

Atlantic Provinces Political Science Association Research Exchange

Key Dates:

- October 19, 2020: Participants submit their papers to the assigned reviewers. Reviewers and addresses are provided below. Please send directly to the reviewers, cc'ing the conference email account (apps2020@stfx.ca). We also ask that participants pay their registration fee (\$25.00) by this date; details for payment will be provided.
- October 29, 2020: Participants submit their reviews to the assigned corresponding author. Please send each review separately, cc'ing the conference email account.

Paper Title	Corresponding Author	Reviewer #1	Reviewer #2
"Masks of Tolerance: Public and Private Preferences for Multiculturalism in Canada"	Taleea Lariviere-Brown, WLU lari4260@mylaurier.ca	Rachel McLay, Dal Rachel.McLay@Dal.Ca	Robert Burroughs, UNB r.burr@unb.ca
"Reconciling Government House: A Study of Title, Rights, and Settler Colonialism in New Brunswick"	Robert Burroughs, UNB r.burr@unb.ca	Taleea Lariviere-Brown, WLU lari4260@mylaurier.ca	Robert Nolan, MUN rmnolan@mun.ca
"Women's Representation in the Canadian Provinces"	Marcus Closen, U Toronto marcus.closen@mail.utoronto.ca	Alex Marland, MUN amarland@mun.ca	Erin Crandall, Acadia erin.crandall@acadiu.ca
"The Amendment of Unwritten Constitutions in Canada and Its Challenges to Democratic Accountability"	Erin Crandall, Acadia erin.crandall@acadiu.ca	Jared Wesley, U Alberta jwesley@ualberta.ca	Marcus Closen, U Toronto marcus.closen@mail.utoronto.ca
"Regions, Regionalization, and Centralization: Restructuring Health and Education in Nova Scotia During the McNeil Years"	Glenn Graham, StFX ggraham@stfx.ca	Robert Nolan, MUN rmnolan@mun.ca	Jared Wesley, U Alberta jwesley@ualberta.ca
"Party Mavericks in the House of Commons and Provincial Legislatures"	Alex Marland, MUN amarland@mun.ca	Erin Crandall, Acadia erin.crandall@acadiu.ca	Marcus Closen, U Toronto marcus.closen@mail.utoronto.ca
"The 'Politics of Hate and Fear': Attitude polarization and Perceived Polarization in Atlantic Canada"	Rachel McLay, Dal Rachel.McLay@Dal.Ca	Taleea Lariviere-Brown, WLU lari4260@mylaurier.ca	Alex Marland, MUN amarland@mun.ca
"Municipal Mergers: Why Communities in Newfoundland and Labrador Amalgamate"	Robert Nolan, MUN rmnolan@mun.ca	Robert Burroughs, UNB r.burr@unb.ca	Glenn Graham, StFX ggraham@stfx.ca
"Anti-Defection Rules and Party Switching in the Canadian Provinces"	Jared Wesley, U Alberta jwesley@ualberta.ca	Glenn Graham, StFX ggraham@stfx.ca	Rachel McLay, Dal Rachel.McLay@Dal.Ca

1. Taleea Lariviere-Brown (Wilfrid Laurier University)
“Masks of Tolerance: Public and Private Preferences for Multiculturalism in Canada”

Abstract: Canada has historically been lauded as a multicultural nation of tolerance. At least, that has been the public face of Canadian culture. However, much has changed with the rise of social media. Now, people can access information any time, any place, and not all of it is in line with Canada’s public proclamations of multiculturalism. Widespread messages of racism, xenophobia, and anti-immigration are common on social media, especially since the rise of Donald Trump and his often not-so-obvious signals to the alt-right. What effect might all this have on our norms of acceptance and multiculturalism? If Canadians privately hold intolerant views, then: *Has social media relaxed social norms so that Canadians feel it is now more acceptable to publicly articulate intolerant views about multiculturalism?* Through an analysis of an anonymous discussion forum (Reddit.com) and non-anonymous letters to the editor, I seek to determine how anonymity influences Canadians’ expressions of anti-immigrant and Islamophobic views and whether such alt-right views have seeped into the mainstream discourse over the 2013–18 period. It is hypothesized that as Canadians consume polarizing news and media, their definition of multiculturalism will become narrower and begin to exclude certain groups from being considered as “Canadian” and that these views will begin to be considered acceptable.

2. Robert Burroughs (University of New Brunswick)
“Reconciling Government House: A Study of Title, Rights, and Settler Colonialism in New Brunswick”

Official residences of lieutenant governors are normally viewed as notable landmarks, venues for occasional government activities and backdrops for press spots on election speculation. This paper examines another aspect of official residences by studying the concept of the Crown as a land claim (Wood and Rossiter 2020). New Brunswick is one of five provinces which still operates an official residence for its lieutenant governor. After formally closing its Government House in 1893, in 1999 New Brunswick became the only province to restore a Government House to its original functions. Archival documents indicate that the “Indian land claim [sic]” was a constant concern for the provincial government in its 20-year efforts to reacquire the Government House property in Fredericton. Memos between senior government officials note their belief that it would be “disastrous” if the property were to be transferred to Saint Mary’s First Nation instead of to the province. In the nearly 30 years since it was restored as an official residence, Government House seems to have become fundamental to the province’s understanding of itself and how it is politically arranged. Yet, it is unclear from this whether the province was ever able to contest the underlying land claim from any of the surrounding Wolastoqey nations. This suggests that the building itself appears to be a land claim that the province unilaterally resolved. The ceremonial home of the Crown in New Brunswick is thus a symbolic reproduction of settler colonialism: a physical reminder of its territorial sovereignty.

3. Marcus Closen, University of Toronto
“Women’s Representation in the Canadian Provinces”

This paper sets out to explore patterns in women’s representation in the sub-national legislatures of

the provinces and territories in all 13 jurisdictions, as well as in the federal parliament. The paper examines potential regional and ideological variations as explanations for the numbers of women representatives sitting in active legislatures in early 2020. Principally, the paper uses existing theories on regionalism in Canada, as well as considerations of left-right ideology and controlling parties, to see potential shifts in patterns. The analysis finds predictable levels of variation in each category, suggesting that these patterns do matter, but also finding that without data over time there is not sufficient evidence that the patterns themselves are responsible for their variation without expanding the scope for variation over time.

4. Erin Crandall, Acadia University

“The Amendment of Unwritten Constitutions in Canada and Its Challenges to Democratic Accountability”

For about 20 years, Nova Scotia was unique in Canada for having protected electoral districts designed to promote minority-group representation. These four electoral districts were smaller in terms of their population, which permitted the proportion of minority group voters (Acadians and African Nova Scotians) to be concentrated within the protected ridings, thus encouraging, though not guaranteeing, the election of one of their groups’ members. This changed in 2011 when the Nova Scotia legislature modified the mandate of the Electoral Boundaries Commission so that, in its redrawing of electoral boundaries, a riding’s population could have no more than a 25 percent deviation from the average, thus effectively guaranteeing the elimination of these four ridings. A court challenge from the Acadian Federation of Nova Scotia quickly followed, and in 2017 the Nova Scotia Court of Appeal ruled that the government’s actions to eliminate these protected ridings violated the right to effective representation under section 3 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This paper will consider whether the court’s decision has constitutionalized a guarantee to protected electoral ridings in Nova Scotia. While judicial review is a recognized pathway to constitutional change, the category of change is not typically considered, which can lead to uncertainty regarding what is or is not constitutional amendment and more generally, how judicial review should be categorized as constitutional amendment. By analyzing the court’s decision through the lens of constitutional amendment, this paper seeks to provide greater clarity around these questions.

5. Glenn Graham, St. Francis Xavier University

“Regions, Regionalization, and Centralization: Restructuring Health and Education in Nova Scotia During the McNeil Years”

Neoliberal austerity has featured prominently in politics over the past few decades. Powerful state actors have facilitated and adjusted to economic liberalization by curtailing the state through various restructuring initiatives. Denationalization of state activities and responsibilities places sub-state regions as primary actors that attempt to shape the structuring of economic, social, and regional development in this context. This has been evident in Nova Scotia, particularly when the John Savage Liberals held power in the 1990s. Savage initiated overhauls of municipal governance and health and education delivery and undertook sweeping austerity measures that frustrated labour relations and angered the public. While successive governments also saw policy goals

restricted by their limited fiscal capacities, the dramatic changes imposed most recently by the Stephen McNeil Liberals are arguably the most reminiscent of those initiated during “the Savage years.” The paper utilizes historical institutionalism and new regionalism theorizations to trace how sweeping health and education system restructuring emerged during “the McNeil Years” (2013–present). While reforms were directed through the institutional workings of a formal provincial subunit, the restructuring affected *informal* regions such as Cape Breton, triggering regionalist responses from community actors. It is too soon to determine the effectiveness of the McNeil reforms. However, when it comes to the politics of restructuring, conclusively the overall institutional apparatus influences decision-making, outcomes, and regionalist responses. In this case there have been centralization-related shortcomings in terms of empowering leaders to assume a greater role in effectively managing health and education delivery in their regions.

6. Alex Marland, Memorial University of Newfoundland
Mireille Lalancette, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières
Jared Wesley, University of Alberta
“Party Mavericks in the House of Commons and Provincial Legislatures”

This paper is a descriptive account of party mavericks in the Canadian House of Commons and provincial legislatures. It documents a range of politicians who developed a reputation for challenging the party line and yet forged a parliamentary career with a political party. How do party mavericks manage to avoid being kicked out of their party? What are the commonalities between them? How are they different from dissatisfied parliamentarians who sit as independents, cross the floor and/or do not seek re-election? What variances exist between provinces and party systems? The paper reports the findings of a copious review of news stories and in-depth interviews from across Canada. It seeks to explain why some parliamentary loudmouths are re-nominated as the party’s election candidate, are re-elected and remain in their party’s caucus despite repeated instances of challenging the party line, criticizing the leader or otherwise being a disruptive force.

7. Rachel McLay, Dalhousie University
Howard Ramos, Western University
“The ‘politics of hate and fear’: Attitude polarization and perceived polarization in Atlantic Canada”

Despite Atlantic Canada’s reputation as socially conservative and averse to change, polling in recent years has consistently found that Atlantic Canadians express high levels of openness to diversity and immigration compared to other parts of Canada. But anti-immigrant sentiments in Canada and the US have gained public attention since 2016, spreading through conventional media and social media, creating the perception that the public is highly polarized on these issues. Atlantic Canadians have not been immune to that messaging, which is said to weaponize working-class identities, economic and cultural anxieties, and frustration with establishment politics against minority groups. Using data from a 2019 telephone survey on the political views of Atlantic Canadians, our paper explores attitudes toward immigration and increasing socio-cultural diversity in the region, as well as the correlates of social media, social class, and urban/rural location. We consider the extent to

which political polarization is present in the Atlantic Canadian political field, including perceived polarization. Our findings extend the scholarly work on political polarization beyond the US, as we consider the ways in which American polarization narratives have been adopted in Atlantic Canada.

8. Robert Nolan, Memorial University of Newfoundland
“Municipal Mergers: Why Communities in Newfoundland and Labrador Amalgamate”

This paper examines the phenomenon of municipal amalgamation by using the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador as a case study. Newfoundland and Labrador presents a unique case for the study of municipal institutions given the context of its relatively short history of formal local government structures, critical junctures which have clearly influenced institutional change at the municipal level, unique ideas and discourse regarding local communities, and strong local identities. These phenomena will be examined through the lens of discursive institutionalism, which provides insight into how and why the decision is made to amalgamate. Municipal amalgamation, described as the de-institutionalization of local institutions and re-institutionalization of a single merged local institution, may be motivated by incremental change through path dependencies or in response to exogenous shocks known as critical junctures, and can succeed or fail through discourse and identities. In particular, new regional identities based in the newly amalgamated region may arise in response to local resistance identities, and positive proponent rhetoric is commonly used to overcome opponent rhetoric. This comparative case study will observe four cases of amalgamation debate in rural communities of Newfoundland and Labrador. In three of these cases – the groups of municipalities that became Roddickton-Bide Arm, Fogo Island, and Trinity Bay North – the municipalities proceeded with amalgamation. We also examine the debate in the communities of Labrador City and Wabush, in which local governments decided against amalgamation.

9. Jared Wesley, University of Alberta
Mireille Lalancette, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières
Alex Marland, Memorial University
“Anti-Defection Rules and Party Switching in the Canadian Provinces”

Floor-crossing remains a rare and controversial event in Canada. Proponents and opponents of this high level of party discipline differ in their views on representation and accountability. Champions see elected members as representatives of their respective party organizations; elected under one banner, members should not switch parties without putting the decision to a formal vote of their constituents (e.g., through a by-election). Critics of party discipline view elected officials as trustees of the public good; members of the legislature should have the ability to cross the floor if it allows them to better serve their constituents or the greater community. This paper explores these normative tensions in the context of proposals to ban party switching through formal party policies and legislation. Based on a historical review of various proposals at the provincial level across Canada, along with interviews of provincial party switchers, independents, mavericks, and loyalists, the paper weighs the advantages and drawbacks of anti-defection rules. It concludes with an assessment of the effectiveness and constitutionality of policies restricting the ability of elected members to cross the floor.