aims to illuminate how Turkish opposition parties' diverse tactics have both challenged and navigated the constraints of an increasingly authoritarian system. Through a detailed examination of these dynamics, the paper highlights the possibilities and limitations of opposition-led resistance in autocratizing regimes. It argues that shifts in an opposition party's mobilization tactics can be explained by (a) changes in the party structure and style, (b) the political opportunity structure, and (c) the dynamics of repression within a competitive authoritarian regime.

*Incorporation without Neutralization: Unpacking the Logic of Cooptation and Authoritarian Survival:* Juan Wang (McGill University)

**Abstract:** For studies of comparative authoritarianism, cooptation has been understood as one important mechanism through which autocrats incorporate opposition and neutralize threat. However, does incorporation always lead to neutralization of threat? This paper unpacks the logic of this reasoning that relies on multiple assumptions about the relationship among the power holder, the incorporated, and the rest of "potential threats." Building on the case of incorporating private entrepreneurs in governing and political institutions in the People's Republic of China since 1949, the paper suggests that first, those being incorporated are either friendly to the power center or self-selected to share rents. Second, potential threats are quickly excluded from rent and power sharing. Third, the incorporated do not represent private entrepreneurs. In the end, incorporation does not lead to neutralization but reshapes the division among the private sector and creates fragmentation.

---

## B01 - Political Representation and Public Policy: Who Represents How and What?

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

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

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Etsuhiro Nakamura (Aichi Gakuin University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Hideki Kido (Ritsumeikan University)

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

*Municipal Planning in Japan During the COVID-19 Pandemic and the Strategic Utilization of Grants:* Etsuhiro Nakamura (Aichi Gakuin University)

**Abstract:** In this presentation, we focus on the challenges faced by Japanese local governments during the COVID-19 pandemic, with particular emphasis on regional revitalization planning and the strategic use of COVID-related grants.

The regional revitalization policy, initiated in 2014, provided a framework in which the central government supported local governments in addressing the challenges posed by Japan's declining birthrate and aging population. Although this policy faced criticism for using local governments to achieve centrally determined goals, many local authorities welcomed it due to the tangible benefits in the form of grants. However, these grants came with numerous restrictions, which became a major source of dissatisfaction.

The COVID-19 pandemic, which began in 2020, brought about a significant transformation in these regional revitalization policies. The central government supplied substantial grants to support local economies, businesses, and citizens affected by the pandemic, without the detailed restrictions that had previously accompanied such funding. Whereas traditional grants required prior approval for projects that aligned with central government objectives and involved strict guidelines, the COVID-related grants came with no such directives or restrictions. Local governments were given greater flexibility, provided the funds were used for pandemic-related measures, allowing them to be allocated toward both economic stabilization and public health initiatives.

This study examines how local governments responded to this sudden relaxation of budget constraints by analyzing grant usage and survey data. While many local authorities made expenditures based on long-term planning, we also investigate the short-term political impacts observed during this period.

*Who Represents Local Governments? Analysing Behaviour of Parliament Members in Japan:* Hideki Kido (Ritsumeikan University)

**Abstract:** This study examines politicians' career paths in Japan before they become national parliament members, specifically focusing on their past careers in local politics. We investigate how many politicians transition from the prefectural and/or municipal levels to central politics and how they behave in the Diet of Japan.

Previous studies have argued that political party routes connect local interests with the national policymaking process in Japan. However, they often treat all political parties as single political actors that reflect local interests. Some studies have suggested that parliament members with local careers behave in ways that reflect local interests in the policymaking process, and that local politicians are an important source for political candidates in the national parliament in Japan. However, these studies lack comprehensive data on politicians' career paths. On the other hand, some research in legislative studies have stated that there are certain number of politicians who move from local to central political world. However, these studies have not paid attention to whether they behave in favour of local governments.

To address this, my presentation will investigate the former jobs of all parliament members in the Lower House starting from 1994, including various types of political careers, such as governors, mayors, local legislative assembly members, and others. In addition, this study will collect data regarding politicians' committee affiliation in the Diet. With this data set, this study will investigate whether central politicians with past experiences at local politics would behave in favour of local governments.

*Political Representation of Gender in the Bicameral Legislatures of Japan:* Yuki Tsuji (Tokai University)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the differences and relations of gendered political representation between two legislatures in the national Diet of Japan, with a particular attention to the role of the House of Councillors (the Upper House) in women's political representation and policy making processes advancing women's rights and interests. The ratio of female members of the House of Councillors has been higher than that of the House of Representatives. In addition, from a comparative perspective, the House of Councillors has strong powers vis-à-vis the House of Representatives among other bicameral systems. Since previous studies have not concluded on whether the Bicameralism works to the advantage of the social minorities, this paper asks whether has the House of Councillors broadened the representativeness of diverse society, especially on gender, and if yes, how? To answer these questions, this paper analyses the speeches and actions of female members in both houses of the Diet. It also examines the several policy making processes on gender issues in the 21st century.

*Is Japanese and Australian Political System the New Types of Representative Democracy? The Theoretical Possibility and Empirical Validity of the Concept of ?Semi-parliamentarism?:* Masatoshi Kato (Ritsumeikan University)

**Abstract:** This paper considers the theoretical possibility and empirical validity of ?Semi-parliamentarism? through the case study of parliamentary politics in Japan and Australia. The concept of ?semi-parliamentarism? is developed by Steffen Ganghof?2018, 2023?. To both overcome the duality such as strong/ weak bicameralism and parliamentarism/ presidentialism and find the own feature and dynamism, he develops this concept and characterizes it as the political system with following characteristics: 1]no popular elections of the chief executive, 2]the directly elected both assemblies, 3] the executive?s survival depends on the confidence of just one part of the assembly. He argues that this concept applies to Japan and Australia and suggests that

legislature-centered majority formation is likely to occur in both countries as theoretical prediction. However, empirical studies of both countries show that legislature-centered majority formation does not always occur but is an exception. Why do theoretical predictions deviate? Based on the historical development of parliamentary politics in Japan and Australia, this paper shows that legislature-centered majority formation presupposes the political factors such as the stabilization of multi-party system and difficulty of majority control of the two major blocks in the Senate. In other words, while the concept of ?semi-parliamentarism? has the theoretical values in locating the rare case such as Japan and Australia in the consistent framework of political system, its validity depends on the political institutions but also on other political factors such as actor constellations.

---

## B01 - Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Political Regimes

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Influence of Divergent Political Regimes on Ethnic Autonomy: The Cases of China and Nepal:* Hari Jnawali (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Political regimes leave a significant influence on ethnic politics. Such regimes influence the political actors to choose specific policies that help them neutralize and even eliminate ethnic minorities? demand for autonomy and self-determination in their ancestral territories. The policies and practices of China and Nepal provide a glaring illustration of this fact. China practices a centralized political system, and its autonomous structures and subordinate units are subordinate to the center. In contrast, Nepal has established a democratic political regime that regards a multiparty system, adult franchise, human rights, fundamental freedoms, separation of powers, an independent judiciary, and several other democratic institutions. Despite these differences in regime types and political ideologies, both countries are unwilling to provide ethnic minorities with autonomy and self-determination that enable them to pursue growth and development on their own. Against this background, this paper investigates the following question: How do the divergent political regimes work against ethnic autonomy in China and Nepal? Both countries envision threats to their political systems from autonomy and self-determination. In China?s mind, autonomy promotes separateness and distinct status, hurting its mission to construct a homogenous proletarian culture and consolidate its centralized socialist system. Likewise, Nepal considers that autonomy provides additional rights and privileges to ethnic minorities, not available to other communities in the state, which hurts people?s equal access to rights, resources, and democratic values. With these perceptions, both countries adopt measures and strategies that reject autonomy and defend their political systems.

*This Is Ours Now: Staking National Claims to Populations and Territories in Interwar Europe:* Morgan Corbett (York University), Heather MacRae (York University)

**Abstract:** The collapse of the great dynastic empires of continental Europe?German, Habsburg, Ottoman, and Russian?in the first decades of the twentieth century resulted in the creation or consolidation of over a dozen national states across central and southeastern Europe between 1908 and 1920. These fledglings found themselves obliged to navigate, from a position of instability and weakness, a new international order in which population, territory, and status had become both fundamentally intertwined and newly available for negotiation. Using the cases of Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia, this paper explores an illustrative cross-section of the strategies, both rhetorical and material, developed and employed for laying, substantiating, and defending national claims to populations and territories in this period, from vertical pan-nationalism to internal colonization.

*Reassessing Ethnic Power Relations: Issues and Innovations for Understanding Ethnic Dynamics:* Owen Wong (Queen's University), John McGarry (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** The Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) dataset has become a foundational resource for analyzing ethnic dynamics in political science, providing data on the status, power access, and influence of various ethnic groups within states. However, while the EPR dataset has facilitated groundbreaking research, it also presents significant limitations that constrain the accuracy and scope of ethnic conflict studies. This article critically examines three key issues with the EPR dataset: its often static categorization of ethnic groups, the dataset?s reliance on state-centric definitions of power and influence, and challenges with cross-temporal consistency and bias in coding. The reliance on static categorizations may overlook fluid ethnic identities and power-sharing arrangements, especially in hybrid or fragile states. Similarly, the focus on formal power may obscure informal yet influential networks of authority within ethnic communities. Finally, cross-temporal inconsistencies in the dataset complicate longitudinal studies of ethnic power dynamics, impacting replicability and reliability in comparative research. Addressing these limitations is essential for advancing research on ethnic power structures, conflict, and integration, and this article proposes pathways to improve data collection and analysis methodologies in future iterations.

*What Black Am I? A Study of the Scattered Population of Black North American?s post-Slave Trade Genocide:* Paige Mignotte (Wilfrid Laurier University), Andrew Basso (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Why does the genocide of enslaved Africans during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade continue to distort the identities of the modern-day African American? The trade of enslaved peoples in North America was not only a colonial tool of forced labour, but a campaign of cultural and physical genocide against Black Africans. The remnants of this genocide continue to shape Black North Americans' lives, causing identity disorientation, systemic challenges, and cultural hurdles. Scholarship conceptualizing the Trans-Atlantic trade in enslaved peoples as genocide are limited in genocide studies, human rights, and transitional justice literatures. Thus, this paper first reconceptualizes the enslavement period (1526-1865) as a process of genocide and traces the trade's impact on identity construction among the Black African diaspora in the United States. Applying academic and legal understandings of genocide as a concept and crime to the enslavement period assists in highlighting severe intergenerational traumas and identity losses suffered by millions. The forced removal and systematic destruction of Black cultural heritage left descendants of enslaved peoples with fragmented identities and limited concepts of pre-enslavement culture, which continue to disorient, divide, and ontologically destroy modern Black populations. This paper develops a novel understanding of Black identities as post-genocidal constructions in North America while critically engaging with Black diaspora literatures, as well as those that examine identity construction processes, more broadly. Ultimately, it contributes a new perspective designed to stimulate healing and learning in North America and other colonized regions about the long shadows of past and ongoing violence.

.....



## B01 - Populism and Right-Wing Extremism

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

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

**Abstract:** The paper analyses the re-emergence of right-wing populism in mainstream politics in the Southern Cone and what it has meant for neoliberal multicultural discourses, the politics of Indigenous rights recognition, and for the ongoing processes of Indigenous self-determination resulting from decades of mobilization, organization, negotiation and resistance. Focusing on Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and Chile, the study suggests that Indigeneity has become a main target in policy and discourse for radical right-wing populist movements, whether they ended in government (e.g., Bolivia under Añez; Argentina under Milei; Brazil under Bolsonaro) or have had a significant impact and ongoing role in national politics (e.g., Chile during the Constitutional Convention; Argentina under the conservative government of Macri). The paper argues that while the backlash is part of a much broader radicalization of political discourse and political practices that target what these movements see as progressive or liberal ideology, the response is also a result of the shortcoming and failures of neoliberal multiculturalism to truly address the key demands of Indigenous self-determination and racial justice: territory and community-based government within the structure of the (multi)nation-state. Beyond the local distinctive features of each radical right-wing populist movement analyzed in the paper, the trend that is emerging is not only in detriment to the Neoliberal Multicultural Consensus of recent decades but an unsettling normalization of yet another wave of racism and violence against Indigenous peoples in the region in the context of new patterns of capitalist accumulation, particularly in the extractive sector of the economy.

*Une science extrême : usage stratégique du discours scientifique par l'extrême droite en ligne:* Antoine Lemor (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Cette communication analyse l'usage stratégique du discours scientifique par les influenceurs francophones d'extrême droite sur YouTube en France et au Québec (Fischer, Kolo, et Mothes 2022). Malgré une méfiance idéologique envers les institutions scientifiques, ces influenceurs intègrent de plus en plus des arguments scientifiques, notamment en biologie et en psychologie, pour légitimer leurs positions (Blee 2018; Lewis 2020). Ce paradoxe, accentué par la pandémie de COVID-19, interroge le rôle de la rhétorique scientifique dans la communication de ces acteurs. La question de recherche est : Quel rôle joue le discours scientifique dans les stratégies de communication des influenceurs d'extrême droite sur les médias sociaux ?

Nous posons l'hypothèse que cette tendance représente une mutation discursive qui traduit une adaptation stratégique face à la régulation des plateformes et aux critiques idéologiques adverses (Hong 2020).

S'appuyant sur une base de données de plus de 20 000 vidéos et 10 millions de commentaires, l'étude utilise des outils de transcriptions automatiques afin d'obtenir le contenu des vidéos; ce qui n'a encore jamais été réalisé à ce jour. Grâce à des techniques de traitement automatisé du langage naturel (TALN), sont identifiées les orientations idéologiques et les discours haineux afin de comprendre comment la rhétorique scientifique est employée dans un tel cadre. Cette recherche vise à comprendre les mécanismes qui favorisent la propagation des discours haineux sur les plateformes numériques et le rôle que jouent la science et la rhétorique scientifique dans ce contexte.

*The Diffusion of Populism:* Nicolas Bichay (Indiana University), Andrew Halterman (Michigan State University), Christian Houle (Michigan State University), Shahryar Minhas (Michigan State University)

**Abstract:** While the domestic effects of populism are well known, the potential cross-border effects are not well understood. Is it the case that populism diffuses across borders, or rather are countries merely reacting similarly to contemporaneous exogenous shocks? Some argue that, like democratization, populism occurs in waves where entrepreneurial populists in one country take the success of their populist brethren in another as a signal of likely success. Others maintain that rises in populism within a country do not necessarily lead to rises in neighboring countries, but rather contemporaneous economic or immigration shocks simply lead to correlated demands for populism. We explore this by building a measure of party populism, allowing us to not only measure rises in support for populist parties, but also increases in populist rhetoric among more traditionally mainstream parties. Then, utilizing spatial diffusion models we analyze whether rises in populism in one country seep across borders, or rather remain domestically confined.

*Collective memory and belonging in the area of right-wing populism:* Kate Korycki (Western University)

**Abstract:** In this paper I explore why, and by what means, national political elites shape the emergent imaginary of 'the people.' Adapting the framework of collective memory and anchoring the story in my recent book, *Weaponizing the Past: Collective Memory, and Jews, Poles and Communists in 21st Century Poland*, I argue that a) the narratives of past structure political competition, and b) affect the present-day notions of common belonging - that is, they determine political positions of players and they reveal who is included and excluded from the conception of the 'we,' (and if included, on what conditions). I first develop the concept of mnemonic capital - a politically productive symbolic resource that accrues to political players based on their turn to, and judgment of, the past. I identify three clusters of parties - all of which ruled Poland since transition to the present - based on the distribution of mnemonic capital. Second, I trace how the political and intellectual elites of each cluster weave the stories of the recent past, paying particular attention to the way they narrate Polish Jewish relations and their imbrications with communism. I demonstrate that despite narrative differences, all major political actors conflate communism with Jewishness. In doing so, they polarize the political field, elevate the nation as the main category of belonging, and racialize its meaning.

---

## B01 - Trust, Representation, and Electoral Dynamics in Contemporary Democracies

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**No trust without representation: The impact of youth representation on young people's trust in democracy:** Mira Buckle (University of Ottawa), Daniel Stockemer (University of Ottawa), Emily Gammon (University of Ottawa), Ines Nzohabonayo (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** There is a growing body of research, which looks both at youth's representation as the independent variable and dependent variable. In this research, we contribute to the literature that looks at the effect youth representation has on other indicators such as youth political interest and turnout. In more detail, we evaluate whether youth's descriptive representation in parliament influences this age group's trust in the institutions of democracy. We hypothesize that higher levels of youth descriptive representation trigger young people's higher levels of trust in democratic institutions. We test this hypothesis, using a worldwide dataset comprising the percentage of young people aged 35 and 40 or younger as the independent variable, and these groups' levels of trust in the population as the dependent variable. Our study comprising more than 200 datapoints in 85 countries finds support for our hypothesis. Controlling for institutional factors such as the type of government system, as well as socio-political factors such as the GDP per capita, we find that higher levels of youth representation significantly (both statistically and substantively) boosts youth's trust in democratic institutions.

Keywords: youth, youth representation, substantive representation, descriptive representation, trust, democracy, parliament

**Corruption Perceptions and Diffuse Support in Advanced Democracies:** Feodor Snagovsky (University of Alberta), Sewordor Toklo (University of Alberta), Roberto Mendoza (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** How do perceptions of political corruption influence support for democratic institutions? While many advanced democracies have a relatively low incidence of actual political corruption, a significant portion of the population believes corruption to be widespread in political institutions. This perception-reality gap has potentially negative implications for the diffuse support which underlies democratic systems. This paper examines the determinants and consequences of corruption beliefs through two studies. First, we use data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) and Canadian Election Study (CES) to examine the determinants of political corruption perceptions. Second, we conduct a pre-registered survey experiment which examines how priming perceptions of political corruption affects respondents' levels of political trust, support for democracy, and perceptions of external efficacy. The results further our understanding of the implications of political corruption perceptions in democratic systems.

**They Deport Immigrants, Don't They? Do Populist Voters trust the Electoral Pledges of their Preferred Party?:** Marc Hooghe (Université de Louvain)

**Abstract:** Populist radical-right political parties tend to stress in their party programs a strong stance against flows of immigration. It can be observed, however, that quite some of these proposals run counter to international humanitarian law obligations, or are difficult to implement anyhow. Currently, however, we do not know how voters for these parties react to these problems. When they support this party, do they actually believe these proposals will be implemented, or should this be seen mostly as a protest vote? In the 2024 Belgian Election Survey, we therefore introduced this question. Belgium offers a good case, as the radical right party obtained 23 per cent of the vote, and therefore the survey includes a sufficiently high number of voters for these parties. The survey allows us to assess to what extent voters for these parties actually believe that some of the more radical proposals will be implemented. We close with some observations on what implies for the relation between populist radical-right voting and the actual rule of law in liberal democracies.

**Rethinking Leadership in an Era of Broken Trust:** Cristine de Clercy (Trent University), Peter Ferguson (Government of Canada)

**Abstract:** The necessity of trust as a foundation of leadership is taken as a maxim in the literature. This belief dates back to Confucius, who claimed: 'If a man is respectful, he will not be treated with insolence. If he is tolerant, he will win the multitude. If he is trustworthy in word, his fellow men will entrust him with responsibility.' The linkage between trust and leadership pervades the literature today.

This paper critically assesses the link between trust and leadership with a view toward suggesting the necessity of problematizing trust and how it may - or may not - influence leadership. Trust in government and leaders has been in decline for some time. The recent Pew Research Center report, 'Public Trust in Government: 1958-2024,' points out that when the National Election Study began asking about trust in 1958, about three quarters of Americans trusted the federal government to do the right thing almost always or most of the time. Today, that number stands at 22%. This is not just an American phenomenon: the OECD's Trust Survey indicates that on average within OECD countries, 39% of the population trust their national government. About 49% of Canadians trust their government, which is better than the OECD average but much worse than historic levels. Trust in political leaders is even lower in many other democratic countries.

In an environment where at least 60% of the people don't trust their government, it may be more productive to reconceptualize the environment as one of broken trust. The paper explores the implications of this reframing the trust literature in three areas: leadership, democratic institutions, and elections. Some recent elections are examined to illuminate some of the gaps and inconsistencies in the literature, notably the 2016 and 2024 elections of Donald Trump to the American presidency. The study concludes with a short survey of some new approaches and arguments, such as those articulated by Martin Wolf in his 2023 book on democracy and capitalism, that aim to recast our understanding of this central concept.

---

## B01 - Comparative Politics of Conflict and Violence

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*The Russian War of War: Extreme Domicide in Ukraine:* Andrew Basso (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Why are homes targeted for destruction during warfare outside of a military necessity? This paper expands on recent research on extreme domicile ? the intentional destruction of homes in the context of political violence ? by focussing on Russia?s aggressive warmaking on Ukraine. Tracing the development of the Russian way of war over the past three decades of conflict in Chechnya, Syria, and now Ukraine, Russian forces clearly engage in deliberate policies of targeting and destroying the homes of their adversaries. In the Ukrainian context, homes have been destroyed by Russian forces in two main unique ways. First, Russian forces have used disproportionate weaponry as they engage in indiscriminate aerial bombardment of cities and towns. Second, Ukrainian homes have simply been razed to the ground outside of active conflict. Russian forces have deliberately destroyed Ukrainian homes outside of a military necessity to destabilize and demoralize Ukrainian resistance, and to erase Ukrainian identities from securitized spaces. Both types of destruction constitute fundamental and flagrant breaches of the Laws of Armed Conflict should be considered war crimes. These actions can also be understood as crimes against humanity as per the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. This paper contributes new understandings to how domicile is used as a weapon of war and method of exerting control over vulnerable populations. These human security and justice dimensions will be tied to human rights laws and norms and atrocity prevention and punishment regimes to argue the need to explicitly criminalize domicile in international law.

*Understanding Anti-Foreign Interference Policies in Taiwan: The Case of the 2020 Anti-Infiltration Act (????):* Michaël Désormeaux (McMaster University), Tony Porter (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the adoption of anti-foreign interference (FI) policies in democracies, focusing on a case study of Taiwan?s policy response to foreign interference. As part of a broader comparative research between Canada and Taiwan, the paper answers the question: *Why do some states adopt foreign interference policies, while others refrain or delay such actions?* The study employs a structured and focused analysis of Taiwan (2014-2020) to shed light on the causes of its policy adoption against Chinese FI. Data collection included 25 semi-structured interviews with participants from the media, civil society, think tanks, academia, political parties, and state agencies. In addition, document analysis was conducted on Legislative Yuan debates, reports from state agencies, think tanks, and NGOs, as well as presidential speeches and media publications. The theoretical framework proposed in this research triangulates three approaches to study policy change: Multiple Streams Framework, Advocacy Coalition Framework, and Securitization theory. This innovative combination allows for assessing how governmental and non-governmental coalitions initiate cross-sectorial mobilization by constructing threat narratives to ultimately shape security policy. This research contributes to political science and policy practice in several ways. Introducing a case with high levels of resilience against foreign interference scrutinizes the performance of democratic governance models in the realm of defence against such threats. It calls for expanding beyond state-centred analysis to recognize the role of non-traditional actors in security arenas as agents of policy change. This approach challenges conventional top-down accounts of the policy process and offers a nuanced understanding of anti-FI policy adoption in democratic contexts.

*Political Violence and Party System Fragmentation:* Abelardo Gómez Díaz (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), Laura Sparascio (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals)

**Abstract:** This study addresses the extent to which local incidences of political violence contribute to party system fragmentation. With a focus on Mexico, it relies on data from over two thousand municipalities across three consecutive elections (2018, 2021, and 2024), as well as on a series of generalized least squares regressions with random effects and clustered standard errors. These show (1) that local incidences of political violence contribute to less party system fragmentation; (2) that this effect becomes stronger over time; (3) and that it is stronger during concurrent presidential elections. These findings highlight the importance of considering both temporal and contextual factors when examining the impact of political violence on party systems.

---

## B01 - Federalism, Democracy, and Sovereignty

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*From Reluctant Federalism to Cooperative Federalism: A Comparative Study of India and South Africa:* Alisha Dhingra (University of Delhi)

**Abstract:** The early scholarship on federalism recognized United States of America as an ideal case of federalism which stemmed from the fact that United States of America was a forerunner both in the theory and practice of federalism. The Federalist Papers that guided the constitution-making in United States of America served as a classic treatise on federal discourse. However, the federations that have developed post second world war have adopted several features which distinguish it from the U.S. model of federalism. One of the breakthrough in federal theory and practice was the Indian model of federalism that differed significantly from the dual sovereignty model of United States of America. The hegemony of the US over federal discourse made scholars such as K.C. Wheare describe India as a quasi-federation. Echoing this view, scholars in South Africa have described it as an example of reluctant federalism. There are interesting parallels in the views and approach of constitution-makers in India and South Africa towards the issue of federalism. The constitution-makers in both countries favored a reluctant model of federalism for two reasons, first the fear of instability and breakdown and second the goal of transforming society in an egalitarian direction which required a strong centralized state. However, on a closer look the constitutional texts of both India and South Africa reflect a model of cooperative federalism. The journey of Indian federalism has been an interesting one culminating in the era of cooperative federalism notwithstanding some arenas of conflict and tension between center and states. On the other hand, South African federalism is in its nascent stage and has not been able to materialize the spirit of cooperative federalism inherent in the South African constitution. The paper would compare both the texts of the constitution and the emerging practices in both these countries and reflect on their potential to offer global south perspectives on federalism and dehegemonize the comparative federal theory.

*The Drafts of the Quebec Resolutions, 1864: The Canadian Distribution of Powers and An American Influence.:* Charles Dumais (University of Toronto), Robert Vipond (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** A dominant view in Canadian federalism literature is that the historical origin of Canadian federalism is grounded in the 'rejection' of the American federal system. Peter Hogg's *Constitutional Law of Canada* (2014) argues this point forcefully. Hogg (2014) asserts that this 'break' expresses a key British influence that explains why centralization is a distinctive feature of Canadian federalism. In this paper, I offer new archival evidence that nuances Hogg's 'rejection' story and that emphasize how the logic of American federalism (although 'inverted?') was actually influential for conceiving provincial jurisdictions. I build on the sub-literature (Smith, 1988; Vipond, 1985, 1989, 1991) that Canadians didn't 'reject' but relied on an American language. While Hogg (2014) emphasizes the story of centralization, I argue that alone it cannot explain the problem of the language of 'exclusivity?'. I use a detailed linguistic reconstruction of the Quebec Conference 1864 to show that an American language was used to build up provincial 'exclusive' jurisdiction. Unlike the sub-literature, I unfold a different interpretation of how and why the American language was critical to provincial development by showing why the language was important for French Lower Canada not for protecting its own institutions but for containing Upper Canada's economic ambitions and dangers to Lower Canada's economic interests. I first outline the centralization story in Hogg (2014), then the sub-literature and the debate on 'exclusivity?' (Smith, 1988; Vipond, 1985, 1989, 1991), and then my reconstruction of American language collated in my new book *The Quebec Conference, 1864* (CCF, 2021, 2024).

*Federalism and Democracy: A Comparison of Electoral Participation in Federal and Unitary States:* André Lecours (University of Ottawa), Daniel Stockemer (University of Ottawa), Jean-Nicolas Bordeleau (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Federalism is typically associated with democracy. One important argument about the relationship between federalism and democracy is that federalism allows for multiple arenas for representation, deliberation, and collective decision-making. Implicit in this argument is the idea that federalism should stimulate electoral participation at the regional level since federal systems feature constituent units that have constitutional standing, are sovereign in their constitutionally-specified fields of jurisdiction, and possess legislative powers in those fields. This paper tests this hypothesis by comparing voter turnout at the constituent unit/regional level in federal and unitary states. Using turnout data from 32 countries and 463 constituent/regional units, we compute a linear regression model with regional turnout as the outcome variable and region-level fixed effects. Our results indicate that voter turnout at the constituent/regional level is higher in federal states compared to unitary states with no distinguishable differences in federal/state-level turnout. Through a linear regression model with the difference in federal/state and constituent/state turnout as the outcome, we further demonstrate that the gap between federal/state-level and constituent unit turnout is smallest in federal states, even when controlling for economic performance, compulsory voting, and the presence of regionalist parties. These findings provide empirical evidence that the federal model encourages electoral participation, and they support the idea that federalism meaningfully benefits democratic life. As such, this paper contributes to scholarship on federal studies and on political participation, and it informs, from a public policy perspective, processes of state restructuring in the context of transitions towards democracy.

*Between Sovereignty and Dependency: Governance and Identity in Sub-National Island Jurisdictions:* Gary Wilson (University of Northern British Columbia)

**Abstract:** Small island jurisdictions around the world struggle to maintain their autonomy and distinct identities in the face of internal challenges, powerful external forces and existential threats such as climate change. Although some small islands are sovereign states, a status that reinforces their autonomy within the international order, the majority are sub-national island jurisdictions (SNIJ) that have political, economic and social connections to larger 'host' states. Also referred to as federacies, SNIJs occupy a jurisdictional middle ground between sovereignty and dependency that presents both opportunities and challenges. Using an analytical framework that is grounded in the literatures on island studies and federalism studies, this paper will compare the political, economic and social features of several SNIJs in the North Atlantic region, including two federacies (the Faeroe Islands and the Isle of Man) and

two less autonomous island jurisdictions (the Shetland Islands and the Orkney Islands). The analysis will focus on four criteria: the structure of their internal governance institutions and jurisdictions (self-rule); their external relations with their host state (shared rule); their level of economic development and independence; and their political culture, demographic characteristics and identity. Based on these criteria, the paper will compare the institutional and societal circumstances of each SNIJ with a view to assessing the ways in which they have attempted to navigate a jurisdictional path between sovereignty and dependency.

---

## B01 - Social Movements and Research in Constrained Environments

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Instrumentalizing Human Rights: The Backstage and Frontstage of Blacklisted Workers' Movement:* Filiz Kahraman (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Has international human rights law become a tool that only the global elite can use? Some scholars argue that human rights can empower advocacy groups to lead successful naming and shaming campaigns that put pressure on governments. Others point out that human rights law and institutions are only accessible to well-funded and transnationally connected NGOs and that using these frameworks risks depoliticizing activists' demands. Yet, we have few empirical studies that examine whether and how international human rights institutions can mobilize social movements where people who experience the violations are the protagonists in their own struggle. Drawing on a case study of blacklisted workers' movement in the UK, I argue that human rights institutions can catalyze social movements, but not in the ways most human rights scholars would have expected. Activists do not necessarily take part in collective action because they are inspired by the promise of attaining their human rights. Instead, I suggest that activists can adopt an instrumental approach to human rights which produces a duality in the movement. In the frontstage of their public campaigns, activists seize the opportunities and resources presented by human rights to raise awareness about their grievances among the public and pressure the government. In the backstage, where they are away from public scrutiny, human rights norms do not shape activists' ideological commitments, collective identity, or solidarity ties.

*Politics unusual? Uganda's neoliberal consensus and the politics of popular opposition:* Luke Melchiorre (Universidad de los Andes)

**Abstract:** What key ideas drive contemporary social movements in Africa, and how do they challenge prevailing neoliberal views on democracy, development, and the role of African states in the global world order? This article addresses these questions through an analysis of the Ugandan case, focusing on the political rise of Robert Kyagulanyi, also known as Bobi Wine, and his People Power movement. Since his entry into formal politics in 2017, Kyagulanyi's populist project has posed a formidable threat to the 38-year-old regime of Yoweri Museveni and his National Resistance Movement (NRM) government. Beyond its immediate political objective of 'removing a dictatorship', however, Kyagulanyi's use of a language of 'liberation' invites a deeper examination of his ideological commitments. In analyzing this aspect of his movement, I argue that, despite his deployment of revolutionary symbolism and discourse, Kyagulanyi and his movement's ultimate embrace of formal party politics with its attendant fixation on elections, its repeated espousals of a commitment to (neo)liberal good governance, and its attempts to position itself 'to the West' of the Museveni regime on key questions of foreign policy, have all demonstrated an inability or unwillingness on the part of his movement to imagine politics beyond Uganda's well-established neoliberal consensus. Based on over 75 interviews with People Power leaders, Ugandan politicians, activists, and journalists conducted during two research trips to Uganda since 2019, along with an analysis of thousands of newspaper articles and 4,503 of Kyagulanyi's tweets since 2017, this article reveals how neoliberal ideas continue to shape not only the ruling ideologies and governance practices in African states but also the ideological commitments of those who seek to challenge them.

*When Taking to the Streets Delivers the Goods: Protesting as Everyday Life in Autocratic Algeria:* Hiba Zerrougui (McGill), Juan Wang (McGill)

**Abstract:** In Algeria, an authoritarian regime led by an opaque military leadership, there is a daily occurrence of protests. Since the end of the civil war, local uprisings remain a norm. People block highways by burning tires to ask for better access to water or electricity; patients organize sit-ins in hospitals to denounce deadly delays for organ transplants; unemployed young men perform self-mutilations in front of local official buildings to denounce their marginalization; etc. These protests are not led by seasoned activists, but rather by ordinary people, who mobilize their informal care networks of friends, families, and neighbors. These protests are minimized in the literature as rent-seeking and distinguished from what is considered "political" (associated with democratization). And yet, they constitute an unavoidable reality that structures most Algerians' day-to-day state-society relations.

Pushing back against scholarly narratives of protest normalization in autocracies coinciding with either state domination or its incremental deliquescence, this paper provides an alternative framework to make sense of routine violence and contestation. Protesting as everyday life refers to the politics of getting-by, both as state actors and ordinary people. It constitutes forms of social interactions where the 'street' meets the state to tackle community problems, and where protests are complex social spaces where resilience is renegotiated through everyday struggles. Protesting as everyday life is lived as a form of protracted violent governance, where crises overlap and become the master frame on which collective action and public policy are constructed. Based on a narrative analysis of 2937 coded protest events in Algeria, archival and fieldwork research, this paper aims to recenter scholarly debate on (autocratic) state fragility and sources of resilience in the politics of everyday life. It asks how and why different forms of political violence are intertwined in policies and initiatives aiming at providing basic public goods and services in contexts of state fragility, as well as how ordinary people contend with this violence in their everyday lives.

*Locating Normalisation of Violence in Knowledge Production: the Case of Fieldworks in 'Difficult' Contexts:* Hiba Zerrougui (McGill), Juan Wang (McGill)

**Abstract:** As I embarked on my fieldwork in Algeria to study authoritarian governance in contexts where protests were common occurrence, I was not surprised that despite my preparation, I encountered intimidation and violence. What took me aback was my inability—and later, my unwillingness—to overcome, circumvent, or endure these challenges despite my preparation. At first, I understood my experience as a failure. I—a Canadian-Algerian researcher fluent in both French and Algerian dialect, with ties with several local communities, sensitized to the context of my 'native' country—was unable to 'adapt' and resolve what I experienced as a series of insurmountable situations. With time, I attempted to theorize this discomfort and my refusal to work around it.

In this paper, I problematize how state, gender-based and structural violence were endogenous to my fieldwork plans; how I accepted them as forms of discomfort to contend with during my research, and thus normalizing violence. Knowledge production could not escape from the violence shaping everyday life in Algeria. But while my preparation was focused on how I could endure, overcome or circumvent this violence, during my fieldwork, I grew increasingly concerned that the knowledge production for which I was responsible would be itself violent. I unpack this experience, drawing comparison with other fieldwork accounts. I conclude with methodological and ethical implications for political scientists.

---

## B01 - Political Identity and Social Conflict

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

***Beyond Battlefields: Rebuilding Education and Redefining Identity and Conflict through Schooling in Post-War Burundi:*** Emily Dunlop (Cornell University)

**Abstract:** Unequal schooling also contributes to violence, conflict, and war. This 'education inequality to war' pipeline has resulted in addressing these inequalities being a key priority for peacebuilding. However, we know very little about how addressing education inequalities can contribute to peace. Several factors inhibit the presumed short- and long-term benefits: legacies of violence can take years to overcome, and the politics and polarization of identities can influence how youth interpret changes in their education. In this paper, I explore the case of education in post-war Burundi. I draw on interviews with 72 secondary, 25 university, and 17 out-of-school youth in the country, which I conducted over 4 field visits. I explore how youth in this post-war, resource-poor country envision inequality (and equity) across ethnic, regional, political, and gender identities in their schooling and lives. I argue that attempts to redress educational inequalities after civil wars and identity-based violence may paradoxically reinforce existing disparities and create new perceptions of inequality. I contend that both pre- and post-war institutional structures influence the effectiveness of policies aimed at reducing educational inequalities, and that such institutional structures sometimes working against each other. By adding youth voices to the study of education redistribution, I hope to contribute to a growing literature elevating these voices in times when youth resilience and hope in education are needed more than ever. This paper offers a cautiously realistic pathway for how such governments and non-governmental organization could contribute to short- and long-term peacebuilding goals through education redistribution.

***Autochtonie: visions contestées de l'appartenance sous l'ère Bozizé (2003-2013) en République Centrafricaine (RCA):*** Gino Vlavonou (Independent)

**Abstract:** L'autochtonie en tant qu'identité suggère une relation immuable avec le sol. Mais elle procède d'une réification constante, car il est presque impossible de prouver l'appartenance originelle d'un individu ou d'un groupe en tant que premier habitant d'un territoire. Cependant, différents contextes de crise sociopolitique ont propulsé les appels à l'autochtonie sur le devant de la scène, donnant de nouveaux sens aux politiques d'appartenance, parce que le contenu de l'autochtonie n'est jamais clairement spécifié.

En 2013, un conflit armé éclate en RCA où une partie de la population se revendiqua être des « vrais Centrafricains » et chassa les musulmans en dehors du territoire. L'autochtonie devint alors le centre de ce conflit qui était une lutte, entre élites, pour le pouvoir en RCA. Ce virage autochtone reste à comprendre, compte tenu de la violence déclenché envers la minorité musulmane. Il existe une littérature éparse sur le conflit sous l'ère Bozizé, et la majorité de cette littérature utilise le prisme de la gouvernance et l'autoritarisme.

Cet article effectue une analyse de deux quotidiens de la presse écrite centrafricaine sous l'ère Bozizé afin de comprendre les façons ordinaires de construire l'autre sur le temps long et éviter le sensationnalisme des épisodes violents. Le corpus de textes a été recueilli en 2017 à l'Alliance Française de Bangui lors d'une recherche terrain de six mois en RCA. L'article montre les pratiques discursives de la presse écrite centrafricaine à l'égard des concitoyens musulmans. Il met en évidence non seulement la circulation, mais aussi la reproduction du pouvoir, et les relations sociales derrière les préjugés qui sous-tendent l'autochtonie.

***Reverberations of Genocide: Reclaiming Identity and Recognition Post-Ottoman Genocide:*** Christine Betsargis (Wilfrid Laurier University), Andrew Basso (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Why have the Assyrians, Armenians, and Greeks not combined efforts to achieve recognition?? This project is focused on multi-community genocide recognition efforts following the Ottoman genocide of Christian minorities (1914-1925). Christian minorities were cast as internal enemies, resulting in the killing of 2.5 million Christians and their dispersal to Armenia, Greece, and Syria. This research will focus on survivor community identity reconstruction efforts amidst Turkish denialism, critically examining the politics of recognition as it influences the reconstruction process. This comparative study offers insights into how affected communities have largely not combined efforts to achieve genocide recognition and how post-atrocity identity constructions have limited recognition efforts. Postcolonial and social identity theory analytical frameworks will uncover intergroup relations, historicize how individuals and communities re-established identities, and explore changing identity constructs. A discursive, institutional approach and cross-case analysis will examine how power and legitimacy are embedded within the language and institutions that continue to shape identity, memory, and recognition. Despite the genocide's widespread, persistent impacts, recognition remains understudied, a problem found in broader political violence and genocide studies literature. This research will draw on orally transmitted tellings from 1914-1925, including stories, lullabies, and songs central to post-genocide memory and identity construction efforts, as well as central works regarding the post-genocide identity construction efforts of the three communities. The conclusions of this research will serve as a steppingstone in sovereign identity reconstruction and post-genocide recognition, aiding in understanding diaspora and genocide's effects on communal identity.

***Erasing Home, Shaping Identity: Gendered Dimensions of Domicide in Ireland, Canada, and Ukraine:*** Amanda Kurp (Wilfrid Laurier University), Andrew Basso (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** This paper examines why violent domicidal processes lead to gender-specific negative biopsychosocial outcomes among affected communities. Extreme domicile—a deliberate and violent destruction of homes leading to forced eviction and systemic oppression—profoundly impacts individuals and communities, though it remains underexplored in political violence and human rights literatures. Recent scholarly innovations argue extreme domicile is a powerful concept to help explain and predict the loss of home during political violence. Despite the newfound attention to domicile's widespread usage worldwide, its gendered aspects remain significantly undertheorized. Domicide lacks explicit recognition as a crime in international law, creating a gap that



enables perpetrators to act with impunity and leaves gender-specific human rights violations unaddressed. To address this, this study employs a most-different case study approach using within-case analysis and process tracing, focusing on extreme domicide across three distinct historical and cultural contexts: the Great Famine in Ireland (1845-1852), Canada's Sayisi Dene expulsions (1956-1979), and Russia's (2022-present) aggressive war in Ukraine. Each case illustrates different facets of systematic home destruction and forced eviction processes, though from diverse temporal and political backgrounds. While forced evictions and violent conflicts are widely discussed, this paper uniquely explores how gender shapes the experience and aftermath of domicide. The study fills a critical gap in the scholarly understanding of domicide's gender-specific impacts and contributes to developing targeted policies for prevention and accountability. Findings aim to influence international legal frameworks by establishing domicide as a recognized, punishable offense and advocating for gender-responsive policies addressing this form of violence.

---

## B01 - Angry

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**PERCEPTION OF FAIRNESS IN ENERGY TRANSITION: CONCEPTUAL REFINEMENT:** Huong Le (University of Alberta), Lori Thorlakson (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** The threat of climate change, coupled with the current affordability crisis, underscores the imperative and urgency of a global energy transition. In addition to technological advancements, social acceptance of green energy sources and policies, a willingness to pay additional burdens and a desire to adopt new energy behaviors are principle to smoothly transition to a cleaner energy system. Such acceptance and willingness to change cannot be implemented without considering fairness issues. Research on perception of fairness is presently fragmented across various disciplines, such as energy justice, climate justice, environmental justice, and social justice. Divergent conceptualizations of fairness and methods of measuring perception of fairness both within and across these disciplines impede the understanding and comparison of empirical findings from different research traditions. Using case studies of Alberta, this critical literature review identifies and categorizes the contemporary fairness debates in energy transition and their political underpinnings. By mapping these debates onto theoretical frameworks in political science and energy social science, this paper clarifies and expands upon the conceptual dimensions of fairness central to navigating a just energy transition.

**Sticking to Issues or Getting Personal? Negativity and Permanent Campaigns in Partisan Communication on X in Belgium:** Lucas Kins (Université libre de Bruxelles), Caroline Close (Université libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** Campaign digitalization, and more specifically the widespread adoption of social by political elites, has transformed the relationship between political actors, the media, and citizens. This shift has led to the generalization of "permanent" campaigns, where the distinction between electoral and non-electoral periods blurs, and political actors continuously strive to dominate the media agenda. Social media platforms enable political to bypass the traditional media gatekeeping function, and potentially influence the agenda, fostering an environment conducive to negative campaigning, which describes the attacks between political opponents, but remains understudied in party-centered contexts. This paper explores the prevalence and nature of negative campaigning on X in Belgium, a multiparty and consociational democracy. We focus on three key aspects of the behavior of both "pillar", core parties and their populist and non-populist challengers: the propensity of core parties to engage in negative campaigning comp

**Canada and the Comparative Politics of an Increasingly Angry World:** Jessica Burch (Simon Fraser University), Eline de Rooij (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** This paper uses a spatiotemporal autoregressive distributed lag (STADL) model to explore comparative trends in anger through space and time, focusing on Canada's place in an increasingly angry world. Worldwide levels of anger have increased to a statistically significant degree over time, but this overall trend masks considerable heterogeneity. The role of political and economic factors in creating these differences between countries is discussed.

**Global Attitudes and Responses to Online Hate Speech:** Clareta Treger (University Of Toronto), Thomas Bergeron (University Of Toronto), Christopher Cochrane (University Of Toronto), Ron Levi (University Of Toronto)

**Abstract:** As online hate speech proliferates on social media with growing intensity, it has become a critical global concern with serious societal and political implications. However, little is known about user perceptions of hate speech, the individual factors influencing exposure to it, and the actions users are willing to take to counter it. This study addresses these gaps using data from a 2023 survey spanning 21 countries (N = 21,925). Our findings reveal significant cross-national differences in reported encounters with hate speech, with users in developing countries reporting higher exposure than those in developed nations. Facebook emerged as the platform most frequently associated with hate speech incidents. We also find that users generally report reluctance to take action, with the most common responses being blocking or reporting offensive content and users. This study provides a comparative perspective on user engagement with online hate speech, highlighting that challenges in addressing hate speech may stem from both identification issues and user unwillingness to intervene.

---

## B01 - Religion, Ethnicity, and Conflict

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Islamizing communists: Contesting the politics of Islam and revolution in Pakistan:* Noaman Ali (University of Bath)

**Abstract:** Dominant scholarly views of Islamization consider it a conservative phenomenon associated with non-democratic regimes or increasing illiberalism. Recent scholarship, however, has emphasized the 'many faces' of political engagements with Islam, ranging from quietist to democratic approaches. However, the debate tends to examine the thought of Islamic scholars or the activities of Islamist actors, reflecting a bias toward doctrinal interpretation, and conceiving of Islam as inimical to more radical socialist and communist politics. This paper advances the study of subaltern Islam by examining how the Marxist-Leninist-oriented Mazdoor Kisan Party (Worker Peasant Party)'s leadership of Pakistan's largest peasant movement engaged with both the doctrinal 'great tradition' and everyday 'little tradition' of religious belief. I show how a conservative Islam that defended landed elites was contested by a contingent alliance of communist organizers, local Islamists and scholars, and mobilized peasants aligned on an interpretation of religion that conformed to radical aims of land redistribution. I argue that peasants' forcible redistribution of land and political power resulted in Islamization, insofar as formal and informal political economic practices were increasingly (re-)ordered according to Islamic rules and symbols (Lorch 2019). The same process, however, also resulted in both doctrinal and vernacular Islams being used as cover for the fragmentation of the subaltern alliance and the perpetuation of certain forms of class-based domination that emerged amongst a differentiating peasantry. Ultimately, I show that rather than inherently conservative, Islamization can be better conceived as a contingent process of contestation along class, caste, and gender lines.

*The Unmoved Mover: Pakistan's Military Establishment as a Moderator of the Social and Electoral Mobilization of Islamist Parties in Pakistan (1947-2024):* Muhammad Bilal Shakir (McGill University), Erik Kuhonta (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Why do some political parties with strong ideologies struggle to translate their substantial capacity for social mobilization—such as street protests and influence on policy formulation—into effective electoral mobilization? Conversely, why are some parties able to punch above their electoral weight? This paper contends that a state's ruling elite acts as a key moderator in the causal relationship between 'organizational effectiveness' and 'structural fragmentation' and these parties' ability to mobilize socially and electorally. Empirically, the analysis centers on Pakistan, the second-largest Muslim-majority country in the world. In Pakistan, the ruling elite primarily comprises Pakistan's military establishment and its allied political parties, as well as members of state institutions such as the judiciary, bureaucracy, and the media, often called the "establishment."

First, the paper examines the 'why' component of this moderation by the military elite in Pakistan. It underlines that two key conditions moderate the relationship between organizational effectiveness, structural fragmentation, and the high social and low electoral mobilization of Islamist parties in Pakistan or 'divergent mobilization.' These two conditions are: the relative strength of a state's ruling elite versus an oppositional elite and the aligned incentives of a state's ruling elite with the divergent mobilization of Islamist parties in Pakistan. Second, the 'how' component elaborates on two crucial mechanisms through which the ruling elite shapes the social and electoral mobilization of Islamist parties: 1) a pattern of cooptation combined with limited repression, and 2) a pattern of political control. To support these claims, I draw on data collected from eleven months of fieldwork, including sixty semi-structured elite interviews, two focus groups with non-elite participants, ethnographic observations gathered by visiting state facilities as well as archival documents such as newspaper records dating back to the 1940s, and the most comprehensive electoral dataset on Islamist political outcomes spanning eleven election cycles from 1970 to 2024. These empirical resources underpin the argument that Pakistan's military establishment plays a crucial role in moderating the variation in the relationship between the social and electoral mobilization of Islamist parties in Pakistan.

*Repoliticizing the Anti-Politics Machine: Development, Expertise, and Ethnic Politics in Sri Lanka:* Uvin Dissanayake (McGill University), Narendra Subramanian (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Since the publication of James Ferguson's 1990 book of the same title, the image of the development industry as an 'anti-politics machine' has become the dominant analytical metaphor in development studies. Indeed, the idea of development as depoliticizing is prevalent not only in critical literature but increasingly in mainstream development management theory, with frameworks like 'Adaptive Management' and 'Doing Development Differently?' being proposed to better incorporate politics in development practice.

I argue that this metaphor and the theoretical consensus surrounding it is misleading. This paper puts forward a theory of repoliticization in development, understood as a process by which development practices reveal the contingency of a given socio-political arrangement, challenging a consensus that has allowed for it to be naturalized. I use practice tracing methods to explore how different groups of development actors, namely the Sri Lankan military and 'international development' practitioners, engage back and forth in processes of repoliticization and depoliticization on behalf of rival ordering projects.

To do so, I examine the ethnic politics of the Mahaweli Development Program, an irrigation project implemented to make use of Sri Lanka's largest river, from 1977 to the present. I show how processes of 'rendering technical' in development practice, commonly understood as part and parcel of depoliticization, can instead generate political contestation. By questioning this assumed opposition between the political and the technical, I hope to show how the concept of repoliticization can help us better understand the effects of development practice on the societies that are the objects of its intervention.

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

**Abstract:** Durable peace in South Asia is still a fantasy. This research attempts to find out causes of failure of peace building between Pakistan and India. Due to its comprehension, the concept of peace building has been used. Using paradigms of comparative politics i.e. Rationality, Structure and Culture as

well as some theories of International Relations, this research aims at finding the real causes of failure of peace building attempts. Though conflict and peace is studied under the umbrella of International Relations, this research is also an attempt to explain peace building by using theories of comparative politics. It focuses on how and why individual and collective human agency and structural solutions failed in peace building in South Asia. It also explains how ethnic structure, factional politics, ideological indoctrination in politics, building of extreme nationalist narrative, territorial disputes and non-political elites posed hurdles in the way of peace process. By mapping existing literature, this research not only fills the gap by finding root causes of peace building failure but also suggests possible solutions of peace building between the two states.

---

## B01 - Political Violence, Populism, and Authoritarianism

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

***Unraveling the Radical Flank Effect: The Role of Moderate Organizations in the Face of Radical Flank Violence:*** Jacob Fortier (Northwestern University), Ana Arjona (Northwestern University)

**Abstract:** Why do moderate organizations sometimes benefit from or avoid the negative effects of radical flank violence, while in other cases, they suffer strategic setbacks due to such extremism? Scholars have diverged in their conclusions regarding the impact of radical flank actions on more moderate social movement organizations, a phenomenon known as the Radical Flank Effect (RFE). Some argue that radical elements within a movement can inadvertently boost the credibility and support for moderate groups by offering a contrast. Others believe that such radicalism can tarnish the movement's overall image as extremist, negatively impacting moderates. I propose that these varying conclusions stem partly from a lack of focus on the agency of moderate organizations within social movements in managing the extent to which the violence of radical groups harms their core interests. Examining the emergence of radical flank violence in the Quebec pro-independence movement during the 1960s and 1970s, this study investigates how and when moderates might enhance their distinction from radical elements and avoid detrimental associations. Relying on in-depth interviews with moderate leaders and archival research, the findings reveal that moderates can achieve this by publicly denouncing violence, avoiding interactions with radicals, and signal to state authorities intent to de-escalate the conflict.

***Sexualized Power or Patriarchal Authority: Mapping the Variation of Authoritarian Masculinities:*** Shirley (Xinyi) Cai (McGill University), Juan Wang (McGill University)

**Abstract:** The scholarship has widely examined Vladimir Putin's authoritarian masculine image since his third term, with the onset of the Russia-Ukraine war in 2014 and its escalation in 2022 further substantiating these analyses. However, there is relatively limited research on the masculinity of China's authoritarian leaders, whose regime shares a similar communist past and autocratic governance with Russia. This paper aims to analyze the differences in the image of authoritarian masculinity and evaluates competing hypotheses that explain these variations. The paper first outlines the contours of these differences framed as Russian sexualized power versus Chinese patriarchal authority. This analysis examines the discursive differences in how Russian and Chinese state media construct the images of their current leaders as a form of propaganda, as well as the diverse forms of presentation in popular culture, including images, music, and plays. I argue that while the masculinity of the Russian leader centers on military dominance, chauvinism pride, and sexualized physical strength, the Chinese leader projects a more de-gendered image, akin to a wise patriarch wielding absolute authority within a harmonious family. Next, I propose and evaluate hypotheses explaining this difference, including Russia's façade democracy, the taboo nature of sexuality in East Asian public discourse, and the varying degrees of personalization and institutionalization within each country's autocracy. Unlike Russia, where the display of subjugation by other male figures such as domestic politicians like Medvedev or leaders from other post-Soviet regions and the desire of women for Putin are used to legitimize his rule and power, Chinese leader's portrayal of masculinity emphasizes being in touch with the people and cultivating authority, a representation that only reinforces his power.

***Unifier, influencer et monétiser la haine : les fonctions stratégiques de l'antiféminisme en ligne au sein de l'extrême droite.*** Antoine Lemor (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Cette étude propose une typologie des fonctions stratégiques des discours antiféministes dans les productions d'influenceurs d'extrême droite en ligne. S'inscrivant à l'intersection des littératures sur l'extrême droite en ligne (Finlayson 2022) et la manosphère (Ging 2019), elle considère l'antiféminisme comme une stratégie métapolitique (Bures 2023) visant à transformer les idées et valeurs culturelles pour influencer, à terme, le champ politique.

L'étude met en évidence quatre fonctions principales de l'antiféminisme dans ces discours : (1) Fonction fédératrice : l'antiféminisme agit comme un point de ralliement pour divers courants idéologiquement distincts, mais convergents, unifiant ainsi les acteurs sous une opposition commune aux valeurs féministes. (2) Fonction d'agenda : le discours antiféministe redéfinit le champ politique en naturalisant la binarité de genre et en cherchant à exclure les questions de genre du débat public. (3) Fonction économique : l'antiféminisme est monétisé par les influenceurs à travers divers produits et services, créant un équilibre entre extrémismes, qui attire une audience engagée, et modération, qui facilite la monétisation. (4) Fonction d'intersectionnalisation des haines : l'antiféminisme sert de base à un discours plus large, intégrant d'autres formes d'oppression, et justifiant l'inégalité comme une norme naturelle.

L'analyse repose sur deux types d'analyse. Une analyse de réseau sur la base d'un corpus de plus de 20.000 vidéos, publiées entre 2015 et 2024 par 40 influenceurs francophones d'extrême droite, issus de France et du Québec. Une analyse de discours qualitative de vidéos (n= 50) réalisée à l'aide de Nvivo.

***Populist Leaders' Pragmatism: Investigating the Inclusion Moderation Thesis:*** Clint Claessen (University of Basel), Stefanie Bailor (University of Basel)

**Abstract:** The "inclusion-moderation" thesis posits that the involvement of right-wing populist parties in government coalitions leads to toned-down issue positions and populist rhetoric. Focusing on the speech actors, this article suggests that party leaders, not parties, are the primary drivers of populist rhetoric in legislative speech. Building on the party leader and party competition literature, it develops two specific expectations: fluctuations in populism are 1) leader-driven and 2) influenced by the emphasis on immigration in speech. Using parliamentary speech data from the Netherlands (2002-2019) and Austria (1999-2019), this study employs a large language model to measure populist speech and BERTopic models to assess immigration content. The results support that party leaders' debate contributions show higher levels of populism. Additionally, both party leaders and MPs dial back their populist

rhetoric while in a coalition but intensify it when discussing their 'owned issue', immigration. The latter tendency is especially pronounced for party leaders.

---

## B01 - Democracy, Politics, and the Politics of Knowledge

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**Decolonizing democracy: National sovereignty and methodological nationalism in democratic studies:** Noaman Ali (University of Bath), Luke Melchiorre (Universidad de los Andes)

**Abstract:** In the past decade, the movement to decolonize the social sciences has gained significant momentum, paralleling growing global concerns about democratic decline. Scholarship, however, on decolonizing the social sciences and democratic studies have seldom intersected. This paper draws on critical scholarship and theories from the Global South to expand the scope of democratic studies, both substantively and methodologically. We contend that the dominant liberal framework in the study of democracy, with its narrow focus on formal procedures and institutions, is constrained by methodological nationalism, which obscures how global political economy shapes power relations at both domestic and international levels. Societies in the postcolonial Global South, in particular, are profoundly affected by external economic and political processes imposed without their input. Despite raising important questions of democratic legitimacy, as recent counter-power-focused theories of democracy suggest, studies of democratization continue to ignore or downplay such routine external disruptions to popular empowerment. In contrast, scholars from the Global South have compellingly argued that the economic restrictions of the Washington Consensus during the third wave of democratization reduced democracies to 'choiceless' or 'low intensity' forms. By emphasizing these extra-national dynamics, we contend that efforts by Global South countries to defend national 'especially economic' sovereignty are essential for fostering more egalitarian distributions of power on a global scale. Thus, national sovereignty should be a crucial dimension in the study and assessment of democracy. Broadening our understanding of democracy therefore requires a deconstruction 'that is, decolonization' of liberal frameworks.

**Rethinking Democracy: postcolonial Africa as site of democratic experimentation:** Luke Melchiorre (Universidad de los Andes)

**Abstract:** This paper challenges the dominant narrative that positions liberal democracy as the definitive model of governance, arguing that postcolonial Africa has long been an overlooked yet dynamic site of democratic experimentation. Drawing on the critical insights of Africanist scholars such as Claude Ake and Thandika Mkandawire, and examining case studies like Guinea-Bissau's liberated zones, Mauritius' developmental democracy, and Tanzania's one-party system, this study explores how these African political projects articulated alternative visions of democracy that depart from liberal norms. These approaches emphasize participatory governance, developmental priorities, and communitarian values, all shaped by specific socio-political contexts. In challenging the conflation of democracy with liberalism, this paper argues that these African models offer substantial contributions to democratic theory. It advocates for decentering Western frameworks in the study of democracy, both in theory and practice. While it is essential to acknowledge that these 20th-century African experiments fell short of realizing their democratic ideals, it is equally crucial to view these efforts not as 'finished products or realized objectives,' but as 'aspirations and processes,' as Hardt (2024) notes. This perspective not only sheds light on the diversity of African democratic imaginaries but also underscores the tangible obstacles these experiments faced in practice. Ultimately, this paper repositions postcolonial African democratic experiments as neither peripheral nor pathological, but as legitimate and innovative responses to complex socio-political realities and international constraints. In doing so, it contributes to a more nuanced understanding of democracy 'one that recognizes its variability and the importance of considering diverse historical and cultural expressions in redefining democratic practice.'

**The Tenuous Link between Voter Behavior and Electoral Nationalization: Individual-Level Evidence from Surveys in 11 Democracies:** Daniel Hopkins (University of Pennsylvania)

**Abstract:** In some democracies, parties' electoral support is similar across levels of government; elsewhere, it differs. This 'cross-level nationalization' can affect representation and accountability, especially in decentralized/federalist systems. Yet prior research has explored these questions primarily using aggregate election results and so has not assessed whether nationalization is connected to individual-level attitudes and behaviors. We use 19 novel surveys from 10 countries (n=31K) to test prominent hypotheses predicting individual-level variation in the consistency of cross-level voting, such as those pointing to media consumption, subnational attachments, or polarization. Overall, while countries' residents vary in their levels of nationalized voting, this variation is not related to individual-level differences in most potentially related constructs. Cross-level nationalization appears to be a system-level attribute which is not closely integrated with individual-level differences in key attitudes or behaviors, a finding with important implications for its causes and future trajectories.

**Exposing Inter-Party Animosity in a Consociational Democracy: Thorn in the Side or Fatal Blow?:** Lucas Kins (Université libre de Bruxelles), Caroline Close (Université libre de Bruxelles)

**Abstract:** Consociationalism designates political systems that are designed to manage societal divisions, by ensuring power-sharing and consensus-building among the different social, ethnic, or religious groups of a country. As a result, it is generally described as a 'distinctively non-populist conception of democracy' (Bogaards, 2019; p. 342). Nevertheless, recent research has highlighted the many limits of such a system (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2020), especially in a context of growing polarization. In parallel, social media have become a key tool of political communication among elites, thanks to the direct link with voters they provide (Huber, 2022), and their intensive use by a multitude of political actors, including political parties (Farrer, 2022; Wouters et al., 2022). Most of the existing research has focused on the use of digital campaign tools by challenger 'often so-called anti-establishment' parties or candidates, and its consequences on the polarization of the electorate, especially in majority systems (

---

## B01 - Governing Styles and Institutional Dynamics

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**Determinants of Prime Ministerial Governing Styles:** Gala Palavicini (University of Alberta), Jared Wesley (University of Alberta), Alex Marland (Acadia University), Eoin O'Malley (Dublin City University)

**Abstract:** Prime ministers exhibit contrasting governing styles, sometimes categorized as either 'collegial' or 'dominant.' Collegial prime ministers are characterized by their collaborative approach with ministers, fostering respect and teamwork, while dominant prime ministers exert control over their cabinets, often relying on unilateral decision-making. Despite this theoretical distinction, empirical research remains limited, leaving open questions about whether this personal distinction actually exists and if it does, what determines a prime minister's governing style. This paper reports results from an expert survey conducted across 21 parliamentary democracies, covering prime ministers from circa 2000 to 2023. We empirically assess the influence of various factors on governing style, particularly the role of institutional conditions, including levels of party discipline and the nature of government, whether single-party or multi-party coalition. We also consider the impact of gender norms; previous studies suggest that gender may shape perceptions of leadership, with more dominant governing styles often associated with male prime ministers and more collaborative styles with female prime ministers.

**Député ou groupe ? Redistribution des pouvoirs à l'Assemblée nationale (1910-2019):** Julien ROBIN (Université de Montréal), Jean-François GOUBOUT (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Les élections législatives françaises anticipées de juillet 2024 ont abouti à la présence de 11 groupes parlementaires à l'Assemblée nationale, un record depuis 1958. Bien que la fragmentation du système partisan français (Jérôme, Mongrain et Nadeau 2022) en soit la principale explication, la culture politique (Manin 1999) et le mode de scrutin incitent pourtant les députés à cultiver le vote personnel (Blais et Loewen 2009). Cependant, les réformes au sein de l'Assemblée ont centralisé les ressources législatives – comme le contrôle de l'agenda et le temps de parole – au profit des groupes parlementaires. Cette communication examine l'évolution de l'organisation législative et la distribution des ressources entre le député individuel et le groupe parlementaire, pour déterminer si l'Assemblée s'est transformée en un « parlement de groupe ».

La méthodologie repose sur le codage des règles parlementaires, attribuant les ressources aux députés ou aux groupes selon leurs fonctions (législative, organisationnelle, contrôle et électorale) sur la période de 1910 à 2019. Les résultats révèlent une augmentation de l'influence des groupes, leur part dans la distribution des ressources passant de 3,2 % en 1910 à 60,3 % en 2019. En mobilisant une approche néo-institutionnaliste, cette étude analyse comment ces réformes renforcent les groupes en tant qu'acteurs rationnels et stratégiques au sein de l'Assemblée. Ce cadre théorique permet de renouveler la compréhension de l'organisation législative en France, contribuant aux débats sur l'institutionnalisation des groupes (Schindler et Kannenberg 2024) et alignant l'analyse sur les travaux de Müller et Sieberer (2014) sur le changement institutionnel des parlements européens.

**No Confidence in Non-Confidence Votes. (Or Less than in Confidence Votes):** Elsa Piersig (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Parliamentary systems are defined by the responsibility of the prime minister and cabinet to parliament (Lijphart, 2012; Laver, 2006). There are two mechanisms for holding government accountable: non-confidence votes whereby parliamentarians move a motion declaring that cabinet has lost the confidence of the legislatures and confidence votes that allow the cabinet to ask parliamentarians for a vote of confidence, perhaps in relation to a policy item central to the government's agenda (Strøm et al., 2003). Leaving aside the fact that parliament has to wait for governments to introduce a motion of confidence, it is reasonable to expect that parliament has an equal opportunity to hold the government to account and defeat it on either a non-confidence or confidence vote. Is this the case? The literature on confidence votes (Huber, 1996) and non-confidence votes (De Winter, 1995; Diermeier and Feddersen, 1998; Lento and Hazan, 2022) remains underdeveloped. Moreover, as the literature primarily studies each mechanism in isolation, there is rarely any examination of how the two mechanisms comparatively stack up – even when addressing both mechanisms (Bergman et al., 2003). This paper investigates whether the de jure constitutional and parliamentary rules governing the use of the two mechanisms afford parliaments the same level of selectoral power. That is, whether parliaments have the same ability to defeat the government and control their own fate following the loss of confidence on both non-confidence and confidence votes. Drawing on a sample of 28 European and Anglosphere parliamentary democracies, this paper shows that parliaments typically have more selectoral power on confidence votes compared to non-confidence votes, due in large part to the greater number of rules governing non-confidence rules.

**Connecting The Dots Between Selection Mechanism, Trust And Success: Deliberative Minipublics As An Exercise Of Popular Constitutionalism:** Günel Rzayeva (Memorial University), Dr. Sean W. D. Gray (Memorial University)

**Abstract:** A significant portion of the global population lives under constitutions made long before their birth, authored by a select few without their direct consent. Yet, when an opportunity arises, how can ordinary citizens be included in constitution-making? Increasingly, politicians and populist leaders have called for the general public to play a greater role in passing constitutional reforms through referendums – voting on legislation proposed by their elected representatives. However, the past two decades also show the possibility of even more direct inclusion of citizens in constitution-making processes, from proposing constitutional amendments to redrafting a new constitution through deliberative minipublics. In this paper, I explore the 'deliberative turn' in popular constitutionalism and its implications for democratic institutional design, focussing especially on the relationship between inclusionary design and the successful passage of reforms.

I analyse three prominent recent cases: Iceland's Constitutional Convention (2011-2013), Ireland's Convention on the Constitution (2012-2014) together with the Irish Citizens' Assembly (2016-2018), and the Chilean Constitutional Convention (2019-2022) and Council (2023). All three cases are characterised by deliberation and varying selection mechanisms and outcomes. The findings demonstrate that deliberative minipublics, convened through



stratified random selection, can effectively take up the role of trusted information and judgement proxy for a successful constitution-making process. Nevertheless, I conclude, the success of deliberative minipublics tasked with reforming or redrafting a constitution is not constrained to obtaining public trust, but also the trust of traditional political institutions and political elites.

---

## B01 - Rest

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

***Institutions and Rapid Religious Reversals: Understanding the Secularization of Canada:*** Benjamin Tremblay-Auger (Stanford), Avidit Acharya (Stanford)

**Abstract:** Why was the decline of religion much more pronounced in Europe than in the US after World War II? The Canadian case holds the key to understanding divergent secularization patterns since it is a hybrid case: most of the country followed a pattern of sustained religiosity similar to the US, while Quebec saw a rapid decline of religion similar to many European countries, such as the Netherlands, Sweden and Ireland.

Quebec experienced one of the world's fastest episodes of secularization starting in the late 1950s?what historians refer to as the "Quiet Revolution." It went from being the most religious province in Canada to the least religious in less than two decades, a pattern that I document by combining multiple historical polls.

I propose a new formal theory in which such rapid religious reversals are caused by a high degree of interdependence between public institutions and cultural religiosity. This interdependence generates a political multiplier effect in which more religious public institutions increase the population's religiosity, leading them to support policies that reinforce the religiosity of institutions. However, a shock can reverse this multiplier effect and generate a rapid shift toward a strongly secular society.

I argue that the institutions of the Catholic Church and the provincial state became highly intertwined, which created a greater interdependence between religiosity and public institutions in Quebec than in other parts of Canada. Low federal transfers and insufficient recruitment weakened the religious welfare state in the 1950s, which opened the way for a shift in the 1960s to an equilibrium with a strongly secular and generous welfare state along with low cultural religiosity.

***Gendered Perspective at Polls: A Case Study of Voting Behavior in Pakistan:*** Muhammad Sajid (University of the Punjab,Lahore-Pakistan), Javeria Naeem (Government associate college Ghakhar Mandi Gujranwala, Punjab, Pakistan)

**Abstract:** This paper delves into the details of the voting behavior of male and female voters in the country. It employs three electoral models widely used in comparative politics to analyze voting preferences. Sociological, Psychological, and Rational Choice models have been used to determine the most dominating determinants of election decisions of the voters in Pakistan. Furthermore, the study separately analyzes the ballot choice of male and female behavior, which is a novel area of electoral studies in Pakistan. Combining questionnaire survey techniques and qualitative reasoning backed by existing literature have been used in this study. The study sample is the male and female voters, picked by random sampling to avoid bias. The research paper determines how peer group, party affiliation, and economic interests play different roles in male and female polling attitudes. By employing statistical tools of variance and ANOVA for the data, the results show that the rational choice model is the most dominant factor among the electorates. Furthermore, the paper reveals different levels of impact of each model on male and female voters.

***Causes and effects of democratic dissatisfaction in Lebanon and Morocco:*** Engi Abou-El-Kheir (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** While there is extensive research on democratic dissatisfaction and satisfaction with democracy within Western populations, there is little research going past the simple evaluation of the proportion of citizens' satisfaction with democracy in Middle East and North Africa (MENA)/Arab countries. In academic research, there is usually a stronger focus on questioning whether these countries are democracies, the structure of the democracies themselves, and the authoritarian leaders, rather than citizens' opinions on their democracies and systems of governance. As fledgling or hybrid democracies, in a region where democracy has struggled to take hold, going further and understanding the specific factors that cause MENA region citizens to be more or less satisfied with their democratic systems is important. Lebanon and Morocco are the case studies for this, as two of the most democratized states in the region. This study considers the central factors influencing satisfaction with democracy in Western literature, the structures, institutions, and civil opinion in the democracies of Lebanon and Morocco. Based on the Comparative Conspiracy Research Survey (CCRS) dataset, I carry out quantitative analysis and regression, analyzing what variables (including trust in institutions and populism) impact Moroccan and Lebanese citizens' satisfaction with democracy and how these compare to Western indicators. These quantitative results will provide further, unique nuance to more normative literature on citizens' satisfaction with democracy in the MENA region.

---

## B01 - Global Geopolitics and Migration

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Running the Gauntlet: The Externalization of U.S. Immigration Policy and The Victimization of the Migrant Population in Mexico:* Charles Larratt-Smith (The University of Texas at El Paso)

**Abstract:** In recent years, millions of Latin Americans have fled their countries of origin to seek peace and economic stability abroad, with a considerable number of these seeking to immigrate to the United States with no formal visas and minimal economic resources at their disposal. Invariably, these migrants transit through Mexico en route to the United States and each step of the way they find themselves victimized by state and non-state actors alike in a myriad of ways. Based on fieldwork in southern (Tapachula), central (Puebla), and northern (Ciudad Juárez) Mexico, this paper assesses how the externalization of U.S. border enforcement policies to Mexico inadvertently has created an immigration regime that creates greater opportunities for bad faith actors to monetize the vulnerability of the migrant population in this country.

*The Counter-Judicialization of Migration and Asylum Controls: Safe Third Country Agreements in Comparative Context:* Geoffrey Cameron (University of Guelph), Kiran Banerjee (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** This paper bridges research on the dynamics of judicialization and changes to asylum and immigration controls across Western liberal democracies. Research on judicialization finds that the expanding role of the courts and judicial processes encroaches on the authority of other branches of government. It suggests that the rise of constitutionalism and the globalization of legal norms have empowered courts to increasingly intervene in public policy. We discuss the case of asylum policy in Western liberal democracies as an example of judicialization, where key aspects of immigration policy became judicialized in response to international law via domestic court rulings and the creation of administrative tribunals. However, this case also reveals more recent efforts by states to engage in counter-judicialization by developing international agreements that restore authority and discretion over asylum policy to the executive and legislative branches of government. We examine processes of counter-judicialization by analyzing the politics of the safe third country agreement between Canada and the US (2002; 2023), placing this case in comparative perspective with the EU-Turkey deal and the Greek Joint Ministerial Decision (2016, 2021) and the Australian Pacific Solution (2001-2008; 2012). While these agreements and decisions have faced court challenges, they have been largely sustained as legally legitimate frameworks, often by appealing to soft law standards articulated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Executive Committee. These cases demonstrate how states use international law in order to evade domestic constitutional challenges to the counter-judicial restoration of executive and legislative authority.

*The Impact of NGOs and International Organizations: A Comparative Analysis of the Syrian and Ukrainian Crises:* Bilgen Turkey (University of Cincinnati), Rebecca Sanders (University of Cincinnati)

**Abstract:** Millions of people have been forced to leave their home countries and seek asylum in other nations due to civil wars and international conflicts. Since the beginning of the Syrian civil war, over 14 million Syrians have sought refuge in different countries. With the Russian invasion of Ukraine, nearly 6.5 million Ukrainians have crossed into other countries around the world. While the political climates in Syria and Ukraine are different, many fled from both countries to find safety. The displacement of large numbers of people required governments to take immediate action, working with NGOs and international organizations. These entities play a pivotal role in shaping refugee dynamics, which is evident in the varied responses to the crises. This research embraces a multi-method approach, adopting qualitative interviews and quantitative social media analysis. Focusing on Canada as a case country, it explores the responses of NGOs and international organizations during the Syrian and Ukrainian crises. In addition, it investigates the factors that impact their decision-making strategies. Contributing to the comparative politics field, this study sheds light on the complexities of refugee protection and humanitarian response strategies.

*Migration, Labour, and Belonging: Exploring the effects of Russian migrant labour in Kazakhstan at the onset of the War:* Arina Dmitrenko (University of Toronto), Edward Schatz (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the lived experiences of locals and voluntarily displaced people across the Eurasian space as a result of the Ukraine-Russia War. Through examining online networks and conducting online interviews, the paper seeks to understand how migrants who enter and change the labour environment in Kazakhstan navigate opportunities for belonging; in this case, how they express anti-war sentiments. The significant influx of (mostly) financially-able individuals from Russia has shocked labour and housing markets in urban areas, creating new market competition as well as disrupting the ongoing economic development in cities. The growing presence of foreigners has aggravated and accentuated identity tensions, emphasizing ethnic, linguistic, and class cleavages. Yet, both foreigners and locals express anti-war sentiments ? just in varying ways. This paper asks: how do changes in the labour market in Kazakhstan affect or empower anti-war sentiment expression amongst migrants and locals? I argue that migrants' actions speak louder than their words, showcasing a differing anti-war expression from that of the locals, who resort to verbal sentiments. I note that shocks to the labour market in Kazakhstan are instrumentalized in some ways for digital and economic expansion. At the core of this research is the story of labour migration as a story of continuity between the pre and post-Soviet periods, taking into account the history of labour mobility across that space.

---

## B01 - Social Movements and Political Parties in Democracies: Contemporary Developments in Global Perspective

### Politique comparée

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

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

#### *Social movement and political party responses to neoliberal despotism: the US, UK and Germany:* Terry Maley (York University)

**Abstract:** This paper, building on W. Brown and J. Keane, explores how dis-integrating, centrifugal forces of global neoliberalism have created an extreme reactionary cultural and state form I call 'neoliberal despotism?'. It is characterized by the creation of new forms of cultural, economic and political domination as neoliberal capitalism careens into a brutal period of uneven disintegration. I outline four interrelated dimensions of the neoliberal counterrevolutionary project to which progressive global movements continue to react in this new authoritarian phase: political-economy; culture; social-psychology and the state/politics. Pushback against this has come from progressive global movements, and even within mainstream centre-left parties in the US and UK, as the authoritarian counterrevolution continues to advance into and take over what used to be mainstream conservative parties in the global north.

Progressive movements are finding ways of engaging both against, outside and even within the neoliberal state and parties. Their protests against neoliberal despotism have re-asserted progressive, anti-capitalist/counter-hegemonic values against state-and party-capture by reactionary movements and now parties on the far-right. Within this contested terrain openings can be created for creating ecological, anti-racist, anti-imperialist alternatives. But reasserting progressive possibilities will need long-range planning/strategy and counter-institutions - a long game over decades. I look at three comparative examples - Die Linke in Germany, the Democratic party in the US, and the Corbyn Labour party in the UK - to show the difficulty, in the current context, when progressive movements try to influence and transform liberal and social democratic parties in the global north.

#### *Climate Justice Activism and the Green Party in Germany: A Community of Conflictual Relationships?:* Micha Fiedlschuster (York University)

**Abstract:** The Green Party in Germany gave an institutionalized political voice to the New Social Movements and a sense of belonging to many activists in the political party landscape. Over time, the Greens developed into an almost normal party that is nevertheless still rooted in a social movement milieu. The connection between movements and party came under increased scrutiny when the Greens entered the federal government in 2021. Climate activists had hopes about a social and ecological transformation driven by the Greens but they were disappointed. In particular, the handling of the exit from coal mining and the renewed investment in fossil fuel infrastructure as a result of the energy crisis in 2022 made the division between climate activists (outside and inside the Greens) and office holders of the Greens visible. This paper sets out to explore from a social movement studies perspective the dynamics between the Greens in government and climate justice activism. The analysis focuses on discourses and events between the start of the government in December 2021 until the elections to the European Parliament in June 2024. The paper argues that the social movements and the party maintain a supportive but conflictual relationship that can be described as a reluctant division of labour. However, some climate activist groups also envision a different relationship between social movements and parties by proposing citizen councils to tackle policy issues and to give citizens a new sense of belonging in a political system characterized by an increased estrangement of citizens from politics.

#### *Collective Candidacies and Mandates in Brazil: Re-casting Political Representation:* André Luis Leite de Figueiredo Sales (Sao Paulo Catholic University)

**Abstract:** While global dissatisfaction with democracy has reached its highest levels since 1995, there is no consensus on the causes of widespread democratic backsliding. In Brazil, scholarly discussions on how to revitalize citizens' sense of belonging to democratic processes have emphasized the need for a broader understanding of political representation. This includes focusing on issues such as recognition, inclusion, and the institutional and structural affordances provided by the current instruments available for interest mediation (Political Parties, interest groups, social movements etc). Brazilian grassroots activists are exploring the boundaries between civil society and the state to reshape the fiduciary mode of political representation and rebuild citizen trust in democratic representation. Two notable innovations have gained momentum in the country over the past eight years: collective candidacies and collective mandates. Collective candidacies refer to organized groups of four or more grassroots activists campaigning together for a single seat in government office. Collective mandates, on the other hand, involve legislative seats run collaboratively by a group committed to sharing its representative power with its constituents during their term in office. This paper presents these democratic innovations, emphasizing their continuity with the participatory democratic culture present in Brazil. I argue that these innovations encompass a blend of fiduciary and delegated modes of political representation. Drawing from interviews with 29 successfully elected groups affiliated with the Brazilian National Coalition of Collective Mandates, I maintain that the activists driving these initiatives are working towards an idea of political representation through participation.

#### *Shuffled and Shortchanged? The Gender Gap in Cabinet Shuffles in Africa:* Saaka Sulemana Saaka (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** This paper examines the gendered dynamics of ministerial appointments and dismissals in 25 African countries between 1990 and 2022 using a novel dataset of 3,829 cabinet ministers. The main findings are that women are less likely to replace men during cabinet shuffles and often serve shorter durations in ministerial office compared to their male counterparts. Specifically, the average duration in office for male ministers is 152 weeks, while for female ministers, it is 146 weeks. Logistic regression analysis further reveals that being a woman significantly reduces the likelihood of replacing a man during a cabinet shuffle by 14 percentage points. These findings challenge existing arguments that women generally serve longer in ministerial office than men and highlight the significant role gender plays in shaping cabinet shuffles in Africa. By providing a systematic cross-country and longitudinal analysis of cabinet shuffles within the African context, this study fills a gap in the extant literature and contributes to a broader understanding of gender differences in

cabinet dismissals and replacements.

---

## C01 - Global Middle Powers in an Era of World Order Ferment

### Relations internationales

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

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

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

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

*Status uncertainty and foreign policy: Brazil, Canada and the world "non-order":* Jean Daudelin (Carleton University), Je Ho Cho (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Building on Argentinian sociologist Gino Germani's famous concept, this paper examines the way in which two Middle Powers deal with the opportunities and challenges that a decaying world order offers, and confronts them with. Canada, with a quickly shrinking demographic and economic weight in the world, and long used to having 'uncles' - the UK, and then the US - smoothing its entry into global hierarchies, has to deal with those uncles' decline or change of heart, leaving it very much groping for new friends. Brazil, whose extended 'family' was never really there for it, reaches peak relative population and GDP at a time when there is no clear global political structure in which to 'freeze' those assets (à-la-post-WWII France and UK). Both diplomacies desperately try to rejig old alliances and to build new ones, but without much success.

*Self-Determination and Settler Coloniality in the Liberal International Era:* Caroline Dunton (Queen's University), Liam Midzain-Gobin (Brock University)

**Abstract:** Throughout the history of the United Nations, there has always been tension between its liberal ideas of self-determination and sovereignty. This was especially so during the process of decolonization and changes in its membership, as well as its response to protracted conflicts and ongoing colonial occupations. As a middle power, Canada has been consistently engaged with the United Nations and a vocal proponent of the political ideology at its heart, liberal internationalism. As a settler colonial power, Canada too has a variety of tensions in its policies around both self-determination and sovereignty both domestically and internationally. This paper traces the ideational history of how Canada has operationalized the concept of self-determination by examining Canada's voting patterns on Palestinian self-determination at the United Nations. We read the pattern through the context of broader concepts and logics of empire and settler colonialism, using this lens to make sense of both the continuity and change in Canada's treatment of self-determination both for a Palestinian state and as a viable liberal principle in the current moment of uncertainty in international order.

*Post-neoliberal Mexico and the Transforming World Order: Between Deeper Integration and Middlepowermanship:* Laura Macdonald (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The decline of the neoliberal order (Gertsle 2022), or Pax Americana (Cox 1989), poses real challenges to Mexico's role in the shifting world order. The rise of economic protectionism in the United States (likely to continue under either a Trump or Harris presidency), represents a strong threat to the country which spent several decades turning away from its post-war nationalist economic model to pursue ever-deeper integration with the United States. Mexico is also undergoing a major domestic political realignment with the election of Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) in 2018 and then Claudia Sheinbaum in 2024 from the post-neoliberal Morena party. It is also benefiting economically from the nearshoring boom that has returned investment to Mexico after it lost ground to China when the latter joined the WTO in 2005. Under his presidency, AMLO showed little interest in foreign policy, but his internationalist foreign minister, Marcelo Ebrard, adhered to many elements of middlepowermanship and Mexico played an important role in such areas as global climate policy and migration management as one of the architects of the Global Compact on Migration. Ebrard also committed Mexico to a feminist foreign policy, a direction that is likely to continue under the Sheinbaum presidency and which resembles a new middle power approach to world order. This paper will examine how Mexico is navigating the rocky and uncharted terrain of the current transformational moment in world order, and how domestic and international politics intersect in shaping the Mexican government's recrafting of its middle power role.

*Understanding the decline of "Middlepowerism" in Canadian International Policy:* David Black (Dalhousie University), David Hornsby (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The role of 'middle power internationalism', or 'middlepowerism', and the usefulness of this analytical frame have been hotly contested for decades. Yet at least some middle-range states have both identified with and been identified as fitting within this frame for prolonged periods. Canada has been one such actor. Understood in Robert Cox's (1989) historicist terms however, such roles may be sustained but are ultimately transient. They adhere to actors with significant but not 'architectural' capacities and aspirations, who play key order-building or sustaining roles through distinct international eras. They are, in Cox's terms, 'a role in search of an actor'. Understood in these terms it may be disappointing, but is not surprising that some traditional middle powers, like Canada, will increasingly deviate from such roles. The question then becomes, what leads to this retreat and what are its consequences, within and beyond the political community in question? In the Canadian case, it is no longer controversial to suggest that Canada has been steadily retreating from the more multilateralist and activist proclivities that were associated with its post-World War II and post-Cold War middle power roles. But what were the essential features of these roles, and why have Canadian governments increasingly deviated from them? We argue that an inter-connected combination of contingent, agent-centric dynamics and changing structural conditions have shaped an international policy disposition that is increasingly parochial, performative, and defensive, with declining interest in or relevance to the international domain.

## **C01 - Editorial Roundtable: So you want to publish in IR?**

### **Relations internationales**

**Date** : Jun 3 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** :

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Caroline Dunton (Queens University)

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

---

## **C01 - How?: ISA-Canada?s PD Pod**

### **Relations internationales**

**Date** : Jun 3 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Aly Tkachenko (University of Victoria)

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

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

---



## **C01 - Navigating GenAI in the Classroom: Assessments**

### **Relations internationales**

**Date** : Jun 3 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** :

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

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Liam Midzain-Gobin (Brock University)

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

---

## D01 - The Politics of Public Provision: The Dynamics of Social Policy Development and Delivery

### Droit et analyse de politiques

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Rachel Laforest (Queen's University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Alain Noël (Université de Montréal)

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

*Stratified Universalism*: Carmen Ho (University of Guelph), Daniel Béland (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Research suggests that universal, rather than targeted, policies are better able to reduce inequality. By extending benefits to all members of a group, welfare states have had greater redistributive success. Yet in countries with universal social policies, inequality persists. What explains this? This paper introduces the concept of "stratified universalism" to show that in practice, universal benefits are rarely afforded to all. Universal social policies provide social protection to certain segments of the population, while underserving others, reinforcing existing inequalities. This paper describes the empirical phenomena, seen in welfare states around the world, then develops a framework for studying the pathways to stratified universalism.

*Are the Kids All Right? Governing the Public/Private Divide of Child Welfare*: Anika Ganness (Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP))

**Abstract:** We have traditionally grown to think of our lives as divided between the public and private spheres. While the realm of families and child rearing has typically been conceived of within the private sphere, the child welfare system has unique authority through the power of the state to cross the threshold of the home. Child welfare systems involve the state in scrutinizing the family, with the authority to remove children who are deemed at risk of maltreatment or who need protection. While this authority is vested in government, its services have been delegated to nonprofit and private, for-profit organizations. What does it mean for the most vulnerable citizens/children when the state delegates this authority to private organizations, allowing privatized companies to undertake responsibility for Crown wards, who are under the guardianship of the state. Studies have addressed the increasing privatization of traditionally public sectors services such as education, health and others. Few studies, however, have examined the involvement of the private sector in the industry of child welfare. This paper examines the governance dynamics between provincial state powers, nonprofit child welfare, as well as private foster agencies and the accountability mechanisms within the child welfare sector. It takes a critical look at governance within the child welfare system and examines how regulatory frameworks or lack thereof in such a sacred sphere of child protection impact outcomes for children.

*Vaccine Prioritization and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Public Policy Decision-Making by the Canadian and Ontario Governments During the COVID-19 Pandemic*: Joanne Garcia-Mores (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** In early 2021, Covid-19 vaccines were approved but supplies were limited necessitating policies to prioritize access. Public health officials and Indigenous advocates called for First Nations, Métis, and Inuit (FNMI) to be targeted for priority vaccine access. While Crown governments in Canada and Ontario adopted policies prioritizing FNMI vaccine access, there is no evidence that this was done to respect rights to health and self-determination set out in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and adopted through federal legislation (UNDRIP Act, 2021). Rather I argue that a confluence of pre-existing jurisdictional factors and key changes inside Crown governments leading up to the pandemic were influential, including federal jurisdiction over First Nations and Inuit health, the creation of Indigenous Services Canada in 2017, and the growing influence of Indigenous public servants and health experts within government and health services. Given the considerable literature enumerating Crown government failures to respect Indigenous rights by ensuring meaningful participation in policy decision-making affecting Indigenous Peoples, the case of Covid-19 vaccine access policy in Canada could be considered a sign of change aligned with rights implementation through the policy process. My paper is based on research exploring factors affecting participation by Indigenous Peoples in Covid-19 vaccine prioritization policies, the resulting policy outcomes, and the implications for Indigenous rights. The research design is inductive and qualitative and based on data collection through elite interviews with public officials and experts, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, and the review of relevant policy documents and news media.

*The Intergovernmental Dynamics of Credit Claiming and Blame Avoidance in the Canada Wide Early-Learning and Child Care (CWELCC) Program*: Shauna Hughey (McMaster University), Adrienne Davidson (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Typically, the establishment or expansion of program benefits creates positive feedback effects that are self-reinforcing and enable program stability and maintenance. Policy feedback processes, however, also have the potential to be self-undermining (Jacobs and Weaver, 2015), leading the mass public to misattribute blame for policy failures. We hypothesize that the (federal) design and (provincial) implementation of CWELCC masks the roles and responsibilities of the various levels of government in financing and regulating child care services, creating the opportunity for governments to misattribute successes and failures. In this paper, we rely on a national scan of newspaper coverage to track the patterns of credit claiming and blame avoidance on the part of provincial and federal governments, as well as the dynamics of blame attribution from mobilized interest groups. We then examine the intergovernmental dynamics to hypothesize the relationship between dominant frames and the potential these narratives hold for undermining broader public support of the program.

.....

## E01 - Local Political Institutions and Representation: New Survey Evidence

### Politique locale et urbaine

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

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

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Zac Spicer (York University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Sarah Lachance (University of Calgary)

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

*Ideology and Geographic Proximity in Municipal Policy Attitudes:* Jack Lucas (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Recent research has argued that Canadian municipal politics and municipal policy attitudes are strongly structured by left-right ideology. Yet many local policy issues appear to create coalitions of support and opposition that are not ideologically structured, such as pro-density left-leaning citizens who oppose a specific local housing development, or fiscally conservative residents who support taxpayer-funded local amenities in their own neighbourhoods. In short, while municipal policy attitudes and voting may well be ideologically structured, the role of left-right ideology may be attenuated in actual local policy debates because of the way these debates also engage local interests and preferences related to allocational decisions.

In this paper, we use data from a novel nationally representative survey of nearly 6,000 urban and suburban Canadians to explore the consequences of locally proximate allocational 'goods' and 'bads' for the relationship between ideology and municipal policy attitudes. Using a 'topic sampling' survey experiment, we solicit attitudes on an exceptionally broad and diverse set of municipal policy issues: a total of 40 municipal policy issues ranging from active transportation to policing to affordable housing. By randomizing the character of these issue statements – some framed in general terms, others framed in terms of consequences for the respondent's local neighbourhood – we are able to explore whether and under what conditions allocational concerns shape attitudes in a manner that supplants or dampens the role of ideology in municipal policy. Our findings have implications for theoretical debates about the role of ideology in municipal politics, and for research on municipal policy making more generally.

*A Job or a Calling? Defining the Contemporary Municipal Elective Function:* Sandra Breux (Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique), Anne Mévellec (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Whether due to resignations or incivilities, the municipal elective function is currently under stress. This observation leads us to question the elective function and the way it is defined by both elected representatives and citizens. While many studies today analyze the professionalization of elected officials, fewer question elected officials and citizens on the definition of this function and the representations they generate. Based on the results of two major Canadian Municipal Barometer surveys conducted in 2025 (one aimed at elected officials, the other at the general public), we will detail the views held by those who govern and those who are governed on the status of elected office, the reasons for current resignations, the elements that enable people to have confidence in an elected official, and the areas in which an elected official should be trained. Comparing the responses of elected representatives with those of the general public will highlight potential commonalities and differences in understanding the elective office. It will also highlight the contemporary issues of elective professionalization and political representation.

*Election Outcomes and Support for Remote Voting ? The Case of the 2024 Nova Scotia Municipal Elections:* Michael McGregor (Toronto Metropolitan University), Scott Pruyers (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Election outcomes are known to affect satisfaction with democracy, such that supporters of 'losing' candidates experience a decline in democratic satisfaction relative to those who vote for 'winners' (Blais and Gélinau 2007; Henderson 2008). At the same time, there is evidence that support for remote voting methods (mail and internet) varies according to partisanship in Canada (Wu and Dawson 2024), the United States (Clinton et al. 2002) and Estonia (Ehin and Solvak 2021). Given these patterns, and the somewhat contentious nature of remote voting methods, there is reason to expect that support for mail and internet voting might be affected by election results.

In this paper, we consider if and how election outcomes affect support for remote voting methods, among both electors and candidates in the 2024 Nova Scotia municipal elections. We draw upon original online surveys of eligible voters (N=850) and candidates (N=150), collected in pre- and post-election waves. Nova Scotia's 2024 local elections provide an interesting case to explore for two reasons. First, few Canadian jurisdictions offer multiple remote voting options (Goodman et al. 2024). Second, all but a handful of municipalities in Nova Scotia employed both mail and internet options in 2024. By considering the views of both electors and candidates, and by extending research on the winner/loser gap to support for remote voting, this paper provides new insight into the attitudes of election winners and losers.

*Does Partisanship Matter? Evidence from a Survey Experiment of Calgary Voters:* Elliot Dillabough (University of Calgary), Jack Lucas (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Do municipal voters care about candidates' provincial partisan affiliation? Some political scientists suggest that municipal politics does not support the existence of partisan divisions. Despite the majority of Canadian municipal elections taking place within a formally non-partisan setting, there is increasing evidence that municipal voters prefer voting for provincial or federal co-partisans. Using experimental data from a survey of Calgary voters, we test the effects of in-party cues on voters' likelihood to support hypothetical candidates, as well as whether this relationship is moderated by making

statements supporting municipal non-partisanship. We find that providing in-party cues has a significant positive effect on the likelihood of supporting a candidate, but that candidate statements downplaying their partisan affiliations have a negligible effect on the strength of the in-party effect. Our research suggests that partisanship cues, even from other levels of government and in a non-partisan context still influence voter assessments.

---

## F01 - Populism

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*De la méfiance à la défiance, les sources ordinaires de l'extrémisme au Canada:* Sylvain Bédard (Université de Sherbrooke), David Morin (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** Les hauts niveaux d'adhésion à des théories du complot ou des croyances fausses sur des sujets sensibles et polémiques ne cessent d'étonner les chercheurs occidentaux. Trois sujets semblent actuellement potentiellement propices à de tels discours : l'immigration, le genre et les changements climatiques.

Les explications du phénomène sont aussi diverses que contradictoires. Au travers le foisonnement d'études psychosociales concernant l'adhésion au conspirationnisme, on risque de perdre de vue le caractère foncièrement politique de la pensée conspirationniste. En ce sens, il faut voir que l'information fautive colportée sert habituellement un certain projet politique radical qui pourrait suffire à en expliquer l'adhésion.

À partir des données de sondages menés par notre équipe, nous nous proposons une interprétation du conspirationnisme et des fausses croyances centrées sur le rejet de l'autorité politique et de la méfiance à l'égard des élites.

En tant qu'expression radicale d'un doute sur la véracité du sens commun et des discours des élites, la conspirationnisme peut-être associé à une épistémologie sociale « rebelle », qui peut éventuellement mener à un extrémisme politique de nature insurrectionnelle. Cette attitude se trouve particulièrement présente chez les canadiens qui adhèrent à une idéologie radicale de droite.

Grâce aux mêmes sondages, nous pourrions faire un portrait des variables associées à cette méfiance, pour montrer qu'elles plongent leur racine dans un "extrémisme ordinaire", signe précurseur de la normalisation de la droite radicale, déjà bien perceptible au Canada.

*Us versus Them: Understanding Antagonistic Views Among Citizens Who Subscribe to Populist Ideas:* Joanie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke), Dominic Duval (UQAM), Katryne Villeneuve-Siconnelly (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** In the last decades, an upsurge of populism has been documented around the globe. While the literature has mostly focussed on cases in Europe, South America, and more recently the United States, evidences of a rise in populist attitudes in other countries, such as Canada, warrant further scholarly scrutiny. We notably still know little about how Canadians who subscribe to different populist ideas perceive those who are not deemed "one of their own," although populism is rooted in the perception of an opposition between antagonistic groups. To investigate this question, this article leverages two batteries of questions from the 2019 and 2021 Canadian Election Studies to first identify what particular dimensions of populism resonate with the Canadian electorate. After describing the profile of these voters across a range of political behavior variables, we then take a closer look at their outgroup attitudes.

*Place-based Identity and Relative Deprivation: Which influences which in Driving Right-Wing Populism?:* Valentin Pautonnier (Université de Montréal), Richard Nadeau (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** This paper investigates the relationship between economic decline, relative deprivation, local identity, and political attitudes, with a focus on the rise of right-wing populism in Europe. Building on research highlighting regional disparities and place-based grievances, this study analyzes how local contexts shape populist voting behavior. Key concepts, such as local identity, habitat type (urban, suburban, rural), and perceptions of both absolute and relative economic decline, are operationalized to provide insight into political discontent.

Our hypothesis posits that perceptions of relative deprivation?feeling "left behind" compared to others?when paired with strong local identity, trigger political resentment and fuel populist attitudes. To test this, we employ a mixed-method survey experiment in Denmark, Germany, France, and England, targeting regions experiencing economic decline and expansion. Participants are randomly assigned to one of three groups, each receiving a distinct message: one highlighting regional economic decline, one reinforcing local pride and identity, and a neutral control message. Through pre- and post-message measures, we examine two potential causal pathways: (1) economic decline and relative deprivation strengthen local identity and attachment, thus fueling anti-elite and populist sentiments; or (2) a pre-existing strong local identity amplifies perceptions of collective deprivation, leading to external blame narratives focused on groups like urban elites or immigrants.

This CRSH-funded, original survey explores whether exposure to narratives about decline or local identity influences perceptions of deprivation and attachment, as well as attitudes toward populism. Comparative analysis across the four national contexts will reveal how socio-economic and geographical factors shape political attitudes, advancing our understanding of the socio-political roots of populism in Europe.

---

## F01 - Gender

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Can AI Reduce Prejudice at Scale?:* Charles Crabtree (Dartmouth College), John Holbein (University of Virginia), Mitchell Bosley (University of Toronto), Semra Sevi (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This study investigates the potential of artificial intelligence to facilitate conversations that mitigate prejudice, particularly towards transgender individuals. Previous research indicates that personalized, face-to-face interactions with outgroup members can significantly influence public attitudes. However, the scalability of this approach is hindered by the logistical and financial challenges associated with training human conversation facilitators. To overcome these limitations, we propose a novel method utilizing a GPT-powered chatbot to conduct personalized conversations tailored to the moral concerns of participants, as assessed by the Moral Foundations Questionnaire. We conduct an online survey experiment with a sample of approximately 2,500 respondents, designed to reflect a nationally representative demographic in the United States. Participants are randomly assigned to one of two groups: one engages in a morality-driven conversation with the chatbot about transgender rights, while the other serves as a control group with no conversation. Following the intervention, all respondents provide their levels of support for transgender rights using a validated set of questions. This research contributes methodologically by providing insights into the feasibility of scaling personal conversations through generative AI. Substantively, it advances the understanding of outgroup attitudes and specifically addresses the dynamics of prejudice against transgender individuals.

*Pride and prejudice: An experimental design to assess the influence of sporting events on political attitudes towards the LGBTQ+ community.:* Noah Vanderhoeven (Western University), Amanda Friesen (Western University)

**Abstract:** Sport fandom creates strong psychological connections, feelings of inclusion and provide boosts to self-esteem and social identity (Jacobson, 1979). Increasingly, men's professional teams have been engaging in Pride events related to LGBTQ+ visibility and rights, yet little scholarly attention has been paid to these efforts. I hypothesize that those exposed to an LGBTQ+ treatment will have positive changes in their post-treatment evaluations of members of the LGBTQ+ community when compared to those who received the control. I also hypothesize that those exposed to the LGBTQ+ treatment will be more supportive of LGBTQ+ policy initiatives than those exposed to the control condition. Furthermore, I hypothesize that conservative participants who receive the LGBTQ+ treatment will be more likely to express disinterest in attending the treatment event and have negative changes in their attachment to their listed sport teams. This paper uses a survey experiment to evaluate these hypotheses using average treatment effects.

*Accounting for the Decline in Support for LGBTQ2S+ Rights in Canada:* Quinn Albaugh (Queen's University), Elizabeth Baisley (Queen's University), J. Scott Matthews (Memorial University)

**Abstract:** For the past three decades, scholars have focused on explaining increased support for LGBTQ2S+ rights. However, we are entering a new era: recent surveys show public opinion moving in the opposite direction in many countries, including Canada. What accounts for this decline in support for LGBTQ2S+ rights? Current theories, such as generational replacement?or the idea that public opinion will liberalize as younger, more tolerant people become adults and as older, less tolerant generations die?cannot explain increased opposition. We examine public opinion trends in Canada, an unlikely case for increased opposition. We use data from the Ipsos Pride Surveys (2013-2024) and the AmericasBarometer surveys (2010-2023). Our analysis will examine whether opposition is increasing (1) generally in the population, (2) among particular demographic groups, and/or (3) within parties as they polarize. This paper lays the groundwork for additional research on increasing opposition to LGBTQ2S+ rights.

---

## H01 - Indigenous Democratic Theory

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Dale Turner (University of Toronto)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Yann Allard-Tremblay (McGill University)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Etienne Cardin-Trudeau (University of Toronto)

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

**Relational Representation: Iskwewuk E-wichiwitochik and the Limits of the Constructivist Turn in Representation Theory:** Kathy Walker (University of Saskatchewan), Denali YoungWolfe (University of British Columbia), Melissa Williams (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Through an analysis of Iskwewuk E-wichiwitochik (IE), an Indigenous women-led grassroots organization in Saskatchewan, this paper examines how Indigenous political movements enact forms of relational representation that both reinforce and extend Western constructivist theories of political representation.

Through its work supporting families of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people (MMIWG2S+), IE challenges dominant frameworks of political belonging. While scholars like Saward and Disch have expanded understandings of representation beyond principal-agent models through concepts like "representative claims" and "mobilizational effects," IE's approach reveals both the possibilities and limitations of applying Western democratic frameworks to Indigenous political action.

Drawing on Indigenous concepts of wāhkōhtowin (relationality) and practices of "standing with," this analysis demonstrates how IE refuses the politics of recognition inherent in conventional representative structures while fostering deep networks of accountability to Indigenous families and communities. Beyond constructing constituencies for representation, IE enacts a mode of relational politics that dissolves the separation between representer and represented while modeling alternative forms of collective responsibility and belonging. The paper argues that IE's non-hierarchical structure and grounding in Indigenous knowledge systems enables a form of grassroots democratic legitimacy.

This case contributes to broader theoretical debates about whether "Indigenous democratic theory" is possible or desirable, suggesting that Indigenous political movements operate through modes of representation that may be irreducible to Western democratic frameworks. The analysis speaks to fundamental questions about decolonizing political theory while illuminating how Indigenous concepts of relationality might inform new ways of theorizing political representation beyond settler colonial logics.

**The Democratic Legitimacy of Unelected Indigenous Governments:** Daniel Sherwin (Carleton University), Daniel Hutton Ferris (Newcastle University)

**Abstract:** The Canadian state exhibits ?electoral bias? in its regulation of Indigenous Governments. That is, it assumes that democracy should be expressed through elections, and is inhospitable toward non-electoral regimes of Indigenous democracy. This article draws on normative democratic theory to argue that this is a mistake. While elections have important democratic virtues, so do many non-electoral practices of Indigenous governance. Moreover, Canada?s practice of coercively imposing elections weakens their ability to function as institutions of egalitarian self-rule. Given this, we argue that Canada should reform its laws and policies to encourage Indigenous innovations in non-electoral democratic governance.

**Indigenous Constituent Power:** Melissa Williams (University of Toronto), Dale Turner (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The core meaning of constituent power resonates with many historical traditions of Indigenous political thought and practice. Indigenous peoples continue to exercise constituent power through the (re-)constitution of political orders at multiple scales of governance, from the local to the global. These jurisgenerative practices are often grounded in Indigenous spirituality and treaty-making, affirming relations of interdependence between Indigenous polities, non-Indigenous polities, and other living beings. This paper proceeds through an exploration of four cases at different scales of politics: the constitution of the Anishinaabeg of White Earth Nation; the Anishinaabe Chi-Naaknigewin; the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; and the Buffalo Treaty. It concludes that Indigenous constituent power challenges conventional understandings of the concept on at least five dimensions: (1) its collective subject is not a state-bounded demos; (2) it is de-linked from state-centered conceptions of sovereignty; (3) it does not usually assert comprehensive jurisdiction over all subject matters of legislation; (4) it generates politico-legal orders at multiple scales of politics, above, below, and across state boundaries; and (5) it constitutes orders that regulate not only human political relationships, but also relations between human societies and the more-than-human environments that sustain them.

---

## H01 - Reaching across worlds: political epistemology, coloniality, and pluriversality

### Théorie politique

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

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

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Abraham Tobi (Centre de Recherche en Éthique, Université de Montréal)

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

*Rethinking how to Think about Thought: Elsewheres, Appropriation, Attunement:* Didier Zúñiga (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** This paper addresses ethical and political challenges associated with thinking in and with the world, producing knowledge about such world, and accessing and understanding thought and knowledge formed elsewhere. These challenges include questions about where thought comes from, whether one can be said to own it, and the possibilities and limits of moving across the spatio-temporal locations where thought is produced and put to use. The paper argues that thinking, and therefore knowledge formation, is not the exclusive prerogative of the human animal mind. Taking issue with the modern dualisms of subject and object, mind and body, and nature and culture, among others, the paper proposes an understanding of thinking and knowledge that is attuned to the larger whole of which all life is a part. This approach underscores the ethical significance of how we think and know, as our actions are guided by how we make sense of the world around us. The paper's central argument is that rethinking thought in attunement with the broader whole that unites all life has radical implications for how we think of ourselves in relation to the rest of nature, and, consequently, how we navigate and orient ourselves within it.

*A Great Ox Sits in Your Mind: Decolonial Cautions about Epistemic Reparations and the Right to be Known:* Yann Allard-Tremblay (McGill University)

**Abstract:** In presenting the right to be known, Jennifer Lackey argues that epistemic reparations must be provided to victims who are rendered invisible, vilified or demonized, or systematically distorted (2022, 56). Such epistemic harm is indeed part of settler colonialism and thus admittedly calls for epistemic reparations. Yet, alluding to Yael Farber's Molara (2008, 22), who herself takes from Aeschylus, I suggest that a great ox sits in the minds of those subjectified as settlers. It must be moved before the right to be known can be properly and genuinely pursued. Specifically, I argue that epistemic reparations in settler colonial contexts risk being both unproductive and pernicious without deep structural and subjective transformations. They risk being unproductive because of the various epistemic features and technologies of settler colonialism. These constitute settler colonial epistemic ecologies [which] are intergenerationally layered through, what Shelbi Meissner and Bryce Huebner, following Kyle Whyte, refer to as vicious sedimentation (Meissner and Huebner 2022, 223; Whyte 2018). Thus, one's right to be known cannot be fulfilled precisely because one cannot properly be known without clearing the sedimented settler epistemic ecology, and the various mechanisms that ongoingly produce it. They risk being pernicious when epistemic harms that require reparation are framed as extraordinary and exceptional. Instead harm, in settler colonial contexts, should be perceived as ordinary and built into the very fabric of the social order. What is called for is therefore deep transformation of the very context that makes such harms possible.

*Old Dogs Teaching New Tricks: A Philosophical Methodology for Cynics and Shapeshifters:* John McGuire (University College Dublin)

**Abstract:** As part of a larger project to facilitate dialogue across intellectual traditions, I use a conceptual reconstruction of ancient Cynicism to engage the persona of the Trickster within North American Indigenous thought. Diogenes of Sinope's notoriously dog-like (kynikos) contrarianism denigrates elite discourse and disparages societal convention (Mazella 2007; Branham 1996). Cynical speech emerges when words fail, when ideals become vacuous or hypocritical. In this regard, Cynicism suggests points of contact with Indigenous personifications of the Trickster, including the Lakota Spider Iktomi, or the Ojibwe shapeshifter Nanabozho (Moore 2017). Both the Cynic and the Trickster share a predilection for subversive language games, unrestrained pursuit of bodily pleasures, and the breaking of social norms. Both personas interrogate the value of civilisation against the natural interests of human and nonhuman beings. By respecting the independent authority of the Trickster as well as elevating points of friction, we can initiate a deeper questioning of the self-understanding of Western Cynicism and the range of its intellectual practices: from the historicalisation of mythopoetic figures like Diogenes; to the elevation of certain fictive practices (Platonic dialogues, thought experiments) over creation stories. In discussing this, I will draw inspiration from Brian Burkhardt (2019), who has developed a sophisticated philosophical methodology from the Spider Trickster, using epistemic medicine to encourage us to get out of the web of our own making, confronting local obstacles to moral-political agency, as well as the denigration of Indigenous knowledge recovery and production.

*The Pluralizing Epistemology of Tragic Drama:* Larissa Atkison (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** This paper considers tragic drama as an epistemological alternative to the androcentric legacy of Athenian democracy, and subsequently the inheritors of this legacy throughout the Western canon. It is not new to say that Attic tragedy embodies a distinct epistemology, but its distinctiveness is often treated as a derivative expression of Athenian democratic ideology (Hall, Euben), or as its moralistic appendage (Aristotle). I argue that Attic poetry performatively enacts a radically democratic epistemology that served to challenge Athenian exclusion and exceptionalism, and the traditional philosophic view of political and practical judgment as possessions of an educated elite. Attic tragedy was remarkably cosmopolitan: its audiences were heterogeneous masses, comprised of citizens from all classes, as well as foreign friends, enemies, slaves, and women. Likewise, the tragic stage extended a form of practical wisdom to silenced and marginalised characters and collectives. Political collapse, by contrast, is shown to be a result of the insatiable and



obstinate instincts of figures who fail to heed the advice of others and refuse to recognize their dependence upon a natural order to which all things must eventually yield. I argue that attending to the specific ways of knowing and acting that Attic drama enacts (as opposed to the self-regarding and imperialistic worldview it obviates) can help contemporary readers imagine a more radically egalitarian, aspirationally unbounded, yet collectively situated past?and to reevaluate what it is we know and what we aim to do within our troubled present.

---

## J01 - Populism, regionalism and nationalism: Perspectives from Canada and Beyond

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

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

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

Co-Chair/Président/Présidente : Efe Peker (University of Ottawa)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Audrey Gagnon (University of Ottawa)

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

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

*The Many Faces of Right-Wing Populism in Canada:* Audrey Gagnon (University of Ottawa), Efe Peker (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** While populism has become an important political force in many liberal democracies, it is generally considered less dominant in partisan systems in Canada. Indeed, due to various 'supply' and 'demand' factors identified in the literature, the Canadian case is sometimes presented as an 'exception' to the populist wave. Yet, over time and across its territory, Canada has seen the emergence of a number of populist political parties that claim to express popular discontent with elites. However, the populism expressed by these parties has taken different forms. How has populism manifested itself over time and across Canadian provinces? This study provides an overview of populist parties at the federal level and in the provinces of Alberta, Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick, and examines their relationship with regionalism. For purposes of comparison, our demonstration focuses solely on populist parties on the right side of the political spectrum, as they have been more influential and visible in recent years. Indeed, the recent vitality of parties such as the People's Party of Canada and the Quebec Conservative Party, and the rise of leaders such as Danielle Smith and Pierre Poilievre, have stimulated academic and public interest about the phenomenon of right-wing populism in the country. Our analysis shows that populism in Canada is mainly, but not exclusively, rooted in regional dynamics. More specifically, the form taken by the demands of populist parties in different Canadian regions is influenced by the concerns and sources of discontent specific to each region.

*Populism and Nationalism: A Conceptual Discussion:* André Lecours (University of Ottawa), Robert Schertzer (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Populism is widely recognized as one of the most significant political phenomena of the 21st century, and it has yielded considerable political science literature. Despite the importance of political science research on populism, there is a general recognition that the concept is polysemic and features multiple components. One of the components typically included in the conceptualisation of populism is nationalism. Yet, the exact role of nationalism within populism, or perhaps more accurately the nature of the relationship between nationalism and populism, is most often poorly specified. This paper offers a conceptual discussion of populism and nationalism, focusing on the role of nationalism in constituting contemporary movements that are typically described as populist. The main argument of the paper is that nationalism, in its majority form, provides a lot of the dynamics for what we most commonly term 'populism,' at least on the right of the ideological spectrum. Indeed, 'majority nationalism,' that is, the nationalism of majority or dominant groups within the state remains a mostly obfuscated and unnamed political force but one that involves the differentiation between insiders and outsiders, friends and enemies, both within and outside the state as well as the mobilization of symbols connected with the majority group. In other words, majority nationalism of a certain type, strongly grounded in historical and cultural features of the dominant group, is behind a lot of the politics that are typically associated with populism, at least on the right of the ideological spectrum. The paper offers a brief case study of Trumpism and the Make America Great movement in the United States as well as reflections on two left-wing populist parties/movements, La France insoumise and Podemos.

*Populisme, droits et légalité : L'utilisation accélérée de la clause dérogatoire au Canada:* Emily Laxer (York University?)

**Abstract:** La littérature sur le populisme regorge de mises en garde contre la menace qu'il fait peser sur la démocratie constitutionnelle. Selon plusieurs, cette menace découle de la méfiance du populisme à l'égard des principes pluralistes de gouvernance, à savoir la protection des droits des minorités et la répartition des pouvoirs entre l'exécutif, le législatif et le judiciaire. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que les stratégies et discours populistes soient utilisés pour contourner, réquisitionner ou démanteler les constitutions dans plusieurs sociétés démocratiques. Dans cet exposé, je tire des leçons sur la relation entre le populisme, les droits et la légalité à partir d'un cas peu étudié : le Canada. Jusqu'à récemment, le Canada était largement considéré comme imperméable à la vague populiste mondiale. Cependant, la littérature d'« exceptionnalisme » a été éclipsée par des rapports selon lesquels les partis et les mouvements déployant des discours et des stratégies populistes ont pris plus d'importance et de visibilité dans le sillage de la pandémie de COVID-19. Au niveau provincial, cela se manifeste notamment par les tentatives accélérées des gouvernements de déployer la clause dérogatoire pour faire passer des lois affectant les droits des minorités, la politique électorale et d'autres domaines. Sur la base d'une analyse des stratégies discursives qui sous-tendent ces mesures, ainsi que de leurs implications, je propose des conclusions sur l'impact des populismes émergents sur les droits et la légalité au Canada et au-delà.

*Les manifestations du populisme et de l'(anti-)bilinguisme : une comparaison des campagnes électorales provinciales récentes:* Stéphanie Chouinard (Collège militaire royal du Canada)

**Abstract:** Les universitaires parlent souvent du populisme de droite canadien comme d'une « idéologie mince » qui s'alignerait sur l'essence néolibérale de la politique conservatrice au sens large, ou qui émergerait autour de griefs régionaux contre les politiques et les projets nationaux, faisant fi de la xénophobie qu'on retrouve dans les discours populistes ailleurs dans le monde. Toutefois, historiquement, le bilinguisme et la reconnaissance de deux langues officielles, ainsi que la reconnaissance implicite ou explicite des communautés qui les représentent, ont été l'exception à cette règle.

Les formes les plus virulentes de ce populisme de droite au Canada ont pris pied non à Ottawa, mais au niveau provincial. Dans cette optique, la série d'élections provinciales récentes (en Nouvelle-Écosse, au Nouveau-Brunswick, en Saskatchewan, en Colombie-Britannique, et bientôt en Ontario si les rumeurs s'avèrent) nous offrent une excellente opportunité de faire le point sur l'état de cette tendance.

Cette communication examinera donc les promesses et discours des différents chefs de partis sur l'enjeu des langues officielles et des communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire et en fera l'analyse comparée afin de déterminer la présence et, le cas échéant, la teneur de l'élément anti-bilinguisme dans le populisme provincial actuel.

---

## L01 - From history to hashtags: Thinking through Indigenous identities

Race, ethnicité, peuples autochtones et politique

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Christine Sy (University of Victoria)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Christine Sy (University of Victoria)

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

*Indigenous Identity: Who Counts, Who Decides, and Why:* Joyce Green (University of Regina)

**Abstract:** Abstract: This paper takes up the subject of Indigenous identity, which has been constructed by colonial actors and institutions. It has been defined restrictively through notions of race and patriarchy. It has been politicized and often denied. Colonial repression has created boundaries dividing Indigenous peoples from each other; from family and kin, from relationships, and even from identity. Identity boundaries have been erected by the settler state to regulate us, to limit our numbers and state liability, and to guard against our rights and resurgence, too. Even Canadian constitutional recognition limits us to three categories acceptable to the state. Some Indigenous nations and communities also regulate identity. If Indigeniety is about relationships, as some have asserted, there are also many who claim Indigenous identity who have tenuous relationships with recognized Indigenous communities and categories. In particular, many who are part of the 'Sixties Scoop' and related policy practices cannot offer a detailed account of their origins to sustain their Indigeniety. Some Indigenous people seek to name and shame Indigenous identity theft. In a context where fake Indigeniety is foregrounded, those who cannot account for their origins can be caught up in the fervor of stopping Indigenous identity fraud. While objecting to Indigenous identity fraud and the support of poseurs by Canadian institutions, the paper also considers the denial and abuse of those who cannot prove their provenance.

*Moral Craftwork and News Coverage of Indigenous Identity:* Brooks DeCillia (Mount Royal University)

**Abstract:** This paper explores the investigative reporting surrounding the Indigenous identities of Buffy Sainte-Marie, Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond, Vivian Timmons, Michelle Latimer, Carrie Bourassa and Joseph Boyden. Using an original content analysis of news coverage of stories questioning the Indigenous identity of prominent Canadians, the coming pages examine the moral craftwork at play in this type of investigative reporting. Theoretically, the chapter relies on the conceptual framework of Glasser and Ettema's (1994) understanding of investigative journalism. Glasser and Ettema's work posits that reporters are both dispassionate and objective observers, operating 'as a custodian of conscience' (p. 338). In this way, journalists 'make moral claims without appearing to make moral judgments' (p. 337). This paradigm contends that investigative reporting (1) objectifies morality by 'transforming moral claims into empirical claims,' (2) privatizes morality by often 'secretly' devaluing or undercutting the 'ostensible meaning of what is being reported,' and (3) narrativizes morality by framing or 'symbolically ... cast[ing]' people in their reporting as 'innocent victims and guilty villains' (p. 338). Using a classic content analysis of investigative stories and commentary (N = 110) about six high-profile Canadians who had their Indigenous identity scrutinized in the last decade, this paper finds that the coverage spotlights some details while leaving others in the dark. Moreover, the reporting 'sometimes nuanced' uses empirical language to make moral claims and relies on narrative to tell stories of innocent victims and guilty villains.

*Canada's Regulation of Indigenous Identity: Land, Money, and Patriarchy:* Daniel Sherwin (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** This paper traces the Canadian state's regulation of Indigenous identity. It gives particular attention to the category of Indian Status, and shows how colonial understandings of 'Inuit' and 'Métis' are defined, in part, through partial inclusion in the 'Indian Status' framework. The regulation of Indigenous identity cannot be disentangled from Canada's broader settler colonial project of dispossessing and disrupting Indigenous peoples' land-based legal and political orders. But settler colonialism is not static. Tracing the relationship between 'status' and land, money, and gender can help uncover settler colonialism's shifting logics. This paper distinguishes between three major paradigms of state-First Nations relations: the treaty paradigm, the Indian Act paradigm, and the devolution paradigm. The treaty paradigm establishes obligations between non-Indigenous states and Indigenous communities who determine membership within their own forms of political collectivity. The Indian Act paradigm, by contrast, forges a tight link between a patriarchal conception of Indian Status and an imposed form of political collectivity 'the reserve-based Indian Band' while targeting both Bands and Status Indians for elimination. The devolution paradigm detaches Indian Status from Band membership, but in ways that tend to preserve the legacies of the Indian Act approach in terms of land, money, and gender. Drawing on a political development paradigm, this chapter develops an analytical narrative of the gradual and uneven transitions between the three paradigms that highlights the core themes of land, money, and gender.

*Un/becoming:* Amanda Buffalo (Independent)

**Abstract:** This paper offers a reflection of a kind of interoception and 'embodied learning' experience on the subject of an Indigenous identity crisis. The experience represents a thousand saltwater ceremonies, a million quiet conversations, an unquantifiable depth of self-reflection, and the gentle and loving support of a family and community. Through these pages I have chosen to share my personal reflections on my identity and experiences as a displaced Indigenous person navigating connections to community, land, culture, and most recently, the academy. In this work, I explore how identity impacts Nation building and sovereignty in Indigenous communities, and how these are affected by cultural teachings and language. My embodied learning experiences involve deep struggles with my displacement from my land, culture, and community. Through this, I reflect on Indigenous processes and concepts of belonging, connection, and relationality that also comprise sovereignty. Digging deeply into my own struggles with identity and belonging, this chapter is also an exploration of the ways in which displacement have shaped my identity and fueled my commitment to community.

Weaving my identity through stories and language, this work reflects on a lifelong journey of learning and applying the teachings of Dena Au?nezen (the highest law of the Kaska Dena) and Dena K?eh (the Dena way) in my community and work. Attuning to the teachings and grace of my Kaska Elders, this work is a reminder that identity is a phenomenon that is always contextual and deeply, deeply relational. In the last few years, the question of Indigenous identity has been largely focused on representation, recognition, and stories. Conversations about Indigenous identity have shifted away from our connection to the land and have become more national in scope.

---

## L01 - Carving Out Our Own Political Spaces of Resistance: The Issues and Strategies of Black, Immigrant/Ethnic and Low-Income Women Activists in Canada, 1960s-1990s

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

**Date** : Jun 3 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Abigail Bakan (University of Toronto)

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

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

*Haitian feminism in Montreal between the 1960s and 1980s ? Antiracist theoretical contours and praxis:* Célia Romulus (University of Ottawa), Samia Dumais (Concordia University), Lynne Marks (University of Victoria), Margaret Little (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Eurocentric and androcentric biases in Haitian historiography, originating in Haiti and abroad, result in the devaluation and erasure of the experiences and memory of the participation of Haitian women and feminists. From the Haitian revolution to the present day, women's experiences and their role in political struggles have been highlighted mainly by novelists such as Marie-Vieux Chauvet, Kettly Mars, Evelyne Trouillot and feminist works. This intervention is part of a movement to preserve and valorize knowledge derived from Haitian feminist experience and aims to identify the strategies of action historically employed by feminists both locally and abroad. It will address a key moment in contemporary Haitian history, highlighting the historical-political legacies of Haitian feminist groups' resistance to the Duvalier dictatorship (1957-1986), racial capitalism and anti-black racism in Montreal. A focus on these periods will enable us to analyze feminist modes of mobilization: epistemic resistance, informational activism, and advocacy with the state and international institutions.

These political and epistemic resistances deployed in several theaters, evolving according to the periods, reactivate Haiti's anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and internationalist traditions as tools for political awareness and the decolonization of knowledge. This contribution thus addresses questions essential to the decolonization of knowledge, women's empowerment. What strategies have Haitian feminists historically mobilized? How are these strategies documented, valued and passed on?

---

## **L01 - Roundtable on researching race and gender on TikTok, Instagram, and the use of other Advanced Digital Technologies (ADTs): Reflecting on methods and methodologies, research ethics, and the way forward**

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

**Date** : Jun 3 2023 | **Heure** : 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Tari Ajadi (McGill University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Tari Ajadi (McGill University)

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

---

## M01 - Workshop: Human Rights Teaching

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Strategies for linking global and local in human rights learning and praxis:* Jackie Smith (University of Pittsburgh)

**Abstract:** This presentation offers lessons from my work with local and national human rights cities initiatives working to improve local implementation of human rights standards. As an activist and teacher-scholar, I have worked to create community learning opportunities that bring diverse residents together while helping connect university students and faculty with other community members. I discuss how we have involved students in work to support community human rights learning as well as in the compilation of human rights shadow reports submitted to UN human rights bodies as part of official reviews of human rights treaty compliance and related accountability processes. This work highlights the important roles that universities play in helping support human rights and democracy in local communities, and how such work reinforces global human rights law and institutions.

*Teaching the Transformational Capacity of Human Rights while Doubting the Transformational Capacity of Human Rights:* Nicole Bernhardt (University of Toronto Scarborough)

**Abstract:** This proposed talk, as part of the workshop on Human Rights Teaching, draws on my experience teaching a large A-level political science course on Human Rights and Equity within a Canadian context. The course seeks to introduce students to the study of political science, institutions, and government through a foundational exploration of human rights theory and practice. I cover a range of critical issues in human rights and equity, including social and economic rights, racism, disability justice, and incarceration. Throughout this course, canonical Canadian Political Science literature is placed in conversation with real world political debates and critical approaches, and supplemented with policy documents, opinion pieces, and government reports.

Teaching this course in the 2023 and 2024 Fall terms has meant contending with both "EDI backlash" (Mackenzie et al. 2024) and laments over an increasingly "post-human rights world" (Foulkes 2016, Strangio 2017). This creates pedagogical challenges around how to convey the fundamental significance of human rights values, while these values are being openly eschewed, and how to persuade students of the significance of human rights institutions, while these institutions are being openly ignored. These pedagogical challenges also open up opportunities to make visible to students the contested nature of human rights and the consequences at stake in these political contestations. But these teaching experiences also challenge my own faith in the transformational capacity of human rights.

I welcome the opportunity to participate in roundtable dialogue with fellow members of Canada's human rights teaching community.

*Peacebuilding through Promotion of Inclusive Identities: Human Rights Education in Afghan Universities:* Seyed Ali Hosseini (Wilfrid Laurier University)

**Abstract:** Universities can assist peacebuilding by advocating for more inclusive identities in countries where specific identities are exploited by parties to the conflict. The promotion of inclusive identities pertains to the normative or cultural dimension of conflict, which are more subtle than physical violence. This is particularly crucial in Afghanistan, where the protracted conflict shaped by identity and ideology. As the most inclusive discourse, human rights could facilitate the transformation of Afghan politics and society towards sustainable peace following the initial Taliban rule, when international community were heavily involved in peacebuilding.

This paper examines the role of higher education in facilitating the transition from particular identities to a broad human identity among the new generation in Afghanistan, 2001-2021. It is argued that teaching human rights served as an instrument of peacebuilding, particularly through the promotion of inclusive identities, and introduction of the human rights discourse into Afghan politics and society. Moreover, in the context of the Taliban's return to power, it is proposed that the human rights discourse has the potential to challenge both exclusive identity-based politics and the fundamentalism of the Taliban on a long-term basis.

The central inquiry of this research is to identify the key opportunities and challenges of teaching of human rights in Afghan universities in the facilitation of conflict transformation. The findings of this case study contribute to the literature on peacebuilding, specifically on the cultural dimension of conflict and peace education in contexts where identity, religion, and harmful traditional practices are contributing to the conflict.

*Embedding the experiential into human rights teaching: Can feeling all the feels shatter powerful hegemonies, embrace unlearning, and move us towards social justice?:* Rusa Jeremic (George Brown College/ OISE/UofT)

**Abstract:** How dare you say that about our own people...What's wrong with you...I'm Jewish...How can they say that? ...they're Jewish.. What is Wrong with these people? What is wrong with them? How are you like this?

-TikTok Video

The video captures a young Jewish woman at a Jewish rally in support of Palestine. Her face displays sheer terror as her world her Gramscian common sense (1971) shatters. Unable to comprehend a reality in which Jewish people would support Palestine and want to co-exist peacefully, her truth crumbles before our eyes in a matter of seconds.

The level of discomfort and pain was palpable, but the missed potential for learning and unlearning leading to social change is also visible.



This paper will present a social change pedagogical framework for human rights teaching that situates affect theory alongside traditional political discourse while centering peoples' lived experiences. It will couple Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and consent (1971) with Boler's Pedagogy of Discomfort (Boler: 1991; Head:2020; Bright & Eames: 2022; Cullin & Whalen: 2022) within experiential learning frameworks (Kolb: 1984) to interrogate the potentials and pitfalls of learning and unlearning in human rights pedagogy.

Can feeling all the feels shatter powerful hegemonies, embrace unlearning, and move us towards social justice?

---

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

### A02(a) - Political Parties, Political Discourses and Immigration

#### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

**Party rhetoric, immigration policy, and immigration flows in Canada and the United States:** Michael J Donnelly (University of Toronto), Brad Wood-MacLean (University of British Columbia), Salar Asadolahi (McMaster University), Matthew Polacko (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Immigration is a major political issue in both the United States and Canada. This stands in stark contrast to the post-war period, when rates of migration were much lower in both countries. In this paper, we present new data on the positions taken on immigration by parties in Canada and the United States. Following the work of the Comparative Manifesto Project and an extension by Dancygier and Margalit (2020), we developed a measure of the salience and valence of immigration in major party manifestos since 1945 in both countries. This allows us to compare the levels of polarization before and after big reforms in policy and to trace the effect of both the governing party's positions and the position of the major opposition parties on actual migration flows. We identify key moments of discordance in position taking and flows and offer case studies of these outliers to show the role of institutional variation in shaping policy outputs. We contribute to the literature on policy responsiveness and the relationship between institutions and the policy process.

**Framing the Border: Analyzing Online Discourse on Immigration in Canada:** Mohamed Elgayar (University of Waterloo), Veronica Kitchen (University of Waterloo), Nancy Hills (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** The topic of immigration has become increasingly popular in Canada, with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau announcing a new policy directed at reducing immigration rates on October 24, 2024. With this increased attention, the rhetoric around immigration has likely changed. Research has found that political elite rhetoric, such as discussions by the Prime Minister and the leader of the opposition, Pierre Poilievre, can influence how individuals think about and discuss immigration policy, as well as how they think about themselves and others. As a result, the aim of this paper is to investigate the framing of immigration in the period leading up to the introduction of the new immigration policy and following it by both elites and citizens. This will be done by a content analysis of political elite social media accounts, specifically their posts on immigration, as well as an analysis of the comment section below such posts over the last year. This paper seeks to understand how both political elites and citizens portray immigration, who they view as ?insiders? versus ?outsiders,? and the perceived impacts of immigration on Canadian culture, economy, and security. In addition, to determine whether differences exist in the rhetoric used between both political parties and their supporters.

**Parties and immigration in Canada: An analysis over time and across venues:** Mireille Paquet (Concordia University), Andrea Lawlor (McMaster University), Erin Tolley (Carleton University), Brianna Losinger-Ross (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Despite political parties being a key building block of Canadian democracy, and immigration being an important building block of Canadian society, Canadian scholars have tended to look at the historical and contemporary connection between immigration and parties only at a high level of abstraction. Using a text-as-data approach, this paper presents research on party platforms, parliamentary debates, and media discourse to document the positions taken by Canadian federal political parties on immigration-related issues from 1967 to the present. We ask: 1) What policy positions have Canadian federal parties adopted on immigration-related issues since 1967? 2) How has the Canadian immigration-related political space been structured from 1967 to present day? and 3) Have Canadian federal parties been congruent in their positions and discourse about immigration in different political venues, namely: parliament, the media and electoral campaigns? We address these questions using data from digitized Hansard available through the Linked Parliamentary Data Project (LIPAD, Beelen et al. 2017), from digitized party platforms made available through the Poltext research initiative at Université Laval and from an original dataset of media coverage of parties and immigration over time. Our results point to the building blocks of a theoretical framework to analyze Canadian political parties' positioning, polarization, and cleavages on immigration-related issues.

**Refugee experiences of integration in small and medium-sized communities in Canada:** Maissaa Almustafa (University of Waterloo), Jasmin Habib (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** Refugees arrive at their destinations normally after experiencing periods of intense suffering and disorientation, a status that affects their ability to integrate in their new localities. Understanding integration as a process of inclusion and participation, refugee integration becomes a challenging transformative experience for refugees and their host communities. Whether it is the ?Holistic Model of Integration? or the ?Whole-of-Community? model, a comprehensive understanding of refugee integration implies addressing their lived experiences, diverse resettlement practices and integration policies, the institutional infrastructure available in their new communities, socioeconomic factors, among a wide range of actors interacting at multiple levels. This approach combines examining the ?social context? of host communities with exploring the various aspects of integration including the material aspects of employment, housing, language training, and healthcare, with a special focus on the emotional aspects of social connections, and the subjective aspects of belonging and homemaking. In this sense, the study of refugee integration involves addressing the interrelationships between refugees' individual and communal accomplishments and the structural opportunities and barriers they face in their new localities. This experience can be more distinctive in smaller communities that generally characterized by their lack of ethnic diversity, limited exposure to immigration, and a general shortage of resettlement resources. Nevertheless, stronger local social bonds may offer unexpected levels of acceptance, community mobilization, and a greater sense of familiarity. This paper aims to address the knowledge gap around refugee integration by focusing on the multifaceted experiences of refugee integration in small and medium communities in Canada.

---

## A02(b) - Canadian Social Democracy and the NDP

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*What is Canadian Social Democracy?:* David McGrane (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** This paper begins by exploring the methodological challenges of defining a specific ideology in a particular time and place and concludes that the best way to do so is to subjectively interpret the rhetoric of ideologues who espouse that ideology. It then applies this method of defining an ideology to the case of Canadian social democracy from 1900 to present by establishing a ?canon of Canadian social democracy.? This canon consists of several of the most important books, pamphlets, and speeches in the history of Canadian social democracy. The paper ends by identifying the main themes of the canon of Canadian social democracy as interconnectedness, co-operation, and kindness. It is these three concepts that then are argued to form an overarching definition of Canadian social democracy.

*Deep Diversity and Social Democracy in English-Speaking Canada: An Historical Perspective on the New Democratic Party (NDP):* Bruce McKenna (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** This paper is a draft of a chapter for a book project on the concept of ?deep diversity? in dialogue?or multilogue?with the work of Charles Taylor, building on a December 2022 event at UQAM.

A sociological perspective on the CCF-NDP?as a mass membership organization and a party-in-government?shows us that political parties can be spaces where normative understandings of federalism develop, clash, and synthesize in the grounded context of political organizing, coalition building, and debate. When elected, CCF-NDP partisans have also exerted an influence on the institutional landscape around them?an influence sometimes rooted in ideology and relationships with social forces.

How and to what extent have actors in the CCF and the NDP understood Canada as a deeply diverse society and polity? What relations can we observe between their actions in government, in parliament, and in constitutional negotiations, and the normative ideal of multinational federalism? How has deep diversity been reflected in the broader organizational and ideological evolution of the CCF and the NDP? Overall, I will argue that the CCF-NDP tradition has become markedly more open to deep diversity over the decades. However, it has faced an array of challenges related to its overwhelmingly anglophone social profile and to the limitations of a political project associated with managing federal and provincial capitalist states.

I will develop these arguments first by situating Taylor?s thought in its partisan context, and then by examining the broad trajectory of Quebec and indigenous issues in the NDP and its predecessor, the CCF.

*Narrativizing confidence and supply: Jagmeet Singh's Rhetoric during the NDP and LPC Deal:* Donal Gill (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** The confidence and supply agreement (CASA) between the NDP and minority Liberal government that was in place between March 2022 and September 2024 was the first of its kind in Canadian federal politics. Since the formal adoption of the agreement, the NDP sought to carefully situate itself rhetorically as both working with the government to produce key legislation favourable to its progressive voter base whilst also harshly criticizing the Trudeau government. In the immediate period following the dissolution of the agreement, public opinion polling and fundraising numbers have indicated only a modest increase in support for the NDP as the Liberals continue to decline in polling. Thus, we might conclude that the CASA served a purpose in generating the stability in parliament to elongate the lifespan of the government beyond that of the typical duration of a minority administration in Canada, it failed as a means of building popular support for either party. This project seeks to assess the strategic, tactical, and ideological dimensions to the NDP leader Jagmeet Singh's political communications about the CASA during the period where it was in place. Through direct engagement with primary source data - speeches to the press, in parliament, and other official party-political communications ? political discourse analysis will be conducted to test the argument that Singh?s discursive emphasis on conflict over cooperation contributed to the NDP?s inability to increase its popular support as a result of the CASA.

---

## A02(c) - Party financing and political donations

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*Banking on Victory? Campaign Spending and Candidate Nomination Outcomes in Canada:* Scott Pruyers (Dalhousie University), Rob Currie-Wood (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** It is well-established that campaign effort, especially when measured by candidate spending, is positively related to increased electoral performance (Benoit and Marsh, 2003; Fisher et al., 2014). In Canada, for example, major party candidates can expect to earn an additional 0.3 to 0.7 percent of the vote for every additional \$1000 spent by their local campaign (Carty and Eagles, 2005). Simply put, candidates who spend more tend to outperform their competitors during elections. The vast majority of this research, however, is derived from studies of general election candidates (but see Atmor et al., 2023). This paper extends research on campaign spending and electoral outcomes to consider whether similar patterns exist at the level of intra-party elections. Specifically, we ask two questions. First, is nomination campaign spending related to positive outcomes? In other words, are nomination contestants with higher spending more likely to win their party's nomination? Second, given recent evidence regarding donation patterns (Tolley et al., 2022), is nomination fundraising and spending gendered? That is, are men able to raise and spend more money than women contestants? Results have implications for intra-party dynamics as well as for the kinds of individuals who win nominations and therefore contest general elections.

*The Impact of Electoral District Boundaries and Political Party Finance on Politics in New Brunswick:* Anna Johnson (University of Toronto), Christopher Cochrane (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This paper applies new computational tools and sources of data to study the impact of electoral district boundaries and political financing on the politics of New Brunswick. New Brunswick is worth considering for a few reasons. First, along with Saskatchewan, the province is the epicenter of legal principles underpinning the Canadian electoral system (*Raiche v Canada (Attorney General)*). These principles will need to be reformed, for reasons we demonstrate using a computational tool developed for this purpose. Second, New Brunswick allows out-of-province donations, which is thought to encourage appeals likely to resonate with mobilized interests based outside the jurisdiction. Using new data, we consider the magnitude and impact of these donations. The overarching aim of the paper is to study NB as a microcosm of the sources of non-democracy and polarization affecting Canadian politics due to new technologies interacting with traditional institutions.

*New Fundraisers at Old Country Clubs: Where Parliament's Top Earners Turn Donations into Votes:* Eli Rose (University of Toronto), Chris Cochrane (University of Toronto), Anna Johnson (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** In the world of Canadian politics, money talks, but this study asks where, how loudly, and for whom? Using a high quality political donations and party financing dataset, which is geo-located to a very granular resolution and mapped to Google Earth, this paper provides a fractionalized raster (grid) representation and descriptive analysis of political donations across Canada. Analysis of the raster and dataset describes where money in politics is most and least concentrated and by what parties. The latter half of the study adds two additional layers of data to the raster: census and voting data, and coded demographics for every federal candidate. The study's second analysis will shed light on Canadian politics' highest and lowest earners and when, or if, donations translate into votes. Cross-referencing donation data to demographic, geographic, and electoral data reveals the determinants to successful fundraising in Canada, but also the value in electoral support each party and candidate receives in relation to their fundraising outcomes. Ultimately, by uncovering the intricate web of fundraising patterns across demographics, regions, and electoral outcomes, this paper reveals not only where Canada's political dollars flow but also how they ripple through the electoral landscape.

.....

## F02 - Youth

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

**Breaking the Cycle: Compulsory Voting Within the Context of Youth Underrepresentation:** Avery Chalmers (University of Ottawa), Daniel Stockemer (University of Ottawa), Sam Mather (University of Ottawa), Lauren Garcia (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Although youth often constitute a significant portion of a country's population, they remain underrepresented in national parliaments. While previous research has highlighted some of the causes and effects of youth underrepresentation, we aim to examine the unanalyzed relationship between compulsory voting and youth representation. We hypothesize that because youth participate equally in voting, parties have an incentive to also nominate more young candidates under compulsory voting compared to systems where voting is voluntary, and which often see large turnout gap in favor of the elderly. We test this stipulation using a unique dataset comprised of more than 100 countries. We find that compulsory voting in fact leads parties to nominate more young candidates, which also leads to increased youth representation in parliament. These results indicate that compulsory voting has the potential to address the barriers preventing youth engagement and ultimately increase democratic representation.

**OK Boomer: Understanding Speaker Persuasiveness Across Generations:** Feodor Snagovsky (University of Alberta), Samuel Goertz (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Intergenerational resentment appears to be rising in advanced democracies like Canada. While members of younger generations have long thought that governments pay too much attention to the concerns of older voters, millennials are the first generation since 1940 where more than half of members are projected to earn less than their parents (Chetty et al. 2017). Large majorities of people in countries like Canada, Australia, the United States and United Kingdom believe children today will be worse off than their parents, and less than a third of Canadian millennials believe their lives will be better than their parents' (Clancy et al. 2022; Kalvapalle 2017). These trends have the potential to lead to greater polarization between generations, with members of different generations caricaturing the other as lazy or out of touch (Mueller and McCollum 2022). In this study, we examine whether generational membership itself affects the extent to which people are receptive to political explanations of a contentious intergenerational issue: housing affordability. Using a pre-registered vignette experiment of Canadian adults from Gen Z, Millennial, Gen X and Baby Boomer cohorts, we examine whether co-generational and cross-generational identity influences agreement or disagreement with explanations for a lack of affordable housing. We hypothesize that when a respondent and speaker share the same generational identity (i.e. co-generational), respondents will have greater support for the speaker's position, be more optimistic about the prospect of policy change, and have greater sympathy for the speaker themselves. By contrast, we expect to see the opposite effect when a respondent and speaker are from different generations (i.e. cross-generational). The findings contribute to our understanding of how intergenerational divisions in the electorate affect policy discussions and political polarization.

**Gen-Z and Political Participation in Bangladesh: A Case Study of Student Movements Against Discrimination:** Majed Ahmed (Murarichand College), Habibur Rahman Masrur (Shahjalal University of Science and Technology, Sylhet-3114, Bangladesh), Md Mohsin Miah (Shahjalal University of Science and Technology, Sylhet-3114, Bangladesh)

**Abstract:** Abstract:

Bangladesh's recent student movement against discrimination highlights a transformative shift in political engagement led by the nation's Gen-Z. This paper investigates the motivations, methods, and impacts of Gen-Z's involvement in this anti-discrimination movement, exploring how this generation is reshaping the political landscape of Bangladesh. With an emphasis on digital platforms, the study examines how social media channels, messaging apps, and online communities have enabled Gen-Z activists to raise awareness, mobilize support, and coordinate action more effectively than previous generations. These digital tools not only amplify individual voices but also create collective solidarity among young people who share similar values and goals, providing a dynamic space for discussion, debate, and organization.

Using a mixed-methods approach, combining surveys to quantify the levels of political awareness and interviews to delve deeper into personal motivations, this study reveals the complex factors that drive Gen-Z's participation in such movements. Findings suggest that a commitment to social justice, a rejection of outdated social norms, and a strong sense of responsibility toward societal progress are key motivating factors. The movement against discrimination has ignited a new wave of politically conscious youth eager to challenge traditional structures and advocate for inclusive, democratic reform. This research contributes to a broader understanding of youth-driven activism, emphasizing the role of Gen-Z in fostering long-term political and social change within Bangladesh. By highlighting this movement, the paper underscores the potential influence of Gen-Z on the nation's future political landscape.

Keywords: Gen-Z, political activism, Bangladesh, anti-discrimination movement, political participation, youth engagement, social justice

---

## G02 - Political economy of energy transitions and climate change

### Économie politique

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Antulio Rosales (York University)

*The political economy of an AMOC collapse: How an increasingly likely climate tipping point could change the world:* Ryan Katz-Rosene (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** While attention to climate tipping points has received some attention in the study of global environmental politics, there is surprisingly little analysis of the human consequences tied to one of the most significant and likely-to-manifest tipping points later this Century – a collapse of the Atlantic Meridional Overturning Circulation (AMOC). In this paper I consider how a collapse of the AMOC could impact the global political economy. I offer a basic introduction to the latest science identifying the geophysical risks linked to an AMOC collapse, and identify some of the potential political and economic ramifications which could arise from it. I note that while an AMOC collapse largely exacerbates many existing types of political economic risks to society posed by climate change as we know it, it reconfigures their global spatial dynamics and introduces a new type of global climate-governance problem, which I call the ‘Divergent Climate Response Dilemma’. Additionally, I consider how a collapse of the AMOC could reshape discursive debates about climate ‘Doom’, ‘Denial’, and ‘Hope’.

*Energy transitions for communities reliant on heavy industry in India: Challenges and opportunities in three steel hubs of eastern India:*

Alexandra Mallett (Carleton University), Hasrat Kathuria (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** A key contributor to climate change is fossil fuels. India, being the world's third-largest carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) emitter, pledged to achieve Net Zero emissions by 2070. To meet this ambitious goal, India needs to reduce its emissions from ‘hard to abate’ sectors including steel given its high dependence on fossil fuels, primarily coal. Amid growing calls for just transitions, these changes are not limited to shifting of fuel and technology but also involve forming an economy that includes reskilling of workers, and institutional and strong policy interventions to support the impacted communities. However, social dimensions will depend on the local geographic setting, so how can energy transition pathways be suitable to their contexts? The purpose of this paper is to explore the social dimension of transition in three major steel hubs of Eastern India – Giridih, Jharkhand, Durgapur, West Bengal and Raipur, Chhattisgarh. The study consisted of interviews and focus group discussions (FGD) with more than twenty-five workers and other actors in these three clusters, and the qualitative data is analyzed employing the NVivo software.

Preliminary findings suggest that the socioeconomic condition of workers is more favorable in larger centres, while the impacts of energy transition will likely be greater on smaller centres that are heavily dependent on the fossil fuel industries, suggesting more need for their support. To address these challenges and facilitate a just transition in these steel hubs the study proposes alternate economic opportunities for the workers, and outlines policy recommendations for both local/regional, state and central governments.

*‘Just Transition,’ or Just a Transition? Creating Socially Equitable Decarbonization in Oil-Dependent Regions: Insights from Newfoundland and Labrador:* Leah M. Fusco (Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador), Angela Carter (Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador)

**Abstract:** Energy transitions are intensifying globally, but with varying emphases on equity. While some jurisdictions are advancing ‘just transitions,’ others are focused primarily on technological changes while otherwise replicating extractive modes of development that neglect social equity considerations. This paper examines how energy transition is unfolding in one of Canada's largest oil producing provinces, Newfoundland and Labrador (NL), a province that is relying on doubling oil extraction to achieve socio-economic stability. Yet these policy aspirations expose the province to economic and climate risks given the imminent decline in global oil demand and the heightening climate crisis that is caused primarily by fossil fuels. Set in the historical context of oil production in NL, this paper explores the continued pressures to develop oil, overlaid with new energy projects (notably large scale export-oriented wind-to-hydrogen and mega hydroelectricity projects). Drawing on interview data with policy actors from across the province, we document trends in the emerging (and highly contested) debates around just transition and identify key obstacles to and opportunities for a just transition in NL. While focused on NL, we place the province in the larger context of rich-world oil producing jurisdictions that are confronted with economic and also climate imperatives to decarbonize their economies while they seek to profit from the final years of stable global oil demand.

*From Sustainability to Social Metabolic Democracy: (Re)Thinking Questions of Ecology, Justice, and Transformation Through the Theory of Social Metabolism:* Joshua McEvoy (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Nearly four decades since the Brundtland report popularized the concept of sustainability, progress toward abating the many profound ecological crises we face today is wanting. Critically, sustainability is most often conceptualized and pursued in highly technocratic terms amenable to capitalist eco-modern visions. Whether understood in this way or not, sustainability is also often implicitly or otherwise understood as the ultimate severing of the social from the ecological, freeing humanity from the rest of nature. Taking a critical approach, re-theorizes the underlying normative commitments that animate prevailing notions of sustainability and ecological justice by drawing upon the Marxian concepts of ‘metabolic rift’ and ‘social metabolic control.’ Focusing on socio-ecological mediation and exchange and the relations that animate them, this approach productively reframes sustainability as a perpetual sociopolitical process instead of an end-state and emphasizes the imperative for it is termed here ‘social metabolic democracy.’ It further underlines the necessity of socio-ecological transformation by centring the conditions necessary for pursuing social and ecological justice while refraining from prescribing their content. In forwarding the need for an equitable system of social metabolic control, this approach also raises difficult questions for future research and theorization concerning the relation of democracy and the constitution of its boundaries to biophysical limits and justice.

---

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

## P02 - Posters Session 1

Présentation visuelle

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 10:30am - 12:00pm | Salle :

---

## Day 1 - Session 3 (Lunch) - KEYNOTE BLOCKED TIMESLOT Katherine J. Cramer (12:00pm - 01:30pm)

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

### A04(a) - When Digital Elections Go Wrong: And How to Fix Them

#### Politique canadienne

**Date :** Jun 3 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Helen Hayes (McGill University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Scott Pruysers (Dalhousie University)

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

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

*Digital Elections in Canada:* Nicole Goodman (Brock University), Holly Ann Garnett (RMC), Aleksander Essex (Western University)

**Abstract:** This introductory chapter provides an overview of the history and development of digital elections in Canada. It discusses why governments have modernized their elections with technology focusing on the narrative of technological solutionism as a strategy to counter electoral issues and ills. The chapter further outlines and defines the types of technologies governments have adopted as part of electoral modernization with a specific focus on online voting, tabulators, and electronic poll books ? the types of election technologies most popularly used in Canadian elections ? explaining their purposes, benefits, and potential perils. The chapter also distinguishes Canada as a unique research case - pointing to the high proportion of technical incidents and continuation of use. When digital elections fail in other countries, pilots or programs are halted or suspended indefinitely, while in Canada digital elections continue and expand. Finally, the chapter discusses the governance of election technologies in Canada, pointing to gaps in how we are regulating and governing digital elections. Overall, the chapter outlines the makings of a perfect storm for democratic disaster with the very high level of use among subnational governments, risk exposure across popularly used technologies, minimal government intervention and significant gaps in current policies and regulation. The book offers solutions to these problems in later chapters.

*What Can Go Wrong with Digital Elections?:* Aleksander Essex (Western University), Nicole Goodman (Brock University), Holly Ann Garnett (RMC)

**Abstract:** This chapter provides a cyber threat assessment of what can go wrong with digital elections focusing on e-poll books, tabulators, and online voting. Drawing on computer science theories and literature, several reviews of threats to elections in the past decade, and based on a technical review of online voting vendors? systems it answers questions such as: What are current and future risks election technologies pose? How does risk exposure differ based on the type of technology being used? It also considers evolutions in the technologies looking at new and current technologies that are available such as blockchain and end-to-end verification and whether they serve to mitigate some of the threats. Risks are organized and classified based on their having a low, medium, or high threat to the election and its outcomes. The chapter concludes with an overarching sense of the potential magnitude of the current and future risks election technologies pose in binding public elections in Canada and the implications for electoral integrity.

*What Has Gone Wrong with Digital Elections?:* Nicole Goodman (Brock University), Aleksander Essex (Western University), Holly Ann Garnett (RMC)

**Abstract:** This chapter explores what has gone wrong with the deployment of election technologies in Canadian elections. The primary data informing the chapter is a repository of technical incidents across e-poll books, tabulators, and online voting collected from interviews, consultations with technology providers, and a review of news media articles dating back to 2010. Data on technical incidents has been notoriously difficult to obtain since issues are often not disclosed publicly unless they openly affect voting. Reflecting on what can go wrong with digital elections in the previous chapter, this paper illustrates what is actually happening when digital elections in Canada go wrong. Our results show that most technical incidents over the past 15 years are the result of either human error or limitations in bandwidth or connectivity that led to service outages. Most of the incidents that plague our digital elections and impact electoral integrity can be corrected with proper protocols, improved policies, and checks to reduce human error. While larger threats are possible, they are not the ones being realized in our elections.

*Administrator Perceptions & Solutions:* Holly Ann Garnett (RMC), Nicole Goodman (Brock University), Aleksander Essex (Western University)

**Abstract:** This chapter considers administrator opinions of the risks that election technologies pose, evaluating whether there is a difference between perception and reality based on our earlier analysis of the actual risks to deploying e-poll books, tabulators, and online voting. Drawing on survey data from municipal and provincial elections administrators from across Canada we examine the perceived risks of e-poll books, tabulators, and online voting in binding sub-national elections. We also probe respondent perceptions of technical incidents and appropriate responses. Finally, we consider administrators? thoughts regarding solutions to maintain electoral integrity in the digital age. Can a digital election be a safe one? Which specific strategies do administrators perceive as mitigating risk exposure? Our analysis is organized according to three considerations: the level of government of the administrator, whether they have experience deploying election technologies, and whether their government or election agency has been affected by a technical or cyber incident.





## A04(e) - Attitudes toward immigration in Canada: The conditions of belonging and deservingness

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia)

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

*Stereotypes of high- and low-skilled immigrants to Canada: Evidence from an online survey:* Vincent Hopkins (UBC), Andrea Lawlor (McMaster), Mireille Paquet (Concordia)

**Abstract:** Voters typically prefer high-skilled over low-skilled immigration. While some argue this "skill premium" flows from sociotropic/economic considerations, others argue it reflects ethnic/racial prejudice. Surprisingly, however, there is little systematic evidence about what comes to mind when voters think about immigrant skill levels. Which stereotypes predominate? Are there demographic differences in stereotypical beliefs? And, how do these beliefs shape attitudes toward immigration? In an exploratory, online survey of Canadians (N=2,422), we use open-ended survey items to identify stereotypes of low- and high-skilled immigrants. We also examine stereotypes toward two temporary resident groups: international students and temporary foreign workers. We measure the valence of different stereotypes and use automated text analysis to code them into substantive categories. We explore the demographic profile of people who believe various stereotypes (e.g., sociotropic/economic versus ethnic/racial), and examine whether stereotypical beliefs predict anti-immigrant attitudes and support for immigration.

*Identity, Entitlement, and Policy Preferences in Canada:* Seyoung Jung (UQAM)

**Abstract:** While citizenship connotes a legal tie between a self and a state, there is a variation in how closely one aligns the state to one's self-concept. This study develops a Canadian identity implicit association test (CI-IAT) that measures the state attachment at the subconscious level. This psychological construct reflects the use of a different memory system and circumvents the issue of social desirability. The study explores whether this internalization of the state within the self varies systematically by different facets of citizenship (i.e. birthplace, immigrant background, country of residence, race/ethnicity, and language). Furthermore, the study shows the relationship between the level of Canadian identity and how individuals see themselves and others as deserving the full inventory of citizenship entitlements. The empirical evidence of the study contributes to a deeper understanding of how individuals perceive themselves as part of the political community and the basis of their policy preferences.

*Public opinion toward migrant voting rights in Canada:* Colin Scott (Concordia)

**Abstract:** Voting rights for non-citizens have been extended at the local level in several jurisdictions across Western Europe. Recently, there have been discussions about extending the franchise for local elections in certain Canadian municipalities. Despite this nascent interest in extending the right to vote to non-citizens in municipal elections, there is little public opinion research on the issue. This study addresses this gap with new experimental and cross-sectional data from a Canadian national survey (N = 1,196) gauging public opinion toward extending voting rights to non-citizens with different migration histories. Although Canadians are significantly more supportive of extending voting rights to non-citizen migrants with longer periods of residency in the local community, most respondents remain skeptical, if not outright opposed, to granting non-citizens the right to vote in municipal elections. This holds regardless of whether migrants arrived in Canada as immigrants, refugees, or asylum seekers. Moreover, once migrants gain Canadian citizenship and become eligible to vote in elections at any level of government, respondents tend to support higher fines against foreign-born citizens who do not vote in federal elections despite being eligible, highlighting the double standards foreign-born and native-born citizens face when their electoral participation is scrutinized.

*The Terms of Belonging in Minority Nations: Markers of National Identity in Quebec and Scotland and Attitudes toward Minority Groups:* Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia), Ailsa Henderson (University of Edinburgh)

**Abstract:** The production and reproduction of community boundaries occupies an important place in minority nations' politics. If a certain number of studies have examined the ways in which citizens of minority nations define the terms of belonging (McCrone and Bechhofer 2008, 2015; Rosie 2014; Bilodeau and Turgeon 2021), most are limited to case studies. This paper builds on this gap and offers a comparison of the terms of belonging as defined by majority group members in two minority nations, namely Quebec and Scotland. Two objectives are pursued. First, we compare the terms of belonging in Quebec and Scotland, more specifically, comparing the markers of national identity that are most salient in the two minority national contexts. Second, we explore the connection between the predominant markers of national identity in Quebec and Scotland and how they shape views toward minority groups. More specifically, we examine how the terms of belonging shape views in relation to whether immigration intakes should be increased or decreased, and following Berry's work (1997) we examine to what extent majority group members expect immigrants to learn the host culture and to shed the culture of their country of origin. Moreover, we examine views toward other national minorities residing in Quebec and Scotland, respectively anglophones and English people.

The paper relies on two online surveys conducted in Quebec in 2022 (n=2400) and in Scotland in 2023 (n=1200) among majority group members using similar question wordings.

---

## F04 - Minorities

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

*Is Electoral Discrimination Declining?:* Randy Besco (University of Toronto), Selen Onculoglu (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Recent research has shown that ethnic minority candidates in a range of countries do not get less votes. However, much of this work uses self-report experiments, which are vulnerable to concerns about social desirability and external efficacy. Moreover, since 2015 there has been a rise in media coverage racialized issues and increase in polarization, which might affect support for ethnic minority candidates. To examine this we construct a panel dataset using electoral results, candidate demographics, and census data covering seven elections (2004-2021). This is analyzed using recent advances in difference-in-difference methods, which can incorporate the ?treatment? switching back and forth. The results show that Conservative ethnic minority candidates receive less votes than white candidates, but there is no evidence of this for other parties. The reduction in votes received persists for at least two elections. There is no evidence that the level of discrimination is lower (or higher) post-2015 than in previous periods. Drawing on census data, we explore how electoral discrimination varies by district characteristics.

*Understanding the vote of linguistic minorities outside Quebec:* Maxime Heroux-Legault (UBC-Okanagan), Teo Ardanaz (UBC-Okanagan)

**Abstract:** Previous work has found that outside Quebec, members of linguistic minorities are more likely to support the Liberal party of Canada. However, research has rarely examined the contextual determinants of this relationship. This research project addresses this gap in the literature. The analysis examines whether voters from minority linguistic groups are more prone to vote for the Liberals depending on the number of co-speakers living in their electoral district. The theoretical expectations are derived from contact theory and group threat theory. Contact theory suggests that living in ridings with more co-speakers would encourage more Liberal voting among members of linguistic minorities, as greater contact with members of the linguistic minority and less contact with members of the linguistic majority would encourage a reinforcement of group voting norms. Conversely, group threat theory suggests that members of linguistic minorities would be more likely to vote Liberal when the number of co-speakers is smaller, as this will elicit greater feelings of threat among the linguistic minority. The results support group threat theory. Both francophones and allophones are more likely to vote for the Liberal party when the proportion of co-speakers is smaller, which increases the feeling that linguistic minority groups are threatened by the linguistic majority. These results suggest that explaining the voting calculus requires the contribution of contextual factors. They also reveal that feelings of threat have a significant influence on the voting decision of linguistic minorities in Canada outside Quebec.

*Effect of social networks on Blacks vote for the Liberal Party of Canada:* Nadjim Fréchet (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Despite a growing shift toward conservatism on various issues, African Americans remain among the most loyal supporters of the left-leaning Democratic Party in the United States. Studies suggest that this enduring loyalty is driven by social pressure within their communities and the influence of African American elites. Similarly, recent research indicates that social networks play a role in shaping the political behavior of racial minorities in Canada, much like they do for African Americans in the United States. Just as African Americans with the Democratic Party, racial minorities in Canada overwhelmingly support the socially left-leaning Liberal Party of Canada despite being more socially conservative than the White majority. Focusing on Black Canadians, this research explores whether progressive ideological cues influence the likelihood of Black Canadians voting for the Liberal Party and whether the racial composition of their social network mediates this effect using a survey experiment. Results show that social pressure has more effect on Black Canadians voting Liberal than progressive ideological cues.

---

## F04 - Health

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

**Comparing Priorities in Health and Social Policies in Québec and Ontario:** Olivier Jacques (Université de Montréal), Philippe Chassé (Université de Montréal and Science po Paris)

**Abstract:** The rising costs of healthcare, coupled with budgetary constraints, compel governments to make difficult decisions regarding the allocation of public funds across policy priorities. Yet, little is known about public preferences for healthcare relative to other social policies, particularly in the Canadian context where research on health and social policy preferences remains limited. Using a series of survey experiments embedded in an original survey conducted in June 2024 with a representative sample of 2,000 respondents, we analyze social policy priorities in Québec and Ontario, focusing specifically on health policies. Building on previous research indicating stronger support for public healthcare in English Canada compared to Québec, we find that Ontarians are more willing to fund healthcare and prioritize it over other social policies compared to Quebecers. Interestingly, Quebecers, while more likely to support user fees for healthcare access, also show a stronger preference for maintaining a public healthcare system. In line with prior research on provincial preference variations and research on comparative political cultures in Canada, we also investigate whether the factors influencing healthcare preferences differ between Ontario and Québec. Pursuing a tradition of comparing the two most populous provinces in the country, we contribute to the study of the political economy of policy preferences in Canada.

**The Local Political Dynamics of Supervised Consumption Sites in Canada:** Mark Williamson (Toronto Metropolitan University), Daniel Rubenson (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Social policies that help vulnerable populations are often politically controversial. Supervised consumption sites ? government-funded locations where people can safely consume illicit drugs in the presence of trained staff ? are one case where we would expect polarized reactions among voters. Despite evidence that supervised consumption improves public health, media reports suggest that residents living near these sites often oppose them. The policy is politicized, with conservative parties proposing to end funding and left-wing and centrist parties supporting their continuation. In this paper, we ask how supervised consumption sites impact local political attitudes and vote choice. We identify the locations of all supervised consumption sites that have opened in Canada since the first site began operations in 2003 and then compare electoral returns in polling stations nearby these sites to similar polling stations located farther away. We expect that if the introduction of these sites impacted local vote choice, there should be localized shifts in vote shares for left- or right-wing parties after a site opens, depending on whether voters view the policy positively or negatively. To validate our results based on official voting returns, we also surveyed 1,100 British Columbia residents during the 2024 provincial election campaign. We use respondents? geolocation to test whether proximity to a site predicts support for the policy, concerns about crime and drug use, and vote choice. This research offers new evidence on the political consequences of a topical social policy in Canada and informs scholarly debates about the role of local context in opinion formation.

**Policy Shapes Partisan Identification: How Dobbs made pre-existing abortion policy preferences relevant to partisanship:** Mackenzie Lockhart (Yale University), Alan Gerber (Yale University), Gregory Hill (Yale University)

**Abstract:** How do policy preferences shape partisan identification? Normally policy attitudes causing partisanship and partisanship causing policy attitudes are observationally equivalent. Using a large-scale multi-year panel (N=50,000) before and after the Dobbs v Jackson Women?s Health Organization decision that overturned the Roe v Wade line of precedents, we show that an exogenous increase in the policy relevance of abortion preferences causes Americans with misaligned abortion preferences to re-align their partisanship to match their abortion attitudes. This effect includes the 7% of partisans with misaligned attitudes and the 50% of independents with extreme attitudes. Individuals who consider abortion more important and are more confident in their abortion opinions are particularly likely to change their partisan identifications post-Dobbs.

**Belonging in Crisis: Non-Compliance, Rhetorical Bridging and Social Cohesion in Canada's COVID-19 vaccine roll-out:** Sarah Casey (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** During the COVID-19 pandemic, Canadians experienced an intensification of state power and an infringement on their civil liberties. While this was broadly accepted in the early pandemic period, dissent grew as lockdowns were repeated, and then again as vaccines were rolled out and vaccine passports and mandates were imposed on the public. Though the majority of Canadians were vaccinated, opposition to the vaccine regulations was vocal, becoming a key part of the Ottawa ?Freedom Convoy? protest in 2022. Most of Canada?s COVID-19 mitigation efforts can be classified as forms of domestic hard power, what Joseph Nye calls the ?use of coercion and payment? (2009 p. 160). Yet, at the same time, public risk communication from the Government of Canada (GoC) and the Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC) employed soft power strategies of ?attraction? (Nye, p. 160). This paper argues that the two types of power were strategically misaligned on key matters: where the vaccine mandates made explicit compliance demands on citizens, vaccine hesitancy primers promoted autonomy in personal health decisions. It examines the use of hard and soft power in the Canadian context during the first vaccine roll-out (2021-22) and argues that attending to the strategic alignment of hard and soft power in the domestic context is critical for social cohesion during a crisis. Further, it considers how rhetoric can be used to, as Johnstone and Mifsud (1999) explain, ?bridge the poles of the divided [society]? to support all citizens during crises while still encouraging appropriate risk-mitigation behaviours.

---

## G04 - Cryptocurrency and (international) political economy

### Économie politique

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Antulio Rosales (York University)

**Repairing broken linkages: Russia's use of cryptocurrencies in response to sanctions:** Viktoriya Vinik (York University), Antulio Rosales (York University)

**Abstract:** The United States and western European allies imposed tough international sanctions on Russia amid the latter's invasion of Ukraine in 2022. These restrictions imposed on Russia's economy included a draconian closure of the banking and financial system to most Russian banks aimed at limiting its war effort. The international relations literature on the efficacy of sanctions to induce behaviour change points to their scant success. However, the effects of sanctions are varied and are still rarely understood. In this context, cryptocurrencies have recently been used as tools to bypass trade and financial limitations, including sanctions. In this article, we interrogate Russia's use of cryptocurrencies amid the sanctions' regime imposed on the country from 2022. We find three main uses of cryptocurrencies in the post-invasion context: first, Russia has accepted cryptocurrencies for cross-border payments, especially of oil; second, Russia uses bitcoin as a crowd-funding tool in its war effort, including by some of its more extremist battalions; and lastly, Russian oligarchs and wealthy individuals seem to be increasingly using bitcoin as a way to safeguard their financial positions away from US dollars and other major currencies. Importantly, while cryptocurrencies are not drastically changing the financial networks through which the Russian economy is connected, these assets are purportedly repairing some of the broken linkages generated by the sanctions' regime.

**Contested sovereignty: Kosovo's bitcoin mining ban:** Tefik Agushi (York University)

**Abstract:** In 2022, Kosovo authorities declared a ban on bitcoin mining to curb electricity consumption. In recent years, the country had experienced a rapid increase in consumption, problems with energy supply and increasing costs. The decision was the result of public protests over higher costs and blackouts, which re-ignited tensions between the country's authority and its ethnic Serbian minority. Neither Serbia nor ethnic Serbs in Kosovo recognize the country's independence; in consequence, residents of northern areas of Kosovo, where most ethnic Serbs live, refuse to pay electricity, which in turn has produced enormous distortions and high costs. Among them, booming bitcoin mining activity became common in these communities. In this article, we explore how bitcoin mining exposes the electricity infrastructure's fragility of this territory, but more importantly, it unveils the complexities of contested sovereignty claims by Kosovo's authorities and Serbia. The article demonstrates how the exercise of sovereignty is intimately linked to the provision, control, guarantee and deployment of energy and its infrastructure. Contested sovereignty claims highlight the role of supra-national entities such as the European Union as well as the role of rarely considered materialities such as electricity installations and energy resources.

**CBDCs in South America: a political economy analysis of structural constraints and financial infrastructure challenges:** Mauricio Collao Quevedo (York University)

**Abstract:** Central Bank Digital Currencies (CBDC) have recently surged as state responses to the spread of decentralized digital currencies and other financial technologies, which seem to pose a threat to national fiat monies. Scholars in International Political Economy (IPE) have highlighted the infrastructural dimension of this innovation, the security motivations for their creation and the overall importance of CBDCs in upholding state sovereignty in international finance. South American Central Banks have also entered the terrain of CBDC initiatives and while they share similar motivations, CBDCs initiatives in the region take different forms. Bypassing sanctions, establishing alternative links and building counter-hegemonic financial blocs, as well as attempting to bring renewed confidence in eroded national currencies are part of the reasons for CBDC initiatives in countries such as Brazil, Venezuela and Argentina. These initiatives have varying degrees of success, with projects lagging in comparison to China and the Euro zone. Building on IPE literature on CBDCs, this paper provides an overview of the motivations for South American CBDC initiatives. It emphasizes the importance of structural constraints in the regional economies as well as the infrastructural challenges that affect financial sectors in the region as the bases for South American CBDCs particularities.

**Cryptocurrency, Neoliberalism, and the Globalization of Money:** James Patriquin (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** In this paper I outline a global political economy framework for understanding the sudden and meteoric rise of cryptocurrency. My framework displaces traditional issues of sovereignty and state preference and approaches money through a historical lens, enabling cryptocurrency to be linked to a longer periodization and broader morphology of economic liberalism. My argument is that cryptocurrency is not a deviant or alternative currency but a macroeconomic phenomenon which has emerged in response to perceived inadequacies of the global money supply. In this way, the governance of money's scarcity is reimagined as an event subject to both regulation and resistance: a political technology and 'economy of security' through which particular actions can be brought into conformity with a prescribed ideal. This approach enables my analysis of cryptocurrency as an instrument of monetary liquidity and contumacious global currency which has met a growing demand for efficient payments. The first section theorizes cryptocurrency against a background of neoliberal restructuring, illustrating familiar processes of privatization, securitization, and deterritorialization as preconditions for the creation of a monetary mechanism more appropriate for a neoliberal world order. The second section consists of a case study of Bitcoin's globalized production process and payment mechanism, which enable its proof-of-work system to generate confidence in, and demand for, a steady output of digital currency units. The final section links cryptocurrency to the neoliberal form of global political economy, illustrating a range of emergent dynamics relating to social production, global governance, monetary reserves, capital mobility, and external adjustment.

---

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

### A05(a) - Issues in immigrant integration in Canada

#### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia)

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

*The Information Needs and of French-speaking immigrants to Canada and their consequences on location choices and retention in minority Francophone communities:* Colin Scott (Concordia)

**Abstract:** Francophone immigration targets figure prominently in the Government of Canada's Immigration Levels planning, yet the attraction and retention of French-speaking immigrants to smaller and mid-sized communities, especially outside of Quebec, remains a challenge. How informed are prospective French-speaking immigrants of the opportunities and realities across the Canadian Francophonie, and what role do economic and social ties play in initial location choices and retention decisions post-settlement? This research draws on a mixed-methods study of how the needs, experiences, and aspirations of French-speaking immigrants to Canada influence their location choices, with data drawn from surveys and conjoint experiments with two samples of French-speaking migrants, before and after their immigration to Canada, as well as semi-structured interviews conducted on-site at the 2023 Destination Canada immigration recruitment fair. Results suggest there is significant appeal in migrating to smaller and mid-sized communities across Canada but also illustrate how respondents lack information about the practicalities of life in Francophone minority communities and how their location choices are shaped by economic and social ties, as well as access to French-language services. Implications for Canada's Immigration Levels plan and opportunities to improve communication about Francophone immigration outside of major urban centres are discussed.

*Religious Institutions and Political Mobilization: The Role of Sikh Gurdwaras in Canadian Elections:* Rupinder Liddar (McGill)

**Abstract:** In the broader discourse of ethnic minority political behaviour, the role of religious networks has become increasingly important in understanding how political candidates are mobilized. This paper investigates the drivers of political participation within the Sikh diaspora in Canada by analyzing the distribution of Sikh candidates through Elections Canada data and conducting original interviews with incumbent Sikh politicians at both federal and provincial levels. By focusing on how Sikh gurdwaras or places of Sikh religious worship act as hubs for political engagement and mobilization, this study explores the unique role of religious institutions in shaping political ambition and candidacy within the Sikh community. This work reveals that Sikh candidates are more likely than other South Asian-Canadians to contest nominations for all major political parties in urban and South Asian ethnocultural ridings. The interviews shed light on how political parties can strategically engage religious networks during election periods, identifying gurdwaras as key spaces for political outreach. Overall, this paper demonstrates that gurdwaras play a crucial role in understanding Sikh political participation and electoral success in Canadian politics.

*Contextualizing immigrants? self-reported change in political ideology:* Eline A. de Rooij (Simon Fraser University), Maxime Coulombe (Western University)

**Abstract:** Disagreement exists in the literature about whether political attitudes and behaviors are formed early in life and are resistant to change, or are highly adaptable in response to political experiences in a new context and as a migrant. This paper examines how differences between self-assessed pre- and post-migration political ideology of immigrants in Canada can be explained. We find that, in general, immigrants report a shift to the ideological right post-migration. This finding contrasts with the common finding that immigrants tend to prefer political parties on the left of the political spectrum post-migration. Using survey data on approximately 2,500 recent immigrants, we test hypotheses about the role of the immigration experience, aging, and different political and ideological contexts in explaining this ideological change, and discuss the implications for the literature.

*Identity, Recognition, and Immigrant Retention in Quebec:* Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia), Stephen White (Carleton)

**Abstract:** Political theorists and politicians put forward discussions about identification and recognition of minorities and the importance of making room for minorities; we investigate these questions but looking at how immigrants perceive their place and the community and the implication it has for their desire to stay or leave the host community.

All sorts of conceptual tools and measurement instruments have been developed to investigate how majority group members perceive minorities and whether they consider them as part of the national in-group, such as types of group boundaries, shared membership. More rarely, however, have scholars spent attention at minorities? perceptions about the extent to which they think of themselves in relation to the national in-group, either whether they think of themselves as members and whether they think others see them as members of the group. We investigate this question by examining minorities? identification with the national group and perceptions of being recognized as members of the group.

Moreover, this paper examines to what extent dynamics of retention in relation to identity and recognition are different and/or similar among first- and second-generation immigrants.

The paper relies on a stratified sample of first- (n=1100) and second-generation immigrants (n=1300) in Quebec.

---

## A05(a) - Public opinion, media and immigration

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

***New expressions of public opinion on immigration: Measuring comments about immigration on Canadian online legacy media:*** Claire Lillow (University of Guelph), Edward Koning (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** This paper reports the results from a systematic study of online comments on 330 articles about immigration that appeared in 2023 on the websites of the Globe and Mail, the National Post, and the CBC. This investigation aims to make three contributions. First, it aims to contribute to the literature on the measurement of public opinion about immigration, which predominantly relies on surveys. While investigating public opinion as expressed in online comments has its shortcomings, it avoids notorious challenges in survey research related to non-attitudes and reactivity. Second, it aims to contribute to the literature on digital democracy, which at least initially saw the internet as a promising venue for encouraging deliberative democratic practice on contentious issues. By measuring the extent to which commenters respond to other commenters, our findings cast partial light on the validity of this expectation. Third, it aims to contribute to the literature on the importance of media framing in shaping public opinion about immigration. Most existing studies have conceptualized frames in a way that does not distinguish explicitly between the tone of the frame (i.e. whether it mostly casts immigration in a positive or negative light) and the subject of the frame (i.e. whether it mostly discusses immigration in terms of its relationship with culture, the economy, or public order). This paper considers these components separately and is therefore able to analyze the independent effect of each.

***Two Sides of the Same Coin: Understanding the Perception of Immigrants' Political Participation in Canada:*** Joanie Bouchard (Université de Sherbrooke), Marie-Claude Piet (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** The fact that Canada boasts the highest proportion of foreign-born residents among G7 nations has profound implications for the country's political landscape. While immigration remains a contentious issue, with some Canadians expressing skepticism about newcomers' integration, research consistently shows that immigrants who feel welcomed are more likely to actively take part in the democratic process and trust political institutions. This presentation delves into the dynamics of immigrants' political participation, offering an exploration of perceptions from both recent immigrants and individuals who were born in Canada. Drawing on two original studies, we present an analysis that bridges qualitative and quantitative methodologies to provide a comprehensive understanding of how the political participation of immigrants is perceived in Canada. Our first study features semi-structured interviews with recent immigrants, uncovering their understanding of political engagement and the resources they perceive as available to them. This qualitative approach reveals the intricate ways in which newcomers navigate and interpret Canada's political system, shedding light on both barriers and opportunities for their involvement. Complementing this perspective, our second study utilizes quantitative data to examine how individuals born in Canada respond to immigrants' political advocacy and demands. By analyzing reactions to various forms of immigrant political expression, we gain insight into the potential for both solidarity and resistance within the broader Canadian public. Together, these studies offer a holistic view of immigrants' political participation, illuminating the interplay between newcomers' apprehensions and aspirations for civic engagement as well as the receptiveness of the host society. By exploring these "two sides of the same coin," our findings contribute to the ongoing debate about political engagement in an increasingly diverse nation.

***Policy Feedback and Political Attitudes: Comparing Policy Feedback Effects Across Immigration Status and Over time:*** Valérie-Anne Mahéo (Université Laval), Alexander Ross (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** While policy feedback research has established that service experiences influence political attitudes, little attention has been paid to how immigration status might moderate these effects. We leverage two complementary datasets: a three wave panel survey of recent immigrants and Canadian-born citizens, and four waves of the Democracy checkup survey with long-term immigrants and Canadian-born citizens (Consortium on Electoral Democracy). We measure outcomes related to trust in government and belief that government can deliver services efficiently. This data allows us to compare policy feedback effects across three distinct populations: recent immigrants, long-term immigrants, and native-born Canadians. Our research specifically examines how the recency and quality of government service interactions influence political trust, institutional confidence, and perceived government responsiveness. Additionally, while existing literature often treats policy feedback effects as uniform across populations, we theorize that immigration status and length of residence fundamentally alter how service experiences translate into political attitudes. By comparing these three populations, we investigate whether recent immigrants, who are experiencing Canadian institutions for the first time, develop political attitudes through service interactions differently than long-term immigrants or native-born citizens who have accumulated multiple service experiences over time. This study advances our understanding of both policy feedback mechanisms and immigrant political integration by demonstrating how service delivery experiences differently shape political attitudes across immigration status groups.

***Immigration Narratives During a Housing Crisis:*** Nicholas Fraser (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Has the recent housing crisis changed how Canadians talk about immigration? At a time when Canadians' support for immigration seems to be dropping due in part to high costs and a shortage of affordable housing, few studies have examined whether narratives surrounding immigration have changed. Do Canadians think differently about immigration now than before the housing crisis? While many politicians, pundits, and scholars are beginning to look at polls, we know less about the stories Canadians are telling themselves about how immigration impacts their lives and Canada more broadly. I address these issues by looking at Canadian social media narratives surrounding immigration on Twitter/X before and after the Trudeau government blamed the recent housing crisis on immigration. This study involves exploratory quantitative topic modeling, before and after Sean Fraser publicly blamed Canada's housing crisis on international students on August 23, 2023. In so doing, this study offers new insights into Canadians' immigration attitudes.





## A05(b) - Social Policy

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*Childcare Policy Framing in Québec (1993-2024)*: Shannon Dinan (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Quebec is distinct within the Canadian federation for its unique welfare state, particularly in its approach to family policies. From the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, Quebec implemented a series of reforms to better support families, such as modifying sociofiscal incentives, establishing a network of subsidized childcare services including Centres de la petite enfance (CPE), and introducing a more generous parental insurance system compared to the rest of Canada. Since then, family policies have continued to evolve, and the planned expansion of childcare places remains incomplete. This article employs textual analysis on a corpus of parliamentary debates from 1993 to 2024 to extend existing empirical research, analyzing the drivers behind these policy changes and their impact on the generosity and universality of Quebec's welfare state. First, the corpus is used to identify discourse on childcare during the period using dictionary methods. Second, Latent Dirichlet allocation is used to subset discourse during legislative debates on childcare into dominant themes.

*Explaining Social Policy Expansion: The Case of the Justin Trudeau Governments*: Daniel Béland (McGill University), Olivier Jacques (Université de Montréal), Peter Graefe (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Since late 2015, the successive Justin Trudeau governments have brought about significant social policy expansion, including the adoption of new programs or the expansion of existing social policies in areas such as childcare, dental care, family benefits, old-age security, and income support for the working poor. This expansion caught many political observers by surprise and contrasts with the era of "permanent austerity" (Paul Pierson) that has characterized social policies in advanced democracies since the early 1980s. Why did the Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) under Justin Trudeau proceed to such significant social policy expansion?

We argue that this social policy expansion can be explained by an alignment of electoral interests, institutions, and ideas. We argue that the LPC's program drifted towards the left to resemble the NDP's platforms in 2015 and to attract voters that demanded more spending after a decade of conservative governments. We also argue that the presence of the centre-left Bloc Québécois incentivized the LPC to increase public spending, while preventing the rise of the Conservative Party in Quebec's rural ridings. We contend that this expansionary dynamic was also facilitated by the presence of vertical fiscal imbalance, which exacerbated public demand for social policy expansion as a response to provincial inaction and helped the federal government to fund its social policy expansion by deficits rather than new or higher taxes. Finally, we argue that social policy expansion was enabled by a shift in the policy consensus from neoliberal budgetary restraint to an emphasis on fighting inequality and stimulating demand.

*A Right to a Guaranteed Basic Income? How a Guaranteed Basic Income has been Framed and The Prospect of Charter Claims to Support Adoption*: Ryan Catney (University of Waterloo), Gerard Boychuk (University of Waterloo), Nancy Hills (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** Discussion of a guaranteed basic income (GBI) emerged in mainstream political discourse in the 1960s and has been resurgent in recent years following the success of the Canada Emergency Response Benefit during the COVID-19 pandemic and the introduction of legislation in Parliament to develop a framework for a GBI. While the concept of a GBI is not new, the way advocates have framed the need for a GBI continues to evolve. There are two dominant framings explaining why adopting a GBI is desirable. The first views a GBI as a matter of rights, usually premised on the argument that a minimum standard of economic security is a right, possibly guaranteed under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Supporters of this framing view a GBI as an anti-poverty measure and a right of citizenship, much like Medicare. The other prominent view eschews discussion of rights in favour of promoting the economic benefits of a GBI, such as the protection it offers workers in an increasing era of automation and workplace uncertainty. This paper asks: how has a GBI been framed in Parliament and among advocacy groups? Through a content analysis of parliamentary debates and stakeholder's websites over the last 20 years, this paper will document how the framing of a GBI has evolved over time and determine whether there is a connection between the choice of frame and willingness to make a positive-rights Charter argument in favour of GBI.

*Building a Pan-Canadian System: Overcoming Constitutional Barriers to Implement the Canada-wide Early Learning and Child Care Plan*: Kenya Thompson (York University), Dennis Pilon (York University), Emma Willert (York University), Leah Vosko (York University)

**Abstract:** In Budget 2021, Canada launched the Canada-Wide Early Learning and Child Care Agreement (CWELCC), a policy incentive to provinces and territories to build an affordable, accessible, non-profit, and universal system of early learning and child care nationwide, at an average daily cost of \$10 to families. While the federal government has successfully negotiated bilateral funding agreements with each of its subnational partners, delivering a national child care system has proven challenging. Affordable spaces are sparse, critically-needed space expansion is slow, the early childhood education workforce is in crisis, private interests loom large, and care quality ultimately varies—to name only a few challenges. The resulting patchwork of 13 disparate child care programs across the country calls into question whether the CWELCC can be called a "Canada-wide" system at all. Examining the jurisdictional and political challenges that complicate the rollout of the CWELCC, this paper considers the challenges and limitations to social policy innovation at the federal level. It highlights the obstacles Canada's constitutional structure presents to building a universal child care system, and the steps necessary to overcome them. This paper provides a detailed policy map to ensure access to affordable, inclusive, high-quality child care for all children across Canada, located where families need them, staffed by well-supported and trained early childhood educators. Thompson and Willert argue that, by exercising its constitutional ability to manage the outcome of the CWELCC in each jurisdiction, Canada can fulfil its vision of creating a truly pan-Canadian early learning and child care system.

## F05 - Immigration and ethnicity

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 3 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

*Beyond Representation: The Chinese Diaspora and Olivia Chow's 2023 Mayoral Campaign:* Yu-Chen Chen (York University), Ethel Tungohan (York University)

**Abstract:** Contrary to the expectation that Olivia Chow's 2023 mayoral campaign would be broadly favoured by the Chinese diaspora due to her ethnic background, Chow's push to become Toronto's first non-white leader generated a polarized response among various Chinese-language migrant groups. For example, although Chow is first generation Hong Kong diaspora, her political background as a NDP candidate made Hong Kong voters hesitant in extending their support to her campaign. This research aims to explain this phenomenon, and in doing so provide new insights into the dynamics driving ethnic groups to embrace or reject a political candidate of their own background. By conducting a qualitative thematic analysis of online discussion surrounding a candidate's ethnicity and election campaigns, and voter social status and homeland experience across different Chinese-language migrant groups, both before and after Chow assumed the mayoral office, this research challenges previous studies that emphasize the impact of Chow's ethnic affinities in the 2014 Toronto mayoral election. Moreover, this study helps to fill a gap in the existing literature on voting behaviour and political leadership, which tends to be primarily based on aggregate data that overlooks the daily concerns of minority residents, and importantly, how their homeland experiences impact their engagement with local politics. The findings help illuminate the complexity of minority political behavior and venture beyond the representation lens that typically dominates the literature.

*Who Do We Think We Are? Ancestry.com & The Politics of Identity:* Hailey Walker (Carleton University), William Walters (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The advent of genetic testing and ancestry services has transformed personal and familial genealogy from the niche pursuit of family tree hobbyists to a multi-billion-dollar industry. Ancestry.com dominates this industry and has amassed over 22 million DNA samples and an astonishing collection of over 40 billion archival artefacts including international birth, marriage, and death records, census and voter data, immigration and travel records, military enlistment and casualty records, school and church directories, and tax, crime, land, and will records. Increasingly, Ancestry's massive data stores have become embroiled in contemporary controversies around data privacy, genetic science, immigration, and law enforcement. More broadly, Ancestry.com data has become an expedient way for politicians, academics, and citizens alike to historically and scientifically validate (or invalidate) ancestral and ethnic claims in a wider culture of identity, wherein the will to know, broadcast, and authenticate one's roots and ethnic belonging saturates public life. As such, this project contends that archival relics and genetic material have ascended new status as a mode of political capital (both symbolic and material) which is neither reducible to market logics nor under the exclusive purview of the state. This research examines the emergence and evolution of Ancestry.com and the digital consolidation and deployment of Ancestry data across a transversal and interactive cultural- governmental field. In doing so, the project breaks rich empirical terrain upon which we can better problematize the multitude of practices through which the private and leisurely genealogical pursuits of individuals and families are rendered a convenient assemblage in the management and governing of populations.

*Immigrating with children: How interactions with schools may shape immigrant parents' integration process overtime:* Valérie-Anne Mahéo (University Laval), Anne Imouza (McGill University), Alexander-Frederick Ross (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Many immigrants change countries for family reasons, seeking better life prospects for their children. Thus, a significant proportion of immigrants who settle in Western countries have children, and one of the first thing they do as they arrive is: to register their kids in school. Hence, schools become one of the first institutions that immigrant parents will interact with.

While political science has extensively studied the impact of political institutions on immigrants' engagement and participation, it has ignored the role that public institutions, such as schools, may play in immigrants' resocialisation and integration process.

In fact, according to the theory of policy feedback effects, schools and their personnel may facilitate immigrants' access to material and symbolic resources that can foster civic capacities and predispositions, and promote immigrants' engagement in their community. Several studies have indeed shown that schools can introduce new cultural and political information into parents' households through children, and support immigrant parents' integration and engagement within a new society (Kanouté et al. 2014; Adair et Tobin 2007; D'Angelo et Ryan 2011; Garcia-Carmona et al. 2019). Additionally, other studies have demonstrated that schools can be critical actors in immigrant parents' integration and that a lack of interaction with schools can be detrimental to parents' integration (Martone et al. 2014; Olivos et Mendoza 2010).

Given the importance of schools in children's and parents' lives - especially in a phase of resettlement when early experiences with institutions may have important and durable impacts on the integration process - our study examines how contacts with schools affect immigrant parents' attitudes and engagement, over time, with their new community.

Capitalizing on a unique three-wave panel survey with recent immigrants, we examine immigrant parents' interactions with schools -paying specific attention to the quality of these interactions- and assess the impact of these contacts on parents' feelings of belonging and acceptance in the host community, and on their civic engagement, over a period of three years.

.....

## G05 - ROUNDTABLE: Is growth an obstacle to Canada's climate mitigation efforts?

### Économie politique

**Date :** Jun 3 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Sarah Martin (Memorial University)

Ryan Katz-Rosene (University of Ottawa)

Anders Hayden (Dalhousie University)

Julie MacArthur (Royal Roads University)

Andrew Heffernan (University of Ottawa)

Lina Brand Correa (York University)

**Abstract:** Each year when Canada releases its National GHG Inventory Report, one of the very first points emphasized in the Executive Summary is that national emissions intensity (i.e., the amount of GHGs emitted per dollar of GDP) has steadily declined since the mid-1990s. Canada's climate policy is largely set up around the idea of pursuing clean growth (it is in the very name of the policy framework - the Pan Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change). It stands to reason that if the trend of declining emissions intensity continues, Canada will at some point completely decouple the relationship between economic growth and GHG emissions. Nevertheless, in recent years a rise in growth-critical scholarship internationally has called into question whether clean growth is even possible in practice. Critics have noted that the pace of decoupling is far too slow to support meaningful climate change mitigation, and moreover that the pursuit of economic growth is tied in with an unsustainable expansion of materials extraction and energy use across the economy. And yet, both growth-critics and green growth proponents alike suggest that - in political terms - the public and society at large is unlikely to give up on growth-oriented policy anytime soon. This Roundtable will explore the growth-environment debate with a particular focus on Canada's climate change mitigation efforts. Panelists will provide expert analyses on the broader question of whether growth works as an obstacle to Canada's climate mitigation efforts, and the relevant policy outcomes of this relationship.

---

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

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

**Day 1 - CPSA Women's Caucus Social - TBD (07:00pm - 09:00pm)**

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

**A09(a) - Working-class politics and economic justice**

**Politique canadienne**

**Date :** Jun 4 2023 | **Heure :** 08:30am - 10:00am | **Salle :**

*National Identity and the Electoral Divergence of the North American White Working Class:* Lewis Krashinsky (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Over the last twenty-years, white working-class voters across the American Midwest have shifted their electoral support to Republican presidential candidates. However, while American voters shifted to the right, white working-class voters to the north in the province of Ontario have remained much more supportive of left-wing parties. Utilizing original survey data, a novel conjoint experiment, and qualitative fieldwork in Windsor, Ontario and Macomb County, Michigan, this paper examines the extent to which this puzzle can be explained by differences in national identity. I show that conceptions of the nation and what predicts greater personal attachment to the nation are different between Canada and the United States, which have an important differential effect on how national identity influences political behavior. Employing regression and mediation analyses, I find that national identity is correlated with Republican partisanship and voting among white working-class voters from the Midwest. However, among white working-class voters from Ontario, I find that national identity is instead associated with support for and affiliation with the centre-left Liberal Party.

*Class cleavages and evolving working-class voting behaviour in the 2021 Canadian Federal Election:* Clay Duncalfe (York University)

**Abstract:** This study analyzes changing patterns of voting behaviour among working-class voters in Canada. Previous research has demonstrated a historical pattern of support for the NDP from the mid-twentieth century until 2019, when such support declined. Meanwhile, working-class support for the Conservative party has steadily increased since 2004. So far, the literature only analyzes data until the 2019 federal election. This study is the first of its kind to use data from the 2021 Canada Election Survey. I hypothesize that working-class support for the NDP continued to decline and working-class support for the Conservatives continued to increase in 2021. I test these hypotheses through multinomial logistic and ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions to estimate voting patterns of different classes in Canada. I code four types of classes within Canada (managers, professionals, routine non-manual, and working class) using Statistics Canada's National Occupation Classification system. The dependent variable is the party-based vote choices of survey respondents. This study contributes to the growing literature on contemporary class cleavages in the electoral realm, particularly the observed trend that in the Global North support for social-democratic and centre-left parties among their traditional base ? non-degree holding members of the working class ? has eroded in recent decades. Knowing whether such trends hold true in Canada therefore sheds light on the shifting nature of Canadian class cleavages, secular trends of class-based voting behaviour in the Global North, as well as the political-economic foundations of electoral politics.

*Examining Economic Reconciliation:* Hannah Wyle (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Discourses of ?economic reconciliation? have been ascendant in discussions about the relationship between Canada and Indigenous peoples over the last decade (Cyca 2024; Forester 2023). However, while using the adjective ?economic? to qualify the much-debated and oft-ambiguous term ?reconciliation? might seem to indicate something more specific, its adoption by actors with diverging worldviews and goals suggests that a closer look is needed before imagining that shared declarations of commitment to economic reconciliation imply convergence on the meaning of reconciliation or consensus about a shared political agenda. In considering the rise of discourses of economic reconciliation, it bears recalling that ?reconciliation? holds particular meanings in economics and finance, and that differing normative conceptions of economic relationships have long influenced debates about sociopolitical reconciliation in Canada and other settler colonial contexts. This paper explores a variety of discourses of economic reconciliation from the last five years in Canadian news media, political speeches, and government policy and situates them in relation to etymological and conceptual frameworks regarding different meanings of reconciliation, scholarship on Indigenous peoples' conceptions of economic relationships and economic justice (Jobin 2023; Hamilton et al. 2021), and earlier examples of economic-focused conceptions of reconciliation in settler colonial contexts. As with the broader term ?reconciliation,? understanding the political work being performed by discourses of economic reconciliation requires carefully parsing and contextualizing given uses, and such critical engagement only becomes more important as the term proliferates more widely and is employed by actors promoting divergent political visions.

*Small Worlds, Big Boards: Examining the Process and Politics of Labour Relations Boards and Union Decline:* William Roelofs (University of Toronto), Rodney Haddow (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Canada has seen a significant decline in private sector union density over the past twenty years despite relative stability in public sector unionization. This paper examines this decline, highlighting the role of provincial Labour Relations Boards in shaping these trends. Labour Relations Boards serve as quasi-judicial bodies that oversee union certification, collective bargaining, and workplace standards. While existing literature frequently

attributes the de-unionization phenomenon to broader socio-economic shifts such as neoliberalism, de-industrialization, and financialization? this study contends that these analyses often neglect the crucial role of provincial Labour Relations Boards and subnational political dynamics. Arguing that institutional shifts within these boards, along with changes in labour law have significantly contributed to the decline of unions, this study analyzes regulatory changes and their effects on union membership through 30 qualitative interviews, statistical labour board data, and historical documents. Focusing on Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, and Newfoundland, this institutionalist study provides a detailed examination of how regional labor relations frameworks influence unionization patterns. By shedding light on these dynamics, we underscore the urgent need to reassess labor policies to better address the contemporary challenges facing unions in Canada.

---

## A09(a) - Gender, Political Parties and Parliament

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**Sexual harassment rules inside Canadian political parties: A feminist institutionalist comparative study:** Cheryl Collier (University of Windsor), Tracey Raney (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Gender-based violence in politics (GBV-P) is a growing problem that has recently been the subject of scholarly attention worldwide (see for example Krook 2020; Restrepo Sanin 2019; Bjarnegård and Zetterberg 2023) as well as in Canada (see most recently Raney and Collier 2024). This research has shown how GBV-P threatens democracy and participation rates of women-identified and gender minority political actors (particularly those who have intersecting racialized and other minoritized identities). We have examined institutional approaches to dealing with GBV-P in legislatures, focusing on codes of conduct between elected politicians (see Collier and Raney 2018) as well as other parliamentary rules enacted to protect women identified political actors from GBV-P (see Raney and Collier 2022). This paper will look at a different, yet central political institution inside of the political process ? political parties ? to examine how they have addressed GBV-P and sexual harassment, in particular. Our unique study will use a feminist institutionalist lens to comparatively locate and then examine party policies and codes at the federal level and in three provinces (Ontario, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland and Labrador) to see what, if anything, is being done to address the problem inside the parties themselves. What works and what doesn't? and how can parties learn from one another to improve women's participation in the political process?

**Gender Identity and Candidate-Self Presentation: Assessing Provincial Election Candidates in Ontario and Quebec:** Daniel Westlake (University of Saskatchewan), Jacob Robbins-Kanter (Bishop's University), Claire Mountford (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Political parties are under increasing pressure to account for gender diversity in their nominating practices and recent provincial elections have seen record numbers of women candidates elected. Candidates with different gender identities face distinct stereotypes and expectations with respect to how they present themselves to voters. This paper examines local candidate biographies from the 2022 Ontario and Quebec provincial elections, to test how gender identity affects other identities that candidates may choose to emphasize when campaigning. Drawing from 976 candidate biographies from these two elections, we examine how gender influences the likelihood of a candidate referencing their family, educational attainment, ties to the local community, or their ethnic identity. We also examine how such effects are conditioned by party ideology and the province the candidate is running in, to shape the way that candidates present themselves to voters.

**Leaky Pipelines? Gender, Sector Employment, and Electoral Politics:** Dawn Moffat McMaster (University of Calgary), Melanee Thomas (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** How does sector employment (public, private, and nonprofit) shape political candidacy and electability? Does the nonprofit sector, where women are overrepresented, produce more diversity in candidate pools and among elected officials than the private and public sectors?

In the candidate pipeline, contestants move from eligibility to nomination and selection as the candidate to the election itself. Nonprofits can encourage political ambition for potential candidates in occupation-motivated interest/identity activation (stages 1 and 2). Such eligible groups should be ideal targets for party recruitment, with high political capital in knowledge and networks (stages 2 and 3). Voters use occupation as a resume cue (stage 4), especially in low-information situations. Private sector experience cues long-standing stereotypes of business acumen, while the public sector cues managerial strength associated with unions. These are likely to affect political ambition, political elites, and the voting public, with effects at all stages of the pipeline, but sector employment effects have not been studied.

Canada is a crucial case here. The nonprofit sector is unique among OECD countries, providing direct services with combined state and philanthropic funding. If the sector is a pipeline, it should be especially accessible to diverse women because nonprofit employment is distinctly gendered. Women are overrepresented at all levels, from front-line positions to executive suites. While men are overrepresented in the private sector and women are reaching parity in the public sector, the nonprofit sector offers a new path for women to acquire the skills and policy knowledge necessary for competitive candidacy.

**Who Benefits? How Working for an MP Shapes Opportunities for Men and Women Political Staffers:** Meagan Cloutier (University of Calgary), Melanee Thomas (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** In Parliament, more Members of Parliament (MPs) with prior political staff experience have been elected over time. Having experience as a political staffer, then, is becoming an increasingly important pipeline to elected office. This paper investigates whether and how men political staffers benefit from working for a Member of Parliament compared to women political staffers. Drawing on a survey of MPs (n=97) and a survey of federal political staffers (n=366), the paper first describes how MPs structure their constituency and parliament hill offices. This paper then analyzes the gender differences in employment practices and working conditions, and whether this leads to differences in the cultivation of political staffers' political talent. Understanding whether political staffers are awarded opportunities could begin to understand how staffer positions are used for candidate recruitment within Canadian political parties, and whether men political staffers benefit from working for an MP in ways that differ for women political staffers.

---

## A09(b) - Parliamentary Politics

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

**Building and Maintaining Legislative Support: Strategies of Minority Governments in Canada:** Gala Palavicini (University of Alberta), Jared Wesley (University of Alberta), Scott Pruyzers (Dalhousie University)

**Abstract:** Minority parliaments are increasingly the norm around the world, as multiparty systems typically prevent any party from forming a single-party majority government. While many political parties around the world respond to this challenge by forming coalitions to secure legislative majorities, Canadian parties have largely avoided formal coalitions. Instead, they employ various strategies in order to govern with a minority of seats in the legislature. Drawing on a series of semi-structured interviews with senior parliamentary officials from three federal parties (Liberals, Conservatives, and New Democrats), this paper explores recent Liberal (2019, 2021) and Conservative (2006, 2008) minority governments. In doing so, this paper addresses two main questions: (1) What are Canadian elites' attitudes toward coalitions? and (2) What strategies do minority governments use to secure the necessary legislative support?

**Standing Room Only? The Role of Gender in Determining Who Gets A Seat on Parliamentary Committees:** Jocelyn McGrandle (Columbia College), Alexandre Rivard (SFU)

**Abstract:** The representation of women in politics has been well examined in numerous contexts around the world. Focusing specifically on Canada, the representation of female MPs has been studied federally (Tremblay 1998; Young 2013) and provincially (Trimble et al. 2013), as has the representation of women in cabinet posts, both provincially (Studlar and Moncrief 1999; Trimble and Tremblay 2005; Byrne 2009; Tremblay and Stockemer 2013) and federally (Studlar and Moncrief 1997; Trimble and Tremblay 2005; Tremblay and Stockemer 2013). Most recently, the representation of women has been studied in Cabinet committees as well (Ie 2021). What remains to be studied, however, is the representation of women in parliamentary committees, particularly House of Commons Standing Committees.

As a key institution in parliamentary systems, committees have been noted for their influential role in policy making (Strøm 1998; Murray and Sénac 2018; Riera and Cantu 2018; Espírito-Santo and Rodrigues Sanches 2020; Kroeber 2024). It therefore stands to reason that those who participate in committees are influential actors. The fact that we have not examined the representation of women in committees means that their role within the Canadian Parliament, and therefore their influence, is not fully understood (Pansardi and Vercesi 2017). Further, it has been noted by many scholars that committees, and in particular, committee assignments, are structured by country specific patterns, and therefore lessons from one locale cannot necessarily be extrapolated to others (Riera and Cantu 2018; Martin and Mickler 2019; Espírito-Santo and Rodrigues Sanches 2020). This study seeks to fill this lacuna and improve our understanding of representation in the Canadian House of Commons.

**Representation and Responsiveness: Assessing Women's Group Lobbying in the Canadian Parliament:** Erica Rament (University of Calgary), Elizabeth McCallion (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** The extent to which legislative institutions and actors respond to women's needs and interests is an essential aspect of feminist democratic representation (Celis and Childs 2020). Women's advocacy groups stake representative claims on behalf of women in the political sphere and serve an important bridging function between legislators and women in the population. In this paper we examine whether and to what extent lobbying by women's advocacy groups informs legislative activity in the Canadian parliament. Drawing on an analysis of contact records compiled by the Lobby Commissioner and the content of parliamentary debate, we track patterns of lobbying activity by women's advocacy groups from 2008 to 2023 in order to assess (1) whether women's group lobbying responds or contributes to legislative policy action on women's issues and (2) whether parliamentarians who are lobbied by women's advocacy groups raise these groups' issues in parliamentary debate. This study conceives of representation as a relational process and contributes to the literature on women's representation in legislative contexts by assessing the responsiveness of parliamentarians to the lobbying efforts of the affected representatives of women.

**Le rôle des comités dans les gouvernements Minoritaire:** Emily Wheaton (Parliamentary Internship Programme), Paul J Thomas (Parliamentary Internship Programme)

**Abstract:** Les dynamiques de la rhétorique politique et les ambitions changent radicalement lorsqu'un gouvernement minoritaire est au pouvoir à la Chambre des communes, car le parti gagnant cherche à maintenir la confiance de la Chambre afin de faire adopter des lois et respecter ses promesses électorales. Cela doit forcément se faire à travers une collaboration avec les différents partis de l'opposition. Bien que les recherches sur les gouvernements minoritaires tendent à se concentrer sur la politique partisane au sein de la Chambre elle-même, cet article examine les dynamiques politiques et partisanes des membres des comités dont les sièges sont proportionnels aux partis représentés à la Chambre. Il explore le processus de négociation des études de comité entre le parti au pouvoir et les membres de l'opposition, afin de mieux comprendre l'impact d'un gouvernement minoritaire sur le processus législatif dans les comités de la Chambre. De plus, il explore les négociations entre les partis d'oppositions avec les députés et leurs bureaux de whips respectifs en comités. Cet article propose une perspective unique sur les travaux internes d'un domaine de recherche sous-développé en sciences politiques canadiennes : le travail des députés au sein des comités, à travers des entrevues semies dirigé et des sondages auprès des membres de tous les partis officiels à la Chambre, des bureaux des whips et des bureaux des leaders des partis à la Chambre des communes.

## A09(c) - Federalism and intergovernmental politics

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Trade Attitudes and Federalism: A Study of Provincial Views on Trade with the United States in Canada:* Diya Jiang (McGill University), Daniel Beland (McGill University)

**Abstract:** In recent decades, sub-federal actors have become increasingly active in the negotiation of international trade agreements. Particularly in Canada, provinces have not only participated in official trade negotiations such as USMCA but also directly promoted trade ties overseas. This reality has led to an increased scholarly interest in the federalization of trade, with many proposing the diverging regional economic interest with respect to free trade as the main motivation (Broschek et al., 2020). While this post-functionalist perspective has been tested in the European context (Dur et al., 2023), some scholars question its applicability in the Canadian context, especially given the global wave of trade politicization has occurred to a much lesser extent in Canada (Broschek & Goff, 2021).

This study seeks to explore and understand the increased Canadian sub-federal level involvement from the lens of public opinion. Specifically, it investigates whether significant differences in trade attitudes, particularly with the United States exist across provinces and whether these attitudes align with varying levels of economic dependency on the US. I hypothesize that diverging provincial trade attitudes (if any) can be explained by factors such as trade exposure and political ideology. Adopting a quantitative approach, I analyze public opinion data from the Environics Institute's 2022 survey alongside economic and demographic data from Statistics Canada. By examining the effects of economic exposure, political ideology, and regional trade interests, the research aims to provide invaluable insight into the increased federalization of trade and assesses the theoretical relevance of the post-functionalist explanation in Canada.

*Federalism, The Party, and Human Capital: The Growth and Governance of Post-Secondary Education in Canada and Australia Compared:* Brent Toye (York University), Thomas Klassen (York University)

**Abstract:** Starting from similar constitutional settlements, the governance and financing of higher education in Canada and Australia proceeded along different trajectories in the post-war period following the 'human capital revolution' of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Beginning with the Pearson Liberal government and accelerating under Pierre Trudeau's tenure as Prime Minister, the Canadian federal government took successive steps to relinquish most responsibility for post-secondary education that the central government had developed in the immediate post-war period. In Australia, on the other hand, the Commonwealth (i.e. federal) government made increasing in-roads towards governing the post-secondary education sector, culminating in the assumption of full financial responsibility in 1973 on the part of Gough Whitlam's Labor Party. This paper challenges pre-existing interpretations of these different (de)centralization trajectories, rooted in sociological federalism or economic modernization theories, that locate the explanation primarily in structural factors. Rather, drawing on original archival research and a comparative-historical methodology, the paper argues that while these structural factors formed important background conditions, the political agency of partisan actors at crucial moments or junctures was essential in shaping the nature and extent of central government intervention in post-secondary education.

*Not My Job: Audience Costs and Blame Games in the Implementation of International Agreements in Canada:* Johannes Müller Gómez (McGill)

**Abstract:** Federal systems frequently encounter sub-federal resistance in the implementation of international agreements. This paper adapts the concept of audience costs from international relations to theorize sub-federal commitment to a federal government's international obligations. Unlike the federal government, sub-federal governments can shield themselves from audience costs associated with international commitments and engage in blame games against the federal government when they were not directly involved in the negotiation process. The absence of audience costs at the sub-federal level not only fosters resistance from unwilling governments but also weakens the commitment of those with strong ownership over the policy objectives of the international agreement.

This theoretical argument is empirically tested through a process-tracing analysis, examining the Clark and Horgan governments in British Columbia and the Notley and Kenney governments in Alberta during the implementation of the Paris Agreement. The findings reveal that even provinces with ambitious climate goals may deprioritize Canada's international commitments, prioritizing insulated provincial concerns, which can obstruct the overall implementation process ? as illustrated by Horgan's approach to the Trans Mountain pipeline extension. Conversely, provincial leaders opposing the agreement's objectives can strategically shift blame onto the federal government, as demonstrated by Kenney's resistance tactics. This analysis underscores the complexity of federal-provincial relations in the context of international agreements and demonstrates the broader relevance of the audience costs framework for understanding multilevel governance systems beyond Canada.

---



## F09 - Civil Society

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Voluntary Silence: Civil Society and Policy Engagement in Canadian Federal Elections:* John Cameron (Dalhousie University), Lauchlan Munro (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** This paper explores public policy engagement by civil society organizations (CSOs) during federal elections in Canada. In theory, elections represent an important opportunity for CSOs to engage Canadians in public policy debates. However, very few CSOs do this. Our paper seeks to explain why.

The Elections Act requires that third parties that spend more than \$500 to promote a public policy position during a federal election must register with Elections Canada and report their spending. Data from the last 8 federal elections (2000-2021) show that few CSOs have ever registered and that most reported spending very small amounts. CSOs that normally engage in public policy advocacy go silent during elections.

Using Elections Canada data on third party registrations as a starting point, this paper is based on interviews with CSO leaders from various sectors about decisions to register during the 2015, 2019 and 2021 federal elections and ongoing research about decisions to register in the next federal election. The complexity of the Elections Act is an important constraint for some CSOs but two other factors are more important: 1) concerns to appear non-partisan to politicians and voters, and 2) the difficulties and high costs of being heard during elections campaigns. The paper also reflects on the implications for democracy of CSO policy engagement during elections in relation to contemporary debates about how to ensure a level playing field for political parties and candidates in Canadian elections (including the current challenge to Ontario's election law at the Supreme Court of Canada).

*The Fluidity of Belonging and Exclusion: Counterpublics in the Public education sphere:* Noorin Nazari (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** This article argues that the notion that, in authoritarian contexts, the ruling authority attains ideological indoctrination and social control through public education undermines the resilience, resistance, inherent dynamism, and shifting nature of the multiple counterpublics within public education institutions. I demonstrate how public education and the public sphere overlap and share social figures and assets. Together, they produce counterpublics that resist and overthrow authoritative regimes from within public education institutions, only to become authoritative powers themselves and suppress the subsequent counterpublics that form against them in the shared space of public education and the public sphere. This article contributes to understanding state-society relations in an educational context by illustrating that belonging and exclusion in authoritarian regimes are fluid conceptually and empirically. Methodologically, I employ historiography (Gale, 2001; Brezinka, 1992) and the historiography of education (Goodman & Martin, 2004; Brezinka, 1992), as well as a positional approach to elite studies (Lunding, Ellergaard & Larsen, 2020), which emphasize the significance of multiple subject matters, plural publics, the connection between public issues and private troubles, and public personas. Conceptually, I employ the public sphere framework (Habermas, 1984; 1989) and its critiques concerning counterpublics (Fraser, 1990; 1992; Warner, 2002) and civil society (Cohen & Arato, 1992), both in general and in Islamic societies (Eickelman & Salvatore, 2002; Willemsse & Bergh, 2016). Empirically, I provide a historical analysis of public education in Afghanistan, using sources from international and Afghan authors.

*Analyzing the Complex Interrelation Between Curriculum, Community, and Conflict:* Noorin Nazari (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** The conventional analysis of the interplay between curriculum, community, and conflict often fails to capture the complexity of these elements, as it assumes a linear relationship among them. This article argues that the contexts in which states produce curricula, communities consume curricula, and conflicts reproduce curriculum texts that lack defined boundaries. Each of these elements gains meaning through diverse texts and contexts that are neither fixed nor coherent, resulting in conditions of forged unity marked by incoherent, negotiated, and impermanent texts.

Focusing on the curriculum, community, and conflict context in Afghanistan during the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan rule (2001-2021), this paper finds that education in Afghanistan was significantly influenced by factors beyond the scope of governmental political influence, curriculum objectives, community commitment to education, and conflict conditions. The study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1996; Wodak & Meyer, 2001), incorporating its three dimensions: text, discourse practice (i.e., text production, distribution, and consumption cycle), and social practice (i.e., context). Analytical devices include representational systems (Hall, 1997) and articulation (Hall, 1988; 1985). Primary texts comprise three five-year National Education Strategic Plans (2006-2010; 2010-2014; and 2017-2021), two National Curriculum Frameworks (2003 and 2011), and the Education Law of Afghanistan (2008). Secondary texts include official documents, reports from national and international non-governmental organizations, and scholarly resources.

---

## G09 - Battles of ideas and policies in historical political economy

### Économie politique

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Viktoriya Vinik (York University)

*The National Policy of 1879 Revisited - An Ideational Institutional Account:* Robert Marshall (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** In the historiography of the National Policy of 1879 various perspectives, ranging from the orthodox to the heterodox, have explored various aspects of it. Their focus has largely been on addressing its impacts in terms of federalism or unequal economic development. What has largely been absent has been any sort of discussion on how ideas shaped the policy's development. Since that time newer theoretical approaches have been established, the results of which provide an opportunity to revisit the National Policy and reevaluate its formulation. This paper explores the political impact of economic ideas by availing itself of an ideational institutionalist approach to consider how the National Policy may have been shaped by ideas in political economy. The National Policy was an explicit project designed to consolidate a Canadian economy on an east-west axis for the purposes of both capital accumulation and nation building.

The paper starts with a theoretical overview which explores the political power of economic ideas. A description of the National Policy will be provided: the construction of a transcontinental railway; aggressive promotion of immigration; and a system of tariffs. Finally, the paper engages in a selective review of classical texts on the National Policy to determine if any writers recognized the role of ideas in the policy formation process by asking if there is any evidence that politicians were influenced by economic developmental theories. This provides an opportunity to revisit a significant historical moment in the development of Canada's political economy.

*The Reform Party, Stephen Harper, and Milton Friedman: The Ideological Lineages and Foundations of Pierre Poilievre's Contemporary Canadian Conservatism.:* Ryan Kelpin (York University)

**Abstract:** Despite the rising popularity of Conservative Party of Canada Leader Pierre Poilievre, very little in-depth and serious consideration has been given to understanding his political and ideological inspirations and lineages. More often than not, he is simply grouped into the amorphous (right) populist conceptualization or situated as a Canadian version of Donald Trump. This paper argues that these approaches fail to understand Poilievre's ideological inheritances and the Canadian political historical specificity they exist within. Using a textual and discursive analysis with attention paid to neoliberalism and the history of economic thought, this article links Poilievre's politics to two fundamental movements. First, his direct experience in the Reform Party under Preston Manning in the 1990s and his continued work alongside Prime Minister Stephen Harper is explored. Secondly, his bolstering of particular neoliberal thinkers throughout his political career (namely Buchanan, Hayek, and Friedman) is made even more explicit through his specific and repeated invocations of Milton Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962) and *A Monetary History of the United States: 1867-1960* (1963) as foundational to his own economic and ideological thought. This article ultimately argues that reducing Poilievre's politics to simply populism, or even right populism, ignores both the explicitly neoliberal austerity foundations of his politics, and their Canadian historical particularity. To avoid the trap of more generalizable theories of populism, it is necessary to understand the role of the Reform Party and Milton Friedman's scholarship in the development of Poilievre's austerity politics.

*Trumpism and the Global Right: Revisiting Right-Wing Populism through Three Theoretical Lenses:* Mojtaba Mahdavi (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Contemporary global politics is frequently marked by the rise of right-wing populism in the Global North, notably exemplified by Trumpism, and the emergence of religious and nationalist counter-revolutionary forces in the Global South, including the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Utilizing insights from critical decolonial literature and Chantal Mouffe's critique of neoliberalism, this paper first conceptualizes right-wing populism through three principal theoretical lenses: liberal, traditional Marxist, and decolonial/post-colonial critiques. It illustrates how a decolonial critique more effectively problematizes both right-wing populism and the neoliberal paradigm. Subsequently, the paper explores how and why the rise of the neoliberal paradigm has significantly contributed to the growth of right-wing populism. Informed by critical decolonial and intersectional studies, it posits that the neoliberal paradigm erodes the dual social pillars of social democracy, namely "social justice" and "societal empowerment." These social pillars promote grassroots, bottom-up approaches to democratic governance, empower ordinary citizens, and counteract right-wing populist leaders whose rhetoric of social justice can often mislead the masses. The paper supports its argument with examples from both the West and the Middle East.

*Non-Equivalent Exchange, Enforced Inequalities, and the Fracturing of Community in the World Economy:* Paul Kellogg (Athabasca University)

**Abstract:** Desires for community and belonging in the world system are commendable and widespread. But they will remain just that ? desires ? unless we confront the structural inequalities that make constructing meaningful global communities extremely difficult. That there are such inequalities in the global workplace is transparently clear. What is much less transparent are the mechanisms that systemically work to construct these inequalities ? concretely shaped by states' positions within the world economy. This paper will argue that those positions are socially constructed and can be measured. The paper will begin by reviewing and revising contemporary approaches to mapping the hierarchical nature of the world economy. It will then outline and demonstrate the mechanisms of non-equivalent exchange, enforced by structured inequalities in the relative value of national currencies, which constantly create and reinforce this hierarchy. The theoretical framing of non-equivalent exchange as a mechanism for surplus transfer within the world system was first mooted by Evgenii Preobrazhenskii in his pathbreaking 1926 book, *The New Economics*. Shortly after that, Preobrazhenskii like so many others would be caught up in the web of Stalin's Great Terror, and he was never again in a position to pursue his 1926 insights. The concept was, however, picked up by others. Importantly, Ranjit Sau developed a concrete methodology for measuring this non-equivalent exchange, and the paper will develop and deploy a revised and expanded version of Sau's methodology, using contemporary data sources.



## M09 - Artificial Intelligence in the Classroom - Friend, Foe or Frenemy?

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Sponsor / Commanditaire : Teaching

*A Framework of Technological and Societal Shifts as Drivers of Change in Political Science Education:* Samantha Twietmeyer (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** In the past decade, the practice of teaching and learning in political science departments across Canada has been rocked by a series of societal and technological shifts. The online transition during the pandemic and relatively sudden onset of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and Large Language Models (LLMs) are just the more recent of a series of critical junctures in educational practice. In Canada, these recent technological shifts were preceded and accompanied by more gradual changes around Indigenous knowledge, decolonial pedagogies, and the introduction of Universal Design for Learning (UDL) and Equity, Diversity, Inclusion (EDI) principles. These are not the first historical junctures for teaching and learning, the onset of the internet being one of the most significant, however we know from studies of technological acceleration that more such changes, particularly in the realm of technology, will continue to occur and at an increasingly more rapid pace. This paper examines the extent to which each of these aforementioned shifts in political science education are indeed critical junctures and how this impact can be measured. Using Paul Pierson's (2004) time horizon of causal accounts framework with the additional variables of exogenous and endogenous drivers of change (Streeck & Thelen 2005; Gerschewski 2020), the study seeks to evaluate these shifts on three parameters. The temporal modality of the shifts themselves in terms of their sudden or gradual onset, the exogenous or endogenous nature of the shifts, and the response of political science departments in responding to or implementing changes in their teaching and learning. The paper seeks to improve understanding of the nature of change in teaching and learning and how to manage sudden technological and societal change in the future.

*AI teaching in IR: participation, writing and citation in the era of LLMs:* Dan Bousfield (Western University)

**Abstract:** The transformation of teaching alongside the proliferation of large language models (LLMs) has been rapid and continues to accelerate. Of particular importance is the way that generative technologies like LLM chatbots challenge some of the basic assumptions of academic work, such as writing, referencing and citation of texts and material. This paper examines the challenges of LLMs to teaching International Relations (IR), emphasizing how generative technology poses opportunities and challenges to IR teaching. The paper explores three different ways that LLMs can contribute to IR teaching: the first is the democratization of assessment in the context of multiple-choice exams; second is the synergy between assisting students with prompts and developing academic voice in their papers; and the third is challenges posed to citation, paraphrasing and authorship in the classroom. The paper focuses on experiences in the classroom as a way for us to critically assess the ways LLMs can contribute to IR teaching.

*We're Only Human: Educative Frameworks for Artificial Intelligence, Academic Integrity, and Writing in Political Science Courses.:* Andrew Owen (UBC)

**Abstract:** Generative AI (GenAI) poses a fundamental challenge to a cornerstone of political science teaching and learning? take home essays. This paper reports findings from the first year of a study examining how instructors can maintain the pedagogical value of writing assignments while adapting to GenAI technologies. Using focus groups, surveys, and classroom observations, our team evaluated new teaching strategies and assignment designs across multiple departments in the Faculty of Arts at UBC. We are testing materials grounded in an educative approach to academic integrity that provides an alternative to the standard punitive model. Specifically, our interventions aim to educate students on why we assign writing, how skills they develop can translate into their future endeavours, and what constitutes inappropriate GenAI use. We also test student-facing materials that address key concerns including privacy, intellectual property, bias, and Indigenous data stewardship. We conclude with a summary of evidence-based best practices.

*Preparing Students for Law School: the Impact of AI.:* Clare McGovern (SFU)

**Abstract:** In a world where AI is widely-used - what types of skills will students need to succeed in legal careers? This paper will report on a Scholarship of Teaching and Learning project integrating AI exercises into law and politics courses. The goal is to help students develop skills using AI critically, transparently and ethically.

The project builds on interviews with current law school students, on the skills they need for their programs, and the impact of AI on their studies. I used these insights to develop low-stakes assessment tools developed low-stakes assessment tools for two courses. One is a large, 1st year politics and law course where students are considering career tracks in government and law. The second is a 4th year human rights law seminar, where many students are applying for law school.

These exercises draw on advice from my interviewees on preparing for law school. They help students consider the trade-offs between using AI and traditional sources for legal research and writing. The aim is

---

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

### A11 - Roundtable - Shared rule in federations

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Robert Schertzer (University of Toronto)

Stéphanie Chouinard (Royal Military College of Canada)

Tammy Findlay (Mount Saint Vincent University)

Arjun Tremblay (University of Regina)

Veldon Coburn (McGill)

**Abstract:** As an idea and a system of governance, federalism involves political communities ? or groups of people sharing distinctive collective bonds living in a broader society ? exercising self-rule enabled in part by a division of powers among orders of government while also coming together to practice shared rule under the auspices of a common political architecture. Shared rule carries considerable pragmatic and normative implications. Pragmatically, shared rule provides mechanisms to address the structural reality of interdependence in all federations. Decisions of one authority often affect conditions for others. Problems that require public action rarely fall into the jurisdictional boundaries entrenched in a federal constitution. Normatively, when working effectively, shared rule holds a federation together and elevates self-rule, as the partners of a federation can influence, engage, and participate in collective decisions while reinforcing the collective legitimacy of the federal union itself. Despite its significance, however, the meaning, expression, and implementation of shared rule remain murky and ambiguous in theory and practice.

This roundtable will examine the normative foundations, conceptualization, operationalization, and policy implications of shared rule in federations. Focused on Canada but presenting comparative perspectives, the roundtable will involve thinking about issues of representation, governance, and policy making in federations in contexts where formal mechanisms of intergovernmental relations tend to not involve all of the political communities of a federation.

---

## A11 - Roundtable - The Working Class and Politics in Canada

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Dennis Pilon (York University)

Simon Kiss (Wilfred Laurier University)

Valérie-Anne Mahéo (Laval University )

Royce Koop (University of Manitoba)

**Abstract:** This roundtable will feature contributors from the forthcoming volume, *The Working Class and Politics in Canada* (2025, UBC Press). The contributors will discuss key findings and arguments from their chapters, which cover the following topics: the study of class in the discipline of Canadian politics, class status and voting behaviour (especially the conservative turn in working-class voting), and the political participation of the working class. Generally speaking, working-class Canadians have been frequently overlooked by politicians, policymakers, and political scientists. Some question the political relevance of class status. This is troubling, as the working-class accounts for a substantial share of Canada's population and class differences have enduring relevance for how people relate to politics. Increased socioeconomic inequality, changing labour market patterns, and shifting electoral alignments make it essential to revisit the political importance of class and to consider the experience of workers in Canadian politics and society. Our volume contains four sections focused on the Canadian working class and its relationship to political science, political parties, voting behaviour, and democracy. The volume's 17 contributors employ diverse methodological approaches and uncover specific ways in which class background remains an important factor in explaining political outcomes and behaviour. The volume explains that Canadian political institutions reflect the priorities of affluent Canadians but traditional portrayals of Canada as a predominantly middle-class society are misleading. Moreover, the intersection of class status and other aspects of identity, including gender and race, has important and sometimes counterintuitive effects and implications. Overall, the volume provides an up-to-date assessment, based on new data and original insights, of the working class and its place in contemporary Canadian politics.

---

# A11 - Canada's Language Regime in the Age of Justin Trudeau II /Le régime linguistique canadien à l'ère de Justin Trudeau II

## Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*2012-2024: language rights and institutional completeness in practice:* Di Rao (University of Waterloo), Emmett Macfarlane (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** From 2000-2012, courts played a prominent role in recognizing the unique needs of minority language rights holders by promoting their autonomy and culture through institutional completeness (Chouinard, 2014). Scholars have praised institutional completeness as a strong theoretical concept to explain more recent judicial development of language rights in Canada (Chouinard, 2014; Le?ger, 2014). Over 10 years have passed since the publication of Chouinard?s ?The Rise of Non-territorial Autonomy in Canada: Towards a Doctrine of Institutional Completeness in the Domain of Minority Language Rights.? With regards to the development of language rights in Canada, how has the court played out institutional completeness since then? What does institutional completeness look like in practice? Despite being an underrated section of the Charter, language rights have been tacitly developing through the courts in the past 10+ years. Institutional completeness remains a strong argument as judicial decision-making usually favoured minority language rights holders? preferred interests except in unique and reasonable circumstances. Since 2012, there have been 69 case laws that addressed language conflicts in Canada. By conducting archival studies of the 69 federal and provincial case law, my paper explains the court?s role in the development of language rights in the last 10+ years to help visualize institutional completeness in practice. The proposed paper will confirm existing scholarship on language rights and highlight how courts substantively decide and procedurally implement language rights and accommodation conflicts/requests in Canada.

*Defining Equality: Variations in Political Language in Federal Official Languages Governance:* Timothy van den Brink (Simon Fraser University), Rémi Léger (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** This study analyses the usage of the term ?equality? in federal official languages governance. Broadly speaking, equality is a universally supported ideal. However, the meaning of this term differs greatly depending on its association to equity, substantive equality, or equality of status. Using Michael Freeden?s morphological approach to ideology, we understand political language as indeterminate, lacking a singular universal definition. As such, meaning is informed by the speaker and is situated within a specific context. Analysis of the divergent of the term elucidates the logic behind distinct objectives and strategies for key policies in official languages governance such as redistribution, self-determination, and social hierarchies.

---

## A11(a) - Politique québécoise

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*Les rapports entre le nationalisme et le colonialisme au Québec:* Olivier Sabourin (Université de Montréal), Martin Papillon (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** Cette proposition vise à présenter ma thèse de doctorat ainsi que les résultats préliminaires de mon enquête de terrain qui commence à l'automne 2024. Voici les deux questions principales de la recherche. D'abord, comment les rapports entre le nationalisme et le colonialisme se déploient-ils dans les pratiques contemporaines de l'État québécois face aux peuples autochtones? Ensuite, dans quelle mesure ces rapports varient-ils selon les contextes?

Le couple colonialisme-nationalisme (Moran 2002) reste peu théorisé, et encore moins dans un contexte de double colonisation comme le Québec, où un colonialisme non-hégémonique (McGrath 2012) coexiste avec un nationalisme minoritaire porteur d'un projet émancipateur (Cardin-Trudeau 2024). Je réponds ainsi aux Settler Colonial Studies (Wolfe 1999 et Veracini 2015), en insistant moins sur les aspects structurels du colonialisme d'établissement, mis de l'avant dans la littérature, que sur la reproduction de la logique coloniale dans les pratiques de l'État québécois (Bourdieu 1972).

La thèse rend lisible analytiquement les diverses formes que peut prendre les relations entre colonialisme et nationalisme. Le cadre théorique s'articule ainsi, à partir d'observations empiriques, autour d'une typologie des rapports entre nationalisme et colonialisme. Je vais appliquer cette typologie à divers moments de rencontre du nationalisme et du colonialisme pour voir quel type est dominant, à la fois à travers les cas et au sein de chaque cas.

Au moment du Congrès, j'aurai effectué plusieurs entrevues auprès d'acteurs clés des pratiques de l'État québécois. Je propose donc de présenter ma problématique, mon cadre théorique et les résultats préliminaires de ces entrevues à l'ACSP.

*Les transformations du régime de citoyenneté au Québec : contradictions entre politiques identitaires et éducatives:* Renaud Goyer (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Abstract:** Les politiques sociales sont généralement considérées comme les politiques publiques qui visent à définir et à répondre à des problèmes sociaux et qui amènent l'État à proposer des dispositifs impliquant l'intervention de ce dernier afin d'assurer le bien-être des citoyens, mais également la cohésion sociale (Esping-Anderson, 2007). Ainsi, elles sont au cœur des régimes de citoyenneté, c'est-à-dire des « arrangements institutionnels, règles et accommodements qui guident et déterminent les décisions politiques et les dépenses gouvernementales qui s'ensuivent, la définition des problèmes par les États et les citoyens, et le processus de revendication par ces derniers » (Jenson, 2006: 24-25). Ce faisant, elles éclairent donc sur les problèmes sociaux qui apparaissent plus saillants et sur les différents groupes sociaux, à travers la définition de ceux qui ont droit ou non à la solidarité ou à la protection et l'identification de ceux qui apparaissent prioritaires parce qu'ils « posent problème », considérés à risque ou vulnérables. Les politiques éducatives jouent un rôle central à cet égard puisque le droit à l'éducation permet l'exercice des autres droits. Dans la vision de Marshall (1964), l'éducation permet de se considérer citoyen à part entière et ensuite de pouvoir participer pleinement à sa société. À l'inverse, les régimes de citoyenneté encadrent également les politiques et pratiques éducatives, parce qu'ils construisent le rapport à l'autre et la manière dont on définit qui est citoyen et qui ne l'est pas. Notre présentation vise à aborder les possibles changements dans les régimes de citoyenneté suite à l'adoption de politiques identitaires, comprises comme politiques sociales. Nous considérons qu'elles instituent un rapport citoyen qui s'accommode de la présence du racisme et de la xénophobie et que cela est en décalage avec les politiques éducatives de gestion de la diversité en vigueur au Québec.

*Divergences Régionales ou Fractures Idéologiques? L'Évolution des Narratifs Québécois sur la Sécurité Internationale:* Nicolas-Francois Perron (UQAM)

**Abstract:** Le gouvernement du Québec et les représentants de l'Assemblée nationale expriment fréquemment des positions sur les enjeux de sécurité internationale, adoptant souvent des postures pacifistes, anti-militaristes ou anti-impérialistes, qui se distinguent de la culture stratégique canadienne dominante. Ces engagements semblent s'ancrer dans des valeurs spécifiques au Québec, témoignant de divergences linguistiques ou culturelles entre les francophones et les anglophones. Cependant, des recherches récentes contestent le mythe des "deux solitudes", révélant des divergences régionales plus nuancées, comme celles observées en Alberta durant la guerre en Irak. L'invasion de l'Ukraine par la Russie a, en revanche, mis en lumière une convergence des attitudes entre le Québec et le Canada, soulignant des différences idéologiques à l'échelle pancanadienne.

Cet article a pour objectif d'analyser ces dynamiques en proposant une reconsidération des attitudes québécoises à la lumière de fractures idéologiques, plutôt que de s'en tenir à un axe linguistique ou régional. Pour étayer notre argumentation, nous examinerons le conflit Israël-Hamas depuis le 7 octobre 2023, en analysant les prises de position des élus, des médias et de l'opinion publique au Québec et au Canada jusqu'en décembre 2024. Notre étude met en évidence l'importance d'une catégorisation idéologique des narratifs, dépassant les dimensions culturelles ou linguistiques, et interroge la conception de la posture québécoise comme un reflet d'une paradiplomatie identitaire, souverainiste ou électoraliste. Les perceptions des décideurs politiques et les tendances idéologiques présentes guident les postures saillantes au Québec sur cette période. Cette recherche a des implications sur les sources et origines de la culture stratégique québécoise.

---



## A11(c) - Roundtable - Measuring Representation

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Roce Koop (University of Manitoba)

Jack Lucas (University of Calgary)

Sarah Childs (University of Edinburgh)

Kelly Blidook (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Tracey Raney (Toronto Metropolitan University)

Erin Tolley (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** What does it mean for politicians to represent the interests of their constituents? How can political scientists identify and evaluate representational behaviour? This roundtable engages with questions about the conceptualization and measurement of substantive representation in empirical studies of political representation. Participants will share insights and best practices on key questions, including: What challenges do we face in operationalizing this complex and multifaceted concept? What dimensions of substantive representation do (or should) we focus on? What metrics or indicators do we use to measure the concept and what techniques do we employ to gather data? These questions are important for both mainstream scholars of legislative politics and for those who study gender and politics. This roundtable aims to create opportunities for these two scholarly communities to learn from and enrich one another.

---

## F11 - Turnout

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*Explaining racialized turnout differences in Canada:* Maxime Heroux-Legault (UBC-Okanagan), M.H. Mahmud (UBC-Okanagan)

**Abstract:** As Canada diversifies thanks to immigration, a larger proportion of its population is becoming racialized. In this context, it is important to ascertain whether there are differences in the rate of electoral participation of racialized and other voters. Furthermore, the analysis should identify which variables explain these differences to minimize turnout gaps among these groups and encourage greater participation from all Canadian voters. This research project evaluates whether there are differences in the participation levels of racialized voters and the rest of the Canadian electorate using 2021 CES data. Indeed, racialized voters are less likely to participate in Canadian elections than other voters. The analysis further investigates whether this discrepancy is explained by other variables. It finds that factors such as region, religion, income, political knowledge, political interest, civic duty, partisanship, and employment are all significantly related to the voting decision. When these other variables are included to the analysis, no differences remain in the vote of racialized voters and the rest of the electorate. This shows that differences in electoral participation can be remedied by acting on the variables that have a direct and statistically significant impact on the turnout decision. Political parties and electoral institutions can contribute to this effort by reaching out to racialized voters, which should foster greater political interest, political knowledge, partisanship, and civic duty, which in turn will increase electoral participation and reduce the participation gap.

*Electoral Participation: The Impact of Youth Representation on Youth Voter Turnout:* Marika Barbieri-Antonoglou (University of Ottawa), Daniel Stockemer (University of Ottawa), Remi Royer (University of Ottawa), Angélique bu (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** Youths today are facing an underrepresentation in parliaments worldwide of at least 1 to 3 relative to their overall proportion of the general population. This underrepresentation of youth feeds into a cycle of political youth alienation characterised by youth's low political interest and political knowledge, as well as dwindling youth conventional political participation. How can we break this cycle? We suggest that one way to break this cycle is through increased youth candidacies in elections, which we believe should positively influence voter turnout among youth. To test our hypothesis, we use a unique data set covering roughly 80 elections in 35 countries, compiled from the Comparative Candidate Survey and the Worldwide Age Representation in Parliaments (WARP) database. Controlling for factors such as regime type, electoral system, and GDP per capita, we find support for our hypothesis; that is, increased youth candidacies are associated with higher voter turnout among young voters aged 35 or below.

Keywords: Youths, parliamentary representation, political participation, voter turnout, democracy

*Do Canadians vote online when it rains? Weather-related turnout decline in municipal elections, 2000-2022:* Michael Wigginton (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The introduction of remote internet voting in Canadian municipalities has allowed citizens of some cities and towns to vote from anywhere with an internet connection and at a time of their own choosing. While previous studies have found that online voting has only a modest and short-term effect on raising overall voter turnout, the more nuanced effects of this reform remain unclear. Does the ability to vote remotely via the internet inoculate municipal elections from the poor turnout usually associated with rain or snow on election day? In this paper, I use a dataset combining voting and weather records for over 1000 local elections in Canada to investigate the extent to which the introduction of online voting mitigates turnout decline from inclement weather. My findings serve to better understand which voters benefit from remote internet voting, and to assess the utility of this reform in increasing participation.

*The Right Choice of Words: Assessing How Question Wordings Shape Civic Duty to Vote:* Maxime Coulombe (University of Western Ontario), Evelyne Brie (University of Western Ontario), Fernando Feitosa (Griffith University), Carol Galais (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

**Abstract:** Civic duty to vote is a critical factor in understanding voter turnout. However, variations in how it is measured can introduce bias and limit the comparability of findings. Using data from three survey experiments and additional election studies, we examine alternative question wordings of the "duty-choice" question (Blais 2000; Blais & Achen 2019), which asks whether individuals perceive voting as a civic duty or a personal choice. First, we test the efficacy of the face-saving strategy. Second, we introduce and evaluate an alternative wording contrasting voting as a duty or a right. Third, we test different framing, ordering, wording, and scaling variations of the question. Finally, we compare alternative specifications in constructing the duty variable. Our findings demonstrate how subtle changes can affect measurements, reveal the presence of social desirability bias in civic duty measures, and offer strategies to reduce this bias and improve our measurements.

---

## F11 - Cognition

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

***Optimism-Pessimism and Trust in Artificial Intelligence Technology:*** Jordan Mansell (McMaster University), Anwar Sheluchin (McMaster University), John McAndrews (McMaster University), Cliff Van der Linden (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Governments are facing increasing pressure to develop policies to regulate the use of artificial intelligence (AI). We study optimism and pessimism towards technology to explain individuals' attitudes towards trust in artificial intelligence (AI) and its growing role in society. Optimism and pessimism are psychological tendencies to expect good or bad things in the future. In contrast to other motivational accounts based on interest, this psychological approach to technological outlook focuses on how dispositions, the tendencies to act in certain ways, shapes individuals' attitudes towards the use and regulation of technology in society. In a recent study with the McMaster Digital Society Lab, we find that optimism and pessimism are the single best predictor of attitudes towards technology. Building on this research, we ask two questions: 1) what makes someone a technology optimistic vs. pessimistic, and whether this outlook differs from general psychological disposition and, 2) how do optimism and pessimism bias individuals' perceptions of the benefits and risks of AI. We answer this question using an online survey of Canadians (n=700) attitudes towards AI along with a within-subject experiment. We hypothesize that: 1) technological optimism will negatively correlate with behavioral updating in response to information about the perceived risks of AI and, 2) technological pessimism will negatively correlate with behavioral updating in response to information about the perceived benefits of AI. An objective of this project is to create insights for the development of better public policies for the regulation of technology.

***Do cognitive styles improve election prediction? Need for cognition and its effect on citizen forecasts:*** Brian Thompson Collart (Université Laval), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Citizens form expectations about the results of future elections through the process of citizen forecasting. Several studies identify political sophistication as a source of citizen forecasting ability. However, political sophistication also drives partisanship, which can reduce forecasting ability by inducing motivated reasoning. Why do some politically sophisticated individuals forecast elections accurately while others succumb to partisan motivated reasoning? This paper proposes that cognitive styles can explain the variation in citizen forecasting ability among partisans. In this paper we explore whether individual-level variations in Need for Cognition and Need for Evaluation influence citizen forecasting accuracy. To answer this question, we employ an original dataset collected during the 2025 Canadian federal election. We expect to find that higher levels of Need for Cognition and lower levels of Need to Evaluate predict higher citizen forecasting accuracy.

***Speaking to Power: How Linguistic Minority Accents Shape Voter Perceptions of Party Leaders:*** Philippe Chassé (Université de Montréal et Sciences Po), Richard Nadeau (Université de Montréal), Florence Laflamme (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** In countries with multiple linguistic communities, does the way minority group members speak the majority language pose a barrier when they seek the highest political office? Can their accent undermine their claim to represent all citizens? Is it associated with certain stereotypes? We aim to address these questions through a randomized survey experiment conducted in Canada, a bilingual country with two official languages: English and French. Specifically, we examine how a perceptible Québécois accent in English influences anglophone Canadians' evaluations of federal party leaders outside Québec. Participants (n = 1,200) listen to a 30-second audio recording featuring a fictional party leader speaking in English. While the content of the message remains identical for all participants, the delivery varies: the first experimental group (n = 600) hears the leader speaking with a 'standard' Canadian English accent, whereas the second group (n = 600) hears the leader speaking with a Québécois accent. Participants evaluate the candidate's competence, intelligence, and trustworthiness, and answer questions exploring whether the candidate's accent evokes stereotypes about their political orientations. They also assess the candidate's capacity to represent the interests of all Canadian citizens. Our study contributes to the growing body of literature on cognitive shortcuts by shedding light on language-based judgments, a relatively understudied area of political behaviour.

***Party or Policy? The Role of Policy Partisanship in Voter Decision-Making:*** Sarah Lachance (University of Calgary), Clareta Tregler (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Which matters more for voters, the political party or the policy positions of electoral candidates? We contribute to this longstanding debate by analyzing the relative importance of policy content and party cues in the multi-party Canadian context. Using the Canadian case allows us to disentangle the effects of policy and party on vote choice, which are closely intertwined in the more polarized and extensively-studied U.S. case. First, we employ a conjoint survey experiment to test whether the effect of an electoral candidate's policy position on their evaluation by voters depends on the implicit party cues that are embedded in the policy. We find that while Canadians often associate policies with specific parties, they do not seem to use these implicit party cues in their evaluation of the candidates, focusing on policy congruence instead. Second, we test whether explicit party cues reduce the weight of policy information in candidate evaluations and find that they do not. Overall, our findings suggest that party cues are not as useful for voters in multi-party systems with low polarization, and that voters rely on policy information to make a decision in these contexts.

---

## G11 - China and the Global South in a Multipolar World: Joint Session of the CPSA and CSA

### Économie politique

**Date :** Jun 4 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Lynette Ong (University of Toronto)

**Co-Chair/Président/Présidente :** David Chen (University of Toronto)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Adam Alimi (York University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice :** Kristin Plys (University of Toronto)

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

***Multipolarity, New State Capitalism, and Transnational Corporate Networks in the Twenty-First Century:*** David Chen (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Much of the globalization argument – as exemplified by Thomas Friedman’s famous flat world thesis – about world integration, free trade, and the emergence of a transnational society beyond national borders, was established during the golden era of globalization, which lasted roughly from the 1980s to the 2008 global financial crisis. Winds have changed as the world has dived into the second and third decades of the twenty-first century. Geopolitical conflicts, resurgent nationalism, the consolidation of power blocs, and trends of anti-/de-globalization have once again dominated international politics. My study builds on the long sociological tradition of studying globalization and global capitalism through the analysis of transnational corporate networks, providing an updated account of how the emerging multipolar world – marked by the rise of China, its Belt and Road Initiative, and the recent expansion of BRICS – have reshaped much of the US-led international order and the traditionally Western-centered global business and corporate elite networks. In doing so, I aim to make a dual contribution: incorporating a geopolitical dimension to the traditional globalization scholarship (which often viewed the territorial and capitalistic logics as oppositional), and reconceptualizing the relational methodology of social network analysis (SNA) through a political geographic and international relations (IR) lens.

***Sino-Capitalism and Dependent Development in the Global South:*** Erdem Kaya (York University)

**Abstract:** The US informal empire promoted neoliberal globalization in ways that advanced the interests of US/Western multinationals and subordinated the developing economies of the global South. The spatial diffusion of neoliberalism to the periphery proceeded in three partially overlapping waves, each superimposed on a particular historical-structural context that deepened the North-South divide. The first wave derailed the import-substitution industrialization (ISI) model in Latin America, the Middle East, and sub-Saharan Africa and, while the second steered the post-communist transition economies of Eastern Europe and Central Asia into the Western orbit. Finally, the third wave, mainly through the IMF’s response to the 1997 Asian financial crisis, disembedded autonomy and undermined the developmental state in East and Southeast Asia. Overall, neoliberal globalization has restored Ricardian comparative advantage, blunted industrial policy instruments and narrowed the development space across the global South, leading to premature deindustrialization and trapping them in dependent development, except in a few cases in East Asia. China’s state capitalism, or Sino-capitalism, has emerged as a particular form of developmental state, a source of capital and know-how for the developing world, and appears to have not only revitalized South-South cooperation but also provided an alternative to neoliberal capitalism. China’s competitive manufacturing exports, foreign direct investment as well as various forms of development finance have created both challenges and opportunities for the global South. Against this background, this paper asks how the expansion of Chinese state capitalism has shaped the North-South divide and fits into the pervasive problem of dependent development in the global South.

***Old Lessons, New Horizons: Dependency Theory in the Twenty-First Century:*** Adam Alimi (York University)

**Abstract:** The twenty-first century crisis of neoliberalism spawned various experiments in developmentalism. Latin America and Eastern Europe uniquely exemplify this trend in the (semi)-periphery. At the center of this revitalized development project is an implicit rejection of the Washington Consensus, namely the thesis in which comparative advantage and open market policies causes global economic convergence (between the rich and the poor nations). In that sense, the climate harkens back to the period of development theory animating the better part of the 20th century. Indeed, the call to renew dependency theory in academia attests to this search for alternative frameworks to explain development challenges, and be the basis for structural change. This paper engages the resurgence of dependency theory, or more accurately paradigm/ research programme. It explores the wide spectrum of institutional and Marxist approaches in their attempts to sharpen the development paradox. It reconsiders old questions of internal versus external factors in the contemporary study of global capitalism. This perspective is all the more important in the seeming horizon of crises and polarity, multi-polarity, and post-neoliberalism more generally. While the scope of this paper is broad mapping out renewed approaches on dependency, special attention is given to more unique and negative perspectives to consider their analytical purchase in these uncertain times. Among other things, these insights help contextualize China’s (alternative?) worldmaking.

---

## M11 - Methods and Teaching

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

**Engaging Pedagogies: Enhancing the Learning of Archival Research Methods for Students in Political Science:** Spyridon Kotsovilis (University of Toronto Mississauga), Meaghan Valant (University of Toronto Mississauga)

**Abstract:** Research Methods is often perceived as a dry and boring topic. However, pedagogical literature suggests that active learning exercises using case studies can enrich students' learning by fostering empathy (Scorgie, 2010; Martin & Beese, 2020), increasing engagement (Yadav et al., 2014), and enhancing critical thinking skills (Mayo, 2004). Similarly, activities, exercises, and games can attract students' attention (Bradbury), stimulate their interest and elicit their active commitment (Laal and Ghodsi). Although many have argued that active learning methods support student learning in Political Science courses (Asal & Blake, 2006; Lantis, Kuzma, & Boehrer, 2000; Loggins, 2009), some scholars (e.g., Archer and Miller 2011) point that few introductory-level courses use these strategies, prompting the recommendation of a broader adoption in introductory ones. Such an approach can also be applied to enhance the teaching of methods in Political Science.

This paper illustrates a collaborative effort between the Department of Political Science and the Library at the University of Toronto Mississauga to provide undergraduate students in an introductory Methods class with an entertaining Canadian case study designed to introduce them to digital archival research methods.

Archival Research is a useful qualitative method to search for and uncover previously inaccessible original historical evidence towards proposing or testing theories in Political Science (Lee; Mahoney and Thelen) and the growing number of projects to digitize archival material has brought renewed attention to it. A recent example is the 2022 National Archives Catalog, which has made accessible artifacts, papers records and exhibits from the Watergate affair case (United States v. G. Gordon Liddy trial) and has thereby provided unprecedented access to students of American politics. With the trend of digitalization set to continue, a significant portion of archival research will soon be digital and this method merits consideration when teaching a Research Methods class. To make learning about Digital Archival Research more engaging, a case study was employed to help students with comprehension of archival creation, awareness of potential biases, and strategies for optimizing a focused research agenda, while having fun. Initially offered in the Winter of 2024 and then scaled up in the 2025 academic year, this assignment unfolded in a number of steps, by asking class members to investigate a 'cold case' of potential Unidentified Flying Object incident in Canada that was documented in the summer of 1967, amidst the height of the space race and the landing on the moon. First, a number of digitized documents and photos that have become readily available and accessible by Library and Archives Canada through their virtual exhibition, 'Canada's UFOs: The Search for the Unknown' were selected and grouped together in a 'curated' digital archive; together with a simulated index they were uploaded to the course's Canvas webpage. Then, a questionnaire with a short introductory narrative designed to 'hook' students (Sheehan, Gujarathi, Jones, & Phillips, 2018) was distributed to the class. To answer the questions successfully, students had to explore this digital archive, as well as participate in a group visit to the library, where a librarian made a brief presentation on archives and introduced additional evidence on the case. Finally, a special tutorial included a mini presentation by the expert librarian on the contours of archival research, complementing the class lecture and readings on the topic. Data collected from post-exercise surveys confirmed that students learned a lot about Digital Archival Research and had fun in the process.

Overall, this type of approach and assignments aspires to contribute to Political Science students' comprehension of methods like digital archival research in a way that is efficient, appealing and enjoyable.

**Individual Context as Motivator for Learning: Creating space for the expression of students' interests and passions can drive skills learning:**

Fred Cutler (UBC)

**Abstract:** Few political science courses are primarily or exclusively defined in terms of skills development. Typically, we allow students' interests and passions to find their way into assessments related to the course learning objectives defined in terms of content. Over the last six years I have taught a team-based learning course whose primary learning objective is the curation and presentation of information relevant to public affairs. In this paper I document and explain the course design, revision, and student reactions, to substantiate the claim that allowing students to embed their learning in their individual contexts results in gains in both skills and knowledge learning. By allowing students to select and shape the subject matter of their term-long team project, work on which (not final the product) makes up 90% of their final mark, students are internally motivated to learn by discovery, collaboration, and iteration. This internal motivation that comes from the students' individual contexts powerfully drives the skills development (collaboration, professional writing, information curation, editing, etc.) in this loosely scaffolded project-based learning environment. Moreover, in this course the indirect content learning objective -- getting a 'feel' for how the totality of forces come together to generate and implement public policies -- is achieved by stealth, as the students discover these forces as a consequence of their personal, contextual interest in how the policy affects themselves, their families, their communities, and the causes they care about.

**The Comic Book as Political Intervention: Considering Best Practices for Research-Creation:** Jamie Michaels (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Jews and Arabs have historically enjoyed generally positive relations. However, the last hundred years have been marred by seemingly intractable violence between Jewish and Arab nationalists. How might art and literature better enable Israelis and Palestinians to understand each other's national narratives? Might the comic book, a popular yet overlooked form, be a tool for peacemaking? Are there representational devices unique to comics that might nuance (or challenge) the way history is understood? Could these comics specific techniques better enable the process of writing back against dominant perceptions of nationalism? I approach this these question as both a political scientist and a comics practitioner. I have recently completed a graphic novel showcasing the emergence of Jewish and Arab nationalisms. This paper will explore and synthesize the theories and methods that informed this research-creation project, parsing which might be particular to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and which might have universal applications. I will analyse previous comics specific devices used to represent conflict, affect, and trauma. Following this discussion I will showcase a new research-creation

methodology, an experimental usage of the comics form: a grid layout that mirrors and juxtaposes Jewish and Arab experiences during the war. This approach to panel and page arrangement is used to show parallels and disjunctures between the Jewish and Arab experiences in the First World War through composition, in addition to text and image. Through this process I will showcase the potential role of the comics form as a tool for truth, reconciliation and peacebuilding.

***Taking the Temperature of Campus Discussion: A Student-Centred Approach to Teaching Through Conflict:*** Dax D'Orazio (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** How can the academic community improve the health of campus discussion? Universities are places where difficult discussions constantly occur as a part of its mission to pursue greater knowledge and understanding. Nonetheless, fostering an environment in which healthy and productive discussion can take place is easier said than done, and teachers are constantly adapting to new challenges. This paper is based on a research project at Queen's University, in collaboration with its Centre for Teaching and Learning. The project examines undergraduate student experiences to get a better understanding of campus discussion, both on campus and online, with a view to offering tangible suggestions for its possible improvement. The project entails an anonymized online survey and follow-up focus groups, both of which will gauge the comfort level of students in contributing to campus discussion and some of the determinants of healthy campus discussion. The project data will be used to create a ?teaching toolkit? in conjunction with the Centre for Teaching and Learning, a resource to help teachers foster healthy discussions in their classrooms. This paper summarizes key research findings and offers a series of suggestions for teachers in Canadian Political Science and across the academy to better respond to conflict in the classroom and on campus.

***Integrating Active Learning Approaches to Teaching about Political Violence: Implications for Student Learning in Undergraduate Classrooms:*** Emily Dunlop (Cornell University), Sabrina Karim (Cornell University)

**Abstract:** Teaching about political violence can be difficult. However, it is especially necessary in the current climate given the rise of political violence around the world. Providing students with the tools necessary to evaluate root causes of violence is important for solidifying student understanding of these complex topics in our changing world. In this paper, we provide an overview of three active learning techniques employed in a political violence classroom at an undergraduate university in the United States. The first explores the Bargaining Model of War using card games and bonus points as the stakes; the second explores the Logic of Collective Action, by asking students to solve puzzles as a group; the third simulation asks students (divided into rebel groups) to recruit potential soldiers based on rebel profiles and group characteristics generated with ChatGPT. Combined these three simulations help students understand key aspects of why groups choose to fight, and why individuals choose to join rebellions. In the paper, we provide overviews of the simulations and evidence of their effects on student learning and engagement from surveys and focus groups conducted in the Spring 2024 and Fall 2024 semesters. Evidence suggests that the activities increased student engagement in addition to small gains in overall knowledge and understanding of the concepts. Finally, students indicated that they felt confident in their ability to apply these concepts to real world scenarios. We conclude by offering suggestions for incorporating these simulations across different topics.

---

## Day 2 - Session 3 (Posters) - TBD (10:30am - 12:00pm)

### P11 - Posters Session 2

Présentation visuelle

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 10:30am - 12:00pm | Salle :

---

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

### **A12 - Book Launch: Assessing Justin Trudeau's Minority Governments (2019-2025): Navigating Through 697 Promises in Times of Crisis / Lancement de livre : Bilan des gouvernements minoritaires de Justin Trudeau (2019-2025): Naviguer à travers 697 promesses en temps de crise**

**Politique canadienne**

**Date** : Jun 4 2023 | **Heure** : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | **Salle** :

**Chair/Président/Présidente** : Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (Université Laval)

**Co-Chair/Président/Présidente** : Lisa Birch (Université Laval)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Dominic Duval (Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice** : Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval)

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

*Book Launch: Assessing Justin Trudeau's Minority Governments (2019-2025): Navigating Through 697 Promises in Times of Crisis / Lancement de livre : Bilan des gouvernements minoritaires de Justin Trudeau (2019-2025): Naviguer à travers 697 promesses en temps de crise:* Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (Université Laval), Lisa Birch (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** See panel details. / Voir les détails du panel.

---



## A12 - Roundtable - Navigating Book Publishing: Tips from MQUP, UTP and UBC Press

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

Emily Andrew (McGill-Queen's University Press)

Dan Quinlan (University of Toronto Press)

Randy Schmidt (UBC Press)

**Abstract:** Thinking about publishing a book with a Canadian academic press? Join us for a conversation with editors from McGill-Queen's University Press, University of Toronto Press, and UBC Press who are keen to share their expertise and connect with aspiring authors and editors. We'll cover initiating contact with a publisher, preparing a proposal, coordinating the manuscript, responding to peer review, securing funding, and marketing the published work. Whether you're looking to transform your PhD dissertation into a monograph, interested in coordinating an edited collection, or wrapping up a significant research project, this is a fantastic opportunity to learn from and connect with experienced book publishers.

---

## M12 - Three Minute Thesis Preliminary Round

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

**Locked-in Language: Discourses and Policy Legacies of Opioids in Canada, 1908-2018:** Megan Aiken (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** How can we explain the enduring legacy of Canada's prohibition policy regime in light of an ongoing toxic drug crisis? This doctoral dissertation studies Canadian House of Commons Hansard from 1908-2018 to understand the discourses of opioid problems from the beginning of prohibition in 1908 with the Opium Act to the first dedicated debate on the Opioid Crisis in Canada in December 2018. While the roots of drug prohibition laws in Canada have been well studied with regards to anti-Chinese racism, this thesis finds that the dehumanizing effects of such racist laws have extended throughout the 20th century to today, and had profound effects on how drug users are constructed as undeserving target populations, outside of proper Canadian civil society. This is coupled with shifting views of the relationship between work/productivity and drug use that marries drug policy with broader political economy, and further finds that the institutional framework guiding drug law and policy for over a century places the issue of the opioid crisis (or toxic drug crisis) within a grey area of Canadian federalism – both within and outside of federal jurisdiction and, as a consequence, easily eschewed to other orders of government while maintaining the overarching federal-level law upholding criminalization. Amidst this complex crisis, this thesis advances critical ways of understanding Canadian public policy and political institutions.

**Haunted Bodies: Evaluating the Act of Veiling and Women's Struggle for Autonomy in Iran:** SOMA BIDARPOUR (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** In September 2022, the death of Mahsa Amini at the hands of the Iranian morality police sparked the Women, Life, Freedom (WLF) movement, drawing global attention to women's rights in Iran. The Iranian regime targeted WLF female protestors – with shotgun fire to their face, breasts, and genitals – and subjected them to rape, torture, force-feeding, and incarceration (Guardian, 2022). This study investigates two interconnected questions. First, what are the counter-hegemonic acts of female political activists to target the hyper-masculinist identity of the Islamic state? Second, what are the state's gendered strategies for reobjectifying and re-assimilating non-normative women? Building on the work of David Campbell (1992), I argue that the Islamic Republic of Iran approaches women as a political battleground to reinforce its performative political identity. It marks unveiled women as "westoxicated" (Moghadam 1994, 124), equating them with foreign enemies and positioning them as threats to the state's "true identity" (Campbell 1992, 3). In response, resistant (non-conformist) women use counter-hegemonic acts such as collective hunger strikes, uncovering their hair, dancing, and singing in public to reclaim bodily sovereignty and challenge state-imposed narratives. I trace how defiant women challenge "reobjectification" policies by employing lively and creative acts of resistance to reclaim their bodily sovereignty (Wilcox 2015, 14).

**A Punctuated Equilibrium Approach to Understanding Economic Policy Making in Ghana: The Case of Electronic Transaction Levy Policy:**

Belinda Dentu (Brock University)

**Abstract:** While substantial research exists on economic policies globally, there remains a notable gap in applying theoretical frameworks to understand how these policies are developed, particularly in the context of developing countries like those in Africa. Most existing theories have been primarily utilized in developed nations, and the same cannot be said of the developing world. This provides a fertile ground for new research. The study addresses this gap by applying Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET) to analyze digital tax policies in Africa, specifically Ghana. Ghana is chosen as the case study for this research due to its recent adoption of the Electronic Levy (E-Levy) policy, which serves as an illustrative case for PET. The PET is thus employed here to explain the policy process that led to the development of this policy. According to PET, policy frameworks tend to remain stable over long periods (equilibrium) but can undergo rapid changes when significant disruptions, or "punctuations," occur. By applying this theory to the E-levy policy, my study argues that the E-levy policy emerged after a prolonged period of stability within Ghana's tax policy framework, driven by significant pressures that caused punctuations in the policy process, ultimately leading to a policy change. The research is chiefly qualitative, and makes use of a diachronic case study research design. The theoretical contribution of this study lies in demonstrating PET's relevance in a developing world context, thereby expanding its applicability globally. Additionally, it provides a practical framework for understanding policy changes in diverse political and economic environments.

**Social Identity-Based Concerns: New Perspectives for Technology Acceptance:** Anne Imouza (McGill University)

**Abstract:** This thesis proposal presents a critical approach to studying the acceptance of new technologies. The proposal investigates the social and theoretical reasons for integrating an intersectional lens while studying attitudes toward new technologies. The thesis proposal advances that some intersections of social identity groups, such as women of color, will face and experience a higher risk of political, cultural, and economic oppression within Artificial Intelligence (AI)-based technologies (Benjamin 2019; Schelenz 2022). I argue that intersectional identity group-based concerns will be associated with lower levels of moral technology acceptance where technology is perceived as morally questionable. While previous models of technology acceptance (Davis 1989; Venkatesh et al. 2003) account for various predictors of individual behavior, this project advocates for a more fine-grained analysis that examines how intersectional identity-based concerns lead to subgroup variations in the moral acceptance of AI systems.

Drawing from critical race theory, feminist theory, and technology studies, this interdisciplinary framework provides a theoretical foundation for understanding AI moral acceptance. The first chapter will include the fundamental concepts, the existing models, and the theoretical contribution. The second chapter presents the first empirical analysis, which includes a survey experiment to investigate how the priming of the biases included in an artificial intelligence system impact intersectional identity groups' moral acceptance of AI technologies. The third chapter will investigate the generalizability of the theoretical framework and the experiment results by investigating the relationship in a comparative approach to examine similar patterns in two other countries (The U.S. and Australia).

***How Domestic Character Impacts Foreign Policy: Russia, South Africa, and Israel:*** Shannon Fraresso (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** How does domestic character influence foreign policy? In International Relations (IR) theory, neorealism is praised for its parsimonious nature and clarity on how actors will behave. Essentially, neorealism suggests that all actors will react the same way due to being burdened by the same system. However, scholars like Jonathan Kirshner (2022) emphasize the importance of studying domestic politics, influenced by the work of classical realism, as there are too many internal factors that cannot be ignored which neorealism does not account for. My argument is that in cases of states with perceptively more insecure national identities, it leads to more "realist" foreign policy. This means that states in the face of this insecurity, will look to policies that emphasize "self-help" or "self-defense" at their core. In order to examine this question, I will be using three states as case studies to investigate this relationship. The states I have chosen are: Russia, South Africa, and Israel. Using a content analysis approach, this method will require me to examine primary and secondary resources such as: academic journals, books, newspaper articles, and government documents, for data collection. These mediums will allow an enriched analysis of existing literature as well as providing context for further analysis, aiding in closing the gap in this area of research. This master's major research paper aims to contribute to the theoretical frameworks of IR theory by providing a contemporary approach to foreign policy and identity politics.

References

Kirshner, J. (2022). *An Unwritten Future: Realism and Uncertainty in World Politics*. Princeton University Press

***Ancestry.com, Big Data, and The Politics of Identity: Toward a Genealogy of Genealogy:*** Hailey Walker (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** The advent of genetic testing and ancestry services has transformed personal and familial genealogy from the niche pursuit of family tree hobbyists to a multi-billion-dollar industry. Ancestry.com dominates this industry and has amassed over 22 million DNA samples and an astonishing collection of over 40 billion archival artefacts including international birth, marriage, and death records, census and voter data, immigration and travel records, military enlistment and casualty records, school and church directories, and tax, crime, land, and will records. Increasingly, Ancestry's massive data stores have become embroiled in contemporary controversies around data privacy, genetic science, immigration, and law enforcement. More broadly, Ancestry.com data has become an expedient way for politicians, academics, and citizens alike to historically and scientifically "validate" (or "invalidate") ancestral and ethnic claims in a wider "culture of identity", wherein the will to know, broadcast, and authenticate one's roots and ethnic belonging saturates public life. As such, this project contends that archival relics and genetic material have ascended new status as a mode of political capital (both symbolic and material) which is neither reducible to market logics nor under the exclusive purview of the state. This research examines the emergence and evolution of Ancestry.com and the digital consolidation and deployment of Ancestry data across a transversal and interactive cultural-governmental field. In doing so, the project breaks rich empirical terrain upon which we can better problematize the multitude of practices through which the private and leisurely genealogical pursuits of individuals and families are rendered a convenient assemblage in the management and governing of populations.

***Canada and Norway: A Comparative Policy Analysis of Gender Equity in the Energy Sector:*** Alex Hinrichs (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** The persistence of gendered pay and employment differences in the energy sector remains to be an obstacle for equity in Canada. This is especially relevant considering the transformation of the energy sector in response to climate change. The literature on gender equity signals education, organizational climate, domestic labour expectations and networking as important potential causal factors for gender inequity in the workplace. This paper seeks to examine approaches for improving gender equity through a comparative analysis with Norway, which has significantly better gender equity. The Canadian gender wage gap conditional on skills is -22.4% in the energy sector and the gender employment gap in Canada is -67.8% in the energy sector as of 2018 (International Energy Agency, 2024). By contrast, Norway's gender wage gap conditional on skills is -3.6% and their gender employment gap is -83.6% in 2018 (International Energy Agency, 2024). Norway has a range of equity-improving policies, such as a 40% gender quota for their corporate boards that could provide lessons for Canada.

This research will explore the four posited causal factors in Canada and Norway through qualitative and quantitative analysis, including a literature and policy review, and an original survey. The survey will ask women in the energy sectors in both Canada and Norway questions regarding their experiences and treatment within their workplaces. The data will be analyzed to attempt to understand the effects of the gender quota in Norway and make an official recommendation as to if Canada should adopt the policy. This research will be an important contribution to understanding the gender divide across the fossil fuel and renewable energy sectors facing a gender divide, including differences in men and women's attitudes towards the green transition, as documented in previous studies. The poster will serve to gain feedback for the completion of a more comprehensive study to be completed in 2025.

References

International Energy Agency. (2024, August 5). *Gender and Energy Data Explorer*. Retrieved September 3, 2024, from <https://www.iea.org/data-and-statistics/data-tools/gender-and-energy-data-explorer?>

***Community Participation in "Reception Shelters" in Boa Vista, Brazil: A Space of Otherness?:*** Isadora de Lima Branco (University of Montréal)

**Abstract:** Although the relationships between humanitarian workers and refugees (or vulnerable immigrants) can generally be considered positive, they have historically been marked by extreme inequality, mistrust, and violence (Harrell-Bond, 2002; Barnett, 2011; Janmyr, 2022). In response to this, several organizations have recently started offering participatory activities - committees, radio programs, general assemblies - where immigrant populations are invited to play an active role in managing the reception facilities.

This thesis aims to understand how humanitarian workers and migrants experience the (re)construction or maintenance of relationships through these new practices. To explore this question, this thesis proposes a qualitative analysis of the context of community participation in the shelters for Venezuelans in Boa Vista, Brazil; the implementation of the Photovoice method and interviews with 8 sheltered immigrants and 4 humanitarian workers. The results show that although participatory approaches may have contributed to an apparent closeness between humanitarian workers and immigrants, the initial

emergence of a new 'us' and new relational dynamics does not necessarily translate into reciprocal relationships. Without profound transformation and active and continuous reflection, this ambiguous closeness can, in fact, continue to reproduce relationships of control and obedience, even within the participatory practices themselves.

---

## Day 2 - Session 4 (01:45pm - 03:15pm)

### A13(c) - Local governance and territorial political cleavages

#### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

**Do appeals to benefits overcome NIMBY-ISM?:** Simon Kiss (Wilfrid Laurier University), Rafael Campos-Gottardo (McGill University), Anthony Piscitelli (Conestoga College)

**Abstract:** Canada is in the midst of a profound housing crisis and there is an emerging consensus that it is essential to increase housing supply to address affordability. And yet, this is difficult because of widespread local opposition to housing (NIMBY-ISM). In this paper, we present results from a survey experiment embedded in the 2022 Ontario Provincial Election Survey fielded by the Laurier Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy that focussed specifically on attitudes to housing. Respondents were randomly treated with an appeal to different levels of benefits (to themselves, to their local neighbourhood or to the nation as a whole) and then asked to support different types of housing. Our findings show that appeals to benefits do not increase support for local developments; but the physical characteristics of developments do. Local policymakers cannot count on appeals to self-interest or community benefits to increase support for housing.

**Shared Rule and Self-Rule in School Governance: The Evolution of Local School Boards in Canada:** Jim Farney (University of Regina)

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

**Rethinking Political Attitudes in Rural Canada:** Clark Banack (University of Alberta), Dionne Pohler (University of Saskatchewan), Laticia Chapman (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Responding to the significant body of recent political science research investigating social and political attitudes across rural regions in North America and Europe, this paper draws from our ongoing project that employs ethnographic methods, including periods of intense, short-term immersion, interviews, and participant-observation at local events in seven selected communities across rural Canada, to explore the roots of political, social, and economic attitudes of rural citizens. With a particular focus on the social element of meaning-making and the role of the community itself as a space where people "make sense" of "that is, develop opinions and attitudes about" events in and beyond their communities, we offer a more nuanced exploration of the diversity of social and political attitudes that exist in rural communities across Canada. This paper will highlight our initial analysis of the data collected and will close with some thoughts on the relationship between these findings and those expressed in more positivist, rural-focussed public opinion scholarship that has emerged in the past 5 years as well as what it means for understanding "rural Canada" more generally within our discipline.

**The Representation of the Urban and the Rural in Canada: A Comparison:** Katharine McCoy (Western University), Laura Stephenson (Western University)

**Abstract:** Since the 1990s, urban and rural Canadians have become increasingly divided in their vote choice (Armstrong, Lucas, and Taylor 2021; Taylor et al. 2023). This division implies that voters think there is a meaningful difference in how parties and candidates will represent them in Parliament, and the geographic nature of this pattern indicates that there may be a relationship between the type of district a Member of Parliament (MP) represents and how they behave as a representative.

In this paper, I interrogate this relationship by asking whether there is a difference in parliamentary behaviour along urban-rural lines. I use Hansard data from 1997 and transformers architecture (machine learning) to determine whether there is a substantive difference in what MPs from rural constituencies and MPs from urban constituencies speak about in the House of Commons. This is done while controlling for party membership and position, to explore the role that place-type might play in Canadian legislative behaviour.

This project connects several areas of research. First, it applies research on legislative behaviour in Latin America to Canada (Alemán, Micozzi, and Vallejo Vera 2023) allowing for easier comparison between these cases. It also extends the existing literature on rural Canadian politics, which has focused largely on the "demand" side of the urban/rural division, to the "supply" side by seeing whether the division seen in citizens' behaviour also exists in political elites.

## A13(d) - Roundtable - Carbon Federalism in Canada

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Mark Purdon (UQAM - Chair in Decarbonization - Département de stratégie, responsabilité sociale et environnementa)

Runa Das (Royal Roads University, Interdisciplinary Studies )

**Abstract:** The proposed session would be a Round Table discussion with contributors to an edited volume currently under development on the theme of Carbon Federalism, led by Keith Brownsey (Mount Royal), Mark Winfield (York), Mark Purdon (UQAM) and Runa Das (Royal Roads) The current policy situation on climate policy in Canada is fragmented, contentious, and confusing. While trying to give the provinces and territories the ability to adjust to regional circumstances, the Government of Canada has, instead, allowed for a patchwork of policies that has allowed opponents of carbon reduction to define carbon pricing as an unnecessary economic hardship on Canadians.

The situation is complicated by the breakdown of the federal-provincial (near-) consensus around climate change and carbon pricing from 2018 onwards in the aftermath of the election of populist governments in key provinces. Public support for federal action on climate change appeared to continue to be strong through the 2021 federal election. However, that support has weakened significantly in the face of post-COVID inflationary pressures and affordability concerns, especially around housing. Although Canada has made significant international commitments to greenhouse gas (GHG) emission reductions and adopted substantive emission reduction policies, including a national carbon pricing system, these efforts are falling short of meeting Canada's emission reduction commitments, and there is a genuine possibility of the collapse of much of Canada's climate change policy framework. The round table will focus on pathways to effective climate policies in the future, grounded in collaborative and cooperative federal and provincial actions. Additional speakers will be added as chapter authors are identified.

.....

## A13(d) - Roundtable - Trust and Political Leadership: A Synthesis of New Research and Knowledge

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Cristine de Clercy (Trent University)

Michael MacKenzie (Vancouver Island University)

Stéphane Paquin (UQTR/ENAP)

Susan Dieleman (University of Lethbridge)

Peter Ferguson (Government of Canada, Treasury Board Secretariat)

**Abstract:** This roundtable brings together five leading researchers working on the cutting edge of scholarship concerning trust, populism and transparency within the context of democratic leadership. The roundtable discussion is organized around one central question: what are the most important things you have learned about trust and political leadership over the course of the last two years?

All five experts hold formal research positions that specifically mandate research concerning trust, government and leadership. Four panelists are Jarislowsky Chairs in Trust and Political Leadership who were appointed to their posts within the last two years. A fifth panelist heads research on Trust and Open Government for the Government of Canada, Treasury Board Secretariat. Four of the presenters are political scientists and one is a philosopher; the interdisciplinary panel therefore features a rich array of theoretical and empirical analysis. All five scholars present new argumentation, new data and new insights gained over the last 24 months to shape a timely discussion about exercising political leadership in an era of increasing extremism and distrust.

Within the main question, the panelists will consider three important issues that are germane to their research in Canada and the comparative context: first, in a period of heightened extremism, can increasing government transparency increase public trust and mitigate distrust? Second, does a rise of populism on the right and left necessarily indicate declining trust in political leaders and a diminished perception of the power of political leaders over time? Finally, what are some of the most and least useful data or information sources you have employed in your recent work?

In sum, the roundtable creates an opportunity for five senior experts in trust and political leadership to pool their recently accumulated knowledge and share their best insights with other scholars and students working in these areas. The panel discussion addresses the complex effects of transparency and populism on public trust in leaders. The focus on communicating newly gained knowledge promises to efficiently inform the audience about the latest information and new approaches that have gained traction in scholarly circles. So, the panel discussion invites audience members to reconsider some received wisdom in light of new knowledge about how leaders may best exercise political leadership and shore up trust in an era of increasing extremism and distrust.

---

## A13(e) - Executive and ministers

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

*An Examination of Federal Ministerial Exits 1867 to 2024:* J.P. Lewis (University of New Brunswick)

**Abstract:** Using an original data set (1867-2024) this paper examines trends in Canadian federal cabinet governance with a focus on ministerial exits. The central research question for the paper is how do ministerial exit trends in Canadian federal cabinet reflect our understanding of Canadian federal cabinet composition? The widely read modern literature on Canadian federal cabinet (Bakvis 1991, Savoie 1999, White 2005) focuses on qualitative, anecdotal and interview data without much attention to longitudinal data. The last examination of Canadian federal cabinet with a strong focus on longitudinal data was Bill Matheson's 1976 book *The Prime Minister and Cabinet* which considered multiple cabinet governance trends with exit and tenure data. The findings will contribute to our understanding of such cabinet governance dynamics as demographic descriptive representation and the dominant attributes of cabinet composition overtime.

*Canadian House of Commons committees; Continuously Underperforming?:* Jonathan Malloy (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Committees in the Canadian House of Commons have widely been viewed as underperforming, especially compared to their similar UK counterparts. While the modern Canadian system of standing committees predates the UK system of departmental select committees and is similar in purpose and scope, Canadian committees are typically divided along partisan lines and struggle for relevance and impact, especially on high-profile issues and when scrutinizing government actions. On the other hand, the Canadian system may operate better than realized on an everyday basis on more routine legislation and issues, and comparisons to other systems like the UK may be selective and overstated. This paper will provide an overview of the Canadian committee system, attempts to reform it, assessments of its performance under various criteria, and an overall discussion of its dynamics and how it reflects the strengths and weaknesses of the Canadian House of Commons more generally.

---



## F13 - Experiment voting

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

***Between Norms and Party Allegiance: Do Canadian Voters Withdraw Their Vote When Politician Disregard Democratic Norms?:*** Eric Merkley (University of Toronto), Thomas Galipeau (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Do Partisans Endanger Canadian Democracy? Recent research reveals a rise in affective polarization in Canada, with online spaces becoming increasingly susceptible to misinformation and vitriolic discourse. Public protests, like the trucker convoy in 2021, have intensified in both polarization and tension. Recent Provincial electoral results are being put into question. Overall, tribalism appears to be more prevalent than before. Given these trends, this paper examines whether Canadian voters adhere to the normative expectation to reject politicians who violate democratic norms. Specifically, it investigates whether partisans are willing to abandon their party when its candidates deviate from democratic principles. To explore this, the paper employs a forced-choice conjoint design with hypothetical candidates that vary by party affiliation, policy positions, and most critically their stance on institutional restraint, protection of fundamental rights, and democratic safeguards. An embedded experimental component further allows participants to abstain from voting, offering causal insight into how choice structure impacts the likelihood of in-party defection. We also observe the roles of in-party loyalty and out-party antagonism in voter's choice. This paper's contribution is twofold. First, introducing an abstention option within the forced-choice design advances our understanding of whether partisans conform to normative expectations in a realistic voting context. This methodological innovation enriches political behavior research by refining conjoint design to reflect real-world conditions more accurately. Second, it sheds light on how the dual aspects of affective polarization—in-group affinity and out-group hostility—influence partisan decision-making.

***Accounting for Campaign Donations in the Candidate Attractiveness and Vote Share Model:*** Russell Glenn (Western University), Amanda Friesen (Western University), Tobias Rohrbach (University Bern)

**Abstract:** What causes the beauty premium in elections? Two decades of research show that more physically attractive candidates get more votes. Most studies assume a direct link between voter evaluations of candidate appearance and vote choice. We argue that the causal story is more complicated: good-looking candidates may get more votes in part because they raise more money and are nominated to more winnable ridings. To evaluate our argument, we predict the facial attractiveness of 1,200 candidates for the 2019 Canadian federal election using pretrained image classification models based on convolutional neural networks (Lindholm et al. 2024). Combined with existing datasets on candidate characteristics and donations, this measure allows us to model both the direct effect of attractiveness and of the proposed mediators. Data on donor gender also allows us to test expectations for gendered responses to candidate appearance. We will offer some descriptive findings related to the facial dominance of candidates by political party. The attractiveness premium is often taken as evidence of voter incompetence; assessing alternative explanations for this relationship can help determine whether that interpretation is warranted.

***Positive attraction: voters' preference for positive ads:*** Tim Abrey (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** This paper stems from a recent doctoral project examining the effects of political attack advertising on voters' choices. The primary argument of the dissertation hinged on the perennial, contentious debate around potentially negative impacts of attack advertising on voter evaluations and choices. That project used a controlled, between-groups experimental study to investigate the differentiated cognitive effects of exposure to nearly identical negative and positive ads. The results of that study underline the fragility of voters' conscious assessments of political information, clearly showing that the effects of attack messaging are measurably present in the post-exposure behaviour of individual subjects, unconsciously altering their considered assessments of subsequent political information, contrary to the expectations of most orthodox theories of voting behaviour (Abrey 2024). The structure of the experiment did, however, produce significant tangential data that supports at least one important secondary finding: clear, empirical evidence that subjects prefer positive ads to negative ads by a wide margin. On the surface, the finding seems sensible and intuitively obvious. Subjects have been reporting this preference in survey-based studies for many years, reports that have often been greeted with some skepticism, due to frequently higher engagement levels produced by negative ads. In this study, however, the subjects were not asked about their positive/negative preferences. Rather, the preference is expressed incidentally, between groups. Drawing on related work in cognitive psychology, consumer behaviour, and political psychology, this paper reveals and explores the implications of this apparently ingrained preference.

***Titre: Différentes arènes, même motivation? Comprendre les transferts de votes des électeurs provinciaux et fédéraux:*** Thomas Gareau-Paquette (Cornell University), Matthew Taylor (Université de Montréal), Jean-François Daoust (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** Dans de nombreux systèmes politiques multiniveaux, les électeurs bénéficient d'un alignement clair entre les partis provinciaux et fédéraux, offrant ainsi un raccourci cognitif guidant le choix électoral des citoyens. Au Canada, cet alignement est toutefois très faible dans plusieurs provinces, les partis provinciaux n'ayant souvent aucun lien formel et relativement peu d'affinités avec leurs homologues fédéraux, entraînant ainsi un ensemble de choix distincts à chaque palier. Compte tenu de ces différences entre les systèmes partisans aux paliers fédéral et provincial, les Canadiens font-ils des choix de vote cohérents, et si oui, en fonction de quel(s) clivage(s) ? Nous répondons cette question à travers le cas québécois, une province où les partis fédéraux et provinciaux sont particulièrement distincts entre les niveaux. En utilisant les sous-échantillons québécois des Études électorales canadiennes de 2019 et 2021 et deux enquêtes de sondage originales, nous examinons les choix de vote du provincial vers le fédéral. Nous effectuons ensuite des analyses avec effets d'interaction pour déterminer si certains clivages tel que le libéralisme économique, le traditionalisme moral et les attitudes envers l'indépendance du Québec ont des effets hétérogènes à travers les clientèles électorales provinciales dans la décision des citoyens d'appuyer un parti fédéral donné. Cette étude contribue à améliorer notre compréhension sur la façon dont les allégeances partisans influencent les choix électoraux dans les systèmes politiques multiniveaux, un aspect fondamental non seulement pour la politique canadienne et québécoise, mais également pour l'ensemble

des systèmes politiques multiniveau.

---

## F13 - Federalism

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

#### *A Tale of Two Liberalisms or a Story of Social Identities?:* Edana Beauvais (Simon Fraser)

**Abstract:** Research suggests that holding liberal values has different consequences in Quebec than in the rest of Canada (Bilodeau et al 2019). In Canada outside of Quebec, liberal values such as gender equality, state neutrality, and freedom of conscience are associated with opposition to restrictions on wearing religious minority symbols. By contrast, in Quebec, liberal values are associated with support for restrictions on wearing religious minority symbols. Bilodeau et al. (2019) conclude that differences in liberal values explain the greater support for restricting minority religious symbols in Quebec. In this present work, I replicate Bilodeau et al.'s (2019) original research design but also include measures of important social identities absent from the original work including partisanship and in-group identities to clarify whether liberal values or social identities explain differences between voters' preferences for restricting minority symbols in Quebec and the rest of Canada. It is possible that different social groups for example, different political parties mobilize issues related to gender equality, state neutrality, and freedom of conscience in distinct ways in Canada outside of Quebec and Quebec, and that partisans of these parties adopt party cues. I test whether liberal values still explain the differences in support for religious minority symbols between Quebec and the rest of Canada after accounting for social identities.

#### *The Decline of the French Language in Quebec: A Citizen Perspective:* Jean-François Daoust (Université de Sherbrooke), Thomas Gareau-Paquette (Cornell University)

**Abstract:** In Quebec, the use of French is in decline (Statistics Canada, 2022; Commissaire de la langue française, 2024a; Commissaire de la langue française, 2024b). This trend is accompanied by a growing sense that French is no longer as dominant and is losing ground in the public sphere. Although the extent of the decline varies depending on the indicators and periods selected, it is undeniable that the status of French as a common language faces challenges, especially given Quebec's minority situation in North America. This situation carries significant implications for Quebec's political life and raises several questions. What is the public opinion on this issue? Are Quebecers concerned about this decline, or are they indifferent? While we are aware of the views of the elites (e.g., elected officials), the citizen perspective remains underexplored. In this research, we first provide a detailed portrait of the concern regarding the decline of the French language in Quebec. We then examine the determinants of these attitudes (i.e., who is more likely to be concerned or not), focusing on sociodemographic and political cleavages. Finally, we explore the political consequences of this concern by analyzing its impact on electoral behaviour, drawing on data from the Quebec and Canadian Electoral Studies as well as original surveys fielded in 2024 and 2025.

#### *Political Culture Meets Public Opinion: The Case of Alberta:* Jared Wesley (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Political scientists typically treat political culture as an aggregation of public opinion over time. But what happens when individual attitudes conflict with age-old conceptions of how politics "should be" conducted in a given community? Alberta provides a prime case study in this disjunction. Based on five years of survey and focus group data, the Common Ground initiative has been investigating the difference between who Albertans are as individuals and who they see themselves to be as a community. The results reveal a provincial population that is decidedly more moderate (and even progressive) than its wild-west (conservative) political culture suggests. This paper examines the roots of this misalignment, its consequences on politics in the province, and its implications for studying the intersection of political culture and public opinion.

#### *Second Class Citizens: Place-Based Resentment and Identity as Defiance in Plurinational Democracies:* Jan Eckardt (Western University)

**Abstract:** Regional identities are often pronounced in regions with grievances of an institutional, economic or cultural nature. However, the interplay between these identities and political outcomes, as well as the role different types of grievances play in shaping this relationship, remains underexplored. This study aims to contribute to the literature in two key ways: First, we seek to examine whether local identities in such regions serve as expressions of political resentment against the federal authority. Specifically, we examine whether stronger regional identities in these regions, compared to those of the majority group, are associated with lower levels of trust in federal institutions. In a second step, we examine whether these differences are shaped by cultural and economic grievances, and how the importance of these elements varies across cases. To address these questions, we conduct a comparative study using public opinion data from the U.K., Germany, Spain and Canada. This approach allows us to examine a diverse set of historically marginalized regions: Wales, Scotland, East Germany, Catalonia, and Quebec. We find that, with the exception of Wales and, to a lesser extent, Scotland, where the effect is less consistent, stronger regional identities are associated with lower trust in federal institutions. In line with expectations, the relative importance of cultural and economic grievances in shaping these dynamics varies across cases.

---

## F13 - Public opinion

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

**Local Economic Shocks and Support for Redistribution:** Sophie Borwein (University of British Columbia), Alan Jacobs (University of British Columbia), Sarah Lachance (University of Calgary)

**Abstract:** Research shows redistributive preferences are often strongly tied to people's perceptions of the fairness of the existing distribution of resources, and specifically, concerns about the potential for free-riding among redistribution's beneficiaries. Such persistent concerns about free-riding are thought to induce stability in preferences for redistribution, even as societies grow increasingly unequal. How, then, do free-riding beliefs and associated redistributive preferences change? In this paper, we propose that exogenous shocks to local economies may act as one source of change. Starting from the premise that individuals are better able to assess whether beneficiaries are responsible for, or have control over, their financial situation at more local levels of geography, we theorize that changes in people's local economic contexts can affect fairness perceptions and shift attitudes toward free-riding, motivating support for higher levels of redistribution. We test this theory by drawing on a survey of approximately 5,000 Canadians located across Canadian communities, linked to objective measures of labour market disruption from administrative data, and focusing on three local economic shocks that are perceived to be more or less fair (i.e., exogenous to communities): dislocation associated with climate change, trade, and automation and AI.

**Mapping Québec's Climate Attitudes: A Segmented Approach to Understanding Perceptions of Climate Change:** Sarah-Jane Vincent (Université Laval), Alexandre Gajevic Sayegh (Université Laval), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** This study examines the diversity of climate change attitudes within Québec through a segmented analysis, aiming to provide a nuanced understanding of public perceptions and their implications for climate action. Amidst growing global urgency to address climate change, understanding individual attitudes is critical, as they shape not only personal lifestyle choices but also support for public policies. Using data from a representative survey conducted in September 2024 (n = 2513), we employ exploratory factor analysis to identify underlying dimensions of climate attitudes among Québec residents, followed by latent class analysis to classify the population into distinct attitude segments. This segmentation reveals varied perspectives on climate change across demographic profiles, offering a typology that will allow future research to shed light on the specific barriers and motivations each segment experiences. By highlighting these differences, this research provides insights that can inform targeted communication strategies and policy recommendations aimed at fostering broader and more effective public support for climate action.

**« On peut plus rien dire? » L'opinion publique québécoise et la liberté d'expression en humour:** Emmanuel Choquette (Université de Sherbrooke)

**Abstract:** L'importance de l'humour dans le paysage culturel québécois ne fait aucun doute. Parmi l'ensemble des arts de la scène, « [l]a majeure partie de l'offre (80 %), de la fréquentation (59 %) et des recettes de billetterie (43 %) des spectacles de variétés proviennent [...] des représentations en humour » (Fortier 2022, 22). Toutefois, l'actualité récente met en évidence des tensions autour de la responsabilité des humoristes et des membres de l'industrie de l'humour en général. Les procédures judiciaires de près de dix ans menant à l'acquiescement en Cour suprême de l'humoriste Mike Ward poursuivi pour atteinte à la dignité en raison d'une blague faite sur une personne en situation de handicap dans le cadre d'un spectacle d'humour soulèvent la question des frontières de la liberté d'expression. Dans ce contexte, quels sont les points de vue de l'opinion publique québécoise sur la responsabilité sociale des humoristes et leur rôle dans le renforcement ou l'effritement de la cohésion sociale en considérant, de façon particulière, les limites (ou les non-limites) de la liberté d'expression? Pour répondre à cette question, un sondage en ligne effectué sur Qualtrics et administré par Léger opinion (panel web) auprès de 500 adultes québécois a été réalisé afin d'évaluer le degré de responsabilité que les humoristes devraient assumer par rapport aux impacts de leurs créations sur la cohésion sociale. Les résultats de cette enquête démontrent le rôle de certaines variables dans la perception de l'opinion publique envers la responsabilité sociale des humoristes, notamment l'intérêt pour l'humour et l'allégeance politique.

**Who Gets the Credit? On the Nexus Between Belonging and Public Credit:** Dustin Fergusson-Vaux (University of Waterloo), Eric Helleiner (University of Waterloo)

**Abstract:** This paper seeks to illuminate how the politics of belonging palpably shape our world and communities through the rubric of public credit. It casts public credit policies as key institutional vectors through which the subjective nature of citizenship, social solidarity and obligation are adjudicated. It is hypothesized that preferential access to credit within discrete historical regime periods is adjudicated through political-economic ideas entailing salient visions of intra-national belonging. Those visions entail politically pliable entitlements hierarchies reflecting the victors and vanquished of interregal coalitional politics.

In the post-war 'Keynesian' period, industrialized states like Canada utilized interventionist credit regimes for directly allocating credit toward white working class families and key domestic manufacturing industries in line with an overarching public commitments to full employment and welfare provision. In the 'neoliberal' period, credit accrues to finance and natural resource sectors with an overarching proclivity toward market-based employment and welfare provision. Credit is a ubiquitous and multifaceted nation-building tool entailing varying degrees of political and economic entitlement based on subjective intersectionality.

An economic sociology lens will be utilized for illuminating public credit markets as ubiquitous sites of social domination, exploitation and extraction in line with the subjective intersectionality of politicized groups and individuals. This study will contribute to the emergent interdisciplinary literature on state credit policies, which so far lack a detailed account the symbiosis between the politics of public credit and belonging in the Canadian context. It also aims to rectify the wholesale dearth of credit policy research in Canadian political science.

## G13 - Levels, varieties and disputes of neoliberalism

### Économie politique

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Ipek Eren Vural (Middle East Technical University)

*?Streamlining? Municipal Democracy: Neoliberal Urbanism and the Erosion of Local Democracy in Ontario and Michigan:* Tom McDowell (Toronto Metropolitan University), Ryan Kelpin (York University)

**Abstract:** This article examines an understudied dimension of authoritarian neoliberalism: the increased use by subnational governments of constitutional authority to "streamline" local democratic processes and secure the implementation of neoliberal state restructuring programs against the headwinds of widespread public opposition. Although there is a growing body of research exploring the relationship between neoliberalism and the erosion of municipal democracy, the literature lacks comparative studies that critically frame these developments as part of a broader neoliberal strategy to enforce controversial reforms through increasingly authoritarian measures at the local level. In an effort to address this gap, we compare the institutional mechanisms and strategies used in recent years in Ontario and Michigan to trace these patterns across national boundaries. Our analysis reveals that, while each jurisdiction has pursued distinct approaches suited to its own institutional and political context, they share two important similarities. First, both have employed preemptive legislation to restrict municipalities from enacting progressive policies. Second, each has enacted procedures to suspend majority rule at the local level, empowering the municipal executive to bypass city councils and advance neoliberal reforms with little popular support. Drawing on Friedrich Hayek and James M. Buchanan's theories of constitutionalism, we argue that these similarities are not coincidental, but representative of a broader effort, consistent with neoliberalism's inner logic, to erode legislative authority and establish minority rule by restricting local democratic decision-making processes and autonomy

*Climate Change, Catastrophe, and Colonizing the Future: Insurance-linked securities and reproducing class relations of risk:* Korey Pasch (Queen's University)

**Abstract:** Political Economy helps us understand changing relations within contemporary neoliberal-led global capitalism. The increasing severity of catastrophic events speak to how these relations are being transformed and the consequences of those changing relations. Responses to these changing relations of catastrophic risk are largely market-led strategies to address risk ? greater insurance coverage for those most vulnerable to disaster. However, these strategies are part of the same capitalist structure that has produced these changing relations ? largely based upon class. I argue that insurance can be understood as the exemplification of neoliberal-led monetized governance strategies that confront climate change and risk by reproducing the present class-based relations of capital accumulation. I leverage the work of scholars such as Susanne Soederberg's focus on the role of class power in operationalizing risk into ?win-win? neoliberal policy approaches conducive to further market-led monetized governance under contemporary capitalism. My paper explores how hybrid insurance-finance instruments - Insurance-Linked Securities (ILS) have been positioned by finance capital, to assist this neoliberal project of managing catastrophic risk in the face of drastically changing human-environment relations.

Supervisor: Susanne Soederberg, Queen's University, soederberg@queensu.ca

*Financialization and Public Policy Change:* IPEK EREN VURAL (Middle East Technical University)

**Abstract:** Financialization research highlights how capital market actors? (ie. institutional investors, hedge funds, private equity and venture capital firms) rising structural power (ie. control over investment resources) transforms economic, and social aspects of our lives. Meanwhile, research into the same actors? behavioural power -- visible relations of direct political influence-- and ideological power --the strategies used in constructing and shaping reality-- is scant. This paper aims to contribute towards filling this gap by analyzing the relationship between financialization --the growing prominence of venture capital investments in the biopharmaceuticals industry-- and drug regulation in Canada. Drawing on in-depth interviews with a sample of federal health product regulators, and venture capital partners, as well as document-based analysis, the paper pursues two objectives. First, it identifies how market-based innovation policies in Canada reinforce financialization in the biopharmaceutical industry. Second, it identifies the regulatory reform preferences of venture capital firms; maps out the ways, and means (ie. policy alliances, institutional platforms, lobbying patterns, elite networks) through which these preferences are posited in the political realm, and investigates the narratives constructed to shape ideas, attitudes and meanings. The analysis is conducted from a critical political economy approach and in the context of a recently enacted and pioneering regulatory pathway in Canada for the market approval of advanced therapeutic products.

*Interrupting ?Embedded Neoliberalism? in Peru? The Impact of the European Union Deforestation Regulation (EUDR) on Peru's Agricultural Exporters:* Patrick Clark (St. Mary's University)

**Abstract:** This paper analyzes the impacts of the European Union Deforestation Regulation (EUDR) on the contemporary politics of rural development in Peru. The study will draw on primary sources, secondary literature, and open-ended interviews with key actors in Peru, including public servants and national-level peasant and agri-business organizations, to be conducted in the winter of 2025. The paper will consider the rural development policies implemented in Peru over the past three decades as an example of what Marcus Kurtz has conceptualized as ?embedded neoliberalism? (2001). Employing this framework, the paper will analyze how the end of import substitution policies in the agri-food sector in the 1990s coincided with new rural development policies and programs encouraging the expansion of non-traditional exports like coffee and cacao. Since the 1990s, access to international markets has increasingly required meeting certain standards, which, until recently, have mainly been private voluntary sustainability standards. However, recent international climate change commitments are leading to new legislation directly impacting exporters, such as the European Union Deforestation Regulation (EUDR), set to take effect in Peru in 2026 after pressure to delay its implementation in 2025. The EUDR forced the Peruvian government to

draft new legislation to address deforestation, passed by Peru's Congress in September 2024. This legislation has, ironically, been criticized by various actors in Peru as encouraging deforestation. This study will consider the contemporary politics of rural development in Peru in the context of the EUDR and different actors' responses in the coffee and cacao sectors.

---

## M13 - Syllabi

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 4 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

***Colonial Amnesia and Fragmented Narratives: The Importance of Beginnings and Foundations in Canadian Undergraduate International Development Studies Reading Lists:*** Alexandra Wilson (University of Ottawa), Maïka Sondarjee (University of Ottawa)

**Abstract:** This research examines the representation of colonial and decolonial histories within Canadian International Development Studies (IDS) curricula. Through a review of 59 first and second year Canadian IDS syllabi, this chapter argues that while colonial history receives substantial attention, decolonial history often remains marginal or is introduced only in advanced courses. This approach risks reinforcing colonial epistemologies and can limit students' critical engagement with alternative historical narratives and perspectives from the Global South. The analysis reveals that decolonial history, when included, tends to be compartmentalized, missing opportunities for integration into foundational courses. This selective inclusion shapes students' understanding of global power structures, often leaving them with a predominantly colonial framing. The chapter advocates for a more balanced and integrated approach, positioning decolonial history alongside colonial history in early courses to facilitate a comprehensive view of the complexities and legacies of colonialism. By integrating both histories across the curriculum, Canadian IDS programs can better equip students to engage critically with global issues, acknowledging not only the historical roots of development but also alternative, decolonial paths forward.

***Diversifying the Discipline: Establishing a Baseline to Support the Evolution of Inclusive Syllabi Development in Political Science:*** Katherine Boothe (McMaster University), Griselda Asamoah-Gyadu (McMaster University), Beyza Hatun Kiziltepe (McMaster University), Kayla Lui (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** An increasingly diverse literature explores the ways in which core curricula and the pedagogical practices of the academy reinforce social stratification and hierarchy (Sawer 2016, Dion et al 2018, Gaudry and Lorenz 2018, Mantz 2019, Andrews 2020, Hutfield 2021). As the 2025 CPSA Call for Proposals points out, this critical reflection on and reconsideration of curricula has deep implications for the politics of belonging on our campuses and in our discipline.

With the support of a strategic grant from the university provost, our team of faculty members and graduate students (abstract authors plus Drs. Adrienne Davidson and Szu-Yun Hsu) collected all undergraduate and graduate course outlines and PhD comprehensive exam reading lists in our department for the 2021-2023 academic years. We developed a coding scheme to describe authors' characteristics, prioritizing self-identification. For PhD exams, we also coded whether a reading engages with issues of gender, race, colonialism, Indigeneity, disability, sexual orientation.

In this paper, we discuss the development of our methodology to code and account for diversity in the discipline of political science, and report on the findings of our analysis of comprehensive exam lists. We discuss the differences that exist between disciplinary subfields in our mid-sized academic department in Ontario, and reflect on some of the challenges encountered to date in our research and in applying our methodology. As well, we discuss next steps and consider the opportunities and challenges associated with building our findings into a broader departmental conversation to facilitate change and advance more inclusive course designs.

***Is Anyone Doing it Better, and What Can be Learned? Exploring Best Practices in Diversifying Political Science Syllabi in Canada:*** Ulas Tastekin (McMaster University), Nathan Andrews (McMaster University), Akalya Kandiah (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Earlier research on decolonizing Political Science higher education in Canada revealed that the increasing efforts for equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) in the last two decades have had a limited impact on pedagogical practices in the discipline. All these studies contributed to the rising awareness in this sense, describing and criticizing the hegemonic narratives in curricula and discriminatory practices in faculty experiences and publication processes. Whereas these studies mostly focused on analyzing the given practices, very few resources investigate some possible best practices to make the discipline more diverse and inclusive in Canada or globally. However, throwing light upon best practices can help point out a direction for the discipline to align with the EDI efforts and provide a repertoire of available tools to create a more inclusive classroom environment. Therefore, this paper attempts to delineate some practices filtered from 85 syllabi from political science programs at undergraduate and graduate levels in 22 Canadian universities. Our findings pay particular attention to counterbalancing conventional material with critical perspectives, questioning the color and gender embedded in the object of inquiry, giving the floor to the marginalized voices (via local authors for case studies and guest lectures), and alternating assignment and assessment methods. These practices are important not only to generate certain ideas to make syllabi more diverse and inclusive but also to show that it is possible to question the given standards even in the seemingly most technical subfields. Therefore, even if these methods have yet to change the game, they can help to challenge the game. We hope that switching our focus from the given practices to possible alternative avenues can enhance our efforts to decolonize the discipline and create an inclusive learning environment.

***A Content Analysis of Disability Representation in Canadian Political Science Curricula:*** Chris Greenaway (University of Toronto Mississauga), Michael Cowan (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This study examines the representation of disability politics within Canadian political science, focusing on its relatively limited presence across university syllabi and textbooks. Through a comprehensive content analysis, the paper identifies significant gaps in attention to disability as a topic in political discourse and public policy education. Disability issues are frequently confined to narrow policy domains, such as health or social welfare, rather than being integrated into discussions of political identity, rights, and representation. This exclusion not only limits the scope of political science curricula but also underscores a broader deficiency in the theoretical and methodological frameworks within the discipline to adequately address the politics of

disability in an educational context. This research aims to foster interdisciplinary dialogue among educators, scholars, and curriculum designers, advocating for an expanded curricular design that places the politics of disability alongside other core topics in Canadian political science pedagogy.

---



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

## Day 2 - CPSA President's Dinner / Dîner du président de l'ACSP - TBD (06:30pm - 11:59pm)

## Day 3 - Session 1 (08:30am - 10:00am)

### A16(a) - National Identity and Multiculturalism

#### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

*Sentiment Analysis of Political Critiques on Multiculturalism in Canada: The Politics of Belonging:* Mahdi Baratalipour (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This study examines the emotional and rhetorical strategies used by various political and social movements in their critiques of multiculturalism in Canada, focusing on how sentiments shape political discourse. Groups such as the Conservative Party, Bloc Québécois, People's Party of Canada, Indigenous leaders, and far-right movements express diverse concerns related to national identity, cultural integration, and security. The study innovates by applying sentiment analysis through NLP tools like VADER to measure the tone (positive, negative, or neutral) and emotional intensity of these critiques, offering a novel approach to understanding political rhetoric in a multicultural context.

By analyzing political speeches, manifestos, and policy documents, the research identifies the emotional underpinnings of opposition to multiculturalism, comparing how different groups frame their critiques. Beyond simply categorizing sentiments, the study explores the intensity of emotional appeals and identifies the specific rhetorical techniques used to engage with public sentiment on multiculturalism.

The findings contribute to broader discussions about identity, citizenship, and national unity in Canada, revealing how emotionally charged critiques of multiculturalism reflect deeper ideological divides. This research not only advances the use of NLP in political analysis but also provides valuable insights into how emotion-driven rhetoric influences public policy and national debates on multiculturalism, with potential applications in other multicultural societies.

Keywords: Sentiment Analysis, Multiculturalism, Canada, Political Critiques, National Identity, Cultural Integration, NLP, VADER, Rhetorical Strategies, Conservative Party, Bloc Québécois, People's Party of Canada, Indigenous Leaders, Far-Right Movements.

*Imagining Futures Beyond Crisis: Expanding Political Imagination in Canada through Speculative Fiction:* Stephen Gnanasihmany (Concordia University), Daniel Salée (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Facing compounding sociopolitical crises, Canada is experiencing a widespread sense of despair, political fatalism, and fear of the future. Such affects encourage denial, doubt, and a sense of futility in the face of crisis, making it difficult to imagine political futures where we collectively and successfully overcome such challenges. This research explores this failure of political imagination, locating its structural roots within neoliberalism and settler nationalism, and argues that engagement with speculative fiction texts that depict collective action and resistance amidst adverse conditions leading to successful social change can stimulate political imagination and encourage action. In this paper, I pursue a critical textual analysis of three such texts: Butler's Parable of the Sower (1993), where characters respond to social breakdown in early 2020s California; Dimaline's The Marrow Thieves (2017), portraying resistance to colonial violence in an apocalyptic Canada; and Vowel's Buffalo is the New Buffalo (2022), featuring speculative short stories grounded in Indigenous futurisms. Featuring authors writing from both the United States and Canada allows us to connect the crisis of political imagination in Canada to broader contexts while also exploring the particularities of expanding political imagination within Canada. By synthesizing threads of theoretical, empirical, and textual analysis through an interdisciplinary lens, I aim to clearly define Canada's contemporary crisis of political imagination, understand its structural roots, and explore speculative fiction as a pathway towards envisioning and enacting more hopeful, justice-oriented, and pro-social collective futures.

*Tracing Shifts in Multicultural Consensus Through Semantic Analysis of Political Narratives:* Mahdi Baratalipour (University of Toronto Scarborough), Danielle Bohonos (University of Toronto Scarborough), Christopher Cochrane (University of Toronto Scarborough), Md Mujahedul Islam (University of Toronto Scarborough)

**Abstract:** We examine the evolution of multicultural consensus in Canada. Building on literature in political communication and multiculturalism, we leverage tools from natural language processing to analyze how concepts central to multiculturalism—such as diversity, inclusion, and integration—have transformed in Canadian political narratives. We are particularly interested in diachronic analyses of embeddings spaces, and we experiment with Procrustes analysis, optimization, and other approaches to map temporal changes in the meaning of concepts. We contribute to understanding temporal shifts in public sentiment by further demonstrating the utility of embeddings models for studying complex social phenomena.

If accepted for presentation, please include the full list of authors' names: Mahdi Baratalipour, Danielle Bohonos, Christopher Cochrane, Md Mujahedul Islam, Ken Kato, and Meghan Snider. The website allowed us to add only four authors' names.

*Reframing Canadian Identity: The NFBC's Role in Public Discourse and Democratic Engagement:* John Bessai (University College of the North)

**Abstract:** How does the National Film Board of Canada (NFBC) contribute to democratic engagement and the shaping of Canadian identity through its storytelling initiatives? This paper investigates the NFBC's role in navigating the Canadian aporetic condition—the tensions inherent in Canadian democracy, such as colonial legacies, multiculturalism, and environmental challenges—through storytelling that emphasizes coexistence and shared

responsibility.

Focusing on Circa 1948 and Biidaaban: First Light, this study examines how these projects reframe public discourse on identity and democracy. Circa 1948 employs augmented reality to reconstruct post-war Vancouver, exposing urban displacement and inequality themes. Meanwhile, Biidaaban integrates Indigenous knowledge and speculative futures to challenge dominant cultural narratives and prompt reflection on sustainable coexistence with the environment.

Using interdisciplinary methodologies from political science and visual culture studies, this research explores how national institutions like the NFBC engage with diverse perspectives to promote dialogue on Canadian identity. It demonstrates how storytelling can reshape public discourse to address democratic resilience, bridging communities and reframing what it means to live together in a pluralistic society.

---

## F16 - Public Opinion and the Politics of AI and Digital Technologies

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 08:30am - 10:00am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Anne Imouza (McGill University)

Co-Chair/Président/Présidente : Tyler Romualdi (Western University)

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

*Theorizing Artificial Intelligence Acceptance: The role of Social Identity and Intersectionality:* Anne Imouza (McGill University)

**Abstract:** This paper introduces a critical approach to studying the acceptance of artificial intelligence (AI) by examining the differential benefits accrued from emerging technologies. This paper aims at establishing an extension of existing frameworks such as the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM2), designed to elucidate the factors influencing individuals' acceptance or scepticism toward new technologies. Unlike traditional models, I argue that these models should incorporate an intersectional and critical race perspective to explore variations in technology acceptance across diverse demographic and social identity categories. While previous models account for various core constructs and predictors of individual behavior towards technology, this study argues for a more fine-grained analysis that examines how intersectional identities-based concerns can lead to subgroup variations regarding the acceptance of AI systems. Such an approach enables a comprehensive evaluation of how intersecting identities impact technology acceptance levels. Drawing from critical race theory, feminist theory, and technology studies, this interdisciplinary framework provides a robust theoretical foundation for understanding AI acceptance in society and in survey-based research.

*Risk and the Gender Gap in Attitudes Toward Artificial Intelligence:* Sophie Borwein (University of British Columbia), Beatrice Magistro (California Institute of Technology), Michael Alvarez (California Institute of Technology), Bart Bonikowski (New York University), Peter Lowen (Cornell University)

**Abstract:** The potential for artificial intelligence to profoundly disrupt life and work has prompted governments to consider how best to regulate the technology. Against this backdrop, this paper examines the gender gap in attitudes toward AI, with a focus on how gendered differences in risk perceptions drive support for its adoption and regulation. Analyzing closed- and open-ended survey questions from a survey of approximately 3,000 respondents across Canada and the United States, we show that women are more skeptical than men of AI's economic benefits, and more likely to emphasize economic risks such as job displacement. Our analysis identifies two key drivers behind this gender gap: women's higher levels of latent risk aversion and higher exposure to AI-related risks. To establish a causal relationship between risk and AI attitudes, we further show experimentally that as the perceived benefits of AI become more uncertain, women's support for companies adopting AI falls more sharply than men's, and their support for government intervention against AI increases. Considering technology's capacity to reinforce gender inequalities, we conclude that AI policies and regulations that fail to incorporate women's perspectives risk perpetuating these disparities in the workplace and society.

*Who Rages Against the Machine? Dread, Controllability, and Public Backlash Toward AI Advances in the US, Canada, and Japan:* Tyler Romualdi (Western University), Tyler Girard (Purdue University), Mathieu Turgeon (Western University), Yannick Dufresne (Université Laval), Takeshi Iida (Doshisha University), Tetsuya Matsubayashi (Osaka University)

**Abstract:** What explains citizens' apprehension toward and backlash against emerging artificial intelligence (AI) technologies? Public concerns about AI and its associated risks are well-documented. Yet, substantial disagreement exists regarding the factors that explain individuals' unease and the reasons behind their opposition to AI development. While recent research suggests that feelings of dread – the magnitude of the risk associated with the technology – and concerns about controllability – the ability to manage its development and consequences – are distinct concerns that shape AI attitudes, it remains unclear if they can play a causal role. We build on this research by investigating whether these two dimensions – dread and controllability – causally affect attitudes toward AI. To do so, we focus on the contentious issue of AI in organ transplant allocation and patient prioritization decisions. Using survey experiments conducted in the United States, Canada, and Japan, we manipulate how AI is framed in terms of its potential risks (dread) and controllability within this application domain. The findings highlight how varying concerns about dread and controllability shape citizens' apprehension toward controversial AI applications, their unease about the implications for human expertise, and their calls for restrictions on AI developments cross-nationally.

*Understanding How the Public Judges Online Misinformation: The role of partisanship.:* John McAndrews (McMaster University), Ori Freiman (McMaster University), Esteban Robles Dávila (Universidad ICESI), Clifton van der Linden (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** Misinformation is a complex social challenge – one made more difficult by the rise of new digital technologies. Amidst a proliferation of research activity and public debate, however, we argue that the public's voice has been largely missing. With a handful of important exceptions, few scholars have asked: What do citizens want done – or not done – about misinformation online? To help answer this question, we focus in this paper on the potential role of partisanship and partisan bias in structuring individuals' judgments. We present two novel, between-subjects survey experiments – each fielded in 2024 to opt-in panel samples of Canadians. In the first experiment, participants are presented with a hypothetical scenario in which a person posted a message to social media containing a false statement about an election candidate; the partisanship of the person posting is varied. In the second experiment, participants are presented with a hypothetical scenario in which a person posted a message to social media containing a false statement about the next federal election; in this instance, both the partisan orientation of the message and the national origin of the person posting were varied. Post-treatment, participants in both experiments were asked to assess the harm of the hypothetical message and to indicate their support for, or opposition to, the government requiring the social media website to remove the message. By estimating the scope of partisan bias in this domain, the paper yields important implications for current policy debates about government responses to misinformation in the digital era.

*Artificial Influence? Comparing AI and Human Persuasion in Reducing Belief Certainty:* Natasha Goel (University of Toronto), Thomas Bergeron (University of Toronto), Blake Lee-Whiting (University of Toronto), Thomas Galipeau (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** People often resist updating their beliefs even when those beliefs are contradicted by strong evidence, making efforts to persuade them seem futile. While some new research suggests AI could be a solution to this problem, its persuasive capacity remains under explored. This pre-registered study tests five hypotheses by examining whether Large Language Models (LLMs) can reduce belief certainty for a sample of N=1,690 Americans recruited through CloudResearch Connect, all of whom hold at least one false, or unsupported, belief. All treated participants engaged in up to five rounds of conversation with ChatGPT-4o, but the treatment manipulated who they believed they were talking to: ChatGPT, an expert on the topic, or a fellow survey respondent who disagreed with them. Across all conditions, we found that AI reduced participants' certainty in their false or unsupported beliefs, with 29% of participants even switching to the accurate counterpart of the belief post-treatment. Interestingly, in considering source effects, ChatGPT was not significantly more persuasive than a fellow survey taker, but the expert condition was. We did not find that perceptions of AI objectivity and knowledgeability served as moderators for the AI condition, and neither did anti-intellectualism affect for the expert condition. In shifting the focus to the messenger, our results contribute to our understanding of effective strategies for persuasion. We show that AI can indeed be persuasive, even in the face of strongly held beliefs; however, when source identity is considered, human experts hold a much stronger appeal.

---

## Day 3 - Session 2 (10:15am - 11:45am)

### A17 - Agenda setting, policy change and policy effects

#### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

**Participating in Integration Activities and Participating in the Host Community: A Study of Integration Programs? and their Policy Feedback Effects:** Valérie-Anne Mahéo (Université Laval), Thomas Gareau-Paquette (Cornell University), Alexander Ross (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** This study examines how participation in Quebec's Programme d'accompagnement et de soutien à l'intégration (PASI) shapes recent immigrants' integration and civic engagement through policy feedback effects. While existing research has explored policy feedback mechanisms among general populations, little attention has been paid to how public integration programs and services specifically may generate resource and interpretive effects for newcomers. Drawing on a three-wave panel survey of recent immigrants in Quebec, we first investigate the factors influencing program uptake, testing competing hypotheses about whether PASI activities primarily reach those most in need or those best equipped to navigate administrative systems and access these services. We then employ matching techniques to assess the causal impact of program participation on three key outcomes: civic engagement, sense of belonging, and linguistic participation. Our findings suggest that integration services effectively reach more vulnerable populations (including non-francophones, racial minorities, and those outside Montreal) and generate significant positive effects on engagement and provincial attachment, though with limited impact on French language use. This study advances both policy feedback theory and immigrant integration research by demonstrating how targeted government programs can serve as catalysts for civic and political incorporation among newcomer populations.

**Reassessing Canadian Agenda-Setting Studies Under American Influence in the Digital Age:** Samuel Goertz (University of Alberta), Jared Wesley (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** This paper explores agenda-setting in Canadian political science in the twenty-first century, with particular attention to the influence of the United States. The central question of this research is whether existing scholarship can adequately explain Canadian agenda-setting dynamics in the 2020s and how we account for the pervasive American influence on our media, government, and public agendas. Based on a review of the literature, I argue that Canadian agenda-setting studies are in serious need of revitalization: not only to reflect the vastly changed landscape of digital versus traditional media but also to address the complexities of cross-border agenda-setting, which current research only hints at. Furthermore, while there is considerable work on the cultural impact of Americanization, little focuses on the American influence over Canada's public agenda?what issues Canadians prioritize and how these priorities are shaped by American public, governmental, and media agendas. Additionally, there is a lack of emphasis on individual-level factors that shape how Canadian citizens are impacted by this influence. This paper takes as central the work of Stuart Soroka's *Agenda-setting Dynamics in Canada* (2002), a foundational study that I use to trace the evolution of agenda-setting in Canadian political science, while identifying gaps in public agenda dynamics and cross-border influence. Adapted from a state-of-the-field paper, this work is structured as a "literature review with teeth," providing a comprehensive overview of key inquiries and pointing to deficiencies and opportunities for further study. Ultimately, this paper clarifies the unique challenges facing Canadian agenda-setting in an era of pervasive American influence.

**Challenging Canada's Citizenship Regime Amidst Social Crises: Examining Government Recognition in Voluntary Sector Mobilization for Underrepresented Communities in Urban Ontario:** Arvind Krishendeholl (University of Toronto), Linda White (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Theories of social inclusion and pluralism have been subject to considerable discussion amongst students of political science, particularly amidst times of social change and conflict. Canada, where its diversity is touted on the international stage, has often been a focal point in examining the conceptualization and significance of equitable policy design in effectively addressing the evolving socioeconomic needs of its pluralistic society. This paper offers new insights into Canada's citizenship regime by investigating, through a qualitative study, the emergence and continued recognition of Black-led, Black-focused, and Black-serving (B3) voluntary sector organizations as influential policy vehicles advocating for the social well-being of underrepresented communities in urban Ontario since the COVID-19 pandemic. Drawing on John Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MSF), this paper identifies three key focusing events that have contributed to this shift in government recognition of representational activities pursued by these groups: (1) the renewal of the Black Lives Matter movement in social discourse, (2) the implementation of COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, and (3) the release of socio-demographic healthcare data during the pandemic. In addition to examining the convergence of these events, this paper will further investigate the political and policy dimensions of this new, strengthened relationship, and its broader implications for state-societal relations for Canada's increasingly diverse communities and the state.

---

## A17(a) - Political Leaders and Leadership

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*Leaders in the Canadian Public Eye: When Authenticity, Proximity and Competence are at Play:* Mireille Lalancette (UQTR), Éric Bélanger (McGill)

**Abstract:** This paper explores the various perceptions about leaders' traits in Canada using survey data provided by C-DEM about provincial leaders, from the 2020-2023 Provincial and Territorial Election Studies. Building on Ceccobelli and Di Gregorio's (2022) triangle of leadership theory to assess the perceptions of Canadian leaders and using specific questions related to leadership perceptions, this research provides an unprecedented portrait of the ways Canadians perceive their provincial leaders. This theory is helpful for many reasons. It has proven a valuable resource for studying current approaches to self-presentation and storytelling used by leaders about themselves and their opponents. Ceccobelli and Di Gregorio argue that branding and leadership evaluation are based on three complementary elements that we can present in the form of a triangle, where competence, authenticity and proximity/ordinariness fit together and combine to help convince voters of political leaders' ability to lead. In other words, political figures are judged on the basis of their ability to be consistently perceived as competent, authentic, and close to the people. In this theory, these three dimensions are not in contrast to each other, but work in combination. This paper offers the first empirical study using survey data to test this theory. This study is thus the first to attach the model to real-life data in order to test it. It will provide much needed perspective on provincial leadership and thus contribute to offer a more acute reckoning of the diverse realities and perspectives on leadership in the Canadian provinces. More broadly, this comprehensive overview informs our understanding of the relationship between democracy and trust in Canada.

*The Mediatization of Party Switching: Leadership and Team Spirit:* Mireille Lalancette (UQTR), Alex Marland (Acadia), Jared Wesley (Alberta U)

**Abstract:** This paper follows the forthcoming publication of No I in Team Party Loyalty in Canadian Politics manuscript (Marland, Lalancette & Wesley 2025) and uses party switching in Canada as a case study for examining the mediatization of politics theory. Party switching events are often spectacular events. They involve secrecy, scandal, bickering, fighting, and ego bruises. Journalists take a close look at the stories involving switching from a party to another or simply leaving one's party to sit as an independent. What are the narratives that come out of the news stories about party switching in Canada? Can we see an evolution of the ways the events are covered over time? These questions are at the heart of this research project involving the qualitative and quantitative discourse analysis of all the news articles about approximately 200 party switching or party defection events in Canada between 1981 and 2023. These analyses shed light about the evolution of news coverage of political events. Over time, we saw that the conflict between the leader of the party and the leaver occupies most of the narratives. The personality defects and over-ambition of the leaver are also important storytelling elements. These results are in line with the increasing personalization of politics over time. In a similar way, the spectacular side of switching events becomes more important as we step into a 24/7 news flow. These results allow us to shed light on the mediatization of politics theory and bring a longitudinal perspective on the evolution of the ways in which politics shapes its relationship to the media and it could potentially affect the way citizens relate to political actors, institutions and more broadly to democratic practices in general.

*Driver's Seat or Backseat Drivers? Canadian Prime Ministers and Leadership of Cabinet Committees:* Kenny Ie (University of British Columbia), Nicholas Allen (Royal Holloway, University of London), Nora Siklodi (University of Portsmouth)

**Abstract:** Although cabinet committees have existed at the federal level in Canada since 1867, their emergence as primary, institutionalized mechanisms of cabinet process dates only to the 1960s and Pierre Trudeau's reforms to cabinet and the centre of government (Ie 2019; Koerner 1989; Matheson 1976). These reforms regularized the referral and delegation of decisions to committees prior to cabinet confirmation, enabling committees to play key agenda-setting and decision-making roles in the policy process. Notably, the prime minister enjoys complete discretion in the structuring of committees, including number, responsibilities, membership, and assignment of chairs, who act for the Prime Minister with his or her authority, including setting the committee agenda? (Privy Council Office 2015). In this paper, we examine how the prime minister's choice of committee chairs both self-assignments and choice of other ministers is indicative of their priorities, management and leadership style, and relational dynamics with cabinet colleagues. We assess Canadian prime ministers' assignment of cabinet committee chairs from 1968 to 2024 as one of a set of studies we are undertaking, investigating committee chairs in the British context and comparatively in a broad set of European parliamentary systems.

*Redefining Election Loss: Triggers of Leadership Races in Canadian Provincial and Federal Political Parties (2000-2023):* Audrey Brennan (Institut National de Recherche Scientifique)

**Abstract:** Scholars generally agree that political parties change their leaders after losing an election (Leduc 2001). Pruyers and Stewart (2018), building on the "contagion effect" of leadership selection rules from Cross and Blais (2012), explore whether Canadian federal and provincial parties emulate each other's leadership races and conclude that there are no pan-Canadian practices. This study investigates whether election failure predetermines changes in leadership selection methods among Canadian political parties and whether these parties influence one another.

To redefine election loss, we revisit the theoretical foundations of political party organizational change through the lenses of inherency and contingency theory, critically reviewing existing scholarship through Shugart's (2008) model aimed at identifying the drivers of electoral reform. Utilizing an original dataset of leadership races from 2000 to 2023, we find that the duration of time spent in opposition is a better predictor of leadership changes than mere election losses or declines in seats and votes. Our analysis indicates that prolonged opposition—not just losing power—serves as the primary catalyst for change, with maintaining parliamentary status proving to be a more consistent factor than electoral outcomes alone.

Lastly, we observe that parties adopt similar leadership selection selectorates as other parties within their jurisdiction or other parties of the same family

across different Canadian jurisdictions. However, as the data is perfectly separated, further investigation is necessary to confirm this conclusion.

---

## A17(b) - Political Discourses and Parliamentary Debates

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*Politicizing Facts in Canadian Parliament:* Edward Koning (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** Contemporary political controversies often seem to center on issues that can be verified empirically, such as on whether or not the average temperature on the planet is increasing, whether a majority of immigrants are from Muslim-majority countries, and on whether crime rates are increasing. Such contestation ? which I will refer to as the politicization of facts ? arguably challenges the very foundations of our system of government which aims to incorporate diverse interests, priorities and values but is not designed to weigh diverse perceptions of empirically verifiable facts. In an era of alternative facts and fake news, it is tempting to assume there is something new about this phenomenon, and to associate it with the rise of (in particular right-wing) populist actors over the last two decades. However, existing research has so far not attempted to test this assumption systematically. We simply do not have evidence that demonstrates a systematic connection between the politicization of facts on the one hand and the success of right-wing populism on the other. As a preliminary investigation of this relationship, this paper presents the results from a systematic comparison of parliamentary debates on 86 bills in the Canadian parliament spanning two time periods (1994-2000 and 2015-2021) and three subjects (the environment, citizenship and immigration, and crime). This research design provides multiple comparative angles that allow for an assessment both of the level of disagreement on empirically verifiable information in Canadian parliamentary debates and the extent to which it is driven by populism.

*?It's All in The Word?: Strategic Uses of Languages for Political Gain in Canada:* Emmanuelle Richez (University of Windsor), Vincent Raynauld (Emerson College)

**Abstract:** While many studies have taken interest in the strategic uses of language (e.g. French, English) for political outreach and engagement by elected officials, candidates during elections, and government agencies, few have unpacked their impact on the tone, structure, and targeting of political messages. Indeed, members of different linguistic and, by extension, cultural communities can have different political priorities and objectives, which can in turn influence how politicians develop and roll out their political appeals. This study takes interest in this dynamic in Canada and fills gaps in the scholarly literature. It does so by looking at how elected officials in ridings with a high level of French and English-speaking Canadians communicate with members of the public, such as by adjusting the tone, structure, and themes discussed in their political messages based on the language used to engage with audience members? preferences and objectives. Specifically, it analyzes the content of the bilingual (French-English) publications of Canadian elected officials representing ridings with a large official language minority (over 25% of the population) on social media platforms, including X and Facebook. It compares several facets of these publications, including the issues and public policies discussed, the tone of the messages, the timing of the publications of the posts, and the communication channels used. This paper argues differences of varying importance exist between the messages shared with different sociolinguistic groups of a population in a national context.

*Language in the House: Examining the Conservative Party of Canada's Use of Liberal Gender Rhetoric:* Esli Chan (McGill University), Kelly Gordon (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Gender politics have become increasingly divisive within the evolving Conservative Party of Canada. Conservatism in Canada has historically emphasized tradition and preservation of social norms. Critics also argue that conservatism lacks a firm ideological foundation, instead reacting to the dominance of the Liberal Party. However, the Party has come to adopt a more progressive stance on gender in recent years. This raises the question of whether the Party's gender-progressive politics is genuinely ideological or merely strategic. This paper examines speeches by Conservative Members of Parliament (MP) on gender-related Bills from 2014 to 2024, using a discursive and institutional approach to evaluate the Party's relationship with gender politics. I explore three main questions: how does the gendered rhetoric used by Conservative MPs ideologically align with the content of proposed gender-related Bills? Do Conservative approaches to gendered rhetoric differ when proposing or opposing gender-related Bills? How might institutional structures shape Conservative engagement with gender issues? I argue that Conservative gendered rhetoric varies depending on its stance in the House. In opposing legislation, Conservatives adopt progressive rhetoric, leveraging Liberal Party language against themselves while qualifying social conservative talking points as progressive. In proposing legislation, Conservatives narrow their gender vocabulary by equating gender politics to the protection of vulnerable young women and using gender politics to promote other Conservative priorities, such as penal politics, protectionism, and nationhood. This varied approach is shaped by the historical party and parliamentary structures and the dominant role of the Liberal Party.

*The opioid crisis debates in the Canadian House of Commons:* Ahmed Al-Rawi (Simon Fraser University)

**Abstract:** This study seeks to understand what discourses are associated with the opioid crisis in the Canadian House of Commons and how they have changed over time. The initial argument is that these debates provide an understanding of what is important to each political party concerning the opioid crisis. We show that criminalizing drug use has been important to some parties in these debates especially the Conservative Party, while the NDP mostly frames it as a social and public health emergency. By analyzing debates using a mixed method approach, we offer an understanding of how the major issues like new solutions, public safety, treatments, overdose death, and systemic racism have evolved and discussed by different parties, and in some cases the discussion becomes polarized.

---



## F17 - Applied Experimental Methods in Political Behaviour

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Chair/Président/Présidente : Vince Hopkins (University of British Columbia)

Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice : Christian Schimpf (University of British Columbia)

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

**Can Conversational AI Influence Party Choice Among Immigrants?:** Yamil Velez (Columbia University), Semra Sevi (University of Toronto), Daniel Rubenson (Toronto Metropolitan University), Donald P. Green (Columbia University)

**Abstract:** Political incorporation can be hindered when immigrants struggle to translate their political preferences across different contexts. This study investigates how immigrants' longstanding political attachments and partisan identities shape their party identification in host countries. While immigrants often retain political ideologies and loyalties from their homelands, these may not align with the political landscape of their new country. However, information about how party systems differ across countries can be difficult to obtain. To address this, we developed a chatbot that uses information about party systems in immigrants' countries of origin and integrates a large language model with retrieval-augmented generation to provide balanced, official party information from the host country. We are currently conducting an experiment in Canada with 2,000 immigrants to assess how effectively this "political translation" bot helps improve their understanding of party positions and fosters new partisan attachments.

NOTE - there are six authors in total on this paper. As CPSA only allows four entries, here is the full list of authors:

Authors:

? Yamil Velez (yrv2004@columbia.edu) -- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Columbia University

? Semra Sevi (semra.sevi@utoronto.ca)-- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto

? Daniel Rubenson (rubenson@torontomu.ca) -- Professor, Department of Politics & Public Administration, Toronto Metropolitan University

? Donald P. Green (dpg2110@columbia.edu) ? Professor, Department of Political Science, Columbia University

? Phil Triadafilopoulos (t.triadafilopoulos@utoronto.ca) ? Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto

? Vince Hopkins (vince.hopkins@ubc.ca) ? Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia

Presenter: Semra Sevi

**Misinformation Correction and Preference Concealment: Evidence from Disaster Relief during Hurricane Helene:** Boyoon Lee (Queens University), Ted Hsuan Yun Chen (George Mason University)

**Abstract:** Surveys that examine respondents' reactions to misinformation correction are commonly used to assess the effectiveness of accurate information in combating misinformation. However, concerns have been raised regarding the validity of these responses due to potential preference concealment ? being corrected may signal that the misinformation is socially undesirable, leading respondents to conceal their genuine, but socially disapproved, preferences. We use a list experiment to assess the impact of social desirability bias on survey responses to misinformation correction, and how this varies across partisan groups. Specifically, our empirical test asks respondents to read a news article about Hurricane Helene, during which Trump made false statements about disaster relief funds being diverted toward migrants who entered the country illegally, and was called out by political elites across the aisle. We experimentally vary the information across two dimensions: the correction of misinformation (misinformation alone v.s. misinformation and correction) and the source of the correction (own party v.s. opposite party). The Hurricane Helene case has important features for our study as climate disaster relief has been a relatively non-partisan issue in the U.S., making Trump's claims a relative shock to the public opinion system, and making corrections from both Democrat and Republican sources credible treatments. This study provides new insights into the role of partisan motivations in concealing sincere beliefs and opinions in the face of misinformation.

**The Impact of Priming Cues on Public Attitudes: The Case of Central Bank Digital Currencies:** Anwar Sheluchin (McMaster University), Jordan Mansell (McMaster University), Ori Freiman (McMaster University), John McAndrews (McMaster University)

**Abstract:** This paper investigates whether elite cues shape public attitudes toward central bank digital currencies (CBDCs) and influence trust in the Bank of Canada. Amid growing concerns over central bank independence and the politicization of monetary policy, understanding how elite messages affect public perceptions of central bank legitimacy is crucial. The political behaviour literature emphasizes the role of elite cues in shaping public opinion, particularly in policy areas where citizens have limited information and rely on cues from trusted sources. This study contributes to that literature by hypothesizing that exposure to positive or negative elite cues can significantly impact trust in the Bank of Canada. To test this hypothesis, we employed a within-subjects experimental design. Our experiment involved priming participants with varying elite statements about CBDCs, including statements from specific political elites?one endorsing cryptocurrency and another opposing CBDCs. The findings suggest that individuals exposed to a positive prime or to a political elite's endorsement of Bitcoin were subsequently less trusting of the Bank of Canada's ability to issue a secure CBDC. However, exposure to a negative prime or a political elite's opposition to CBDCs did not significantly impact trust in the Bank.

NOTE: The CPSA conference submission feature only allows for up to four authors. There are five authors on this paper. Here is the full list:

Authors:

- ? Anwar Sheluchin (mohaa33@mcmaster.ca) -- PhD Student, Department of Political Science, McMaster University \*Lead and presenting author
- ? Jordan Mansell (mansellj@mcmaster.ca) -- Postdoctoral fellow, Digital Society Lab, McMaster University
- ? Ori Freiman (freimano@mcmaster.ca) -- Postdoctoral fellow, Digital Society Lab, McMaster University
- ? John McAndrews (john.mcandrews@mcmaster.ca) -- Adjunct assistant professor, Department of Political Science, McMaster University
- ? Clifton van der Linden (cliff.vanderlinden@mcmaster.ca) -- Associate professor, Department of Political Science, McMaster University

Presenter: Anwar Sheluchin

*Who's "Really" Authentic? The Role of Race, Gender, and Party in Shaping Perceptions of Candidate Authenticity:* Emil Francis (Memorial University of Newfoundland), Amanda Bittner (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

**Abstract:** In 2019, Stiers et al. advanced a measure of authenticity based on a six-item battery, arguing that voters differentiate between candidates based on perceptions of authenticity, which can be distinguished from other personality traits. Their work suggests that perceived candidate authenticity is consequential for voters' evaluations of parties, leaders, and vote intention. We build on this work by assessing the extent to which Canadians evaluate candidate authenticity, extending the analysis to consider the role of other key demographic variables in influencing perceptions of representatives. Using an intersectional approach, we analyze the results of a survey experiment embedded in an original survey fielded in Canada in the spring of 2024. We look at the extent to which race, gender, and party of representatives intersect to influence voters' perceptions of their authenticity.

---

## G17 - ROUNDTABLE Book panel ? The Trudeau Record: Promise v. Performance

### Économie politique

**Date :** Jun 5 2023 | **Heure :** 10:15am - 11:45am | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Laura Macdonald (Carleton University)

Pat Armstrong (York University)

Hugh Armstrong (Carleton)

Paula Maurutto (University of Toronto)

Christina Gabriel (Carleton)

Nisha Nath (Athabasca University)

Susan Prentice (University of Manitoba)

Katherine Scott (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives)

**Abstract:** This roundtable will provide insights from this book published in 2024 by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and Lorimer Press. The Trudeau government came into office promising a wholly different government from the combative rein of Stephen. The new government deliberately set a very high bar for itself. No government, of course, fulfils every promise it makes to voters at election time. And unplanned events derail the best of intentions. The Trudeau government had its fair share of those ? including a global pandemic and the election of now two Trump administrations committed to upending the rules-based international order and long-term alliances. But, looking back on the Trudeau government?s performance over the past nine years?with the exception of major policy achievements such as the Canada Child Benefit, the 2021 child care deal, renewed investment in housing, and efforts to reframe the Crown?s relations with Indigenous peoples?this government has consistently overcommitted and underdelivered. The book provides a systematic overview of the government of Justin Trudeau since he came to office in 2015. On this roundtable, authors of chapters in the book critically evaluate the government?s record on such issues as immigration, Canada-US relations, childcare, gender politics, race and racial justice, health care and drug policy.

---

## G17 - Regional political economy- agriculture, food and work

### Économie politique

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

*Between structure and subjectivity: migrant farmworker experiences of agricultural labour in Canada and Guatemala:* Chris Little (York University), Jeffery Webber (York University)

**Abstract:** Drawing on fieldwork carried out with Guatemalan migrant farmworkers in Canada and communities within Guatemala itself, this paper explores worker subjectivity within the labour-process of transnational agriculture from the perspectives of alienation, mute compulsion and social reproduction.

The paper is rooted in understanding of migrant workers as bearers of the commodity labour-power, which they are compelled to sell on the labour market either in their country of origin or in receiving states. While this labour is nominally 'free', it takes place under the 'mute compulsion of economic relations'. By paying attention to such mute compulsion, we are thus drawn to analyze the social context which creates such economic relations? structural forces of power and politics, the uneven structuring of the world economy and the nature of the labour process across multiple sites of work.

Yet such a structural analysis, while necessary, elides a crucial part of the story? that of worker self-understanding, their subjectivity. As human beings, workers have complex and multifaceted understandings of their roles, the choices available to them, their experiences within the workplace and the structural constraints that they face in trying to meet the subsistence needs of themselves and their families.

Investigating subjectivity on its own is not enough, but neither is analysis focused solely on the level of structure. In working to bridge the two and analyze them in interplay, this paper attends to the abstract theoretical implications for understanding migrant labour in the contemporary world economy, while centring the concrete of Guatemalan farmworker experiences.

*The Political Economy of Feed and Feeding: Work, Dependence, and Domination:* Sarah Martin (Memorial University), Charles Mather (Memorial University)

**Abstract:** The Political Economy of Feed and Feeding: Work, Dependence, and Domination  
Sarah J. Martin and Charles Mather,  
Memorial University

This paper examines the problem of industrial animal agriculture through a discussion of the political economy of animal feed and the relations that are generated through confinement, dependence and domination of non-human animals. The fundamental problems of this mode of agriculture can be summarized as overworking animals, overworking humans and overworking the environment. The majority of literature on industrial animal agriculture highlights the myriad of political-economic, ethical, environmental, and social problems through, for example, consumption politics, animal welfare and rights, the need to feed future populations, environmental degradation etc. This paper takes a different approach to focus on the problem of work and overwork in industrial animal agriculture. We examine the work of industrial animal agriculture and speculate on what a post-work agriculture might look like.

*Regional disparities in firms? participation in global value chains (GVCs):* Zarlisht Razeq (Princeton University)

**Abstract:** What explains the uneven participation of firms in global value chains (GVCs) across regions? Participation in GVCs offers significant opportunities for regional economic development, particularly in developing countries. Over the past two decades, production has shifted from the global North to the South, enabling these nations to specialize and upgrade industrially without building an entire sector from scratch. However, the benefits of GVC participation are unevenly distributed across regions. While some regions in countries like Poland, the Czech Republic, Vietnam, and China are more successful in their integration with global supply chains, many other regions have not, despite similar favorable conditions. This study aims to understand this uneven participation by examining both micro-level (firm and location-specific advantages) and macro-level (trade and economic institutions, policies, and geographic characteristics) factors. To this end, I am building a comprehensive geocoded firm-level dataset for 124 countries from 2006 to 2020, engaging with economic geography and trade literature, and using causal inference methods and case studies. Preliminary findings suggest that geography is not a 'curse?'; while macro-level physical and institutional factors are essential for GVC integration, their interaction with micro-level factors creates location-specific advantages for producers, determining their gain and loss in terms of access to GVC linkages. Understanding these advantages is crucial for informing inclusive economic development policies and ensuring equitable globalization benefits.

*Inherited Wealth, Unequal States: The Impact of Inheritance on Life Satisfaction in Eastern and Western Germany:* Evelyne Brie (Université de Montréal)

**Abstract:** A significant portion of the literature points at systematic income differences between Eastern and Western Germany to explain dissatisfaction in Eastern German states. However, it is difficult to disentangle the effect of income from that of other covariates, both at the individual and at the aggregate level. Data emanates from the SOEP panel dataset (n=658,525), which contains self-reported inheritance indicators for respondents across all German states between 2000 and 2019. First, using RDD and fixed-effects models, I test the impact of inheriting on various indicators of satisfaction, assets value and house ownership. Second, using matching techniques, I test the effect of inheritance on general satisfaction with one's own situation since German reunification in 1990, a novel question which was asked in the 2019 survey. Results suggest that receiving additional income through inheritance has a disproportionate effect on satisfaction towards one's own financial situation in the East, controlling for monthly income. This effect, however, doesn't

appear to result from increased assets and home ownership in the East, despite their lower assets and ownership baseline compared with Western Germany.

---

## M17 - Roundtable: Sabbaticals

### Enseignement

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 10:15am - 11:45am | Salle :

Kristi Kenyon (University of Winnipeg)

David Black (Dalhousie University)

Veronica Kitchen (University of Waterloo)

Matthew Mitchell (University of Saskatchewan)

Amanda Bittner (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Sarah Martin (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

**Abstract:** The academic sabbatical can be a crucial time to focus on research, invest deeply in projects, grapple with new questions and immerse oneself in a new academic or research setting. This time ? typically ranging from 6 to 12 months ? can be critical for getting new projects off the ground, conducting fieldwork or completing larger projects that can be challenging to fit within the constraints of teaching schedules and service commitments. Despite its professional and personal importance, however, there is little guidance given on how to use the sabbatical effectively, and also how to plan for the logistics of such a shift, particularly if it entails coordination with other family members and their ambitions and commitments. This roundtable brings together scholars who have taken one or more sabbaticals to discuss the messy, exciting, expensive, rewarding and unpredictable paths that a sabbatical can take ? including negotiating sabbaticals in concert with spouses' careers, and children?s schooling. The roundtable will address questions such as: How do you make the most of your sabbatical time? What unexpected challenges and benefits arose during your sabbatical? How do you plan a sabbatical with a family? What are the plusses and minuses of relocation vs staying put? What is a reasonable workload during a sabbatical year? How do you negotiate affiliations and connections to facilitate sabbaticals away from home? How do you manage the pull of email, service obligations, etc. while on sabbatical? How do you transition from sabbatical back to a typical academic year?

---

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

### A18(a) - Author Meets Critic - No I in Team: Party Loyalty in Canadian Politics by Alex Marland, Mireille Lalancette and Jared Wesley

Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

Alex Marland (Acadia University)

Mireille Lalancette (UQTR)

Jared Wesley (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Canadian legislators routinely face tests of loyalty as they navigate the competing demands of party allegiance, leadership support, constituent advocacy, and personal career ambitions. Unless you're a politician, you can't really understand the pressures they are under to be publicly united. Until now. In "No In in Team: Party Loyalty in Canadian Politics" (published by University of Toronto Press, 2025) scholars Alex Marland, Mireille Lalancette and Jared Wesley delve into the complex institutional, sociological and psychological pressures that shape the experiences of Canadian parliamentarians. They argue that the evolving communications landscape has transformed party discipline into an all-encompassing message discipline, and along with it most MPs and provincial legislators behave as team players who avoid causing trouble. These contentions are put to the test in this Authors Meet Critics session.

Along with Mireille Lalancette & Jared Wesley, I'm thrilled to share that the University of Toronto Press has accepted our manuscript "No I in Team: Party Loyalty in Canadian Politics" and is now moving it into professional copy editing. Our forthcoming book delves into the complex institutional, sociological and psychological pressures that shape the experiences of Canadian parliamentarians. We examined thousands of news stories since 1980 and interviewed 90 politicians and political staff across the country. We argue that the evolving communications landscape has transformed party discipline into an all-encompassing message discipline, and along with it most MPs and provincial legislators behave as team players who avoid causing trouble.

---

## A18(c) - Roundtable - Canada and the Wars in the Middle East

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 12:00pm - 01:30pm | Salle :

Yasmeen Abu-Laban (University of Alberta / Canada Research Chair, Politics of Citizenship and Human Rights)

Abigail B. Bakan (University of Toronto / Department of Political Science and the Anne Tanenbaum Centre for Jewish Stu)

Heidi Matthews (York University / Osgoode Hall Law School)

Jacqueline Potvin (Western University / Research Associate at the Arthur Labatt Family School of Nursing)

Mayme Lefurgey (University of New Brunswick / Research Fellow with the Department of Sociology at the Muriel McQueen)

Timea Spitka (Carleton University / Fellow at the Norman Patterson School of International Affairs)

Jeremy Wildeman (Carleton University / Public Affairs)

**Abstract:** This roundtable examines how the impact of the wars in the Middle East are being felt across the entire spectrum of Canadian politics -i.e., in Canada's domestic political and social domains as well as its foreign policy. Domestically, the conflict has raised questions about how universities respond to student and faculty protests, the policing of dissent, and the influence of external donors and political factors on academic institutions. It has raised questions about acceptable political expression in the larger society and the role of the media in suppressing or supporting different political narratives. How Canada, with its multicultural ideals, can deal with tensions between groups who are strongly represented in the society, has evoked difficult questions about navigating conflict within a complex, liberal democratic society that privileges 'freedom of speech' and political expression. Canada's foreign policy has been dramatically affected by the wars in the Middle East. Canada's global 'brand' has been as a country that advocates for 'the rules-based international order' and supports 'human rights.' However, Canada's highly selective application of its moral and legal principles to this regional conflict have elicited serious questions about Canada's actual commitment to these 'values.' Canada and the larger Western world are facing a crisis of legitimacy and credibility in the rest of the world that has undermined the West's political goals in conflicts like the Ukraine. As Canada situates itself within a 'new Cold War' with China, these weaknesses are particularly damaging.

---



## Day 3 - Session 4 (01:45pm - 03:15pm)

### A19(a) - Media and Politics

#### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

**Beyond the Normative Debates: Is There a Consensus on Basic Standards for News Reporting?:** Simon Thibault (Université de Montréal), Ivor Shapiro (Toronto Metropolitan University), Philippa Spoel (Laurentian University), Lauren Dwyer (Mount Royal University)

**Abstract:** In the wake of the Black Lives Matter movement, voices within the journalistic profession rose to challenge long-held norms of journalistic practice. Intense debates over journalistic objectivity, neutrality, and impartiality between critics and defenders of established norms have revealed significant divides in academic and practitioner circles in Canada and beyond (e.g., Cardinal, 2020; Lowery, 2020; Rosenstiel, 2020; Schmidt, 2024).

These divisions come at a time when information disorder and disrupted news consumption have eroded public confidence in the reliability of information about public affairs in Canada and other countries (Brin & Charlton, 2023; Edelman Trust Barometer, 2023; Fletcher & Nielsen, 2019). Given this context, how can citizens regain confidence in the news when journalists themselves appear divided on the standards that define their profession?

To address this question, a team of researchers from six universities is investigating whether core standards for journalistic news-reporting can be identified and reach consensus. Using purposive sampling, we analyzed 72 documents, including prominent codes of journalistic ethics, seminal works on journalism practice, and recent critiques of journalistic norms. Drawing on Braun & Clarke's (2006) approach, we conducted a thematic analysis that identified standards around which consensus exists, as well as areas of contention.

Our paper will present these findings and outline plans for a second phase, during which we will assess the extent to which journalists in Canada adhere to these standards through a survey? a meaningful contribution to the literature on media trust as well as to the field of political communication.

**Replies From the Locals: An Analysis of Local Digital Engagement During the 2021 Canadian Federal Election:** Andrew Mattan (Carleton University), William Cross (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Over the past quarter-century, evolving digital technologies have altered the ways in which political content is both disseminated and consumed (Small et al., 2014). Of these new technologies, social media?such as X (formerly Twitter)?have been celebrated for their democratising potential; in fact, scholars have argued that these digital tools have the ability to establish two-way communication between constituents and their representatives (Gibson and Ward, 2000). However, much of the research concerning the use of social media by political actors has indicated it is falling short of its democratic promise. Rather than engaging in bidirectional exchanges with citizens, politicians and parties are using social media as a broadcast medium (Jungherr, 2016). These conclusions must be taken with caution as they focus almost exclusively on the national level; indeed, the use of these platforms by the local level remains largely unknown. This paper will address this lacuna by examining the use of X by local candidates during the 2021 Canadian federal election. More specifically, through a content analysis of X posts, it will investigate the constituency level digital campaign by addressing two questions: how or to what extent are local candidates using X for bidirectional interactions with citizens? And what factors (e.g., gender, age, and party) can explain this interaction? This study aims to make a theoretical contribution by examining digital engagement at the local level.

**The Digital Political Ads Registry in Canada: An Assessment:** Tamara A. Small (University of Guelph)

**Abstract:** Digital political advertising has become a prominent feature of election campaigns in many countries including Canada (Dommert et al. 2024). Digital political advertising is defined as interactive content, placed online for a fee (Fowler, Franz, and Ridout 2020). This could include content appearing in one's social media feed, a pre-roll before online video, a banner or page takeover on more traditional websites, or search advertising. Digital ads give political actors a powerful new tool to communicate with and target voters (Mattan and Small 2022). There is a small but growing literature on digital political advertising many political contexts including Canada. As part of attempts to address misinformation and disinformation, the Canadian government, as part of the Election Modernization Act, began regulating digital platforms in order to bring transparency to who is purchasing online advertising. More specific, the Act requires online platforms to establish an advertising registry, which includes an electronic copy of every political advertisement posted to the platform. This could include ads purchased by a political party, registered association, nomination contestant, candidate or potential candidate, or registered third party. This paper takes advantage of this unique data source to develop a deeper understanding of this understudied side of digital politics in Canada. Using content analysis, this paper seeks to assess the communicative and targeting strategies by analyzing digital ads produced in the 2021 federal election. Moreover, the paper seeks to assess the extent to which the newly created online registry model achieves its policy objectives.

**Cross-Border Chinese Stories: Tracing the Path of CCP Propaganda in Canada:** Yu-Chen Chen (York University), Ethel Tungohan (York University)

**Abstract:** The federal government's March 2023 announcement of a "Consultation on a Foreign Influence Transparency Registry" elicited two diametrically opposed mobilizations among Chinese-speaking migrant communities. Some members launched a petition to promote the bill, as they believed that protecting the diaspora from interference and malicious targeting by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is an urgent issue, while others warned of the risks of increased anti-Chinese racism, embarking instead on a campaign of opposition. But the puzzle that runs through both responses is: Why do Chinese-speaking migrant communities immediately associate countering foreign interference with CCP interference or anti-Chinese racism? I propose a partial explanation in that authoritarian state-diffused online narratives are intentionally blurring the line between foreign state interference and anti-diaspora discrimination. My research reveals that CCP propaganda has adapted to and weaponized the idea of anti-Chinese sentiment, which has

been growing in the wake of COVID-19 and a series of diplomatic incidents between Canada and China. Previous scholarship on the diasporic policy of authoritarian regimes illuminates that CCP propaganda has found a way to reach diaspora audiences directly and, in some cases, other Chinese-speaking migrant groups as well in an effort to tell more "Chinese stories." However, existing literature has yet to provide a specific path of how the CCP has been telling these stories in Canada. Through discourse and content analysis of news releases in Chinese state-owned media, Chinese language media and discussion in online forums based in Canada, as well as the social media accounts of Canadian politicians, this research aims to build a propagation path for "Chinese stories" in Canada. Its findings can help inform policy solutions that achieve government securitization objectives without alienating or victimizing the ethnic communities being implicated.

---

## A19(c) - Populism and the far-right

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

***The Populist Turn in Canada: How Alberta and Saskatchewan Challenge Canadian Democratic Norms:*** Danielle Bohonos (University of Toronto), Lisa Young (University of Calgary), Alexandra Ballos (University of Calgary), Loleen Berdahl (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** The recent rise in far-right populism around the globe has become an increasing concern due to its potential to escalate support for authoritarianism and threaten democratic norms (Norris and Inglehart, 2019; Foa and Mounk, 2016). Within the literature, there is a debate over whether Canada has been exempt from this populist wave (Adams 2017; Ambrose and Mudde 2015; Mueller, 2016; Mudde, 2004). However, recent evidence of far-right mobilization, such as the 2022 Freedom Convoy, suggests that Canada may be experiencing the same trend found elsewhere.

To examine this issue, we focus on Alberta and Saskatchewan as case studies. While on the national-level Canada has been seen as resistant to contemporary populism (Medeiros 2021), there is a ripe history of populist mobilization (Laycock 1990; Crowley 2022; Wesley 2020) in these provinces, which makes them fertile ground for the emergence of populism today.

We employ an ideational approach, the dominant model for studying right-wing populism elsewhere (Mudde and Kaltwasser 2017), intending to define the appropriate measures of populism in the Canadian context. We will measure the supply of populist rhetoric from politicians by conducting a textual analysis of the official Hansard debate record in the two provincial legislatures between 2019 and 2023. This project highlights the dynamic of elite-level political rhetoric, offering a nuanced understanding of Canada's populist landscape.

***Nationalist populism & the Natural Governing Party: Comparing DeValera's Fianna Fáil and Duplessis' Union Nationale:*** Donal Gill (Concordia University)

**Abstract:** Natural governing parties generate significant momentum for decades-long electoral dominance by successfully pitching themselves as the instrument necessary for building a democratic national community (Carty 2015: 59). The proposed paper aims to assess how and why Ireland's Fianna Fail achieved natural governing party status whereas the Union Nationale of Quebec, despite a similar nationalist populist ideology could not sustain its political momentum beyond the reign of its founding leader. The parallels between Eamon de Valera's Fianna Fail (FF) party and Maurice Duplessis' Union Nationale (UN) in Quebec are notable. FF and the UN dominated political life in their respective spheres through effective nationalist populist appeals and firm party leadership. Both parties came to prominence in the early to mid 1930s and were singularly led by their charismatic founders until 1959. Whereas the UN struggled to define itself following the death of Duplessis in office in 1959 (notwithstanding the energy and vigor of Daniel Johnson Sr's government from 1966-70), FF continued to dominate Irish politics in the process becoming "Europe's greatest electoral machine" (Carty 2022). In the proposed paper, I argue that the brand of nationalist populism developed by FF under de Valera successfully shut down opposing interpretations of the nationalist question and embedded a "republican ethos" (Girvin 2010: 128) that dictated the contours of Irish political life for subsequent decades. The UN, on the other hand, was outflanked on the national question by both the Liberal Party of Quebec and later the Parti Québécois. The UN brand of nationalist populism - what Duplessis called "autonomism" - would largely fall out of favour in mainstream Quebec electoral politics until revived recently by Francois Legault and the Coalition Avenir Québec. This paper seeks to differentiate the ideological composition of the FF and UN populist appeal on matters of autonomy/sovereignty in order to assess how one attained natural governing party status and the other faded into obscurity.

***Corrupt Elites and Media Walk into a Bar? : A Case-Study on Humour and Emotional Activation in the Online Communication of a Populist Party:*** Jérémie Drouin (Université Laval), Thierry Giasson (Université Laval), Thomas Larochelle (Université Laval), Camille Arteau-Leclerc (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Due to its ability to act as an emotional lever, humor is frequently employed by political parties, notably through visual elements on social media platforms. However, few studies have focused on the use of humor by populist parties, which are very active online. This study aims to fill this gap in the political communication literature by examining the use of humor in the online communication of the Conservative Party of Quebec (CPQ). The objective is to investigate whether the party, which experienced a significant increase in support during the COVID-19 pandemic, used humor to convey an anti-elitist message and to activate anger among its supporters through its digital communication. To address this question, a content analysis of visual materials published by the party on X (Twitter), Facebook, and Instagram between April 2021 and October 2022 is conducted. This study determines proportion of humorous content in the party's digital communication, the types of messages and humorous contents conveyed, and the reaction of users.

***Examining far-right political ideologies: political challenges in Canada's past and present:*** Simon Marmura Brown (University of New Brunswick)

**Abstract:** Over the past decade, the rise of authoritarian, anti-immigrant, nationalistic, xenophobic, anti-Semitic, and racist attitudes and opinions in Canadian society have been well documented. How we understand and combat these phenomena is, increasingly, a vital concern. This paper takes an historic approach to understand these phenomena by examining a previous "high-point" of Canadian intolerance: the emergence of Canadian fascism from 1930-1939. This paper examines literature published by the Canadian Union of Fascists, the Canadian Nationalist Party, and the National Unity Party fascist political organizations prominent in the 1930s obtained from the National Archives which have not been accessed, discussed, or made public since their original publication. It highlights the importance of a strong labour movement and unions during that time to combat fascist mobilizations and emphasizes economic anxiety as a motivating feature of the fascist right. It postulates that within the contemporary political climate, the progressive weakening of labour laws, labour movements, and the increased deployment of back-to-work legislation, have eroded working class solidarity in ways which make resisting far-right political ideology more challenging than during other periods of Canadian history.

---

## A19(c) - Environmental Politics

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

*Framing the Climate: Elite Messaging and Public Attitudes on Carbon Pricing in Canada:* Cynthia Huo (Princeton University), Tali Mendelberg (Princeton University)

**Abstract:** Despite an extensive literature examining the mass-elite relationship, there remains weak consensus on whether political elite communication primes or changes mass policy attitudes. This paper presents a case study of Canadian public opinion on carbon pricing to test these theories. Utilizing a five-wave panel survey from Mildenerger et al. (2022) spanning the 2019 federal election, during which climate change became a salient issue, I ask whether Canadians led or followed politicians in their support for carbon pricing. These findings have implications for the hypothesis that elite messaging primes policy attitudes, and, consequently, for the prevailing belief that the electoral success of parties supportive of carbon pricing reflected broad public endorsement of the policy. I then explore whether these insights help explain shifting preferences against carbon pricing since 2022. Although elite messaging is typically seen as shaping mass attitudes differently on performance versus policy issues (Lenz 2012), its influence on political behaviour when these issues intersect is less understood. The Conservative Party of Canada has consistently framed carbon pricing as a financial burden; however, the economy was not a salient issue during the 2019 campaign as it has been since 2022. Through an analysis of elite messaging on carbon pricing, I consider whether the impact of economic evaluations on assessments of incumbent performance extends to preferences for a policy tied to the economy. By examining whether citizens can lead on these policy issues, I contribute to research on the degree of elite influence and the conditions under which it occurs.

*Framing Climate Opposition: Analyzing Denialism, Obstructionism and Skepticism in Canada's House of Commons:* Marie-Félix Fortin (Université Laval), Alexandre Gajevec Sayegh (Université Laval), Annabelle Olivier (Université Laval), Sarah-Jane Vincent (Université Laval)

**Abstract:** Elite cues are amongst the most influential factors shaping public opinion on climate change (Carmichael & Brulle, 2017). They influence individual's policy preferences, and perceptions of the problems addressed by the policy (Beiser-McGrath, 2023). In Canada, right-wing political ideology and conservative partisanship are key predictors of lower concern about climate change, reduced support for climate policies, and less emphasis on climate proposals when voting (Anderson and Stephenson 2011; Lachapelle, Borick et al. 2012; Boulianne, Belland et al. 2021; Thomas et al., 2022). Despite the focus on ideology's role in shaping public support for climate action, little is known about how conservative political actors in Canada frame climate change and policies, and how these frames have evolved over time. This paper addresses this gap through a quantitative content analysis of the Conservative Party of Canada (CPC) interventions in the House of Commons from 2006 to 2023, revealing the CPC's communication strategies on climate issues. Precisely, we apply a recent typology categorizing climate opposition frames into three groups: (A.) anthropogenic climate change denial; (B.) climate policy obstructionism; and (C.) source credibility skepticism. By tracing the evolution of these frames, this study reveals the CPC's rhetorical strategies and their potential impact on public attitudes toward climate action in Canada. These findings underscore the role of elite discourse in shaping public opinion and advancing or hindering climate action within a polarized political landscape.

*Of Carbon, Convoys, and Cyclists: Masculinities and Environmental Politics in Canada:* Wilfrid Greaves (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** This chapter explores contested masculinities and environmental politics in Canada. It identifies three types of masculinity – enviro-masculinity, petro-masculinity, and eco-masculinity – and maps them onto examples from contemporary Canadian politics, including climate and energy policy, the Freedom Convoy movement, and sustainable urban transportation. I argue that political representations of masculinity in Canada predominantly reflect ecomodernist and petro-masculinist identities differentiated by their relative emphasis on fossil fuels, white masculinity, authoritarian desire, and ecological modernization, rather than fundamentally different values or practices. A more sustainable eco-masculinity exists but remains marginal to Canadian politics.

*Fragmentation and Fault Lines: Rethinking Canadian Political Culture in an Era of Climate Anxiety and Risk:* Aly Tkachenko (University of Victoria), Will Greaves (University of Victoria), Sarah Stilwell (University of Victoria), Matt James (University of Victoria)

**Abstract:** The study of political culture in Canada has overwhelmingly focused on nationalist comparison, historical migration patterns, and more recently, how to define and understand regional political cultures. While understanding difference in relation to our American neighbours and British parent remain important today, and the rise of identity politics reinforces the relevance of historical immigration, we believe the study of political culture in Canada requires a reconsideration and broadening of the key variables thought to constitute it.

As the world treads deeper into the Anthropocene and global climate change is increasingly impactful, many scholars have recognized the changing opinions and attitudes of Canadians towards climate policies and climate risks. With regional economies depending on resource extraction to varying degrees, and regional variation in climate advocacy, we believe that climate change is creating both creating new fault lines and exacerbating existing divisions in defining and differentiating regional political cultures in Canada.

We argue that different levels of anxiety about the risks, policy requirements, and economic impacts of climate change are increasingly relevant in differentiating regional political cultures across Canada. We draw on historical and contemporary survey data to consider how opinions towards climate change risks and policies have changed over time in four key regions: Ontario, the Prairies, British Columbia, and the North.

Challenging ideas that Canadian political culture is static or predetermined by singular historical events, we argue that the emergence of climate change as an existential threat reveals that political culture is continually reinscribed and shaped by ongoing issues.

---

## A19(d) - Race, Representation and Electoral Politics

### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

*Indigenous Representation in the Manitoba and Saskatchewan Legislatures:* Daniel Westlake (University of Saskatchewan)

**Abstract:** Similar proportions of the populations of Manitoba and Saskatchewan identify as Indigenous (18% in Manitoba and 17% in Saskatchewan), yet Indigenous people make up a much larger share of the Manitoba legislature. As of 2024, 11 out of 57 (19%) members of the Manitoba legislature are from an Indigenous background, including Premier Wab Kinew. By contrast only 3 of 61 (5%) of the members of the Saskatchewan legislature come from an Indigenous background. What accounts for this difference? This paper examines the electoral fortunes of Indigenous candidates in each province's three most recent provincial elections. Drawing on a similar literature examining gender and representation, the paper first asks whether Indigenous candidates do worse than non-Indigenous when running in ridings where their parties are similarly competitive? It then examines the degree to which parties nominate Indigenous candidates and if they nominate Indigenous candidates in ridings where they can win. By conducting quantitative analysis comparing the vote shares of Indigenous and non-Indigenous candidates as well as the likelihood of an Indigenous candidate being nominated in a riding their party can win, this paper will shed light on whether parties or voters play the larger role in the relative under-representation of Indigenous people in the Saskatchewan legislature. By comparing two Western provinces with similarly sized Indigenous populations, this paper can inform broader debates about Indigenous representation in federal and provincial legislatures in Canada.

*Candidate by default? Acclamations in major party nomination contests 2004-2019:* Michael Wigginton (Carleton University)

**Abstract:** Candidates for Canadian federal parties are chosen through decentralized nomination contests at the riding level, with local members voting to select from the pool of interested members who have met their party's "greenlighting" requirements. While these contests play a crucial gatekeeping role in determining who is elected to the House of Commons, they are the subject of relatively little study and public attention. How competitive are these contests, and what factors influence these levels of competitiveness? In this paper, I use an original dataset of major party nomination contests for the 2004-2019 general elections to investigate participation rates in these contests and the prevalence of acclaimed nominations. I find that over 71% of major-party federal nominations contests have only a single contestant, and that these acclaimed races are most common in less competitive districts. I further find notable variations between parties, and that racialized people are less likely to be acclaimed as candidates than are women. These findings underscore the importance of political recruitment practices for representation in the Canadian context, as they reveal that most candidates are acclaimed with no meaningful competitive vote.

*The Conservative Party of Canada amidst the Changing Center-Right: A New Electoral Cleavage in Canada?:* Sam Routley (University of Western Ontario), Zack Taylor (University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** Center-right parties are in the midst of fundamental change, undermining existing conceptual anchoring and prompting calls for renewed scholarly attention. Yet, despite this predominant global trend, the Conservative Party of Canada (CPC) remains a notable divergent case in so far as it has maintained the policy stances of its preceding administrations. Why have the Canadian Conservatives, in maintaining continuity, diverged from the more common transformations of other center-right parties? Drawing upon one model of party behavior, this proposal pursues this research question by focusing on the role of electoral conditions in shaping political behavior. That is, by conceptualizing the change seen throughout the center-right as a reaction to a novel set of economic and cultural sociostructurally cleavages linked to GAL-TAN, it examines the extent to which Canada's divergence can be explained through unique demand side conditions. Drawing upon data made available by Canadian Election Studies between 1997 and 2021, this is empirically pursued in three stages. First, by analyzing issue position variables, it will attempt to determine the extent to which a novel cleavage structures the electorate, in addition to way it has developed in structure and salience over time. Second, it will investigate the relationship this development has with relevant factors, including demographic, voting, and partisan variables. Third and finally, by dividing respondents by postal code, it will determine how the cleavage is directly translated into electoral results in so far as it assesses the balance of these divisions across all electoral districts.

*What we know depends on how we ask: Race and political behaviour in Canada :* Fan Lu (Queen's University), Erin Tolley (Carleton University), Debra Thompson (McGill University)

**Abstract:** Since 1996, the proportion of Canadians identifying as members of a "visible minority" has doubled from 11% to 22%. By 2036, one-third of the population will identify as non-white (Statistics Canada 2017). Yet, research on political behaviour in Canada tends to ignore racial difference or measure it bluntly, aggregating it into macro-categories like "visible minority" or eliding it with other axes of group-based identity, such as ethnicity or immigrant background. To help us develop a set of best practices when surveying racialized Canadians, this paper asks how their responses to political questions change depending on how questions reference their race. Specifically, we hypothesize how their responses to political representation, racial identity, linked fate, vote choice, and political participation change when questions reference their race, ethnicity, hyphenated Canadian identity, or visible minority status. To test our hypotheses, we design experiments that focus on Caribbean Blacks, African Canadians/Americans, Sikhs, Indians, Chinese, and Filipinos. We present pilot findings based on experiments conducted with a student sample of mostly racialized Canadians.

---

## F19 - Social media

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 01:45pm - 03:15pm | Salle :

**Evaluating the reach and impacts of misinformation interventions on social media:** Mathieu Lavigne (Dartmouth College), Brendan Nyhan (Dartmouth College), Rocio Titiunik (Princeton University), Jack Andolina (Dartmouth College)

**Abstract:** Despite widespread concern over misinformation on social media, reliable estimates of exposure and engagement with such content, as well as the reach and impacts of interventions, remain limited. We use data collected during the 2020 U.S. presidential election from all active U.S. adults on Facebook and Instagram to measure exposure to and engagement with election fraud and pro-insurrection content. We first analyze sources of exposure (e.g., politicians, untrustworthy sources, closed groups) and variations in exposure and engagement levels based on individual characteristics (e.g., ideology, prior beliefs in fraud). We then evaluate the scope of interventions by examining the proportion of election fraud and pro-insurrection content ? along with exposure and engagement levels ? that included fact-checking or information labels, was removed for policy violation, or originated from accounts later suspended from the platform. Finally, we assess the effect of these interventions in two ways: 1) we use a regression discontinuity design to measure the effects of labels on exposure and engagement, and 2) we quantify how attitudes towards and uses of mainstream and alternative social media platforms changed after Trump's suspension. The findings have important implications for assessing and enhancing our response to political misinformation.

**Disentangling Misinformation from Subjective Evaluations: The Impact of Climate Change Misinformation on Environmental Policy Attitudes:** Jan Eckardt (The University of Western Ontario), Mathieu Turgeon (The University of Western Ontario), Alvaro J. Pereira Filho (The University of Western Ontario)

**Abstract:** Misinformation about climate change is associated with attitudes toward policies aimed at mitigating it. However, previous studies have focused mainly on subjective perceptions of climate change, failing to distinguish these from objectively false misinformation. This likely inflates associations with political variables, since respondents may agree with claims they know to be factually wrong if they align with their ideology. Moreover, little is known about whether different dimensions of misinformation about climate change are associated with attitudes on environmental policy. To address these gaps, we field surveys in Canada, the US, and Japan that examine political predictors and outcomes of being misinformed about climate change. This is done using a new questionnaire to measure misinformation on the existence, causes, impacts, responses to and science of climate change. In addition, we embed an experiment that contrasts questions prompting subjective evaluations with questions assessing the truthfulness of objective facts. This approach provides a comprehensive overview of the associations between misinformation and policy stances, while distinguishing these relationships from those driven by ideology or partisan cheerleading. In doing so, we provide a clearer picture of the relationship between the multiple dimensions of misinformation about climate change and environmental policy preferences. More generally, we also highlight potential biases that arise from conflating misinformation with ideologically driven subjective evaluations.

**The Changing Structure and Tone of Politics: Deep Dive into Social Media, Culture, and Political Communication:** Vincent Raynauld (Emerson College), Mireille Lalancette (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières)

**Abstract:** While a large volume of research has been conducted on social media-based political messaging in and out of elections in Canada and internationally, much less work has been conducted on the cultural dimensions of this appeal. In many ways, elements of culture have become a cornerstone of contemporary political communication. In fact, the progressive mediatization of all aspects of the political process over the last decades have led to the personalization and the ?culturalization? of politics, especially in the social mediascape with the growing presence of memetic content and influencer input. In sum, lifestyle, pop culture, and other artistic content (e.g., music, humor, dances) - among other elements of culture - are emerging as important aspects of political actors? communication tool chest to capture members of the public?s attention in a high-velocity, eclectic political mediascape as well as engage with them in a more personal, affective, and memorable ways. Ahead of the development of more research projects, this paper maps this gap in the academic literature by offering a scoping review of scholarly works published internationally that are examining the role of culture in the social media-based political communication process. This review takes a particular interest in existing conceptual and theoretical frameworks, trending research questions and methodologies, and specific research opportunities. In doing so, it charts the path to studying the role of culture in all aspects of political appeals on social media, an area of research likely to gain traction over the next decades.

---

**G19 - Eight**

**Économie politique**

**Date :** Jun 5 2023 | **Heure :** 01:45pm - 03:15pm | **Salle :**

---

## Day 3 - Session 5 (03:30pm - 05:00pm)

### A21(b) - Electoral and Institutional Reform

#### Politique canadienne

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

**Advice Not Taken: Canadian Citizen Assemblies and Subsequent Referendums:** Lewis Krashinsky (University of Toronto), Christopher Achen (Princeton University)

**Abstract:** The citizen assembly on electoral reform in the province of British Columbia (2004) has drawn enthusiastic attention from proponents of deliberative democracy. However, subsequent referendums on the recommendation, as well as similar attempts in both Ontario and Prince Edward Island, all failed to pass. Most scholarship has attributed the referendum losses primarily to lack of information among the voters. Using surveys and official vote returns, however, we show that partisanship played the decisive role. Minor-party voters would have benefited from electoral reform and they generally supported it, while major-party voters, who would have been harmed, largely opposed it and drove it to defeat. Thus, the electorate behaved in ways very familiar from empirical studies of voting but quite different from their assigned role in models of the citizen assembly process. In consequence, the Canadian evidence raises major questions about the intellectual foundations of deliberative democratic theory.

**Ethical Dilemmas in Electoral Reform: Balancing Integrity and Populist Threats:** Tanya Kuzman (University of Toronto), Andrew McDougall (University of Toronto), Danielle Bohonos (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Over the past fifty years, trust in political institutions and support for democratic values have steadily decreased worldwide, while populism and support for authoritarian systems have grown (Norris and Inglehart, 2019; Foa and Mounk, 2016). The rhetoric underlying this movement has had an impact across a range of policy areas including with respect to electoral reform. Right-leaning populist and authoritarian leaders appear to be increasingly calling the integrity of their respective electoral systems into question.

This illustrates an ethical tension underlying electoral reform - that whilst attempts to protect electoral integrity may be normatively desirable, it is also entirely possible that adopting more demanding election regulations can ultimately disenfranchise voters and further entrench the political power of incumbents through partisan self-dealing (Alonso-Curbelo 2023; Dawood 2012; Kuzman and Flynn 2015). This raises important ethical considerations about the motivation behind, and the reasonable limits to populist driven electoral reforms.

Thus, the paper shall examine the following research question: What ethical obligations must liberal democracy engage with to protect against populist driven electoral reforms? This is two-fold, as first, liberal democracy can protect against electing populists to power through reasonable limits on populist parties and candidates and, second, once populists slip through these initial protections, liberal democracy has a set of norms and expectations required for electoral reforms. Underlying this question are considerations about the extent to which the direct or indirect disenfranchisement of ordinary citizens can be justified by the need to protect party and electoral system integrity, and who should ultimately decide which electoral reforms are adopted.

**Removing Barriers to Effective Citizen Participation in Policy-making and Accountability Processes: How a Proven U.S. Method Provides a Model for Canada:** Duff Conacher (Democracy Watch)

**Abstract:** The paper will present an examination of the barriers to effective citizen organizing and participation in policy-making and accountability processes in both the public and private sectors in Canada, and how a U.S. method of forming and funding citizen watchdog groups provides a model solution that removes more of the barriers at a lower cost than the methods that have been used by Canadian governments, and how the method could be implemented in Canada.

Several surveys show that a large majority of Canadian voters feel that politicians are out of touch with their concerns, and don't care, and that the country is divided between 'ordinary people' and 'elites', and that a large majority of voters want more say over government policy-making, and are also dissatisfied with the community, customer-service and complaint-handling accountability processes of various big business sectors.

Even with technological advances such as email, video- and online-conferencing, websites and social media that have lowered the costs of citizens monitoring government and big business policy-making and accountability processes, and organizing to participate in and advocate their interests in those processes, many barriers still exist. Barriers include the fact that Canada's population is spread across a very large geographical area (at the national level, and in many provinces and territories), and the ongoing costs of monitoring these processes, undertaking research to develop expertise, and organizing a significant number of voters to participate in these processes. Another barrier is that these processes, whether policy-making or a and accountability process for poor service, wrongdoing etc., often take years. These and other barriers, which the paper will detail, make it difficult for citizens to sustain effective participation in these processes.

In contrast, as the paper will detail, big business executives in any industry sector are a relatively small group of people who can easily organize to advocate their interests, and they have easy access to exponentially more funding than citizens (other than citizens organized into labour unions) to pay the costs of research, and the costs of advertising, lobbyists and lawyers to communicate their interests in policy-making, legal, regulatory and accountability processes. Citizens actually fund big business participation and advocacy in these processes as a portion of the price citizens pay for every product and service goes to pay for the businesses' researchers, advertising, lobbyists and lawyers.

Thirty years ago, in a few U.S. states, a low-cost method was implemented for forming and funding democratically structured, broad-based and self-sustaining citizen watchdog groups over a few business sectors. The method was proven to help significantly to balance the marketplace of ideas (in



policy-making processes) and the market itself (in accountability processes). The paper will examine the U.S. method and the research concerning its effects, and compare it to other methods Canadian governments have used to form and fund citizen advocacy organizations, and place the U.S. method and Canadian methods within political economy frameworks. Finally, the paper will examine how the U.S. method could be implemented in Canada to remove barriers to effective citizen participation in policy-making and accountability processes in various government and big business sectors.

---

## F21 - Trust and animosity

### Comportement politique/sociologie

Date : Jun 5 2023 | Heure : 03:30pm - 05:00pm | Salle :

**Political Trust in Context: District-level Conditions on Trust in Candidates and Politicians:** Kenny Le (University of New Brunswick - Saint John), Joanna Everitt (University of New Brunswick - Saint John), Karen Bird (McMaster University), Angelia Wagner (University of Alberta)

**Abstract:** Political trust is multifaceted in both dimensions of the trust relationship: who trusts, and who is trusted. Individual-level factors such as sociodemographics, group attachments, and personality traits can impact the tendencies of people to trust in actors at multiple levels: individual candidates, politicians generally, and institutions or systems. This paper examines the ?meso-level? conditions within which individuals experience politics. We assess the impacts of four district characteristics ? ethnic diversity, rural-urban status, electoral competitiveness, and prior presence of racialized minority candidates - on two outcomes: (1) trust in candidates and politicians, and (2) co-ethnic affinity in trust. We test for these contextual impacts both experimentally and with observational data. First, we examine assessments of local candidate trustworthiness in a conjoint design, in which respondents were presented with fictional, randomized candidate profiles. Second, we use 2021 Canadian Election Study data to assess the significance of district-level conditions on general trust in politicians.

**Chapter 8: Can't We All Just Get Along?:** Eric Merkley (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** Scholars aren't just worried about the political consequences of affective polarization; they are equally concerned about its toll on society. If people are increasingly hostile towards their political opponents, they are also going to be more reluctant to interact with them in their day-to-day lives?more hesitant to form friendships and relationships, less willing to engage with them in economic and social interactions, and perhaps even more likely to discriminate against them. This chapter explores these questions in the Canadian context.

I present the results of a pair of conjoint experiments to provide behavioural evidence for aversion from, and discrimination towards, out-party supporters. The first asks respondents to evaluate a pair of hypothetical profiles on a dating website and indicates how interested they would be in messaging, receiving messages from, and dating or forming friendships with the people featured in the profiles.

The second experiment randomly assigns respondents into one of four decision making scenarios. In two scenarios, respondents evaluate who they would prefer to have as a neighbour or in-law. In the other two scenarios, they are asked to evaluate their comfort with giving a loan to the people featured in the profiles or with hiring them to complete a home renovation project. In all scenarios respondents are given the ideology and partisan identity of the people featured in the profiles, their demographics, and an attribute that is directly pertinent to the decision in question (e.g., the credit score in the loan scenario).

**Beyond Good Intentions: Cognitive and Affective Empathy's Divergent Effects on Political Animosity:** Thomas Bergeron (University of Toronto), Eric Merkley (University of Toronto), Thomas Galipeau (University of Toronto)

**Abstract:** This study examines the complex role of empathy in shaping political polarization, addressing the tension between empathy's prosocial potential and its parochial limitations in reducing partisan animosity. Empathy is not a uniform construct; it is multifaceted. Cognitive empathy (perspective-taking) promotes understanding and can mitigate out-group bias, whereas affective empathy (empathic concern) may reinforce in-group favouritism, thereby heightening affective polarization. Our theoretical framework distinguishes empathy's cognitive and affective dimensions, as well as the differences between trait-based empathy and state-driven empathy shaped by context. Contrary to mainstream approaches to affective polarization, we differentiate between its two poles: in-group affection and out-group animosity. Correlations from Canadian and American samples suggest that cognitive empathy predicts warmer attitudes toward political out-groups, reducing affective polarization. A survey experiment in the United States further tests this relationship. It reveals that perspective-taking priming increases warmth toward political out-groups but has a limited effect on reducing social distance measures of affective polarization. These findings highlight the nuanced impact of empathy on political polarization. While fostering perspective-taking can lessen animosity, it may not fully bridge deeper social divides. This study contributes to political psychology by underscoring the context-sensitive and component-specific effects of empathy on partisan hostility, offering insights for potential interventions to reduce polarization.

**Election Outcomes and Social Trust:** Mark Williamson (Toronto Metropolitan University)

**Abstract:** Extensive research has shown that after an election, people who supported the winning party express greater levels of trust in political institutions than those who supported losing parties. In the existing literature on this ?sore loser? effect, social trust ? a general trust in other members of society -- has received little attention. Social trust is often assumed not to fluctuate at the individual level based on contextual factors, like which political party wins or loses the election. We argue this is an oversight: election outcomes are often perceived by voters as signals about several dimensions of trust, including the competency, values and animosity of their fellow citizens. Using Canadian Election Study data from 2004 to 2021, we show that voters who supported the winning party express greater levels of social trust after the election. We provide evidence for a causal interpretation to this relationship by comparing voters supporting winning and losing parties in electoral districts where the result was especially close. We also find that negative reactions to losing are particularly strong among those who initially expected their party to win and those with a stronger pre-election dislike for the out-party. Taken together, these results highlight the broader social impacts of political processes and raise concerns about how partisan antipathy threatens the health of our democracy.

---

## G21 - ROUNDTABLE What is the Future of the American Empire?

### Économie politique

**Date :** Jun 5 2023 | **Heure :** 03:30pm - 05:00pm | **Salle :**

**Chair/Président/Présidente :** Paramjit Singh (York University)

Paramjit Singh (York University, Toronto)

Sam Gindin ()

Scott Aquanno (Ontario Tech University)

Greg Albo (York University, Toronto)

**Abstract:** The trajectory of the American empire remains a pivotal question within the global political economy, as it faces both avenues for persistence and pathways toward decline. Unlike the former British Empire, the informal nature of the American Empire operates by integrating other economies into a system that prioritizes US interests through control over global production, financial institutions, regulatory frameworks, and international trade structures. After the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, the US dollar's role as the world's reserve currency and globalization of American finance has emerged as an important linchpin to anchor its imperial reach. However, developments at the global scale in the last decade or so have given way to new contradictions and challenges that have important implications for the persistence of the American empire. The rise of emerging economies, particularly China and a coalition of Global South nations in the form of growing BRICS+, signals a push toward a more multipolar economic and political landscape. These actors are developing alternative economic alliances, regional trade agreements, regional development banking, and payment systems that aim to reduce dependence on the dollar, undermining the cornerstone of American power. Additionally, the US faces internal pressures, such as widening economic inequality, relative stagnation of real wages, and rising consumer debt, which strain its ability to respond cohesively to international shifts. This roundtable will argue that understanding both the forces sustaining and undermining American hegemony is essential for assessing potential shifts in global power balance. It calls for a nuanced analysis to illuminate the structural dynamics that maintain U.S. power and the pressures that may reconfigure it.

---

