Dear colleagues,

It does not seem long since a dozen of us got together to apply for funding to set up the Centre. Since then, we have been able to achieve a lot together and I am extraordinarily grateful to all of the colleagues who have worked so hard to make the Centre a success.

Mission statements are always apt to sound a little pretentious but we have lived up to ours. Research is at the heart of what we do and it is exciting to be part of a group of scholars who aspire to excellence in pursuing a deeper understanding of issues that relate to the practice of democratic citizenship and the effective functioning of electoral democracy.

We are also fortunate to have a group of students who share our passion. Last spring, some of our MA and PhD students rallied around on very short notice to produce posters for a visit by Normand Labrie, FRQ’s Scientific Director. It was quite something to see how much innovative research is being conducted, not just by our postdocs and PhD students but also by our master’s students.

In addition to pursuing research to the highest international standards and investing in student training, we are committed to outreach and contributing to public life through our research. We can be particularly proud of the activities that we organized around last fall’s election. Centre members played a leading role in developing civic literacy tools to help voters learn more about the issues and the workings of the electoral system. The Québec Vote Compass proved to be a stunning success, attracting half a million visitors to the site. Right after the election, we organized a panel discussion about the election and then in January, almost every Centre member participated in a colloquium on the election. A book based on our research, Les Québécois aux urnes, under the direction of Frédérick Bastien, Éric Bélanger and François Gélineau, will be published this month by Les presses de l’Université de Montréal. Chapeau!

I am very happy to welcome Dietlind Stolle as our new director. She has some exciting ideas and I am looking forward to seeing the Centre go from strength to strength.

Sincerely,

Elisabeth Gidengil
Dear readers,

I hope you have all enjoyed a rejuvenating and productive summer. The Centre is going into high gear again and both this newsletter and a new look for our website (coming soon) mark the start of an exciting year of activities. Clearly, political events around us and in the world at large have made our work even more urgent, relevant, and exciting. We have secured the foundations for our future and the involvement of you all. Now that I am settled in as our coordinator, to the contributions of members of the steering committee, and the involvement of you all. Now that we have secured the foundations for our Centre we can start to think big.

I am delighted to introduce the first edition of the CSDC newsletter. We intend to make it a bi-annual publication as a way to keep you updated on news and new research developments related to our Centre. In this first edition of the newsletter, we would also like to make a special announcement about our new website, which is in progress (http://csdc-cecd.mcgill.ca/), and our new Centre logo, which you can see on the front page. Our logo resembles both some of the types of research results we produce (e.g. graphs) as well as the fact that we study people.

As you know, the CSDC is the inter-university Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship that brings together a group of cross-disciplinary scholars who work on the challenges facing democratic citizenship in a rapidly changing world. The Centre was established in 2008 under the leadership of prof. Elisabeth Gidengil. This past June, prof. Dietlind Stolle became the new director of the Centre. Dietlind is an Associate Professor in Political Science at McGill University, Montréal. She works on civic engagement, political participation, electoral behavior, and diversity (see her letter on page 2). The Centre is currently comprised of 25 faculty members and 74 students from five Quebec universities and 11 Canadian and international Associate members. The Centre’s main goals are to promote scientific research on fundamental questions relating to democratic citizenship, to contribute to policy debates on strengthening democracy both in Canada and abroad, to take a leadership role in the development of large-scale cross-national research projects, and to provide an enriched training environment for graduate students and post-doctoral fellows. The Centre’s research provides in-depth analysis of a wide range of relevant questions focusing on three axes: citizens and democratic representation, civic engagement, and diversity and democratic citizenship.

This first edition of the CSDC newsletter highlights some progress in these research domains and gives an overview of the types of research being undertaken at the Centre at the moment. The newsletter also provides updated information about our Centre related activities. More information about our Centre history, structure, and activities can be found at our website (http://csdc-cecd.mcgill.ca/) and Facebook page (https://www.facebook.com/groups/CSDC.university/). Furthermore, we would also like to welcome you to send any reactions and comments about our newsletter, or new ideas and suggestions for the next edition to sara.vissers@mcgill.ca.

Sincerely,
Sara Vissers Research Associate and Coordinator

Network for Citizenship Studies
Antoine Bilodeau

On June 27 and 28, on behalf of the Centre, I attended a meeting at CEVIPOF, Institut d’études politiques in Paris. The meeting gathered scholars from France (Manlio Cinalli, Réjane Sénac – IEP-Paris), Switzerland (Marco Giugni – Geneva), Belgium (Dirk Jacobs – ULB), the United Kingdom (Marisa Grasso – Sheffield), the United States (David Jacobson – South Florida), and Canada to discuss the development of a network of scholars interested in issues relating to various dimensions of citizenship, the Network for Citizenship Studies (NCS). The first day of the meeting was devoted to sharing on our different takes on the field of citizenship studies and to learn from each other’s work. The objective of the NCS will be to connect scholars interested in citizenship studies, to foster new collaborations and research initiatives, as well as to organize a summer school in Citizenship Studies in the summer 2015.

Contact: antoine.bilodeau@concordia.ca

Book Release
Les Québécois aux urnes: les médias et les citoyens en campagne (Les Presses de l’Université de Montréal), edited by CSDC members Frédérick Bastien (UdeM), Eric Bélanger (McGill), and François Gélineau (Laval), is available on November 7. The book examines the context, campaign, and voting behaviour of the 2012 Quebec election, while incorporating a wide range of empirical research and comparative analysis that includes data from projects such as Making Electoral Democracy Work, Comparative Provincial Election Protection, and Boussole électorale. It is a collaborative and interdisciplinary effort, involving many CSDC members and other researchers with expertise in elections and Quebec politics.

Let’s Québécois aux urnes marks not only an important contribution to the study of politics in Quebec, but also helps to illuminate broader academic debate in electoral politics.
In the Spotlight

Congratulations Elisabeth Gidengil

Elisabeth Gidengil received the 2013 Donald Smiley Prize from the Canadian Political Science Association for her dissertation, “The Study of Big Data: Web Politics.”

Student poster award

Alexandre Blanchet (PhD student, Université de Montréal) won the $100 award at the 2013 annual CSDC student poster award for his poster “Le développement de la connaissance politique.”

International exchange grants

Benjamin Ferland (PhD candidate, McGill) and Eric Guntermann (PhD candidate, UdeM) received the CSDC International exchange grant to pursue their doctoral dissertation research at universities abroad. Eric stayed for six months at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona (see his interview on page 12) and Benjamin is currently staying at the University of California – Riverside to pursue research on democratic satisfaction with Prof. Shaun Bowler and Prof. Indridi Indridason.

Visiting Scholars

Alisa Henderson, Professor, University of Edinburgh – February 2014

Research interests: Political cultures in federal and multi-national states, national identity, federalism, devolution, and institutional design

Emily Falk, Assistant Professor in Communication Studies, University of Michigan – April 2014

Research interests: Media psychology, health and the media, communication neuroscience

Summer 2013 seed grants

Name this Newsletter!

This is our first newsletter and for now it is simply called “newsletter.” However, we would like to give it a name and make it into an institution. Please send your ideas for names to Sara Vissers (sara.vissers@mcgill.ca) and we will select the best ones for an online vote among the Centre membership. The winner will receive a prize.

Student Representatives

Please contact your student representative with any concerns or ideas regarding the Centre:

- Graduate Student Representative: Alexandre Blanchet (UdeM) alexandre.blanchet@gmail.com
- Vice Graduate Student Representative: Charles Tessier (Laval) charles.tessier1@polymath.ca
- Senior Representative: Chris Chhim (McGill) chris.chhim@mail.mcgill.ca

Other Student Representatives:

- Philippe Duguay (UQAM) duguay.philippe@courrier.uqam.ca
- Kerry Tanamhill (Concordia) kerryvitanash@gmail.com
- Holly Garnett (McGill) holly.garnett@mail.mcgill.ca

CSDC seed grant applications

Twice a year the Centre opens a call for applications for seed grants amongst its full members and collaborators. The seed grants, up to $7,500, are awarded on a competitive basis and are intended to foster both the design of new research initiatives and the further development of projects that seek larger funding from other sources. Emphasis is given to projects across research themes and disciplines that involve new collaborations. Another call will be sent by email. Application deadline: December 15. For more information, please visit our website http://csdc-cred.mcgill.ca/

Call for papers: Pre-IPSA Workshop on Citizens, Parties, and Electoral Contexts

Making Electoral Democracy Work (MEDW), the Electoral Integrity Project, and the International Political Science Association’s (IPSA) Research Section on Elections, Citizens, and Parties are organizing a one-day, pre-IPSA World Congress workshop on Friday, July 18, 2014, in Montreal to examine the themes: “Citizens, Parties, and Electoral Contexts.”

The workshop organizers are Prof. Elisabeth Gidengil (McGill) and Dr. Ferran Martinez i Coma (University of Sydney). The workshop welcomes paper proposals that use methods and approaches seeking to tackle several questions regarding the impact of electoral rules and integrity on citizens’ participation, especially voting turnout and campaign activism; on political representation, and especially the accountability of elected officials to citizens; on party choice and voting behavior; and on the behaviour of political parties. Paper proposals should include the name(s) and institutional affiliations of authors, a title, and a short (100-word) synopsis. They can be submitted online at http://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/email electoralintegrity@gmail.com with questions. The event will be held the day before the 23rd International Political Science Association World Congress, which runs from July 19 to 24, 2014 at the Palais des Congrès de Montréal. www.ipsa.org

Call for panels: Co-sponsored CPSA panels

The Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship welcomes proposals for the organization of panels relating to one of the Centre’s research axes (civic engagement, citizens and democratic representation, diversity and democratic citizenship) to be held at the next Canadian Political Science Association annual conference, May 27-29, 2014 at Brock University, Ontario, Canada. Workshops that will lead to the publication of an edited book or special edition of a journal are especially welcome, as are workshops that could be co-sponsored with other research centres. Note that administrative support will be provided to assist with the organization of the workshop(s). Proposals should include a brief description (max. two pages), a budget estimate, and a list of possible participants and should be sent to Sara Vissers (sara.vissers@mcgill.ca).

The application deadline is November 15, 2013.

Call for papers: Workshop on Voting Experiments

Making Electoral Democracy Work (MEDW) and the CSDC are organizing a two-day workshop on March 28-29, 2014 in Montreal to discuss voting experiments. The organizers of the workshop are Prof. André Blais (UdeM), Prof. Jean-François Laslier (Paris School of Economics and CNRS), and Karine Van der Straeten (Toulouse School of Economics and CNRS). Members of the Society Opinion and Media (SOM) Institute will also contribute. The purpose of the workshop is to present voting experiments conducted within and outside the MEDW project and to discuss the methodological issues associated with this type of experiment.

The deadline for submission of proposals has already passed. Those selected will be notified of their inclusion in the program by November 1, 2013. There is no registration fee, and travel and subsistence costs will be covered.

For more information on MEDW: http://electoraldemocracy.com
For more information on SOM institute: http://www.som.utoronto.ca/
Contact: André Blais (andre.blais@umontreal.ca), Jean-François Laslier (jean-francois.laslier@ubxpri.fr), Karine Van der Straeten (Karine.Van-Der-Straeten@tse-fr.eu)
Immigrants embrace “Quebec values,” so why doesn’t the PQ?  
By Benjamin Forest and Patrizia Barbone

An image from the Quebec government’s website for the Charter (https://www.mเn們onique.gouv.qc.ca/) indicating the unacceptable “ostentatious” religious symbols for public workers.

The Marois government’s proposed Charter of Quebec Values claims to respond to a crisis situation. Multiculturalism, according to our Premier, has led to bomb blasts in Britain. In the words of Minister Bernard Drainville, “The time has come to rally around our common values” implying that Quebec society is being torn apart by religious and cultural differences. The Charter’s ban on “ostentatious religious ornaments” would directly affect religious minorities like Jews, who have been in Quebec for hundreds of years, but the main source of anxiety is Muslims (hijabs, turbans), and other non-Western religions. In Quebec, these religions are practiced primarily by new immigrants who are Islamic, Sikh, Bahai, or other religious groups unfamiliar to many Quebecers.

If anything, this current incarnation of “multiculturalism” has aired the spread of “Quebec values” among these groups for the last decade. In the words of one immigrant leader, “programs must encourage and sustain all the initiatives that allow us to put [our] richness into society.” New immigrant groups do not receive as warm a reception as some others. The Charter has created a wide range of subfields to accommodate religious practices (or none at all). The “values” worth supporting recognize and celebrate these differences, and protect the ability to freely express ideas and religious beliefs. Banning some kinds of religious ornamentation is not secularism and it is not neutrality; it is antithetical to the values that our immigrants, at least, hold dear.

Contact: benjamin.forest@mcgill.ca  
patrizia.barbone@mail.mcgill.ca

Where is the connection between Quebec values and our democratic values? Values are worth supporting recognize and celebrate these differences, and protect the ability to freely express ideas and religious beliefs. Banning some kinds of religious ornamentation is not secularism and it is not neutrality; it is antithetical to the values that our immigrants, at least, hold dear.

Last year’s Speaker Series was a great success (see page 8 for a look at some of last year’s presentations). This year the Centre will host a wide range of local and international scholars prominent in various subfields. For everyone who would like to participate but cannot attend the presentations in person, we have created a web conference room through Adobe connect. You can access the room via: https://connect.mcgill.ca/?mid=94a5e/. Before attending the session, it is useful to run the connection test (https://connect.mcgill.ca/common/help/en/support/meeting_test.html). All talks, unless otherwise noted, are in Thomson House (3600 McTavish) and will be followed by a reception.

Preferences for European Social Policy in Times of Crisis  
Thursday, September 26 at 3:30 pm  
Laurie Beaudonnet (UdeM)

How Voters Evaluate Coalition Governments: Evidence from Germany  
Thursday, September 26 at 3:30 pm  
Sven-Oliver Proksch (McGill)

The Emotional Act of Voting – Memory, emotions, and electoral behaviour  
Friday, October 25, 2013  
Michael Bruter and Sarah Harrison (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Black Ethnic Segregation and Neighbourhood Quality in Canada  
Friday, November 1, 2013  
Zoun Vang (McGill)

The Puzzle of Double European Union Referendums (Co-sponsored)  
Thursday, November 14, 3:30-5:00 pm  
Ece Ordem Atiklan (Laval)

The Impact of Diversity: The (often) missing dimension of intergroup contact  
December 15, 2013  
Miles Hewstone (University of Oxford) Location TBA

The CSDC has developed a voting game in partnership with the Making Electoral Democracy Work project (http://electoraldemocracy.com/) and Apathy is Boring (http://www.apathyisboring.com). The activity will be integrated into Apathy is Boring’s civic engagement workshops which are targeted at young adults in 20 Canadian locations.

The Centre is co-sponsoring the Beaverbrook lecture, entitled “Technology and Democratic Citizenship: The (Critical) Importance of Media” by Media McGill, which will be held at the Musée d’art contemporain de Montréal on November 15 and 16, 2013. One of its aims is to critically investigate the relationship between new possibilities afforded by participatory media and the realization (or hindrance) of democratic participation. For more details see http://www.im.montreal.ca/2013conf/.

Workshop on Electoral and Civic Involvement of Canada’s Immigrant Communities  
The Centre is co-sponsoring a workshop on electoral and civic immigrant involvement, organized by the Institute for Research on Public Policy in Toronto on October 25, 2013. Other co-sponsors include Samara and the Maytree organization.

The Future of Democratic Citizenship, will be held on November 5, 2013 at 6:00 pm.
“An In Situ experiment on evaluative voting” by Jean-François Laslier

On May 14 the CSDC and the Canada Research Chair in Electoral Studies hosted a talk by Jean-François Laslier (École Polytechnique). Under evaluative voting, the voter freely grades each candidate on a numerical scale, with the winning candidate being determined by the sum of their grades. Professor Laslier reported on an experiment which used various evaluation scales, conducted during the first round of the 2012 French presidential election. He demonstrated that these rules favour candidates who attract the support of a large span of the electorate.

Workshop on Web-based Panel Data

On May 13 the CSDC hosted a workshop with Johan Martinsson, head of the Laboratory of Opinion Research (LORE) at the Multi-disciplinary Opinion and Democracy Research Group at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. Dr. Martinsson shared his experiences in developing and maintaining a university-run web panel.

Annual CSDC Graduate Student Conference 2013

The CSDC hosted its annual graduate student conference from March 22 to 23, 2013 in Quebec City. The graduate student conference was a great success with more than 35 participants. The conference was open to students from all universities and disciplines that share an interest in one of the Centre’s research areas on citizens and democratic representation, civic engagement, and diversity and democratic citizenship. The main goal of this annual conference is to offer students at the Masters, PhD, and Post-doctorate levels the opportunity to present and receive feedback on their research, and to become acquainted with the many students and faculty associated with the Centre.

“Socialization, Mobilization, and Participation in a Digital Age” by Dhavan Shah

On February 20, Dhavan Shah (University of Wisconsin – Madison) gave a talk for the CSDC Speaker Series on the varied roles communication plays in mobilizing adults and socializing youth into democratic citizenship. In this presentation, he integrated his research by extending and testing the Communication Mediation Model of civic and campaign participation, relying on national panel data collected during the last three presidential election cycles.

“Electoral systems and voters: A quasi-experiment in the context of the last Quebec provincial election” by Marc André Bodet et François Gélineau

On January 11, Marc André Bodet and François Gélineau gave a talk for the CSDC speaker series on the results of the use of the online tool “Vote au Pluriel” during the last Quebec provincial election in 2012. The tool is developed to encourage a better understanding of the working of different electoral systems.

“Incarceration Nation: Public opinion and the rise of the US carceral state” by Peter Enns

On February 1, Peter Enns (Cornell University) gave a talk drawing on his current book project, Incarceration Nation, which shows that an increasingly punitive public has been a fundamental factor in the rise of mass incarceration in the United States. The talk focused on why public support for being tough on crime has moved in a punitive direction in the US and what role this trend has played in the development of the highest incarceration rate in the world.

“Realizing the promise of Facebook” by Stuart Soroka and Neil Nevitte

On January 6, Stuart Soroka (McGill University) and Neil Nevitte (University of Toronto) gave a talk on their recent book, Realizing the Promise of Facebook. The book explores why Facebook is unique among social media, and asks what it has to offer for public scholarship.

Past Events

Highlights from 2013

From Protecting the Trees to Occupying the Streets in Turkey: Understanding the Gezi Park protests

Sule Bayraktar presents on democratic claim-making surrounding the movement.

On June 20 the CSDC organized a lunch panel discussion on the summer protests in Turkey. Discussants were Cem Utku Duyulmus (McGill), Sule Bayraktar (UdeM), and Mike Medeiros (UdeM). The discussion focused primarily on (1) the parameters of public policy making under the AKP Government as a trigger for current protests in Turkey, (2) democratic claim-making within diversity, and (3) the current protests in light of Turkish electoral dynamics. See Cem’s piece on page 15 for more on Gezi Park.

“Genetics, Neuroscience & International Politics” by Rose McDermott

On June 13 Rose McDermott (Brown University) gave a talk for the CSDC Speaker Series on the connection between biology and political science. She highlighted the role that genes play in individuals’ political preferences on the liberal-conservative spectrum, and demonstrated the systematic and predictable top-down effect of political ideology on a wide range of important social and political behaviors. These differences manifest in domains as diverse as emotional response, physiological reactivity and basic attentional focus across a variety of domains, including those which affect attitudes toward military and defense, immigration, and reproductive health policies.

“Politics” by Rose McDermott

On June 18 the CSDC hosted a workshop with Johan Martinsson, head of the Laboratory of Opinion Research (LORE) at the Multi-disciplinary Opinion and Democracy Research Group at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. Dr. Martinsson shared his experiences in developing and maintaining a university-run web panel.

“Humanitarian Aid and the Mass Communication Mediation Model of Civic Engagement” by Eric Merkley, Clare Devreux, and Eva Falk-Pedersen

On May 14 the CSDC hosted a workshop with Johan Martinsson, head of the Laboratory of Opinion Research (LORE) at the Multi-disciplinary Opinion and Democracy Research Group at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. Dr. Martinsson shared his experiences in developing and maintaining a university-run web panel.

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New on the Shelf


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New on the Shelf


New on the Shelf


New on the Shelf


British Columbia Vote Compass 2013

As part of the Centre’s commitment to reaching out to the larger public, the CSDC was mentioned as a co-sponsor of the British Columbia Vote Compass. Vote Compass is intended to stimulate interest in election campaigns and to get people talking about the election. It is also designed to offer voters an information shortcut by enabling them to figure out where parties stand on the issues of the day. The online tool plots the respective positions of each of the contending political parties on a series of 30 issues based on the parties’ election platforms, press releases, and pronouncements. Two members of the Centre, prof. Elisabeth Gidengil and prof. André Blais, are members of the national advisory committee.

Website: http://bc.votecompass.ca/
Benjamin Forest and Mike Medeiros

Seed grant recipients

Benjamin Forest (PhD, Geography, UCLA; pictured near right) is currently an Associate Professor in the Department of Geography of McGill University and a member of the Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship. Mike Medeiros, (pictured far right) also a member of the Centre, is a Ph.D. candidate and lecturer from the Department of Political Science at the Université de Montréal.

They received a seed grant from the Centre to start up a new collaborative project on Francophone and Indigenous representation in the future seat redistribution of the Canadian parliament.

CSDC: Could you tell us a little more about your project? What are your research questions?

MM: The project examines how the current Canadian electoral system limits the political representation of national minorities and explores ways to alleviate that under-representation. Aboriginals constitute about 4% of Canada’s population, but form majorities in less than 1% of Canada’s ridings. Francophone representation is about at parity nationally (relative to their population), but all but four French-majority ridings are in Quebec. Arguably, most of the substantial French-speaking populations in the rest of Canada do not have effective representation.

CSDC: That would involve examining a spatial relationship, such as the shape of ridings or measuring the clustering of votes. What we did here is think critically about the spatial assumptions of political representation. The tools we used, including a Geographic Information System (GIS) package, can be used for very complex spatial analysis, but we did not need those capabilities.

Statistics Canada reports Census data at several scales, such as nationally, provincially, and by riding. A GIS enables one to go beyond these relatively large units and to examine the data at small scales. We worked with the smallest publicly available unit, called Dissemination Areas (DAs), to build Aboriginal and Francophone majority ridings. So rather than taking ridings as given units, we could create hypothetical ones to see what is possible.

Such GIS also allow one to visualize the geographic distribution of national minority groups. A map of Aboriginal groups, for example, clearly shows how the population is concentrated in widely separated communities, almost like an archipelago. Seeing this distribution helps show that contiguous ridings are not necessarily uniform communities, but may contain large, sparsely inhabited areas. Displaying population data spatially also shows the relative concentration of Francophones in certain areas of Ontario.

CSDC: Could you highlight your main findings?

MM: Non-contiguous districts open up a whole range of new possibilities. This approach allowed us to double the number Aboriginal majority ridings in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and to create four new ones in Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec (where none now exist).

For Francophones, the story is really about Ontario because it is the only province (other than Quebec and New Brunswick) with enough French-speakers to create a riding. Currently, there is one majority riding there, but we created five districts that are 48 to 50% Francophone. We also found that we could do the same thing for Anglophones in Quebec, so the story gets really interesting.

The strategy of non-contiguous ridings does have its limits, however. One cannot achieve perfectly proportional representation for these two groups; that goal would require more extensive electoral reform, and probably constitutional reforms. Non-contiguous ridings could, nonetheless, reduce the current imbalances significantly.

We are both interested in issues of minority political representation. Mike looks across many states, while my major foci have been the US and Canada. As a Quebeccer, Mike is very attuned to the political tensions related to national minorities here. In contrast, I grew up and was educated south of the border, and tend to see these issues through the US’s troubled history of racial minority representation.

CSDC: This project is a first collaboration between the two of you. How did you decide to work together?

BF: Several solutions exist, but we focus on one that does not require major constitutional or legal reforms: non-contiguous ridings. What happens if ridings could be formed by geographically separate spatial units, rather than being single territories?

We describe our research as a kind of empirical thought experiment. Could a change in redistribution practices actually change the level of representation for Francophones and Indigenous groups in Parliament? Whether non-contiguous ridings are the best solution to this problem is the subject of another debate. We wanted to show that this is a reasonable option and to encourage renewed discussion of the issue.

CSDC: Could your results be translated into policy advice for officials to improve representation in parliament?

MM: Absolutely. One of our goals was to have a project that would be clear and be easily understood by policy makers. We have been lucky that this project has received significant media attention. After his presentation at the CPSA (Canadian Political Science Organization) in Victoria in May, Mike did several interviews for both radio and newspapers. We have also contacted relevant political actors with our results, as well as to get their views of the approach.

CSDC: Do you have any other plans to extend your project, or collaborate on other projects in the future?

BF: We hope so! We have been in contact with colleagues at McMaster University who are developing an automatic districting function for GIS. Such algorithms can create and evaluate many different riding configurations. This can be useful in testing whether or not creating a contiguous minority district is even possible. If not, then the argument for non-contiguous ones becomes even stronger.

MM: More generally, we are sure to keep in touch over our mutual interest in election systems and minority representation. Ben was awarded a 5-year SSHRC grant earlier this year to analyze minority candidacy in Canada. I will finish my dissertation next year, and hope to continue exploring minority representation. Such commons interests, and an enjoyable and so far interesting collaboration, will surely lead to future collaborative endeavors.

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MM: Absolutely. One of our goals was to have a project that would be clear and be easily understood by policy makers. We have been lucky that this project has received significant media attention. After his presentation at the CPSA (Canadian Political Science Organization) in Victoria in May, Mike did several interviews for both radio and newspapers. We have also contacted relevant political actors with our results, as well as to get their views of the approach.

CSDC: What are the greatest challenges in your project?

BF: We think that analyzing the data would be tough, but the greatest challenge has turned out to be explaining the concept of non-contiguous ridings. Although it might seem intuitively simple, the idea of using non-connected territorial units to form ridings has been difficult for people to grasp.

MM: Most people are not familiar with the process of forming electoral districts – it tends to receive little public or media attention, and only happens once every ten years – so we think ridings typically just seem like “natural” units. In such cases, changing their boundaries – much less their basic character – seems to violate common sense. To be fair, non-contiguous districts are also rather uncommon. To our knowledge, they are only used in Ukraine and in the Wisconsin state legislature, though they have been proposed for the Canadian Parliament at least once.

CSDC: This project is a first collaboration between the two of you. How did you decide to work together?

BF: We are both interested in issues of minority political representation. Mike looks across many states, while my major foci have been the US and Canada. As a Quebeccer, Mike is very attuned to the political tensions related to national minorities here. In contrast, I grew up and was educated south of the border, and tend to see these issues through the US’s troubled history of racial minority representation.

MM: I approached Ben at a Centre retreat two years ago with questions about GIS. I wanted to know about its capabilities and how it is (and could be) used in the redistribution (redistricting) process. We discovered our mutual interests and

Non-Contiguous Francophone Ridings - Sudbury Area

Non-contiguous Francophone majority ridings in the Sudbury, Ontario region. (Map by Malcolm Araos Egan)
Eric Guntermann
International exchange
grant recipient

Eric Guntermann is a PhD candidate in Political Science at the Université de Montréal and currently holds a doctoral fellowship from the Fonds québécois de recherche sur la société et la culture. He is a member of the Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship and the Canada Research Chair in Electoral Studies. From January to June 2013, he conducted research for his dissertation at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, Spain, with funding from the CSDC International Student Exchange Grant.

CSDC: Could you summarize your research question? How did you decide to study Spanish nationalism, and what makes Spain in particular such an interesting case study?

EG: What fundamentally interests me is public opinion. I seek to explain why people act at certain times and places have a set of political attitudes and beliefs, whereas people at different times and places feel and think differently. In my dissertation, I’m trying to explain why regional nationalism becomes a powerful force in certain linguistically distinct regions, while it does not in other such regions.

Spain is a fascinating case to study, because of the amount of variation available for analysis. One way to study nationalism, or any other aspect of public opinion, is to use cross-sectional survey data for a particular population. Such data, unfortunately, only allow us to explain differences among individual survey respondents. We generally don’t have sufficiently long time series to look at changes over time and we often lack other populations to compare our analyses to. Spain is different. At least four regions have the major precondition associated with regional nationalism, a distinct language. These are the Basque Country, Catalonia, Galicia, and the Valencian Community. Therefore, it is possible to explain variation across regions, while controlling most country-level variables. Moreover, while lack of data is generally a major problem faced by those of us who study political behaviour, such a problem does not exist in Spain. Spain has vast amounts of surveys conducted at the regional level. Moreover, annual, and in one case quarterly, time series of questions related to nationalism exist, allowing me to look into changes over time, in addition to individual-level variation. In one of the regions, an annual panel study has also been conducted since 2001, allowing me to test arguments about individual change over time. Finally, detailed records of parliamentary activity in each region are easily accessible, allowing me to measure the level of elite nationalism over time and relate it to public opinion data.

CSDC: What insights into nationalism have you gained through your research?

EG: I’m only starting my dissertation. My findings are only preliminary at this point, but the literature suggests the relevance of two major factors. The economy seems to play a role. Cross-regional statistical studies have shown that better-off regions tend to have stronger nationalist movements. Moreover, political elites also appear to be an important factor. However, to my knowledge, no one has explained how the economy affects nationalist success. Are people just rational, deciding to be nationalist in wealthier regions in order to avoid redistribution and not nationalist in poorer regions, seeking to benefit from transfers from better-off parts of the country? I’m not too sure about that. No one has shown either what the role of the elite is. Studies showing a correlation between what political elites do and what the population thinks face a serious endogeneity challenge. It’s far from clear that elite nationalism, or non-nationalism, influences the population, rather than the other way around.

I propose the following explanation, which I will seek to support with empirical evidence. I argue that the most educated segment of the population tends to identify with the political community offering them opportunities for social mobility. In better-off regions, that means that such people identify more with their region. On the other hand, in less-well-off regions, highly educated people tend to identify with the central state. This highly educated sector of the population influences the positions adopted by the political elite, which, in turn, influences less educated people.

CSDC: How did you get into communication with the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and find supervisors, and why did you choose this university specifically?

EG: I was lucky to benefit from the international connections of CSDC faculty. In particular, my supervisor at Université de Montréal, André Blais, has been working with my supervisor at Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Ignacio Lagá, for a number of years. That way I could be confident that I would receive adequate guidance in Spain.

CSDC: In what ways did conducting research abroad contribute to your experience as a researcher and scholar?

EG: My research abroad benefitted me in two major ways. Most fundamentally, it has provided me with new political phenomena to explain. As I explained, Spain has very interesting variations to study as well as extensive data to use to explain them. The second advantage of conducting research abroad is being exposed to new theoretical and methodological approaches. At Universitat Pompeu Fabra, I got to interact with scholars at one of the top political science departments in Europe and was able to confront the approaches and methods I’ve learned in North America to those I encountered in Barcelona. Ultimately, I think my research skills have benefited tremendously.

CSDC: You also received a training grant to attend the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan this summer. What did you study there and why did you participate?

EG: At ICPSR, I took advanced courses in quantitative methods dealing with regression, maximum likelihood estimation, scaling, and multilevel models. My goal was to acquire the highest methods skills possible. Now that I’m back in Montreal, I’d be very happy to share what I’ve learned with fellow members of the CSDC.

I learned some very interesting methods, such as how to produce and present effective graphics, that I’m convinced many members would be interested in.

CSDC: What’s next for you? Do you have any other research underway?

EG: I don’t have any major plans. Over the next year or two I will mostly stay in Montreal and work on my dissertation. I’m also working on papers on voting in Spain and support for the independence of Catalonia. At the same time, I’d like to use the huge amount of data I collected in Barcelona to contribute to other areas of research on political behaviour.

Overlooking Bilbao, in the Basque Country, where Eric was conducting research on the region.
Introducing the CSDC Communication Lab
By Stuart Soroka

One of the main research contributions of the CSDC has been the creation of the Communication Lab. Housed at McGill University, the lab offers faculty and students an opportunity to use lab experiments to explore issues in political psychology and political communication.

The Lab itself includes six networked desktop computers, at workstations separated by screens. All computers include a suite of statistical and experimental software packages, including MediaLab for political communication experiments, as well as our own custom-built software for physiological experiments. The physiological response technology is portable and available for use by anyone affiliated with the Centre at other university campuses and in moveable labs all over the world.

The lab has already had a major impact on Centre members’ research agendas. The following are projects based on experiments in the lab over the past two years:

- Stuart Soroka and Stephen McAdams have conducted the first physiological experiments in political communication in Canada. A first paper, “News, Politics and Negativity,” is available as a CIRANO Working Paper. The paper confirms that humans react more strongly to negative news than to positive news. A cross-national follow-up is now underway, with Patrick Fournier and Lalich Nii.
- Delia Dumitrescu, Elisabeth Gideneng, and Dietlind Stolle have produced a series of conference papers based on experiments capturing both survey-based and physiological reactions to political campaign speeches (including “Gender and Electoral Communication,” and “It’s Not What You Say, It’s the Way You Say It: Candidate Nonverbal Style and Persuasion”). What You Say, It’s the Way that You Say It: campaign speeches (including “Gender and Electoral Communication,” and “It’s Not What You Say, It’s the Way You Say It: Candidate Nonverbal Style and Persuasion”). What You Say, It’s the Way that You Say It: campaign speeches (including “Gender and Electoral Communication,” and “It’s Not What You Say, It’s the Way You Say It: Candidate Nonverbal Style and Persuasion”).
- Pénélope Daugnault, Stuart Soroka, and Thierry Giasson have examined participants’ reactions (both survey-based and physiological) to campaign ads during the last federal election. The resulting paper, “The Perception of Political Advertising During An Election Campaign: A Preliminary Study of Cognitive and Emotional Effects,” was published in the Canadian Journal of Communication this year; it offers an account of why negative political advertising may be so effective.
- Elisabeth Gideneng, Dietlind Stolle, Lesley Fellows, and Chenjie Xia used the lab to conduct experiments on the role of the frontal lobe for political decision-making. This collaboration with neuroscience also involved the CSDC’s undergrad student researchers Katelyn Shannon and Nicole Leonard. Articles from this project will soon be submitted.
- CSDC Honourary student Yule Hertzman conducted experiments with Dietlind Stolle on “moral licensing” — a phenomenon which holds that engaging in moral behavior makes people feel “licensed,” or as though they have earned the right to compensate later on by engaging in morally questionable or even unethical behavior. The resulting paper has been accepted for the first political behavior workshop in Toronto this fall.
- CSDC MA student Marc Trussler (now a PhD candidate at Vanderbilt) conducted a series of experiments with Stuart Soroka on the tendency for news consumers to select negative news over positive news. The paper, first presented at the 2013 CPSA conference, received coverage in the Toronto Star and CTV; it is now under review.

As lab use increases, and particularly as the Centre attracts graduate students interested in experimental approaches to political science and communication, we expect the Communication Lab to play an even more central role in CSDC research activities across our campuses.

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Feature

Considering the democratic potential of Turkey’s Gezi Park protests
By Cem Utku Duyulmus

The Gezi Park protests in Taksim Square have become a focal point of Turkish politics since the end of May. The protests began over concerns of a redevelopment project of the only green area left in the central district of Istanbul. The occupation of Gezi Park and massive protests continued for almost three weeks until the end of June, and transformed into a sweeping outrage against the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) government and the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

Gezi Park is located near the setting of the park and Taksim Square by the police in mid-June, the anti-government protests spilled over to 79 cities, with massive demonstrations in Ankara and Istanbul continuing in lower intensity until July. According to the Ministry of Interior, 2.5 million people mobilized during the protests; of those, 4,900 protesters were detained and 4,000 were injured, five died, and 11 lost their eyes, mostly due to gas cannons shot by police forces. Considering the unexpected accumulation of protests and the intensity of clashes between activists and police forces, these events received broad international media coverage. This article focuses on two important aspects of the Gezi Park protests: the movement’s pluralistic composition and the potential transformative impact of protests on Turkish politics.

A mixed mass movement emerged at Gezi Park

This large-scale public resistance to the government stemmed from a minor protest of environmentalists at Gezi Park in 2008. Considering the unexpected accumulation of protests and the intensity of clashes between activists and police forces, these events received broad international media coverage. This article focuses on two important aspects of the Gezi Park protests: the movement’s pluralistic composition and the potential transformative impact of protests on Turkish politics.

As the protests continued, citizens, anti-capitalist Muslims, liberal-minded and hard line secular citizens, Kurdish activists, soccer club fans, university students, and union members were present in Gezi Park. Thus the events brought together various segments of society with different agendas, all unified in their reaction against the AKP government. A survey conducted by research company KONDA over 4,411 activists at Gezi Park on June 6 and 7 helps explain the factors that mobilized the protesters: 49% decided to attend the protests when they saw the police violence and brutality, while 19% decided when they saw the removal of trees during construction, and 14.2% decided to participate when they heard Erdogan’s speeches. Çoçukan Taştan’s qualitative field research on the participants emphasizes that “The majority of Gezi Park protesters cite restrictions on liberties, government interference in their daily lives, and the Prime Minister’s authoritarian rule as their reasons of joining the protests.” The Gezi Park protests were not composed of merely secularist hard liners.
worried over the resurgence of political Islam, thus it can be said that the Gezi Park protest had a novel character beyond the dominant religious-secular cleavage. The protesters’ main concerns involve the restriction of liberties by recent AKP government practices and policies such as narrowing of women’s rights on abortion and caesarean sections, regulating the sale of alcoholic beverages, controlling newspapers and TV channels, censoring the media, and naming the third new Bosporus bridge after the Ottoman Empire Sultan Yavuz Selim, who is unpopular among Alevi. Furthermore, if we shift from the movement’s core at Gezi Park in Istanbul to the protests in various cities across Turkey, the scope of issues widens substantially.

Examples of this proliferation include critique of the AKP government’s foreign policy towards Syria, expressed especially during the protests in the south border city of Hatay; the improvement of working conditions insisted by union members in Ankara; and Kurdish activists’ concerns on the peace process and defence of linguistic rights across the country. Despite the government’s claim of sustaining economic growth rates and implementing democratization reforms, especially to end the military tutelage, the Gezi Park protests represent the frustrations of a variety of groups with the government’s policies implemented by the AKP government during its ten years of office.

What is next for Turkish “New Politics”? The AKP government took a security-based stance which involved limited dialogue and harsh measures to end the protests, as evidenced by its re-seizure of the park through a police attack using tear gas and water cannons. Erdoğan claimed that the Gezi park protests were orchestrated by the domestically and internationally rooted “interest rate lobby”, which is said to have benefited from the particular turn of events. During the AKP rallies, Erdoğan characterized the protesters as supporters of the opposition Republican Party, thereby increasing the polarization in Turkey and insisting on a division between “us” and “them”. AKP government members have voiced various conspiracy theories to explain the protests: some consider them, for example, as a “civilian” coup attempt to overthrow the government, while others charge various outside enemies jealous of Turkey’s increasing power. According to the AKP, the ballot box is the appropriate medium to change the government, rather than the streets.

On the other hand, the activists that emerged in Gezi Park evolved to forums in other neighborhood parks organized especially in Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara, where people voiced their concerns on urban gentrification, environmental change, and the rewriting of a new Constitution, debating on further strategies. According to political scientist Koray Çağlayan, the forums act as an example of direct democracy and have the potential to transform the political opposition in Turkey from being overwhelmingly nationalist and secularist towards being more issue-based. Along these lines, the drive to protect political, civic, and social rights, along with the voicing of environmental concerns, could lead to the emergence of “new politics” in Turkey. After the end of holy month of Ramadan and the holidays in August, we now need to observe how the AKP government strategizes on key issues such as the writing of the new Constitution and the peace process of the Kurdish issue, as well as how the activism that surfaced in Gezi Park influences opposition parties and is channelled into Turkish politics.

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The CSDC hosted an event in June on the Gezi Park protests at which Cem presented. See page 8 for details.

Endnotes
1 Based on an article entitled “2.5 milyonun 79’üne kadar saldı” published on June 23, 2013 at daily Milliyet.
2 In addition to the lack of media coverage during the protests, we witnessed dismissal of high-profile journalists in the mainstream media, especially those who were critical of Sapıy Erdoğlu and the AKP government’s policies during the protests, demonstrating the problematic character of media freedom in Turkey.
4 Although never clearly explained by the AKP government, the claim is that the so-called interest-rate lobby aims to create political and economic instability to purchase Turkish Lira for lower value and to increase the interest rates. According to this scenario, these international and domestic actors make economic gains at these moments of instability. Koray Çağlayan, “Türkiye yeni sosyetal kodlarlari”, published at daily Radikal on July 26, 2013.

Highlights
Are Canadians Pro-Immigrant? Results show that Canadians are slightly more pro-immigrant than Americans. But most citizens in both countries think their country is accepting too many immigrants in general.

Cultural Threat Overblown Skin tone and ethnicity have only a marginal effect on the attitudes of Canadians and Americans toward immigration.

For Public Debate
This research has benefited from the financial assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) International Opportunities Fund and by the National Research Foundation of Korea.

Research Brief Why people do and do not support immigration in Canada and the United States By Allison Harrell, Stuart Soroka, Shanto Iyengar, and Nicholas Valentino What’s the Story? In recent years, public sentiment about immigration in many countries throughout the Western world has become less favorable. The two most popular explanations for the upswing in immigration phobia are 1) economic threat and 2) cultural threat arguments. The former suggests that more immigrants will take away jobs from natives and/or drain the welfare system. The latter warns that more immigrants pose a threat to our (i.e. the dominant group’s) values.

Drawing on a unique survey experiment, this article examines whether economic or cultural concerns best characterize objections that many Canadians and Americans have about immigration. In general, results show that economic objections trump cultural objections in both countries. The job skills that prospective immigrants bring to the country are significantly more important determinants of attitudes toward a candidate’s application than either ethnicity or skin complexion. Though Americans and Canadians share quite similar attitudes about immigrant applicants overall, the study did uncover subtle areas of difference. For instance, Americans showed a slight preference for Hispanic applicants compared to Middle Eastern applicants, whereas Canadians did not clearly distinguish between the ethnicities tested. Canada, however, results did show that Francophone respondents were significantly less supportive of Middle Eastern applicants than the comparison ethnic group used in this study (South Asian).

How We Did It Results presented in this study are from a unique experimental design embedded within a representative online survey of about 1,000 Canadians and Americans. Each participant in the study was invited to read a short story (vignette) about a prospective immigrant, which also included a picture of the applicant. They were then asked a series of questions about whether citizenship or a work permit should be granted in each case. The vignettes created for the experiment varied in terms of the depictions of economic skills and family background of prospective immigrants. The pictures associated with each vignette also varied in terms ethnicity and skin complexion. Face-morphing software was used to hold the attractiveness of each candidate constant – meaning that facial features remained consistent and only skin complexion and ethnicity varied.


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Endnotes
1 Stuart Soroka, “Economic and cultural cues on support for immigration”, published at daily Globalnews.ca on May 28, 2013.
2 This research has benefited from the financial assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) International Opportunities Fund and by the National Research Foundation of Korea.
What's the Story?

What are the odds of holding the decisive ballot in an election? Imagine a Canadian federal election hangs in the balance. Your vote will not only break a statistical tie between candidates in your riding but could also swing the balance at the federal level, effectively deciding which party will form government in Ottawa and who will assume the position of Canadian Prime Minister. It could happen. But what are the chances? This article begins by pointing out that, statistically speaking, the odds of holding that decisive ballot are virtually zero. Yet, in spite of this obviously fact large numbers of voters routinely participate in democratic election. The question, then, is what drives voters to the polls when the odds that their vote will matter are unlikely in the extreme?

The authors propose three reasons for this puzzle. First, it may be a psychological matter are unlikely in the extreme?民主选举中的投票动机，但只有在高度政治化的选民中才真正存在。第二，民主选举虽然重要，但只有在政治化程度较高的选民中才真正存在。第三，民主选举虽然重要，但只有在政治化程度较高的选民中才真正存在。第四，民主选举虽然重要，但只有在政治化程度较高的选民中才真正存在。 fifth, it may be a psychological matter are unlikely in the extreme?民主选举中的投票动机，但只有在高度政治化的选民中才真正存在。第二，民主选举虽然重要，但只有在政治化程度较高的选民中才真正存在。第三，民主选举虽然重要，但只有在政治化程度较高的选民中才真正存在。第四，民主选举虽然重要，但只有在政治化程度较高的选民中才真正存在。
About the Centre

Established in 2008, the Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship brings together a group of cross-disciplinary scholars to bear on the challenges facing democratic citizenship in a rapidly changing world. The Centre’s main goals are to promote scientific research on fundamental questions relating to democratic citizenship, to contribute to policy debates on strengthening democracy both in Canada and abroad, to take a leadership role in the development of large-scale cross-national research projects, and to provide an enriched training environment for graduate students and post-doctoral fellows.

The Centre’s research provides in-depth analysis of a wide range of relevant questions focussing on three axes: citizens and democratic representation, civic engagement, and diversity and democratic citizenship.