



Atlantic Provinces

Political Studies

Association

SEPTEMBER 26-28

2025 Annual Conference



Atlantic Provinces Political Studies Association Annual Conference APPSA 2025

September 26-28
University of New Brunswick
Fredericton, NB
All sessions held at the Wu Centre, UNB

Welcome to APPSA 2025!

We are pleased to host you in beautiful Fredericton, the capital city of New Brunswick. Overlooking the Wolastoq/Saint John River, the UNB campus was established in 1785, making it the oldest English-speaking university in Canada. This year's conference has been a truly university-wide effort, with organizing duties shared between the Fredericton and the Saint John campuses.

Our chosen theme, "Confronting Grand Challenges in a Fragmenting World," could not be more appropriate given the level of upheaval and polarization occurring at home and abroad. Picking this theme was not meant to be deterministic, however. Rather, we expect that much of the discourse at this year's APPSA will be in the *context* of fragmentation, rather than as a *focus* on it. The diversity of papers we received showed such innovative thinking among our community, and we are truly excited to share that work with you.

Our two keynote addresses will be highlights for APPSA 2025. Friday's discussion between New Brunswick Premier Susan Holt and former CBC radio host Jonna Brewer will touch on a wide variety of issues facing citizens and decision makers both in New Brunswick and elsewhere. On Saturday, Kim Richard Nossal, Professor Emeritus at Queen's University, will discuss his recent book "Canada Alone: Navigating the Post-American World," and will offer perspective on the effects of the current state of American politics.

Make sure you join us for APPSA Saturday Night Social at Picaroon's Roundhouse, Saturday from 6:00-9:00. There's no need to register, and food and beverages will be available for purchase on site at this lovely casual spot by the river.

Organizing this conference has been a pleasure and we would like to thank those who assisted: department colleagues, volunteers, administrators, and service providers. Mostly, we are grateful for your involvement and all that you undertook to be here with us.

Thank you! Merci! Woliwon!

George MacLean (UNB Fredericton) and J.P. Lewis (UNB Saint John), APPSA 2025 co-chairs

Note for panelists:

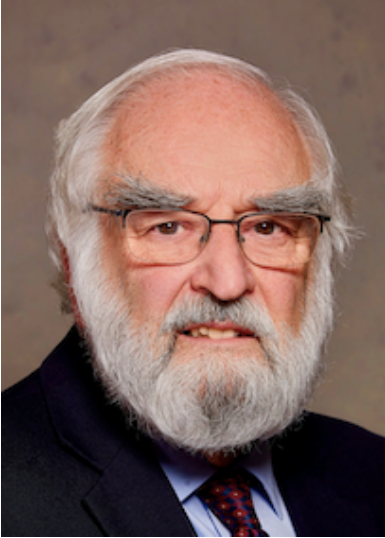
Presenters are to share their papers with discussants no later than September 22. If this is not possible, then presenters should reach out to discussants and explain what they can provide in lieu of a full paper to allow the discussant to prepare comments

Friday, September 26
Keynote: Premier Susan Holt and Jonna Brewer in conversation 4:00 – 5:30 pm (Kent Auditorium)

<div>Premier Susan Holt</div> <div></div>	<div>Jonna Brewer</div> <div></div>
<div>Susan Holt was elected in 2024 as New Brunswick’s first woman Premier. She also serves as MLA for Fredericton South-Silverwood. Prior to her current positions, she was Leader of the Official Opposition and MLA for Bathurst East-Nepisiguit-Saint-Isidore.</div> <div>With an extensive experience in local and global business, community leadership, provincial and national advocacy, and social enterprise development, Ms. Holt spent a number of years working within government on economic policy. A champion of community involvement, she has been an active volunteer and contributor to many organizations, including the NB Lung Association, JEDI, Junior Achievement, Propel ICT, NB Association for Community Living, and Fredericton Homeless Shelters. She has degrees in Chemistry and Economics from Queen’s University.</div>	<div>Jonna Brewer is the former host of CBC Radio's Information Morning in Moncton, New Brunswick. Among her many awards was the 2015 RTDNA Atlantic Peter Gzowski Award, won with her Moncton team. She was most recently recognized at the 2025 Atlantic Journalism Awards for her story “Hunter Remembered.”</div> <div>Known for her appealing and persuasive storytelling, Jonna had a 37-year career in journalism. After studying at the University of King’s College, Halifax, she first joined the CBC in Toronto as an editorial assistant. A Maritimer, she returned to the region as a reporter at CBC in Moncton, then executive producer, news announcer, and ultimately host of Information Morning.</div> <div>Jonna retired in 2025 after 14 years in the chair as host.</div>

Saturday, September 27

3:30 – 5:00 pm: Keynote Plenary – Kim Richard Nossal, “Canada Alone: Navigating the Post-American World” (Kent Auditorium)

Kim Richard Nossal, Professor Emeritus, Queen’s University	
	<p>Kim Richard Nossal received his PhD from the University of Toronto in 1977. He taught international relations and Canadian foreign policy in the Department of Political Science at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, where he was Department Chair from 1989-1990 and 1992-1996. Moving to Queen's University in 2001, he headed the Department of Political Studies until 2009. He served as director of the Centre for International and Defence Policy from 2011 to 2013. From 2013 to 2015, he was Executive Director of the Queen's School of Policy Studies.</p> <p>Nossal was editor of International Journal, the quarterly journal of the Canadian International Council from 1992-1997 and was president of the Canadian Political Science Association in 2005-2006. He served as chair of the academic selection committee of the Security and Defence Forum (DND) from 2006 to 2012. In 2017 he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the Royal Military College of Canada. Nossal retired from Queen's in 2020.</p>

Saturday, September 27

9:00 - 10:30 am: Session 1				
<p>Room 203</p> <p>“The Ethics of the First Step: Rethinking Asymmetry in Democratic Understanding” Victor Bruzzone (Penn State)</p> <p>“Reading More’s Utopia as an exercise in social problem solving” Thilo Schaefer (Toronto)</p> <p>“Indigeneity in Greece: Unsettling Greek and Barbarian in Herodotus History” Ann Ward (Baylor)</p> <p>“Arendt’s View of Conciliarism” Conor Barry (STU) and Ella Murphy (STU)</p> <p>Discussant: Dimitrios Panagos (MUN)</p>	<p>Room 204</p> <p>“Charting Stratified Change: How Social Divisions Shape Democratic Citizenship in France” Sebastien Parker (UPEI)</p> <p>“The Return of Racism: The Collapse of the ‘Rules-Based Liberal International Order’” Shaun Narine (STU)</p> <p>“Feminist Foreign Policy, Reproductive Justice, and Canada’s Response to the War on Gaza” Mayme Lefurgey (UNB) and Jacqueline Potvin</p> <p>“European Strategic Autonomy in Age of Multipolarity and Transatlantic Decline” Olesky Kandyuk (Konstanz)</p> <p>Discussant: Ian Spears (Guelph)</p>	<p>Room 208</p> <p>“Policy Legacies and Politics: The Implementation of Publicly Funded Day-care Programs in the Atlantic Provinces” Anne Lachance (Moncton)</p> <p>“Disabling Conditions: Housing and Intellectual and Developmental Disability in New Brunswick” Tobin Haley (UNB), Julia Woodhall-Melnik (UNB) and Emily Nombro (UNB)</p> <p>“Vacancy for whom? Changing Vacancy Rates in Atlantic Canada and Implications for Public Policy” Julia Woodhall-Melnik (UNB) and Tobin Haley (UNB)</p> <p>Discussant: Candace Johnson (Guelph)</p>	<p>Room 209</p> <p><i>Special Panel: What’s So New About New Extractivism?</i></p> <p>“The stacked energyscape of Newfoundland and Labrador’s de facto energy transition: Contradictions and continuities of (a just?) transition” Leah M. Fusco (Memorial) and Angela V. Carter (Memorial)</p> <p>“Navigating extraction: Ecologies of Extraction in the Chocó, Colombia” Leandro Iglesias, UNB</p> <p>“Electric Dreams? Constructing Problems and Solutions in Critical Minerals Governance” Teresa Kramarz (Toronto), Craig Johnson (Guelph) and Melisa Escosteguy (Salta)</p> <p>“Protected Profits: New Inroads for Old Extractivism in Resource Management” Noah Pleshet (UNB) and Dallas Tomah (UNB)</p>	<p>Aitken Room</p> <p><i>Special Panel: 25 Years of New Brunswick Politics</i></p> <p>Mario Levesque (MTA) Jamie Gillies (STU) Stéphanie Collin (Moncton) Joanna Everitt (UNB)</p>

10:45 am – 12:15 pm: Session 2				
Room 203 “The role of trust and relationship building in Canadian trial courts: Indigenous sentencing policy and street level bureaucracy” Emma Gill-Alderson (Toronto) “Sixty-Six Degrees of Separation: Russian and Canadian defence engagement with Indigenous Arctic communities” Thomas Hughes (MTA) “Expropriation in New Brunswick – A Vehicle for Indigenous Economic Reconciliation” John Hempstead (UNB) Discussant: Mario Levesque (MtA)	Room 204 “Captain Canada, the Orange Menace and the Hobbled Beaver: Marketing and Branding Perspectives on the 2025 Canadian Election” Jamie Gillies (STU) “‘Elbows Up’ – Ontological Insecurity, Political Mobilization and the 2025 Canadian Federal Election Campaign” Asif Hameed (Carleton) and Alexandra Wishart (Carleton) “Sentiment and Stance Analysis of Canadian Political Party Leaders on Climate Change Issues During Electoral and Non-Electoral Periods (1994–2024)” Mahdi Baratalipour (UNB) Discussant Shanaya Vanhooren (Western)	Room 208 “The Political Constitution in Canada: An APD-Inspired Account of Its Origins and Evolution” Mark Harding (Guelph) “Cabinet Governance in Nova Scotia” Erin Crandall (Acadia) and J.P. Lewis (UNB) Discussant: Anna Johnson (STU)	Room 209 <i>Special Panel: Development Imaginaries in the Age of Disruption</i> “The Rise of Techno-Utopianism and Implications for Environmental Governance” Hamish van der Ven (University of British Columbia) “From Dredges to Data: Mining AI through the Lens of 20th Century Colombia” Daniel Tubb (UNB) “Banning Bitcoin: The Role of the Energy-Climate Nexus in the Regulation of Cryptocurrency Mining in the US and Canada” Antulio Rosales, Heather Millar, Ty Taronowski and Holly Burke (York University & UNB) “The contributions of gender-based analysis plus to just energy transitions: Lessons learned from okshore wind regional assessments in Atlantic Canada” Leah Fusco (Memorial) & Leah Levac (Guelph)	Aitken Room Neighbourhoods of Belonging: Immigrant Integration and Urban Inequities in Saint John, New Brunswick” Hepzibah Muñoz-Martínez (UNB Saint John) and Kristen Byrne (UNB Saint John) “What is reproductive knowledge?” Candace Johnson (Guelph) “Just Transition in Cape Breton: Worker and Key Informant Perspectives” Megan Devoe (McMaster) Discussant: Julia Woodhall-Melnik (UNB)

12:30 – 1:30 pm: Lunch (Wu Centre foyer)

1:45 – 3:15 pm: Session 3			
<p>Room 203</p> <p>“No Policy, No Progress: Municipal Responses to Harassment in Politics” Erin Tolley (Carleton) and Grace Miura-Wong, Nicole McMahon, Amanda Bittner</p> <p>“A Hostile House: Gendered and Intersectional Dynamics in Canada’s Parliamentary Workplace” Tracey Raney (TMU)</p> <p>“Designing Family- Friendly Legislatures in Canada” Rachael Johnstone (Dalhousie)</p> <p>Discussant: Heather Miller UNB</p>	<p>Room 204</p> <p>“Big Tech, Surveillance Capitalism, and Ghost Guns: Can dataveillance reduce gun crime?” Patrick Sauriol (McMaster)</p> <p>“Examining Religious Freedom in Covid-Era New Brunswick: The Case of Pastor Hutchings and His Tabernacle Family Church” Nicole O’Byrne (UNB) and Lyle Skinner</p> <p>“Municipal Encampment Policies through a Human Rights Lens” Laura Pin (WLU)</p> <p>Discussant: Mark Harding Guelph</p>	<p>Room 208</p> <p>“Understanding Attitudinal and Emotional Reactions to the Elimination of Paper Voting in Favour of Internet Voting in NS Municipal Elections” Michael McGregor (TMU) and Scott Pruyers (Dalhousie)</p> <p>“Gender Parity in Canada: Comparing Initiatives in New Brunswick, Ontario and Canada” Anna Johnson (STU)</p> <p>“Timing and Magnitude of Programmatic Change Among Canadian Provincial Parties” Shanaya Vanhooren (Western)</p> <p>“The ironic eeffects of gender bias: explaining the success of women in Indonesia’s upper-house elections” Nathan Allan (STFX)</p> <p>Discussant: Tobin Haley (UNB)</p>	<p>Room 209</p> <p><i>Special Panel: Communities, the Environment, & Politics in the Gulf of St. Lawrence</i></p> <p>“Challenges of Governance: the (Complicated) Case for a Gulf of St. Lawrence Marine Council” Peter Clancy (STFX)</p> <p>“When power corrupts: Undermining polycentric governance in the Gulf of St. Lawrence” Mario Levesque (MTA)</p> <p>“The Carrefour des coopératives of Lamèque as a symbol of collective local self-governance of economic, social and environmental issues” Anne Fauré, (UQAR), Omer Chouinard (Moncton), Sebastian Weisenberger (TÉLUQ)</p>

3:30 – 5:00 pm: Keynote Plenary – Kim Richard Nossal, “Canada Alone: Navigating the Post-American World” (Kent Auditorium)

6:00 – 9:00 pm: Saturday night social @ Picaroon’s Roundhouse (food and beverages available on site)

Sunday, September 28

9:00 – 10:30 am: Session 4				
Room 203 “Playing the Trap: Team Canada during the First NAFTA Renegotiations” Noah Fry (Dalhousie) “Do As We Say, Not As We Did: State Formation and the Establishment of a (Relatively) Stable America” Ian Spears (Guelph) “Canadian Prosperity and the Great Regression: Trump, Tariks, and the World Economy” Mark Williams (Vancouver Island) and Anna Toderas (Yale) “Independent Councils and Support for Inter-territorial Redistribution: Experimental Evidence from two Canadian provinces” Kyle Hanniman (Queens) and Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant (Queens) Discussant: Nathan Allen (StFX)	Room 204 “The Challenges of (Re)Building Trust Post- COVID: People with disabilities and Canadian governments” Deborah Stienstra (Guelph) and Maria DiDanieli (Guelph) “Emission Reduction Ekorts in the Maritime Provinces” Aidin Mousavian (UPEI) “Housing affordability in the Cape Breton Regional Municipality” Jan Hancock (Cape Breton) and Andrew Molloy (Cape Breton) Discussant: George MacLean (UNB)	Room 208 “The Governance of Cape Breton’s Polish Community: The Concept of a “Citizen Village”” Tom Urbaniak (Cape Breton) “Managed Democracy, Manufactured Consent: Exposing Inverted Totalitarianism in Alberta as a Warning for Canada” Meg Gaudet (Memorial) “Immigrants’ Political Integration: Immigrants as Candidates in Recent Canadian Provincial Elections” Rachael Ahadzi (UNB) and Joanna Everitt (UNB) “Political Alienation and 2SLGBTQIA+ Youth in Nova Scotia: Navigating Inclusion, Exclusion, and Alternative Political Futures” Alexa Purcell (Dalhousie) Discussant: Herb Emery (UNB)	Room 209 <i>Special Panel: Electoral Reform in Canada: Institutions, Innovation, and Impediments Part 1</i> “Alternative Futures: Modeling Electoral Reform in New Brunswick” Laura Levick (STU) “Teens Vote Now! Civics in Canada and Lowering the Voting Age to 16” Jamie Gillies (STU) “Deliberation in the North: The Yukon Citizens’ Assembly on Electoral Reform” Sara McPhee-Knowles (YukonU), Patricia Mockler (UofT) and Jonathan Rose (Queen’s)	Aitken Room <i>Special Panel: AI in Research and Teaching: Professional Uses and Ethical Challenges</i> Mira Bachvarova (UNB) Dimitrios Panagos (MUN) Heather Millar (UNB)

10:45 am – 12:15 pm: Session 5				
Room 203 “Agents of the State: The St. FX Extension Department, federal Indian Affairs, and the Micmac Community Development Program, 1964-1970” Corey Slumkoski (MSVU) and Martha Walls (MSVU) “Co-Designing Decolonizing Learning Opportunities: Amplifying Canadian University Students’ Voices to Advance Truth and Reconciliation” Daniel Filho (Acadia) “Framing community responses to environmental disasters: Key learnings from media coverage of the MV Wakashio oil spill in Mauritius” Emily Nombro (UNB) Discussant: Noah Fry (Dalhousie)	Room 204 “The Empty Promise of Capitalist Degrowth” Dora Szemok (UNB) “Canada as a Lead Nation: The Cases of Afghanistan and Latvia” Rob Haswell (Carleton) “The Early British Engagement and Trade in The Gambia: Motivations, Interactions, And Limitations (1800-1850)” – Loveday Ogbuleke (National Research Tomsk State University) Discussant Mira Bachvarova (UNB)	Room 208 “Voluntary Silence: Civil Society and Policy Engagement in Canadian Federal Elections” John Cameron (Dalhousie) “Unveiling Political Dynamics in Crisis Narratives: A Computational Literary Analysis” Mahdi Baratalipour (Toronto) “(Re)Shaping the Consociational Districting Path: Nova Scotia’s 2018 and 2025 Electoral Boundaries Commissions and the Case of Chéticamp and Environs” Glenn Graham (Cape Breton) Discussant Kyle Hanniman (Queen’s)	Room 209 <i>Special Panel: Electoral Reform in Canada: Institutions, Innovation, and Impediments Part 2</i> “Institutional Fortifications Against the Radical Right” Paul Howe (UNB) “Integrating Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) into Canada’s Electoral Reform” Constantine Passaris (UNB)	Aitken Room <i>Special Panel: The Higgs Years</i> “An Overview of The Higgs Years” Gabriel Arsenault (Moncton) “The Centre Holds: The Executive Style of Blaine Higgs 2018-2024” J.P. Lewis (UNB) “Denial and Confusion: Rental Market Housing Policy in New Brunswick” Tobin Haley (UNB) “Representing Women in New Brunswick: Slowly Entering the 21 st Century” Joanna Everitt (UNB) “Staying Put or Passing Through? The Politics of Deep Decarbonization in New Brunswick’s Electricity Sector” Heather Millar (UNB)

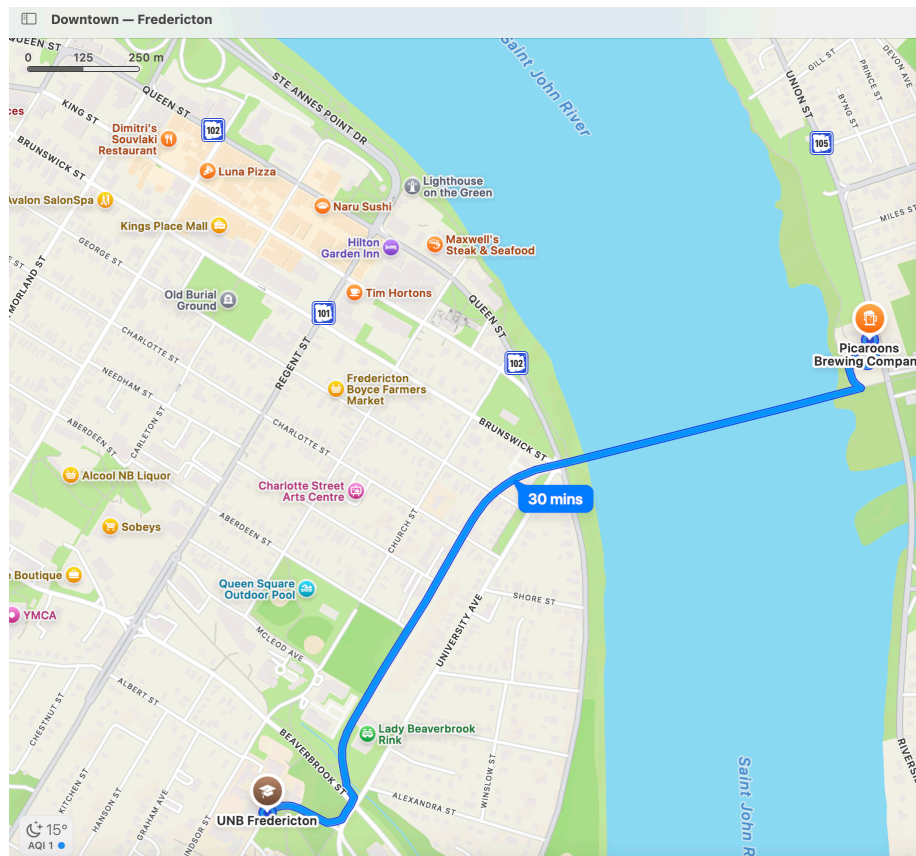
12:15 – 1:30 pm: APPSA Annual General Meeting - light lunch will be provided (207 Tilley Hall)

Saturday, September 27, 6:00 – 9:00 pm: Saturday night social @ Picaroon's Roundhouse

We invite attendees to join us at [Picaroon's Roundhouse](#) for a Saturday night social from 6:00 - 9:00 pm. The Roundhouse is located just over the pedestrian bridge on Fredericton's north side (see map below). We have a large space reserved at the Roundhouse just for APPSA attendees, with [Picaroon's](#) craft brew and other beverages as well as food service from [540 North](#), on site.

The Roundhouse is a relaxing location with beautiful views of the Wolastoq/Saint John River, and for those staying at downtown hotels, it is a convenient walk over the pedestrian bridge. We are working on some fun events, and we hope that the evening will be a chance for us all to socialize and unwind in a casual environment.

There's no need to register for the Saturday night social as we have enough space for all conference goers. Also, APPSA registrants will note there is no "conference dinner fee" on our registration site as food and beverages at the Saturday night social will be available for individuals to purchase on site at the Roundhouse.

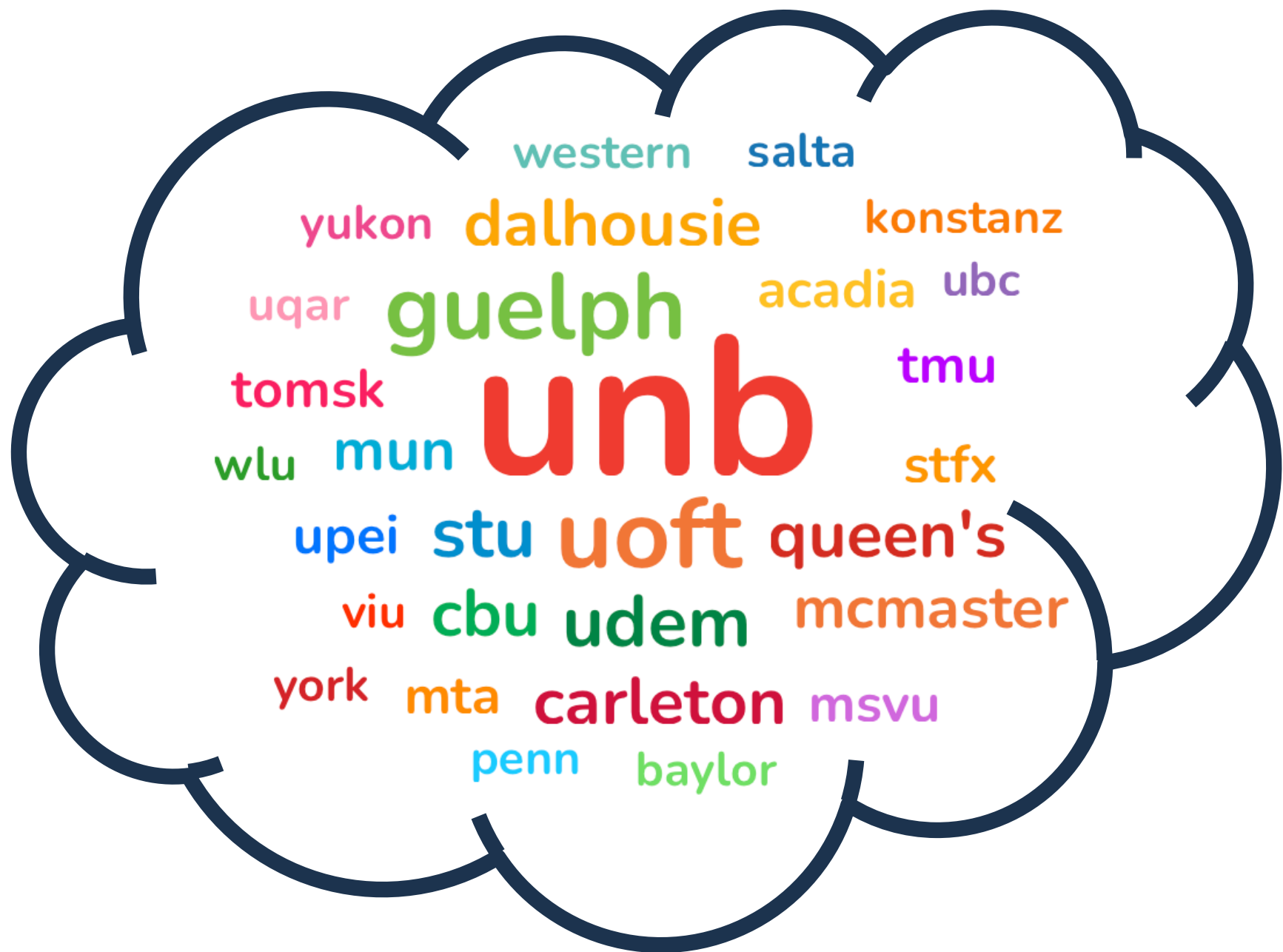


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