



CENTRE POUR L'ÉTUDE
DE LA CITOYENNETÉ DÉMOCRATIQUE
CENTRE FOR THE STUDY
OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP



<http://csdc-cecd.mcgill.ca>

Fall 2013
Newsletter

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Editors: Dietlind Stolle, Sara Vissers, and
Nicole Leonard | Design: Nicole Leonard

Fonds de recherche
sur la société
et la culture

Québec

A message from the founding Director, Elisabeth Gidengil

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 Gélneau, 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



Dietlind Stolle



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 relevant, as we try to understand how to foster civic engagement, how publics and governments are reacting to rising ethnic and religious diversity, and how Western publics are expressing growing political skepticism, to mention just a few examples. Corruption should also be part of this list. Our creativity will get a tremendous boost through the number of superb events planned this year (see this newsletter). But we also call on you for new ideas.

I am very excited and proud to serve as the Centre's new Director, a role that was made much easier thanks to Elisabeth Gidengil's hard work in the past years as the Centre's director, to Sara Vissers' support 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.

Here are some long-term goals we might want to ponder in the near future. While we deliver cutting edge research in the fields of electoral studies, political communication, political participation, and diversity, we can embrace even more the inter-disciplinary character of our Centre. We might attempt to build up an inter-university curriculum for MA and PhD degrees in political behavior and communication by offering more concentrated training particularly in the field of methods and potentially in an additional discipline (e.g. psychology, neuroscience, biology, economics). Likewise, we should think about how the Centre can enable faculty members to retrain themselves, methods-wise or substantively, maybe by facilitating a research sabbatical or a special training program that involves methods or new disciplinary training.

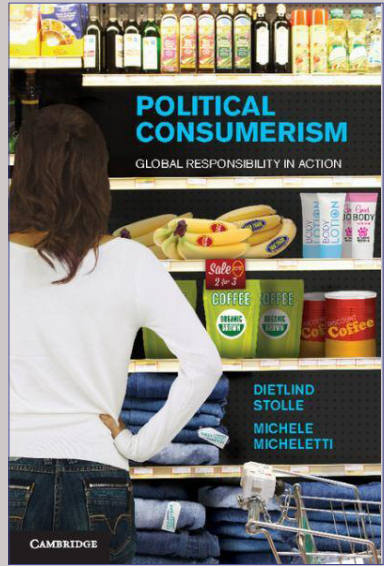
We should invest more in our communication lab, build an inter-university student subject pool, a data archive of online, harvested, and digital data sets, and other new technologies and programs that will make our inter-university data lab unique. We should also strengthen our ties with the public and demonstrate in even better ways the

significance of our research and work on ideas of how it might be better converted into policy design. While we have already shown our creativity in organizing roundtables, developing online civic literacy tools, writing research briefs and research related op-eds, we might want to consider working together with local artists to visualize the messages of our work. We can also invest more in developing direct tools for the political mobilization of young and disadvantaged population groups.

The possibilities are nearly endless. We can look forward to a year full of energy and ideas that will inspire more creative research avenues, better solutions to political problems, expanded collaborations, and insightful events.

Sincerely,

dietlind.stolle@mcgill.ca
<http://profs-polisci.mcgill.ca/stolle/>



New on the Shelf
Political Consumerism – Global Responsibility in Action, by Dietlind Stolle and Michele Micheletti.
Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Introduction to the Newsletter

Dear readers,

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 23 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 news-

letter highlights some progress in these research domains and gives an overview of the types of research being undertaken in 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.CECD/>). Finally, I would also like to welcome you to send any reactions and comments about the 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 (Maria 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

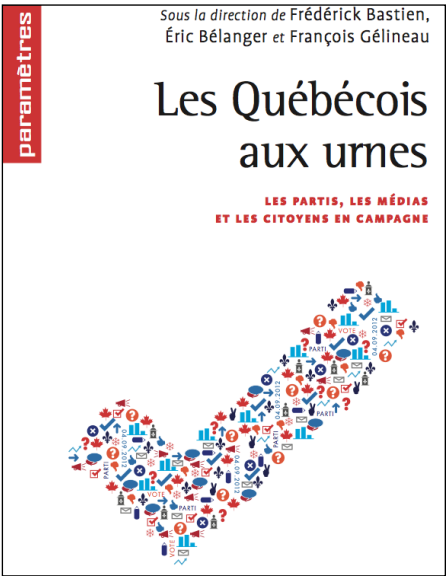
collaborations and research initiatives, as well as to organize a summer school in Citizenship Studies in the summer 2015.

Contact: antoine.bilodeau@concordia.ca

Book Release

Les Québécois aux urnes: les partis, les médias et les citoyens en campagne (Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal), edited by CSDC members Frédéric Bastien (UdeM), Éric Bélanger (McGill), and François Gélneau (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 Project](#), and [Boussole électorale](#). It is a collaborative and interdisciplinary effort, involving many CSDC members and other researchers

with expertise in elections and Quebec politics. *Les 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.



Announcements

New Appointments



The steering committee has nominated Prof. François Gélinau as Associate Director of the Centre. François is Research Chair for democracy

and parliamentary institutions and Associate Professor at the Political Science department at Laval.



The Centre welcomes new full member Sven-Oliver Proksch. He is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at McGill, studying how democratic political institutions

affect the strategic behavior of governments, political parties, and individual members of parliament.



The Centre welcomes our new associate member Peter Loewen, who is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto

at Mississauga, and the Director of the Centre for the Study of the United States at the Munk School of Global Affairs. Peter has several research interests related to the Centre. He uses experiments and surveys to explain both individual differences in political behaviour between people as well as decision-making by political elites.

In the Spotlight

Congratulations Elisabeth Gidengil

The CSDC's founding director, Elisabeth Gidengil, has been elected to the Royal Society of Canada as a 2013 Fellow in the Academy of Social Sciences.

Congratulations André Blais for the 2013 Donald Smiley Prize

André Blais and co-author William Cross were awarded the 2013 Donald Smiley Prize at this year's Canadian Political Science Association conference for their book *Politics at the Centre: The Selection and Removal of Party Leaders in the Anglo Parliamentary Democracies* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

CSDC Best Student Paper award

Alexandre Blanchet (PhD student, Université de Montréal) won the \$500 award at the 2013 annual CSDC student conference for his paper "Le développement de la connaissance politique".

Student poster award

Benjamin Ferland (PhD candidate, McGill) received a special mention for his poster, "Why do SMP electoral systems foster ideological congruence?" presented at this year's Canadian Political Science conference in Victoria, British Columbia.

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.

Summer 2013 seed grants

Negativity, Physiological Reactions, and Political Orientations: A Comparative Pilot Study
Patrick Fournier (UdeM), Stuart Soroka (McGill), Lilach Nir (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Study of Big Data: Web Politics
Laval University: Thierry Giasson, Marc-André Bodet, François Gélinau, Pierre-Yves Langlois, and Yannick Dufresne

Guests at CSDC

Tamar de Waal, PhD candidate, University of Amsterdam – September-January 2014
Research interests: Legal theory, liberal democracy, civic integration, multiculturalism, citizenship theory

Louise Donker, PhD candidate, University of Liverpool – January-April 2014
Research interests: Gender, media representation

Aaron Martin, Assistant Professor, University of Melbourne – April-May 2014
Research interests: Youth, public opinion, policy agendas

Bolette Danckert, PhD candidate, University of Copenhagen – January-April 2014
Research interests: Effects of ethnic diversity on interethnic attitudes and political opinions

Visiting Scholars

Ailsa 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

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 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.tessier.1@ulaval.ca
- Senior Representative Chris Chhim (McGill) chris.chhim@mail.mcgill.ca

- Other Student Representatives: Philippe Duguay (UQAM) philippe@courrier.uqam.ca
Kerry Tannahill (Concordia) kerrytannahill@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-cccd.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 theme "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@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:

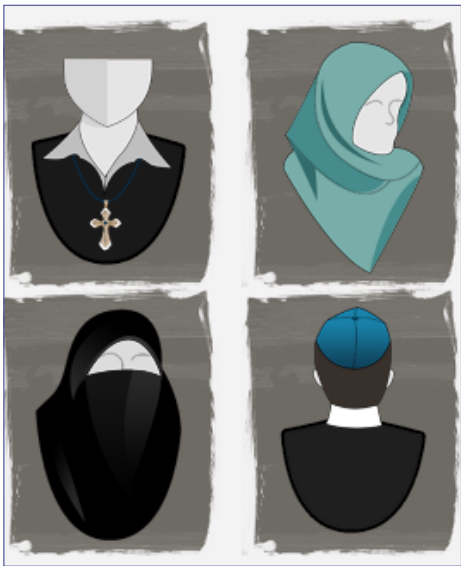
<http://www.som.gu.se/>

Contact:

André Blais (Andre.blais@umontreal.ca), Jean-François Laslier (Jean-Francois.Laslier@polytechnique.edu), 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 (<http://www.nosvaleurs.gouv.qc.ca/fr>), 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, niqabs), Sikhs (turbans), and adherents of other non-Western religions. In Quebec, these religions are practiced primarily by immigrants and their families. Through the Charter of Quebec Values, the Marois government is telling us that the threat presented by such immigrants and the “undesirable” values they bring with them are so extreme that they require public employees to accept severe limits on their fundamental freedoms of expression. However, research we have conducted on Federal and Quebec multicultural programs shows clearly that the “crisis” simply does not exist.

Immigrants are eager to participate in economic, political, and social life here, and to adopt “Quebec values” if not traditional secular dress.

“Multiculturalism” has been a formal Canadian policy for over 40 years, but its meaning has changed significantly over time. Since the early 2000s, both Federal and Quebec multicultural funds have gone almost entirely to immigrant service organizations that assist immigrants from a wide range of origins, and consequently encourage integration rather than isolation. Such groups help immigrants integrate into Quebec society through language training, employment counseling and placement, and civic education. Many of the clientele of these organizations are immigrants from North Africa and Southwest Asia who are Islamic, Sikh, Baha'i, or other religions unfamiliar to many Quebecers. If anything, this current incarnation of “multiculturalism” has aided 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 and will likely never receive the kind of ethnically based government support present in the previous styles of multiculturalism.

Neither, indeed, have new immigrants asked for such support. Our interviews demonstrated overwhelmingly that immigrants themselves have enthusiastically embraced full participation in Quebec society rather than isolation. As one immigrant told us, “you need to adhere to the values of the country that receives you. . . There is a place where we meet: love for family, children, education, the respect of democratic values. Some countries do not have that and when you are here you accept democratic values.”

Indeed, interviewees repeatedly expressed the desire to speak better French, to have access to better employment opportunities, and to join in the political and social life of their new home. These new immigrants see the attractions of

Quebec as including its open political and economic system, and, yes, the equality of men and women. Immigrants typically come to Quebec precisely because they are seeking lives in an open, secular society, and to escape societies that approve of some religious symbols and ban others.

Quebec is a diverse society. Our citizens come from a variety of places, have many skin tones, and have different 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:

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patrizia.barbone@mail.mcgill.ca

Benjamin Forest is a member of the Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship and an Associate Professor in the Department of Geography at McGill University. Patrizia Barbone is a doctoral student in the same program.

These opinions are their own and do not represent an official Centre position.

This article also appeared in *La Presse* on September 27.

CSDC Speaker Series 2013-2014

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/r7fmip91a3e/>. Before attending the session, it is useful to run the connection test (https://connect.mcgill.ca/common/help/en/support/meeting_test.htm). All talks, unless otherwise noted, are in Thomson House (3650 McTavish) and will be followed by a reception.

Preferences for European Social Policy in Times of Crisis

Thursday, September 26 at 2:30pm
Laurie Beaudonnet (UdeM)

How Voters Evaluate Coalition Governments: Evidence from Germany

Thursday, September 26 at 3:30pm
Sven-Oliver Proksch (McGill)

The Emotional Act of Voting – Memory, emotions, and electoral behaviour

Friday, October 25, 2:00pm
Michael Bruter and Sarah Harrison (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Black Ethnic Segregation and Neighbourhood Quality in Canada

Friday, November 1, 2:00pm
Zoua Vang (McGill)

The Puzzle of Double European Union Referendums (Co-sponsored)

Thursday, November 14, 3:30-5:00pm
Ece Ozlem Atikcan (Laval)

The Impact of Diversity: The (often) missing dimension of intergroup contact

Friday, December 13, 2:00pm
Miles Hewstone (University of Oxford)
Location TBA

Winter Semester, titles TBA:

Donald Green (Columbia)

Friday, January 10, 2014, 2:00pm

Marc Hetherington (Vanderbilt)

Friday, January 24, 2014, 2:00pm

Ailsa Henderson (Edinburgh)

Friday, February 7, 2013, 2:00pm

Markus Prior (Princeton)

Friday, February 21, 2014, 2:00pm

Peter Loewen (University of Toronto)

Friday, March 14, 2014, 2:00pm

Karine van der Straeten (Toulouse School of Economics)

Friday, March 27, 2014, 2:30pm

Scott Althaus (University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign)

Friday, April 11, 2014, 2:00pm

Emily Falk (University of Michigan)

Thursday, April 17, 2014, 2:30pm

Aaron Martin (University of Melbourne)

Friday May 2, 2014, 2:00pm

Co-sponsored Events

Strategic voting workshops with Apathy is Boring



The Centre 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.

Beaverbrook annual lecture by Al Gore

The CSDC is co-sponsoring the Beaverbrook annual lecture (Media@McGill), given by Al Gore. The lecture, entitled “Technology and

the Future of Democratization”, will be held on November 5, 2013 at 6:00pm.

Workshop on Representation and Equality

The Trudeau Foundation in cooperation with several other partners, including CSDC, Equal Voice, the Institute for Parliamentary Law, and the Institute for Research on Public Policy is organizing a workshop on representation and equality. The workshop will be held on November 20, 2013 at McGill University and will consist of four panels: (1) Gender balance in parliament, (2) Ethnocultural diversity in Canadian politics, (3) Electoral boundaries redistributions, and (4) Justice in electioneering. For more details see <http://www.trudeaufoundation.ca/2013conference/>.

Series of Talks on Diversity

The CSDC is co-sponsoring a series of talks on diversity during the 2013-2014 academic year. The talks focus on diversity and democratic citizenship research and will be held at Concordia University. For more details see http://www.im.metropolis.net/frameset_e.html

International Colloquium: The Participatory Condition

The Centre is co-sponsoring the International Colloquium: The Participatory Condition hosted 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. <http://www.pcond.ca/>

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.



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, (3) and the current protests in light of Turkish electoral dynamics. See Cem's piece on page 15 for more on Gezi Park. Video: <https://connect.mcgill.ca/p7duprbrz9t/>

"Genetics, Neuroscience & International Politics" by Rose McDermott



A slide from the presentation, showing a stimulus image used in an experiment which tracked the eye movements of liberal and conservative participants.

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.

"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. Website: <https://www.lore.gu.se>

Annual CSDC Graduate Student Conference 2013



Eric Merkley, Clare Devreux, and Eva Falk-Pedersen were in attendance.

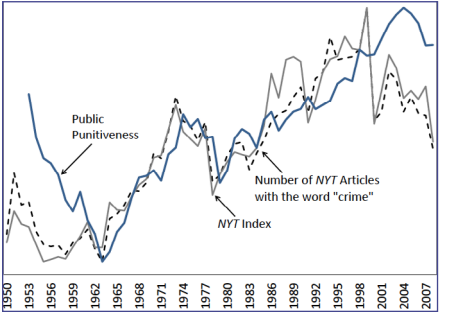
The CSDC hosted its annual graduate student conference from March 22 to 23, 2013 in Quebec City. The graduate student conference was a great success with more than 35 participants. The conference was open to students from all universities and disciplines that share an interest in one of the Centre's 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. Video: <https://connect.mcgill.ca/p65wcxo4ay8/?launcher=false&fcsContent=true&pbMode=normal>

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

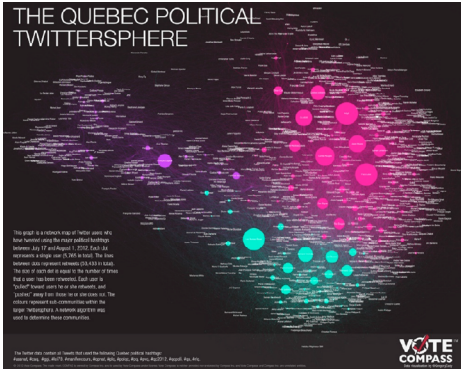


A slide from the presentation, linking the rise in public punitiveness to media coverage of crime.

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.

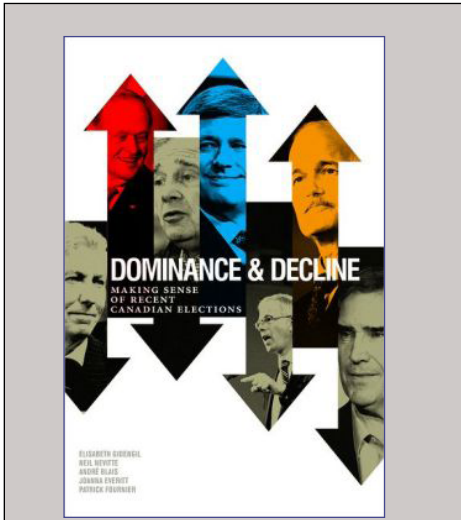
Video: <https://connect.mcgill.ca/p713bkopvgw/?launcher=false&fcsContent=true&pbMode=normal>

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



A network map of Twitter users tweeting with major political hashtags in the summer of 2012, extracted from the presentation.

On January 11, Marc André Bodet and François Gelineau 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. Video: <https://connect.mcgill.ca/p3msrd23tj/?launcher=false&fcsContent=true&pbMode=normal>

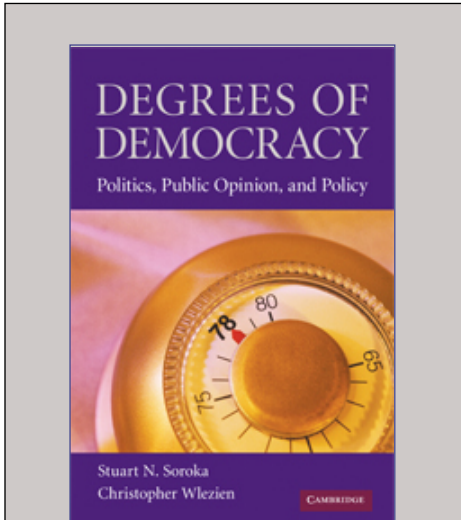


New on the Shelf
Dominance and Decline: Making Sense of Recent Canadian Elections, by Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte, André Blais, and Patrick Fournier. University of Toronto Press, 2012.

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/>



New on the Shelf
Degrees of Democracy: Politics, Public Opinion, and Policy by Stuart Soroka and Christopher Wlezien. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

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.

So our concern is really about increasing Indigenous representation, and re-thinking how Francophones are represented in Parliament.

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 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, and probably constitutional, reforms. Non-contiguous ridings could, nonetheless, reduce the current imbalances significantly.

CSDC: To analyze the data you used, among other methods, spatial analysis. What are the advantages of this technique?

BF: We are not exactly using spatial analysis for this phase of the project.



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 publically 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: What are the greatest challenges in your project?

MM: We thought 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 constituencies has been difficult for people to grasp.

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: 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 reach 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: 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 Quebecer, 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

decided to see what we could do with the national minority question.

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

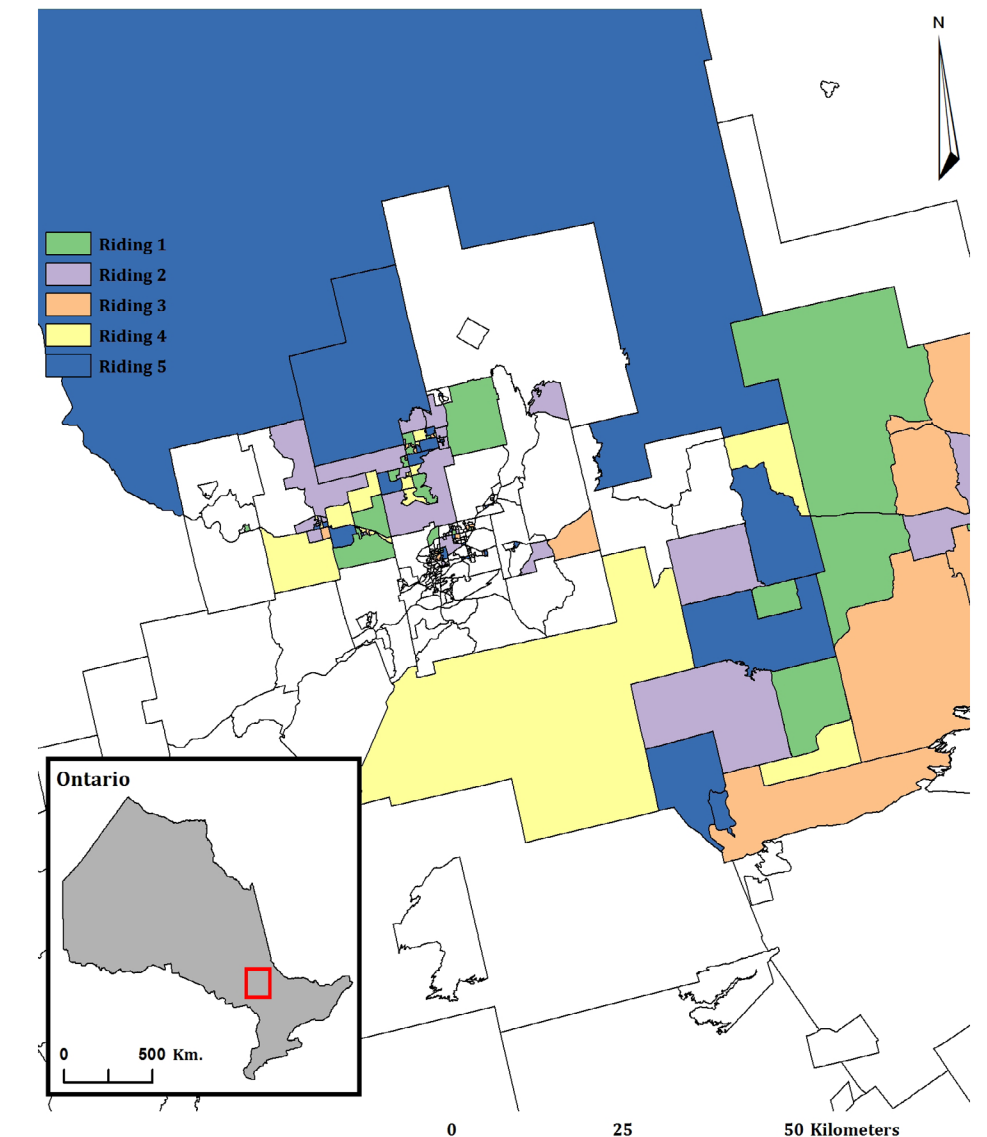
keep in touch over our mutual interest in election systems and minority representation. Ben was awarded a 5-year SSHRC grant earlier this year to analyze minority candidacy in Canada; I will finish my dissertation next year, and hope to continue exploring minority representation. Such common interests,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

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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 nationalisms, 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 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 variations across regions, while controlling most country-level variables. Moreover, while lack of data is generally a



Overlooking Bilbao, in the Basque Country, where Eric was conducting research on the region.

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 Lago, 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 benefited 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.

Contact:

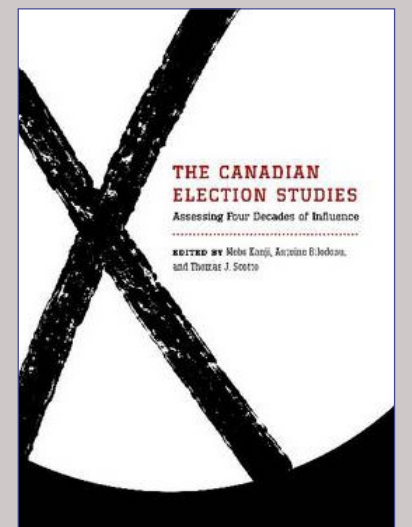
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Although FQRSC funding is discontinued on this program, the Centre will continue to fund international exchanges for PhD students. Calls for applications will be announced later this fall.

The Centre welcomes new graduate students from various social science disciplines. We offer special funding opportunities and a lively research environment.

If you have questions about how to apply to become a graduate student at the Centre, please contact Sara Vissers at:

sara.vissers@mcgill.ca



New on the Shelf

The Canadian Election Studies – Assessing Four Decades of Influence, edited by Mebs Kanji, Antoine Bilodeau, and Thomas J. Scotto. University of British Columbia Press, 2012.

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 Lilach Nir.
- Delia Dumitrescu, Elisabeth Gidengil, 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 that You Say It: Candidate Nonverbal Style and Persuasion"). This work explores the impact of both the quality of the speech, and the quality of the delivery on evaluations of the candidate; recent work suggests that both women and minority candidates are more penalized for weak delivery than white males.



Alex Nevitte and Emma Heffernan prepare for an experiment by setting up a system in the lab that measures skin conductance, heart rate, and electromyography (EMG).

- Pénélope Daignault, 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 Gidengil, 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 undergraduate student researchers Kaitlyn Shannon and Nicole Leonard. Articles from this project will soon be submitted.
- CSDC Honour's student Yale 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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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 Kalkinma Partisi, AKP) government and the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

Despite the re-seizing 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 İzmir 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.¹ 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 Istanbul on May 27. The AKP government-sponsored redevelopment project for Taksim Square that motivated the protest involved the reconstruction of the historical Taksim Artillery Barracks, built at the end of 19th century and demolished in 1940, over Gezi Park with further plans to use it as a shopping mall and residence. During the first week of protests, Erdoğan characterized the protesters as marginals, vandals, and looters and insisted that the project would be executed despite



Protesters gather in Taksim Square, Istanbul, Turkey. (Photo : Koray Peközkey, June 8, 2013)

the strong opposition of these groups while downplaying their demands. On the last days of June (27 to 30), police forces reacted fiercely against the peaceful demonstration of protesters using pepper gas while destroying their camps built to occupy this public space. The inadequate coverage of the anti-government protests by mainstream Turkish media increased the stigmatization of activists, who relied mainly on social media tools to disseminate news and mobilize people.²

At the end of the first week, Gezi Park looked like a festival ground, with a carnival-like atmosphere decorated with protesters' various humorous banners like "Pepper gas is good for the skin!"; "Don't bend your neck"; "Started civilian, will end by civilians"; "The cure is Drogba" and "Don't touch my neighbourhood, square, tree, water, earth, home, seed, forest, village, city, and park!" In fact, a variety of social groups such as environmentalists, LGBT activists, revolutionary socialists, anarchists, Alevi 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.³ 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 Erdoğan's speeches.⁴ Coşkun 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 protesters 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 Bosphorus bridge after the Ottoman Empire Sultan Yavuz Selim, who is unpopular among Alevis. 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 various segments of Turkish society with the 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-seizing 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.⁶ 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 the streets.

On the other hand, the activism that emerged in Gezi Park evolved to forums in other neighborhood parks organized especially in Istanbul, İzmir, 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 Çalışkan, 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.⁷ 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 a-s how the activism that surfaced in Gezi Park influences opposition parties and is channeled 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 milyon insan 79 ilde sokağa indi” 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 Tayyip Erdoğan and the AKP government’s policies during the protests, demonstrating the problematic character of media freedom in Turkey.
³ Sociologist Nilüfer Göle emphasizes the pluralist composition of the movement. See Nilüfer Göle, “Gezi: anatomy of public square movement”, published at daily Zaman on June 7, 2013.
⁴ The detailed research report is available at <http://www.konda.com.tr>.
⁵ Coşkun Taştan, “The Gezi Park Protests in Turkey: A Qualitative Field Research”, in *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 15, No 3, p. 32.
⁶ 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 those moments of instability.
⁷ Koray Çalışkan, “Türkiye yeni siyasetinin kodları”, published at daily Radikal on July 26, 2013.

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. Within 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

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.

It’s the Economy, Stupid!
Canadians and Americans strongly prefer high skilled immigrants (doctors, engineers, computer programmers, etc.) to low skilled (construction workers, landscapers, etc.).

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

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 depiction 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.

For Public Debate

In many (probably most) countries immigration and immigration policy is a hotly contested and recurring theme of public debate. And in many countries policy-makers react to mainstream debates with proposals ranging from policy tweaks to radical overhauls of the system.

Above all, this study demonstrates that economic factors trump cultural concerns in the calculations that people in Canada and the United States make about prospective immigrants. What matters most for average citizens is the socio-economic skills package that a prospective immigrant arrives with. This suggests that public support for immigration regimes, in general, hinges

in no small part on the degree of emphasis placed on the training and educational background characteristics of its applicants.

Learn More

Allison Harell, Stuart Soroka, Shanto Iyengar, and Nicholas Valentino. 2012. “The Impact of Economic and Cultural Cues on Support for Immigration in Canada and the United States.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43(3): 499-530.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423912000698>

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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.

Optimists & Skeptics: Why Do People Believe in the Value of Their Single Vote?

By André Blais and Ludovic Rheault

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 what party will form government in Ottawa and who will assume the position of Canadian Prime Minister.

It could happen. But what are the chances, really? This article begins by pointing out that, statistically speaking, the odds of holding that decisive ballot are virtually zero. Yet, in spite of this fairly obvious 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 two answers for this puzzle. First, it may be a psychological trait – the sense of political efficacy – that separates optimists (those who believe their vote matters) from the skeptics (those who realize they will not be the pivotal voter). Political efficacy is simply how a person views the relationship between citizens and the government. If a person feels that government generally listens to citizens (and that their voice matters) then logic suggests they will also cling to the idea that their personal vote could be decisive. The authors also consider the possibility that closeness of the race affects how people value their vote. In theory, the closer it is the more likely people are to believe that they will be the pivotal voter.

Based on a large survey of Canadian voters, the study finds evidence for both explanations. The most important factor, though, is that sense of political efficacy. When people feel that the democratic system is generally responsive to citizens they are also likely to believe that their vote could be consequential. Closeness of the race also has an effect, but it matters only for people who are paying attention in the first place. In other words, if someone is

Highlights

That Decisive Ballot
About 45% of Canadian voters believe their vote could be decisive in elections. Roughly 45% think their personal vote will not affect outcomes. About 10% have no idea.

Governments Do Listen
The main reason why people feel their vote will make a difference is a psychological sense that the government is responsive to citizens and that their voice matters.

Too Close to Call
Closeness of the race also affects the value people place in their personal ballot, but only for people who are relatively aware of politics in the first place.

actively following politics a close race will induce the feeling that one’s vote could be decisive.

How We Did It

Results are based on a representative online survey of 3,707 Canadians administered one week before the 2008 Canadian federal election to voters residing in two Canadian provinces: Quebec and British Columbia.

Participants were asked a series of questions about the election including whether or not they agreed that their vote could decide who wins the election in their local riding. Participants also responded to questions tapping political efficacy and a series of questions aimed at measuring awareness of politics. Closeness of the race was measured after the election based on official election results. Analyses are based on multinomial probit regression.

For Public Debate

One of the most intriguing results of this study is the sharp divide between Canadians on this question about the impact of their personal vote. About 45% of Canadians are in fact optimists who cling to the belief that they could hold the pivotal ballot. But, on the other hand,

about 45 percent of voters are skeptics agreeing that their vote will not matter at the end of the day. This suggests that for any given election roughly half of voters go to the polls in spite of feeling that their individual ballot is ultimately meaningless.

Learn More

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This research has benefited from the financial assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

The following is a selective list of recent publications from CSDC members. Members’ names are bolded.

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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.

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