

# CPPN / Beyond COVID-19: What Role for Public Sciences?

**Topic :** CPPN / Annual Conference

**Chair :** Jean-Francois Savard (ENAP)

## GENERAL OBJECTIVES, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

Since February, Canadians and Canada's governments have been dealing with the world's worst public health crisis since 1918. The COVID-19 pandemic has involved a major social and economic crisis which has affected many areas of life in the country with reverberations expected to last for many years.

Beginning in February-March 2020, the federal and provincial governments launched an all-out war on the COVID-19 virus involving deployment of policies and programmes affecting all sectors of Canadian society. Public policy research and researchers have both joined and examined this movement, with numerous conferences held on the fight against COVID-19 and many journals and publication outlets creating special "COVID-19" issues or sections supported by accelerated evaluation processes to ensure the rapid publication of results due to the time pressures involved in a pandemic situation. Although this may have given the impression that public policy research in Canada has focused solely on the immediate or short-term aspects of pandemic issues, much of this research is future oriented and is looking beyond the current aspects of the crisis to its future medium- to long-term aspects

And, of course, beyond the pandemic and the issues surrounding it, other issues in all areas of public policy in Canada are still alive and remain the subject of research despite having been pushed off the government agenda or otherwise altered by the coronavirus emergency. Perspectives are also changing as new angles are analyzed. This research needs a forum which the CPPN/RCPP General Meeting can provide.

## CALL FOR PAPERS

For these reasons the CPPN will hold its annual conference in February on the theme "Beyond COVID-19: What Role for Public Sciences?" and papers addressing aspects of this theme are especially encouraged.

# CPPN / Beyond COVID-19: What Role for Public Sciences?

Chair : Jean-Francois Savard (ENAP)

## Session 1 Comparative and Canadian Responses to COVID 19

Wednesday, February 17th 13:00 to 14:20

### **The Politics of Administrative Capacity Building and Emergency Preparedness in Ontario**

Frank Ohemeng (Concordia University)

John Grant (Threshold School)

In November 2020, the Ontario Auditor-General (AG) issued a special report on Ontario's COVID-19 Preparedness and Emergency Management, which severely criticized the provincial government's response to the pandemic. The report noted that "Ontario's response to COVID-19 in the winter and spring of 202 was slower and more reactive relative to most other provinces and many other international jurisdictions." It further noted that, "overall, we found that, given the significant changeover in leadership at EMO, the outdated emergency plans and the lack of sufficient staff, when the COVID-19 pandemic arrived in Ontario, the province out in a good position to activate the provincial response structure in its emergency response plan." This serious indictment is not surprising to many Ontarians, and perhaps many Canadians. But why is this the case? As the report noted, since 2017, the AG has consistently warned the government to prepare for such emergency, but this warning has gone unheeded, thus exposing Ontarians to the full effect of the COVID pandemic when it hit the province. Why did the government fail to heed the constant warnings from the AG over the years? What lesson(s) can be learned from their failure in order to avoid future emergency disasters? How can governments design effective capacity-building initiatives to address these exigencies?

In this paper, we will argue that the failure of the provincial government to act on the various warnings from the AG, was due to its penchant for viewing itself, or simply the public sector, as the "root of all evil" with respect to service delivery, thus echoing the mantra of right-wing governments across the globe and perpetuating policies under Mike Harris' Common Sense Revolution in the 1990s. This ideological position regarding the role of the state, has resulted in a penchant for ignoring the warnings about revamping the capacity of public health system. This lack of capacity has forced Public Health Ontario to play a "diminished" role in responding to the pandemic, and the failure of the Ministry of Health to fully implement the key lesson from SARS - the precautionary principle of acting as soon as there is reasonable evidence of a threat to public health-to guide its initial response to COVID-19.

This is a desktop research project and is based on available documentation. We specifically review the various AG reports, as well as newspaper articles, to examine the failure of the provincial government to effectively build the capacity of the public health system to respond to such emergencies, despite repeated warnings.

### **The emergence of COVID-19 as a public policy problem: A comparative analysis of Québec, Ontario and British Columbia pandemic emergency plans and their translation into public policy**

Nathalie Burlone (University of Ottawa)

Gabriel Blouin Genest (university of sherbrooke)

Eric Champagne (University of Ottawa)

Following recent health crises – mad cow, SARS, H1N1 –, countries and subnational entities refined their policy infrastructure to better respond to outbreaks, leading to pandemic emergency plans. These plans, which are the result of complex public policy-making processes, were translated into public policies during the COVID-19 pandemic, leading to important policy issues and changes. Were these plans applied as planned? How did they evolve, as a policy object, during the pandemic? How do they compare among national/subnational entities?

This paper proposes a comparative analysis of the existing plans, their temporal mobilization during the first

three weeks of the pandemic, the policies they led to, and their successive revisions within a short period of time. Our analysis problematizes the translation process between policy and practice, bringing new light to the policy-making process under emergency and crisis. Informed by policy learning research and using a qualitative content analysis of existing COVID-19 pandemic plans in the three largest and most affected Canadian provinces (Québec, Ontario, and British Columbia), this article provides not only a better understanding of real-time policy making but also crisis-induced policy learning at the organizational level.

Our analysis underlines that focussing early on healthcare related measure during the deployment of an emergency plan seems to better equip governments to respond to health crisis. Moreover, less policy areas targeted and better-focused measures by these plans seem to facilitate coordination and integration, both between policy areas, but also between policy levels and actors. A top-down approach also seems less adequate to respond to public health crisis, as the day-to-day actors involved with patients and at-risk groups are frontlines and localized groups and workers. Anticipating multi-level governance tension and identifying adequate mechanism to counterbalance these tensions also appear to be key. Lastly, clear responsibility and appropriate delegation structure seems to be an active ingredient of governmental responses to public crisis.

Keywords: COVID-19, pandemic preparedness, emergency plan, Canada, public policy

## **Social Policy Responses to COVID-19 in North America**

Daniel Béland (McGill University)

Canada and the United States have been hit hard by the COVID-19 pandemic. However, although “crisis Keynesianism” has guided recent policy choices in both countries, in the field of social protection, Canada and the United States have taken quite different approaches. This paper compares emergency social protection measures taken by the federal government in Canada and the United States in response to the sudden economic crisis stemming from COVID-19.

## **Falling off the agenda: pandemic planning after SARS**

Linda Coltman (University of Windsor)

Lydia Miljan (University of Windsor)

On 20 May 2020, David Fisman, a professor of epidemiology at the University of Toronto's Dalla Lana School of Public Health, shared concerns he developed while tracking Ontario's response to COVID-19. Standing before the House of Commons' Standing Committee on Health he testified to, “the failure of provincial public health officials in Ontario to act swiftly and courageously to stop the spread of COVID-19 in long-term care facilities, the failure to clearly articulate that COVID-19 was spreading in our communities in early March, and the failure to keep up with the best epidemiological evidence on important issues like transmission of disease by individuals with few or no symptoms.” In a 23 May 2020 TVO online interview Fisman described Ontario's outbreak response as “completely dysfunctional,” and indicated that a lot of the problems in Ontario relate to disenfranchisement and socioeconomic status and that there wasn't any clear strategic planning at the provincial level. Ultimately, he noted that “There's something very, very wrong with how the folks running the provincial response to this epidemic are reacting to it and how they're processing information.” Based on these comments and others offered by public health and public policy professionals in public circulation we undertook research between August and November to investigate the provincial planning leading into the COVID-19 pandemic and assess the type of disparities and problems that are of concern to Fisman and others. Our research objective involved creating a knowledge base of best practices for the design and implementation of emergency plans for local government. To do so we examined emergency planning documents in place prior to the pandemic and assessed their effectiveness in dealing with the specific Covid-19 situation. Using the SARS and Public Health in Ontario (Volume 4) report as presented by The Honourable Mr. Justice Archie Campbell on 15 April 2004 we compared what we found in investigating municipal and the larger provincial public health planning to the twenty-three problem areas identified by the SARS Commission in their “Spring of Fear” investigations and found that many of the problem areas identified in 2004 remained central to the systemic failures that contributed to the depth of the current COVID-19 crisis in the province of Ontario. For this venue we propose to detail how we went about creating an index assessing the effectiveness of the municipal planning by conducting a content analysis of the documents and in doing so identifying organizational strengths and weaknesses in emergency preparedness. Ultimately, this project will showcase how prepared Ontario's governmental institutions and organizations were to deal with emergency measures because of the COVID-19 pandemic and where the failings and successes were in comparison to the prior SARS Commission indicators.

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## Session 2 The Future of Post COVID Policy (1): Sectoral Impacts

Wednesday, February 17th 14:30 to 15:35

### **Coming in from the Cold: Canada's National Housing Strategy, Homelessness, and the Right to Housing in a Transnational Perspective**

David DesBaillets (Université de Québec à Montréal )

Canada's National Housing Strategy (NHS) commits to the government to reducing homelessness by fifty percent and promises that realizing the right to housing is a key objective. In this paper we explore how the Canadian government could realize the right to housing in the context of reducing homelessness. We argue that it is helpful to look at how other jurisdictions with proven successes in reducing homelessness have achieved this goal. In this paper we examine Finland and Scotland's approach because they offer certain similarities in how homelessness is addressed yet they also differ, most crucially in how they understand the right to housing. We argue that both of these jurisdictions offer important lessons for Canada to draw on as it seeks to reduce chronic homelessness. This issue has become even more pressing in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic with its related crisis in homelessness and the widespread disruption of the housing sector, especially in Canada's major cities.

### **A Window of Opportunity to Reset Policy Goals? A Multiple Streams Analysis of Family Reunification Goals of Canadian Immigration Policy**

Vathsala Illesinghe (Toronto Metropolitan University)

The Covid-19 pandemic has revealed deep cracks in immigration and border control policies globally, and at the same time, also demonstrated possible solutions to a range of existing policy issues. In some countries, it has removed barriers for refugee claimants, allowed new immigrants to access healthcare, and given amnesty to people in immigration detention.[1] The pandemic can serve as a focusing event, a concept central to Kingdon's (1984) multiple streams theory (MST) to couple different streams to drive policy change.

In this paper, MST is applied to describe the problem, policy, and political streams in relation to one of the goals of Canadian immigration policy-family reunification-in the context of the pandemic. The sources of information are literature, government and media reports, public opinion surveys, and interviews with immigrants and separated family members, settlement workers, and immigration lawyers and consultants in Canada, and several source countries for immigrants to Canada.

The shortfalls in the family reunification goals have been known pre-pandemic,[2] but it has been a relatively less important Canadian immigration policy goal when compared to labor market needs and humanitarian commitments. But closed borders and overseas visa office shutdowns laid bare the pre-existing barriers and hardships faced by families, mostly women and children, because of restrictive policies, administrative delays, and processing backlogs in the family sponsorship program.

There were strong calls for action from advocacy groups organizing themselves to demand solutions to family separation worsened by the pandemic.[3] As a focusing event, the pandemic may have emotional leverage persuading the policymakers and politicians to relax policies and allow entry for family members, common-law and dating partners of citizens and permanent residents on compassionate grounds. While these temporary remedies can help those facing separation from family during and immediately after the pandemic, there are no specific commitments to changing restrictive policies or removing delays to processing applications in the long term.

In terms of how deeply it has punctuated social and political attention, the pandemic has the potential to

open policy windows and set the agenda to address existing or emerging problems. But in the face of job loss, high unemployment, and low chances of return to work in the foreseeable future, the general “public mood” towards immigrants aligns with long-held notions about who deserves to be allowed entry – economic migrants over welfare-dependent family members and refugees. While there is political and public support for the government’s plans to increase immigration targets for 2021, this must be balanced against the higher levels of xenophobia against immigrants in Canada.[4]

Focusing events become significant not only for the issues that it brings to the forefront but also for the ones that get ignored

and pushed back into the primeval soup of policy solutions. The MST provides a useful lens to evaluate the government’s policy responses not only in terms of what they chose to do but also what they chose not to do in the aftermath of a global pandemic.

Works cited:

[1] <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/analysis/2020/06/10/coronavirus-migration-policies>

[2]

<https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/CIMM/Reports/RP8810563/cimmrp08/cimmrp08-e.pdf>

[3] <https://www.spousalsponsorshipadvocates.com/>

[4]

[https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/pandemic-border/are-canadians-really-open-more-migration-future/?utm\\_source=](https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/pandemic-border/are-canadians-really-open-more-migration-future/?utm_source=)

## **Schooling Successfully? Maintaining Canada's Strength in Elementary and Secondary Education**

Jennifer Wallner (University of Ottawa)

Elementary and secondary education is one of the most significant areas of government-led activity in Canada. Setting aside the dramatic and unprecedented interruption caused in 2020 by the COVID-19 pandemic, each year, millions of students attend public schools from coast to coast to coast. Investments in schooling, provided almost entirely by provinces and territories, constitute the second largest expenditure item in the country, falling only behind spending on health care. Thanks to this policy activity, Canadian students record some of the highest achievements on international tests and secure impressive graduation rates relative to their counterparts in other countries. It is a sector that in fact predates Confederation itself, with roots dating back to early legislation enacted by colonial governments in British North America. Generally well-regarded by the public and education professionals working within the systems alike, it is a sector that enjoys considerable popular approval throughout the country.

In contrast to many other sectors in Canada, this area is managed and overseen almost exclusively by the provinces and territories largely without any direct federal engagement. While there is an intergovernmental body known as the Council of Ministers’ of Education, Canada (CMEC), this organization preserves and protects the autonomy of the 13 jurisdictions. Focused largely on information exchanges, any agreements reached or collective initiatives mobilized are voluntary and non-binding. Consequently, we cannot speak of a singular education sector for the federation or of an authoritative ‘national’ policy space. Despite their independence and lack of hierarchical coordinative mechanisms, the 13 systems nevertheless exhibit marked comparability, compatibility, and equity that emerged incrementally through voluntary learning and policy diffusion.

Does this mean our provincial and territorial systems are perfect? Definitely not. The COVID-19 pandemic revealed some major weaknesses in many education systems. Looking beyond the pandemic, provinces and territories need to work together to assure that future Canadians will benefit from strong systems of public education. To do so, the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, which brings together provincial and territorial ministers of education, needs to be emboldened to further cooperation among the jurisdictions. Advancements in such areas as online learning, programming for students with disabilities, and teacher training and professional development, would be enhanced by sharing ideas and resources, rather than trying to address the issues within each of the 13 systems individually. At the same time, ministries of education need to rethink their engagement with parents, teachers, faculties of education and other members of the community. Better engagement is vital to assure that a wider range of ideas and insights are integrated into policy development. Ontario had launched something like this in 2004 with the Education Partnership Tables, but these were not maintained by the current government. In looking for a model, Canada’s provinces and territories could also take inspiration from Scotland, which launched an Education Recovery Group that operates with remarkable representation and transparency. Opening up the doors to wider engagement in the policy process would strengthen and improve Canada’s robust systems of education. Finally, and herein lies lies Ottawa’s indirect role — the federal government must make further investments in Statistics Canada to track achievements of racialized Canadians, students with disabilities

and Indigenous Canadians. Canada already has a strong foundation for delivering public education during the pandemic – and beyond. And this is thanks to the leadership of the provinces and territories. It will be through their leadership that Canada continues to provide equal and high-quality public schooling.

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## Session 3 The Future of the Post-COVID Policy World (2): Long-Term Resilience

Wednesday, February 17th 15:45 to 16:50

### **A Suite of Definitions for Advancing the Comparative Study of Local Public Health Policy and Practice in Canada**

Charles Plante (University of Saskatchewan)

Thilina Bandara (University of Saskatchewan)

COVID-19 has greatly raised awareness about the important role that public health plays in ensuring the health and well-being of Canadians. However, knowledge of how public health is actually organized and practiced remains limited. Public health in Canada is administered at (roughly) three levels: national, provincial, and local. Although national and provincial level public health leadership and activities are highly visible on the nightly news, it is at the local level that restrictions and guidelines from on-high are operationalized and tailored to meet the needs of local communities (think hospitals, but for treating population health). Unfortunately, the advancement of the study of local public health systems and services in Canada has been hindered by a lack of comparable data to investigate the variety of different local arrangements that exist across the country. In this paper we survey existing arrangements and propose a set of common definitions and a unit of analysis that can be applied consistently. This work is a critical first step toward a) advancing a common language for documenting and understanding the work of local public health in Canada; and, b) advancing comparative studies of local public health efforts that can support intraregional evidence-based policy learning. Navdeep Sandhu and Dr. Cory Neudorf are also co-authors on this paper.

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## Session 4 COVID 19 and Vulnerable Populations

Thursday, February 18th 13:00 to 14:20

### **Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on Indigenous peoples land rights: From Settler Colonial Canada to Settler Colonial India and beyond**

Binish Ahmed (Toronto Metropolitan University)

How has the COVID-19 pandemic impacted Indigenous peoples land rights in settler-colonial state contexts, such as Canada and beyond? In this paper, I present a survey of policy approaches by settler colonial regimes such as Canada, United States, and Mexico on the one end, and India, Pakistan, and China, on the other.

What we see when surveying the policy positions and approaches of settler colonial states comparatively is that while the COVID-19 pandemic led to a spectrum of responses by settler colonial states, under the pandemic genocidal land encroachments accelerated. This happened while Indigenous peoples were grappling with the direct impacts of the pandemic (i.e. health oriented, some social isolation where possible, scarcity of health resources, food and housing insecurity) and indirect impacts (i.e. short term and long term insecurities.) While much of media attention was focused on the impact of the pandemic on settler majorities, there was an increase in land encroach, repression, genocidal displacement and erasure of traditional Indigenous land connection as well as governance approaches.

### **COVID-19 in Long Term Care Homes – A Comparative Assessment**

Trina Vella (McMaster University)

The COVID-19 pandemic has disproportionality impacted select groups, including some of society's most vulnerable – seniors. In fact, in both Canada and abroad, seniors and more specifically those residing in the long-term care (LTC) sector have been notably devastated by the pandemic, causing great loss. As a result. The trends that Canada has witnessed regarding the spread of the disease in long-term care has brought light to issues of ownership, leadership, accountability, and responsibility. To consider these dynamics, and how they are tied up with the spread of the virus, this paper analyzes how the policies surrounding long-term care facilities in British Columbia and Ontario have respectively contributed to a lack of leadership, accountability, and responsibility in terms of the case counts, preventative measures, and loss of life associated with breakouts. In both provinces, LTC homes are managed on a non-profit or for-profit basis but more LTC homes in Ontario are managed on a for-profit basis than in British Columbia and existing evidence suggests that, on average, for-profit homes deliver inferior care across a variety of process and outcome measure. Indeed, before the pandemic, the long-term care system in British Columbia exhibited a number of potential strengths relevant to pandemic preparedness compared with Ontario: there was better coordination between long-term care, public health, and hospitals; greater funding of long-term care; more care hours for residents; fewer shared rooms; more non-profit facility ownership; and more comprehensive inspection. By undertaking a qualitative and comparative assessment of some of the largest homes in these two provinces, both public and private, it is evident that the rules, policies, and obligations associated with different models of ownership vary in ways which compound the likeness for growth in, and responsiveness to, infections. This assessment demonstrates that private ownership of long-term care homes has compounded the current pandemic and fostered conditions conducive to increased case counts. This paper contributes to our knowledge about future risk factors associated with COVID-19 and pandemics more broadly and the role of private actors in preventing outbreaks. From a public policy perspective, effective leadership, and accountability at all levels of the long-term care sector are required to ensure that residents and staff live and work in an environment defined by policies and politics that support leadership, accountability, and responsibility, particularly in the context of public health calamities.

## **An instrument based assessment of home care in a comparative perspective**

Patrik Marier (Concordia University)

Building upon the literature on the biomedicalization of aging, which strongly suggests that the ubiquity of health has dire consequences on the expansion of other social policies for older adults (Estes & Binney, 1989), this contribution presents a comparative analysis of the importance of social interventions relative to health in industrialized countries. This contribution has two key objectives. First, inspired by earlier studies on the welfare state and in (social) gerontology, we expand on the concept of autonomy, which forms the basis to evaluate social interventions for older adults in industrialized countries. Second, this contribution compares key factors leading to a prioritisation of home care and social services in long term care instead of measures centred on institutionalisation and informal caregiving to enhance the autonomy for older adults.

Empirically, this study features an analysis of the policy instruments impeding the autonomy of older adults in the definition and supply of their care needs across 21 countries. It leads to the construct of a social dimensions of autonomy index based upon these instruments and the budgetary prioritization of long-term care in general and home care within long term care policies. This is complemented by a focus on Canada and the multiple calls to strengthen home care in the wake of COVID-19.

## **The electoral politics of long-term public investments**

Olivier Jacques (Queen's University)

For years, public health experts were warning for the risk of a global pandemic. However, most countries' preparedness was inadequate. To prepare for a pandemic, or to promote public investments that are beneficial in the long-term, governments must redirect resources that would be otherwise be used to cover current needs or must raise taxes. Short-sighted governments will generally refrain to impose these costs on voters. Rather, they will deliver policies offering visible and immediate benefits, postponing investments in the long-term indefinitely. How can governments reverse this tendency and prioritize long-term investments?

The political economy literature has identified two main factors preventing governments from implementing long-term investments: voters' preferences for policies beneficial in the short term and a time inconsistency problem. The latter assumes that since governments are uncertain to remain in office to reap the benefits of a long-term investment, they prefer to implement policies beneficial in the short term. In theory, electoral competitiveness should be a key variable to explain parties' investment priorities: parties can be less responsive to voters' short-term priorities and overcome time inconsistencies when they are more likely to win the next election. Moreover, political systems with several institutional constraints against policy change can help parties to solve time inconsistency problems by "locking in" policy commitments. To test these theoretical propositions, the article gathers party statements about investments in education, in environmental protection and in technology and infrastructure from the Comparative Manifesto Project and uses a novel measure of electoral competitiveness. Using time series cross sectional analysis, the article finds a linear positive relationship between parties' probability of entering office and the proportion of their manifestoes allocated to statements about technology and infrastructure. As expected, interaction models show that power-sharing institutions dampen the effect of office probability on long-term investments. However, statements about education are highest at high levels of electoral competitiveness. In contrast to other types of investments, education offers clear short-term benefits to voters and is proposed by parties as moderation strategies to maximize votes. Statements about the environment are affected by parties' ideology on the left-right axis rather than by electoral competitiveness.

In brief, the degree of electoral competitiveness is one of the best predictors of parties' capacity to promote long-term investments.

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## Session 5 Local and Indigenous Governments

Thursday, February 18th 14:30 to 15:55

### **Attention Devoted on Social Media to Indigenous Issues by Candidates to the 2019 federal elections**

Jean-Francois Savard (ENAP)

This paper stems from a research project funded by the Digital Ecosystem Research Challenge which objective is to investigate the amount and nature of attention devoted on social media to Indigenous issues. It tracks the amount and nature of Indigenous issues' attention devoted by political parties during the 2019 electoral campaign. A specific focus will be put on understanding the determinants of Indigenous issues attention, with partisan affiliation and characteristics of local ridings being the most salient hypotheses. It focuses on all candidates' Twitter accounts, since local campaigns are taken into consideration as local candidates can have a significant impact on electoral results. It would also help us figure out if attention devoted to Indigenous issues significantly vary in local ridings with a sizeable Indigenous demographic.

### **Attention Devoted on Social Media to Indigenous Issues by Candidates to the 2019 federal elections: Who is setting the priorities?**

Mathieu Landriault (University of Ottawa)

This paper stems from a research project funded by the Digital Ecosystem Research Challenge which objective is to investigate the amount and nature of attention devoted on social media to Indigenous issues. It investigates if national advocacy groups representing Indigenous people and issues can set the agenda and compel political parties to position themselves on Indigenous issues. This paper analyses the Twitter accounts of these organizations, with a special focus on the Assembly of First Nations, the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, and the Métis National Council. Such focalization allows the analysis to understand if the attention is a result of external factors or if political parties are devoting time to these issues on their own initiative. In addition, this third paper seeks to find out if the overall priorities of Canadians are matching with the messages posted by candidates of the main political parties. The goal is to figure out if social media content produced by political elites fit with the political priorities of the Canadian population. This third paper is fulfilled by using the survey conducted by the Digital Ecosystem Research Challenge and analyzing political behaviours and media consumption.

### **Attention Devoted on Social Media to Indigenous Issues by Candidates to the 2019 federal elections: a gender-based analysis**

Isabelle Caron (Dalhousie University)

This paper stems from a research project funded by the Digital Ecosystem Research Challenge which objective is to investigate the amount and nature of attention devoted on social media to Indigenous issues. As the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls has shown, indigenous women are differently impacted by media and social media coverage, although this difference in coverage is not obvious. For this reason, this paper performs a gender-based analysis on the collected data to understand how indigenous men and women are differently represented and impacted, and if the candidates' gender influence how Indigenous people are represented.

## **Municipal-Indigenous Relations in Atlantic Canada**

Joanne Heritz (Brock University)

The investigation of Municipal-Indigenous relations in Charlottetown, Fredericton, Halifax, and St John's will contribute to research that has been undertaken in cities in Western and Central Canada to provide a more comprehensive environmental assessment of the extent to which Indigenous Peoples are included in policy processes in local government across Canada.

Over half of Canada's Indigenous Peoples reside in urban centres, yet no one level of government has taken responsibility for developing policies regarding urban Indigenous Peoples. While the federal government has constitutional authority for urban Indigenous Peoples, policies tend to be focused on First Nations on reserves. Since the new millennium, some municipalities are taking the initiative of bridging relations with urban Indigenous Peoples. One trend is that municipalities are establishing Indigenous policies that are unique to each municipality. One finding is larger municipalities are bridging relations with urban Indigenous Peoples in more policy areas when compared with smaller municipalities with higher Indigenous identity populations. While there are various municipal responses to bridging Municipal-Indigenous relations, research has focused on Western and Central Canada. The Indigenous population in Atlantic Canada tended to be overshadowed by a greater proportion of Indigenous peoples relative to the general population in Western Canada, and the highest number of Indigenous Peoples in any province is in Ontario. However, the significant growth of the Indigenous identity population in municipalities in Atlantic Canada situates them as comparable to municipalities across Canada.

The investigation of Municipal-Indigenous relations in Charlottetown, Fredericton, Halifax, and St John's will address the following: the role provinces are taking regarding urban Indigenous Policy development; municipal capacity for Indigenous inclusion; policy initiatives; and the extent to which municipalities are responding to the Calls to Action by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The investigation of four cities in Atlantic Canada builds on three previous research projects regarding Municipal-Indigenous Relations. The first selected Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto (Heritz 2016), the second selected Regina, Saskatoon, and Prince Albert, three cities in Saskatchewan with significant Indigenous identity populations (Heritz 2018). The third selected Brantford, Hamilton, and Niagara, three municipalities adjacent or near Six Nations of the Grand River, Canada's largest reserve in population (Heritz forthcoming).

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## Session 6 Innovations in Policy Theory

Friday, February 19th 13:00 to 14:20

### **Investigating ACF Policy Change Theory: The Belief and Behaviour Inventory (BBI) Method**

Tim Heinmiller (Department of Political Science, Brock University)

This paper proposes and explores a new methodology for investigating ACF policy change theory. The proposed methodology is a congruence method labelled the Belief and Behaviour Inventory (BBI) approach. The paper describes ACF policy change theory and argues that congruence analysis offers great potential for investigating the theory and should be taken more seriously by ACF scholars. It further argues that the BBI method offers a rigorous means of conducting congruence analyses and outlines the steps in this method. The method's potential is illustrated in a test case of major policy change, the adoption of the Canadian Firearms Act in 1995. The paper concludes that the BBI method, despite still being a work in progress, allows researchers to conclude with greater certainty whether cases conform or deviate from ACF policy change theory, and thereby provides an effective platform for theory testing and refinement.

### **Theorizing the behavioural state: Resolving the theory- practice paradox of policy sciences**

Michael Howlett (Simon Fraser University)

Ching Leong (National University of Singapore)

Traditionally, the policy sciences exhibited a paradoxical relationship to public behaviour: arguing in theory that it was rational in a utilitarian sense and could be modelled as such while at the same time recognizing its irrational nature in practice without attempting to reconcile this contradiction. A recent behavioural turn among policy scholars has broken the discursive hegemony of traditional hedonic compliance-deterrence models, however, placing informal institutions such as norms, irrationalities and collective action at the centre of the policy research agenda. To date there has been little theorizing of the implications of this turn for the policy making nature of the state, as well as its extent and nature. Addressing these gaps we conduct a bibliometric review, which finds that the number of behaviourally-oriented articles on policy instruments have been increasing in number and relevance. This provides evidence of a behavioural turn in policy studies as well as documenting the emergence of a behavioural state, that is one which is more inclined to reconcile policy-making theory and practice by embracing the irrationalities of policy actors, through the creation of nudge and behavioural units across a wide range of domains. However the study shows the impact of this turn is geographically and sectorally uneven and will become more generalized in the future only if more states embrace this 'turn'.

### **Intersectionality and Public Policy: Timeliness, Cautions, and Next Steps**

Gemma Hunting (Simon Fraser University)

Olena Hankivsky (Simon Fraser University)

In recent years, national and international organizations have increasingly highlighted the need to integrate intersectionality in policies and programming to better address health and social inequities. This movement reflects acknowledgement of how multiple factors interact to shape human experience and policy problems. Discussions of intersectionality have been particularly prevalent this past year in the context of COVID-19 vulnerability, the black lives matter movement, and growing discontent with the status quo of the systems and structures that reinforce vulnerability and inequities. This presentation discusses the timeliness and necessity of integrating intersectionality in public policy approaches to health and social issues. Specifically it looks at how intersectionality can strengthen current equity-focused public policy frameworks and inform more sophisticated policy evidence, using examples from around the globe in the context of COVID-19 risk. These examples demonstrate the relevance of intersectionality principles within public policy practices,

including including reflexivity, and attention to power, intersecting categories, and diverse knowledges. The presentation also cautions against the increasing trend towards taking up intersectionality in ways that negate its foundational principles. It illustrates this using examples from international agencies attempting to integrate intersectionality into existing gender analysis frameworks and approaches. Here it is argued that intersectionality cannot be an 'add-on' to such efforts, as it does not prioritize gender over other factors. In this it allows for a more robust understanding of who is being left behind and why, both within and between groups of women, men boys and girls. It concludes by laying out some key steps and requirements to meaningfully take up intersectionality in policy processes - from data considerations to community and cross-sectoral engagement - with the goal of improving health and social equity for all populations.

## **From R&D to export: canola development as a “resilient success”**

Matt Wilder (University of Toronto)

Canola is Canada's second largest agricultural export, contributing an estimated \$30 billion to Canada's economy annually. To become the boon canola is today, a series of public and private investments had to be made in research and development throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. This paper chronicles the ways in which policymakers harnessed advantages germane to liberal institutions while curbing pathologies associated with them. Regarding advantages, liberal institutions permitted risky investments in novel biotechnology applications and streamlined the regulatory process. With respect to avoiding pitfalls, co-production encouraged internalization of risk within the beneficiary group, thus blunting tendencies toward moral hazard that usually coincide with government assistance. Moreover, co-production enabled farmer associations to exert downward pressure on input prices, thereby balancing the dependency relationship between farmers and oligopolistic seed and chemical companies. Yet, canola development cannot be considered an unequivocal success. Rather, the case qualifies as a “resilient success.” This evaluation stems from the tendency of liberal institutions to create “policy outsiders” whose concerns about negative consequences of policy go unrepresented.

# CPPN / Beyond COVID-19: What Role for Public Sciences?

Chair : Jean-Francois Savard (ENAP)

## Session 7 The Politics of Policy Advice

Friday, February 19th 14:30 to 15:50

### **Within Design Feedback**

jonathan craft (University of Toronto)

Reut Marciano (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

In this paper we argue that greater attention needs to be paid to what we term 'within design' policy feedback that is generated and used *during* the policy design process. As a process, policy design affords considerable opportunities for feedback as the components of design, and the design itself, are established, modulated, and implemented over time. This is however masked by the current focus on fully implemented or 'complete' designs. Addressing this gap is all the more pressing given 'agile' and user-entered approaches to policy making predicated on tightly compressed feedback cycles and iteration. We elaborate a framework of within design feedback which emphasizes three types of feedback: feedback occurring from the iterative interaction of the components of policy design (policy aims and policy tools at varying levels of application), that linked to the application of designs to target populations, as well as feedback considerations linked to the design and the broader governing context within which it is embedded. We conclude with a discussion of the variety of types of within design feedback loops, design strategies and instrument choice, and the implications of feedback occurring within design.

### **The Changing and Enduring Priorities of Deputy Ministers Through the IPAC Survey**

Andrea Migone (Simon Fraser University)

Patrice Dutil (Ryerson Polytechnic University)

Authors

Andrea Migone & Patrice Dutil

Since 1994, the Institute of Public Administration of Canada has conducted a survey among Canadian Deputy Ministers to measure what administrative issues they considered the most important. These surveys were carried out by diverse people, used varying methods and reported their results in different ways. Despite all their flaws and inconsistencies, the IPAC surveys present a unique longitudinal snapshot and can shed light on the core focus of top administrative executives over the past 25 years. The results show a consistency in DM priorities. The tasks of preparing to respond strategically of improving service delivery and of improving accountability are always present. The mission of managing human resources emerged in 1998 and has been a top priority. This study also demonstrates a migration of concerns from adapting to structural changes (repositioning in federalism, working with the para-public and private sectors) typical of New Public Management to a growing concern that management must prioritize new tasks such as managing a much wider universe of stakeholders, improving risk management, and harnessing technology: issues more synonymous with the concerns of New Public Governance.

### **Re-Thinking Think Tanks: Knowledge Organizations in the Policy Process**

Adam Wellstead (Michigan Technological University)

Michael Howlett (Simon Fraser University)

In countries like the USA and Canada, outside of government, think tanks have long been a principle source of policy research and knowledge creation while in others, like Japan and China their creation is newer but their impact growing. At the same time, however, other forms of organizing policy advice have proliferated as agentification and greater bureaucratic autonomy have led to the rapid growth of knowledge

organizations in government and externally including policy innovation labs, living labs, policy hubs, and behavioural or nudge units. All engage in think tank-like activities but are not identical to them. This has created a conceptual problem, as Pautz (2010) laments, since "while there is a significant body of literature on think-tanks and their role for policy change and continuity, debate on the definition of what actually constitutes a think-tank, how it does what it does and what its role is, has somewhat come to a standstill (p.420). Existing frameworks such as McGann's well known taxonomy based on the type of affiliation (e.g., autonomous and independent, quasi-independent, university affiliated, political party affiliated, government affiliate, and quasi-governmental) is no longer helpful. Similarly, Rich's classification of think tanks according to budget size, political orientation, and scope and purpose research is also dated. To date, however, there have only been limited attempts to provide improved taxonomies and better definitions. We argue that existing taxonomies are too static and do not reflect the nature of policy research carried out by new and older knowledge organizations. We propose a more dynamic diagnostic approach reflecting the different knowledge functions (creation, diffusion, and utilization) and their durability (permanent vs. ad hoc) as a superior method of distinguishing between these different types of agencies and NGOs and their impact and influence on policy advice.

## **Reinvention, resilience and transition: the need to reinvigorate critical thinking**

kristof Van Assche (U of Alberta)

We present a perspective on post- covid 19 public policy and administration which pays special attention to different possible pathways of evolution, which we categorize under the headings of resilience, reinvention and transition. None of them is presented as ideal, as always desirable and always possible.

The effects of covid 19 across the world will require public policy to take up a stronger, more robust role, which is partly determined by the unique effects of the virus on unique communities marked by unique governance systems, but which still allows for choices, for degrees of freedom. Each shock, and each response, introduces new selectivities, in the economic, political and other domains: different discourses come to the fore in politics, different companies thrive, different activities become prominent, and different forms of expertise become entrenched in government; different actors introduce new power relations.

Both the shock and the kind of reaction that was chosen [including lockdown] can affect the degrees of freedom afterwards, and the resilience of the pre- existing governance system can affect the possibilities for building resilient systems afterwards.

Nevertheless, for some cases, reinvention might be desirable, and in other cases, a coordinated transition, in larger areas, towards a different relation between policy domains, between market and government, between citizen and government. Such transitions [as category of pathway] will indeed be shaped by what came before and by the context: what 'sustainability transition' eg can mean will differ per community and per governance system, and whether a sustainability transition is most desirable as overarching strategy, hinges on the same factors.

We want to add something here for the Canadian context, where we believe public policy and administration scholars have ample opportunity to contribute to public discourse and political discourse, by encouraging critical thinking, first of all among themselves, secondly in society at large, and in relevant governance networks. Given the shocks of covid, the different regional responses, given the fragile Canadian constitution, given the plurality of competing discourses on regional development, given the overall weak local governance, and given the importance of a Canadian North, which can be understood as a collection of vulnerable and unfinished governance experiments, it is of the utmost importance for Canadian policy scholars to transcend disciplinary and regional boundaries, to reflect critically on latent assumptions, dominant discourses and academic fashions, and to promote critical self-reflection within the governance systems they study. Selling recipes for ideal societies, becomes more problematic than ever before, as the crisis exposed vulnerabilities, created vulnerabilities, and sowed new ideas on what might be possible in communities across the country. Critique here is not a negative exercise, but an exercise in discernment, a practice in judgment, which cannot be reduced to the testing of logically derived alternatives. A practice of reflexivity does encourage the recognition of difference, and a new appreciation for actual discussion, for dialectical learning, again first within our own circles, and next within the communities we assist.

# CPPN / Beyond COVID-19: What Role for Public Sciences?

Chair : Jean-Francois Savard (ENAP)

## Session 8 Policy Implementation and Design

Friday, February 19th 16:00 to 17:05

### **Post-neo public management: breaking the “embâcle” in implementation studies by looking at instruments**

Luc Bernier (University of Ottawa)

In France, students learn to articulate their essays following a formula thesis-anti-thesis-synthesis. If there is such a thing in public management, we went from the thesis, the traditional public administration, the anti-thesis that was the new public management to the synthesis, the neo-weberian model (Pollitt and Bouckert, 2017).

NPM changed entirely the mixes of policy instruments considered to implement policy. Critics of NPM such as Dunleavy et al (2006) were for example against the disaggregation that had caused NPM by advocating the creation of multiple agencies that proved difficult to coordinate. Elston (2012) demonstrated that we were beyond this movement when he studied that agencies had been reintegrated but not entirely. We did not go back to the state that existed prior to the NPM era. There is a synthesis. Instruments such as agencies have not disappeared. Others such as public-private partnerships have demonstrated their limits. Privatisation that was important in the NPM era has been reversed and today more state-owned enterprises are created than there are privatizations (Florio, 2014). Instruments develop a life of their own, they come with communities around them (Lascoumes and Simard, 2011) and institutionalise state intervention.

This synthesis movement could be useful to relaunch implementation studies that had been stopped by NPM. In implementation studies we went from Pressman and Wildavsky's case study to a too complex model by Mazmanian and Sabatier to simpler models such as Goggin and al who suggested that scholars should focus on the capacity of the state. O'Toole (2000) used to do syntheses of how implementations studies were evolving but had to stop because the field was expanding in multiple directions with NPM. Moreover, the issue was not anymore the capacity of the state as much delivery of services through a multiplicity of instruments within but also outside of the state. New instruments such as corporatisation indicate that new instruments are more within the state borders (Andrews et al, 2019).

This paper wants to suggest that the synthesis makes possible again to study implementation in the post-neo public management era where there has been a return to the state and where instrument selection has stabilised and improved coordination is necessary and recognized as such. The Covid pandemic crisis has illustrated again the necessity to build state instruments.

### **The Developmental Network State and Canadian Innovation Policy: Thickening the Canadian Innovation Ecosystem**

Shirley Anne Scharf

This paper leverages key components of the Developmental Network State (DNS) framework developed by Block and Keller (*State of Innovation*, New York: Routledge 2011) to examine the extent to which Canadian public policy has been successful in addressing the challenges around Canadian innovation. It focuses on federal policy targeting the thickening and inclusivity of Canadian innovation networks traversing public, private and academic sectors over the period between 2000 and 2019 and explores the potential for change in a post-COVID environment.

Theoretically, the paper posits that national innovation systems literature and the contributions of historical institutionalism have largely functioned as isolated silos with respect to the question of innovation policy. Developmental Network State literature provides a means to bridge this divide, providing a framework that focuses on public policy related to 'targeted resourcing' of innovation priorities and densification of innovation networks critical to economic growth.

Methodologically, the paper takes four slices into this issue. It first examines the degree to which federal

policy over the last two decades has set inclusivity and thickening of innovation networks as consistent policy priorities through public statements and strategies and the extent to which this has reflected policy durability. Secondly, it examines the extent to which federal actions have transcended agenda-setting and moved to implementation – specifically by targeted resourcing of network initiatives and the engagement of specific federal agencies in that task.

Thirdly, the paper analyses the richness – or lack thereof – of statistical indicators of collaboration in Canada, drawing on OECD, World Economic Forum and Statistics Canada data and laying bare the answers provided and questions left. In this context, an array of metrics will be used including, joint projects and cooperation among industry, academe and government, import of partner to the innovative process, joint funding initiatives, patents, and co-publications –again over the last two decades.

Fourthly, in an effort to not only round out existing data sources but fill some of the important gaps, the research reports on the 54 in-depth interviews that the author conducted with senior innovation leaders across the country from industry, government and academe between April and September of this year. These interviews focused on the extent to which ‘critical mass’ and thickening of the innovation ecosystem exists in Canada, the role of the five Superclusters and the greatest challenges to Canadian innovation. The qualitative nature of responses on these questions, the range of reflections on factors influencing network collaboration in the Canadian context as well as statistical breakdowns for each of the questions are all provided.

The paper concludes with an assessment of the alignment between federal policy intent and implementation impact, noting the continuing challenges around thickening the innovation ecosystem and the particular areas of network shallowness which exist. It also reflects on the rather limited comparative leverage that the DNS framework offers in this regard. Finally, the paper offers some perspectives on the extent to which the current COVID-19 crisis may have exacerbated the challenges within the Canadian innovation ecosystem or in fact created opening for change.

## **Government Stimulus Programs, Policy Formulation, and Civil Servants’ Assessments**

Don Lee

Due to a detrimental impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on domestic economy, countries have adopted or consider adopting government programs that can stimulate individual consumption, such as the disaster relief fund and universal basic income. Since such programs should potentially require greater bureaucratic involvement, how civil servants assess these programs has important implications for policy implementation. In this study, we develop a vignette survey experiment to understand how the formulation process of these programs shapes civil servants’ perceptions. By analyzing original data of more than 5,000 civil servants from central and local governments in South Korea, gathered as part of a representative survey, we expect that civil servants will have highly positive perceptions of formulating the government programs through active participation of public employees on the frontline. In addition, civil servants’ perceptions will be also positive when these programs are formulated through incorporation of scholars’ advice or public opinion. On the other hand, civil servants are predicted to have negative perceptions when these government programs are formulated as a result of political priorities. Our analysis have clear implications of policy entrepreneurship in the process of policy formulation and evaluation.