## BEYOND NUMBERS: COMPARING MECHANISMS FOR SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES & INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

### McMaster University, Hamilton, ON, Canada Dec. 5-7, 2018

This conference brings together leading Canadian and international scholars, expert practitioners, and graduate students to examine and compare formal and informal mechanisms for inclusion of indigenous and ethnic minorities within parliament and other branches of government. The focus is on global variation in institutional mechanisms of indigenous/ethnic inclusion, and their effectiveness and substantive impact on targeted communities and for democratic governance as a whole.

Over two-and-a-half days, participants will examine the underlying principles, implementation, and effects of various legal mechanisms and practices meant to secure the descriptive political representation of targeted ethnic and indigenous groups, across diverse countries. These include ethnic quotas, reserved seats, gerrymandering, and a multitude of informal power-sharing arrangements implemented within parties, elected assemblies and other governing bodies. Such mechanisms can be found world-wide, in established and emerging democracies, across varying political contexts and degrees of ethnic conflict. A relatively recent development in some countries, they are of longstanding duration in others. In addition to very different mechanics for ethnic representation, the number, demographic and political circumstances of targeted groups vary widely from country to country. And while they may ensure a particular ethnic or indigenous group gets a seat at the table, it remains unclear whether and under what conditions these inclusion mechanisms work to genuinely augment a group's political power, reduce conflict, promote democratic practices, or advance ethnic peace. It is also unclear what impact these rules of ethnic representation have on identity and categories belonging, for both targeted and non-targeted groups.

While global in focus, the conference pays special attention to Canada, where there is an enduring informal mandate for inclusion of ethno-linguistic and regional minorities, and a long and rich history of various mechanisms to share power and advance diversity in representation at all levels of government. Yet despite a wide range of models and practices across Canada and many other countries, we still have little systematic understanding of whether and what particular methods of numerical inclusion work best to strengthen minority rights and provide effective representation of the targeted groups. By bringing together expertise across a wide range of cases, we aim to generate new insights and illuminate both positive and more problematic trends in performance and outcomes of these systems of ethnic representation.

In addition to thematic panels, keynote speech and roundtable, the conference will also provide a useful training opportunity focusing on **Methodological Innovations and New Datasets for Assessing Descriptive and Substantive Indigenous & Ethnic Group Representation.** Participants in these modules will gain practical insights into automated textual analysis of parliamentary debates, GIS mapping and political geography, and use of Vox Pop/Vote Compass data for studying minority populations. We invite all conference participants to partake in these modules. Those not already invited to the conference who would like to participate in the training modules should please complete the registration form.

We look forward to working together to harness the comparative insights, methodological training, and broader discussion arising from this conference to advance scholarly and policy debates on how to promote effective representation of indigenous and ethnic minorities in Canada and countries around the world.

For information, contact Karen Bird kbird@mcmaster.ca and Netina Tan netina@mcmaster.ca



Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada





#### **CONFERENCE PROGRAM**

#### WEDNESDAY, DEC. 5, 2018 KEYNOTE & WELCOME DINNER Fischer Gallery, Art Gallery of Hamilton 123 King St. W. (directly across from hotel)

6:30 pm: Welcome Reception & Registration
7:00 pm: Dinner
8:00 pm: Keynote speech: "Representation by Design" – David Lublin (American University)

#### <u>THURSDAY, DEC. 6, 2018</u> L. R. Wilson Hall 1055

#### 8-8:45 am: Breakfast

#### 8:45-10:15 am: Panel 1 - Improving Representation: Theoretical and Empirical Challenges

Chair: Matthijs Bogaards, Central European University, Hungary

"Rethinking Substantive Representation of Ethnic Minorities" (Jelena Loncar, University of Belgrade, Serbia) "The Linguistic Features of Substantive Representation" (Ludovic Rheault, University of Toronto)

"Democracy, Ethnicity, and Quotas: Towards a Typology of Legal Measures Fostering Ethnic

Representation in Democratic Parliaments Worldwide" (Jackie F. Steele, University of Tokyo)

Discussant: Catherine Frost, McMaster University

#### 10:30 am-12 noon: Panel 2 - Institutional Reforms and Representative Outcomes

Chair: Rachel Barnett, McMaster University

"Minority Representation in Electoral Systems that Rely on Single-member Districts" (Lisa R. Handley, Director at Frontier International Electoral Consulting)

"Can the Number of Visible Minorities and Indigenous Peoples Elected to Parliament be Increased through Institutional Reform?" (John C. Courtney, University of Saskatchewan)

"Reconciliation, Political Representation, and the Constitution" Michael Pal, Member of the Far North Electoral Boundaries Commission/University of Ottawa)

Discussants: Karen Bird, McMaster & Bill Cross, Carleton University

#### 12-1:00 pm: Lunch

#### 1:00-2:30 pm: Panel 3 - Global Perspectives on Indigenous Representation

Chair: Allison McCulloch, Brandon University

"Symbolic vs. Substantive Representation of Indigenous Interests in the Taiwanese Legislature" (Kharis Templeman, Stanford University)

"The Substantive Representation of Indigenous and Afro-descendant Peoples in Latin America" (Christina Ewig, University of Minnesota)

"Indigenous Peoples and Mixed Member Proportional Representation: Theories of Representation and Some Considerations from Aotearoa New Zealand" (David B. MacDonald, University of Guelph)

"Does Indigenous Mainstreaming Work? Bolivia's Experiment in Indigenous and Women's Representation" (Roberta Rice, University of Calgary)

Discussants: Meaghan Williams, University of Toronto & Oscar Mejía Mesa, Université Laval

#### THURSDAY, DEC. 6 (cont'd)

#### 2:45-4:15 pm: Panel 4 - Consociational and Centripetal Settings for Ethnic Inclusion

Chair: Lisa R. Handley, Director at Frontier International Electoral Consulting

"Consociationalism and Centripetalism: Friends or Foes?" (Matthijs Bogaards, Central European University, Hungary)

"What's Vital about Vital interests? Veto Rights and Minority Protections in Consociational Settings" (Allison McCulloch, Brandon University)

"Democracy and Diversity in Pacific Asia: From Consociationalism to Centripetalism" (Benjamin Reilly, Murdoch University, Australia)

Discussant: Robert Schertzer, University of Toronto & Jelena Loncar, University of Belgrade, Serbia

#### 4:30-5:45 pm: **Panel 5 – Federalism, Self-Governance and Representation in the Canadian Context** Chair: Roberta Rice, University of Calgary

"Indigenous Representation: On the Way to Self-government" (Oscar Mejía Mesa, Université Laval) "Challenging Convention: A Personality Principle Approach to Treaty Federalism and Indigenous Representation in Canada" (Meaghan Williams, University of Toronto) "Quebec's Judges? Assessing Representative Outcomes on the Supreme Court of Canada" (Robert Schertzer,

University of Toronto)

Discussant: Peter Graefe, McMaster

#### ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION & DINNER Celebration Hall, Kenneth Taylor Hall B116

# 6:15-7:30 pm: **Toward More Effective Indigenous and Minority Representation in Canada: Electoral Boundary Developments in Nova Scotia and Ontario's Far North** (Dave Levac, Former Speaker of the Ontario Legislative Assembly and Public Leadership for Change Distinguished Visiting Professor, McMaster; Dr. Michael Pal, Member of the Far North Electoral Boundaries Commission/University of Ottawa; Dr. Kenneth Deveau, Member of the Commission on Effective Electoral Representation of Acadian and African Nova Scotians/Université Sainte-Anne; Guy Bourgouin, MPP Mushkegowuk-James Bay/Député – Mushkegowuk-Baie James; Dr. John Courtney, University of Saskatchewan)

7:30 pm: **Dinner** 

#### FRIDAY, DEC. 7, 2018 L. R. Wilson Hall 1055

#### 8-8:45 am: Breakfast

#### 8:45-10:15 am: **Panel 6 – The Role of Political Parties in Ethnic Representation: Comparing Canada** Chair: Jackie F. Steele, University of Tokyo

"Ethno-Linguistic Group Representation within Political Parties" (Bill Cross, Carleton University) "Guaranteed (Under-)Representation: Language and Religion in New Brunswick Party Nominations, 1895-1974 (Quinn M. Albaugh, Princeton University)

"Candidates, Constituencies, and Party Organizations: Minority Political Participation in the 2015 Canadian Federal Election" (Benjamin Forest, McGill University)

Discussant: Jo Saglie, Institute for Social Research, Norway

10:30-12 noon: **Panel 7 – Deep Cleavages, Democracy and Minority Inclusion: Comparing Globally** Chair: Christina Ewig, University of Minnesota

"Quotas, Reserved Seats and Forms of Ethnic Representations in Asia" (Netina Tan and Cassandra Preece, McMaster University)

"Political Representation of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia in Comparative Perspective of South-east European Countries" (Siniša Tatalović, Zagreb University, Croatia)

"Political Cleavages in Indigenous Representation: The Case of the Norwegian and Swedish Sámediggis" (Jo Saglie, Institute for Social Research, Norway)

"The Impact of Institutional Mechanisms for Minority Inclusion in the Arab World" (Bassel Salloukh, Lebanese American University, Lebanon)

Discussants: Benjamin Reilly, Murdoch University & Allison McCulloch, Brandon University

# 12-1:00 pm: Lunch with Roundtable Discussion of Research Contributions and Publication Plans Karen Bird and Netina Tan

#### METHODS TRAINING MODULES L. R. Wilson Hall 1055

1:00-2:15 pm: **Module 1** – Automated textual analysis of parliamentary debates (Ludovic Rheault, University of Toronto)

2:30-3:45 pm: Module 2 – GIS and geo-political mapping of ethnic diversity (Benjamin Forest, McGill University)

4:00-5:15 pm: **Module 3** – Using the Vote Compass datasets to study minority populations (Cliff van der Linden, McMaster University)

#### SATURDAY, DEC. 8, 2018 RESEARCH PLANNING MEETING 9am-3pm 1 James North, Rm. 112 McMaster Centre for Continuing Education

For Research Collaborators: Karen Bird, Netina Tan, Matthijs Bogaards, Daniel Bochsler, Christina Ewig, Bassel Salloukh