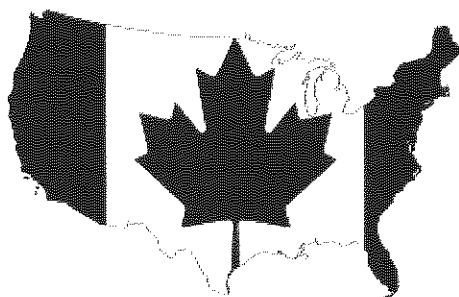


Canadianizing the United States?

Public Opinion across the 49th Parallel



Friday, May 9, 2014, 9 am – 4:30 pm

UC Berkeley International House, Golub Home Room
2299 Piedmont Ave.
Berkeley California 94720

***Organized by the Canadian Studies Program
and the Institute of Governmental Studies***

with the cooperation of

*UC Berkeley Institute of International Studies
University of British Columbia U.S. Studies Program
Consulate General of Canada - San Francisco/Silicon Valley*

Made possible in part by the
Bluma Appel Fund in
Canadian Studies

and



Followed by a reception sponsored by the Consulate General
of Canada, San Francisco/Silicon Valley, featuring
The Honourable Cassie Doyle, Consul General of Canada

<http://igs.berkeley.edu/events/canadianizing-the-us>

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Friday, May 9, 2014

University of California, Berkeley

UC Berkeley International House (2299 Piedmont Ave.), Golub Home Room

Co-sponsored by

Canadian Studies & Institute of Governmental Studies, UC-Berkeley

Conference rationale:

Pundits, politicians and academics have long debated the degree to which residents of Canada and the United States differ in their orientations to government, public policies and social issues. Martin Seymour Lipset (1989) characterized the two countries as separated by a “continental divide,” juxtaposing “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” in the United States with Canadians’ more staid and conservative – but also more collectivist – notion of “peace, order and good government.”

The degree of difference, and especially its erasure, has long been a concern for Canadians. During debates in the 1980s over the Free Trade Agreement with the United States, some predicted that economic globalization, coupled with American cultural hegemony, would undermine Canada’s distinctiveness and sovereignty. Yet in 2003, Michael Adams argued that public opinion in the two countries remained distinct, and that gaps in viewpoint had even arguably increased.

Where do we stand now? Economic globalization continues, now augmented by the internet revolution, which ties citizens around the globe through social media and instant information. Have Canadians finally become more American in their attitudes and opinions? The booming energy sector in Canada – paralleled by similar developments in the United States – might produce a rapprochement on views on energy and the environment. Or have the countries remained distinct, but switched positions? Americans re-elected a Democratic President in 2012, one who campaigned on more taxes, while Canadians gave the Conservative party a majority government in 2011. Or, perhaps we finally have a convergence of opinion as Americans become Canadianized in their views. The dramatic change in US public opinion on gay marriage hints that a “Canadian turn” might be happening.

This conference aims to present and explain cross-national divergences and convergences in public opinion on issues of domestic policy and politics, with particular attention to energy and the environment, health insurance and social benefits, and immigration and diversity policies.

9:00 – 10:15

Welcome and Opening remarks: Is the Continental Divide Closing?

- Irene Bloemraad (UCB): welcome, overview of difference/ convergence debate
- Michael Adams (Environics): Beyond *Fire and Ice* – 10 years later

10:15 – 10:45 – coffee break

10:45 – 12:15

PANEL 1: Public Opinion and the Welfare State

Chair: Keith Banting (Queens)

Presenters: Stuart Soroka (McGill), Leslie McCall (Northwestern)

Commentator: Paul Pierson (UCB)*

Canadians' national identity has long included distinguished themselves from Americans. A major distinction centers on the perceived greater generosity of the Canadian welfare state. Since the late 1990s, however, some observers argue that Canadian social spending is more and more like that of the United States. Are Americans and Canadian distinct in their opinions on the welfare state and social spending?

12:15 – 1:30- lunch

1:30 – 2:45

PANEL 2: Energy, Global Resource Markets and the Environment

Chair: Kathryn Harrison (UBC)

Presenters: Erick Lachapelle (U de M), Michal Moore (Calgary/ Cornell)

Commentators: Dan Kammen (UCB)

The booming energy sector -- from oil sands to natural gas -- has transformed parts of the US and Canada and made selling natural resources on global markets vital to regional economies. At the same time, debate over environmental protections and climate change continue. Do residents' opinions in resource-rich economic regions in Canada and the United States look more similar to each other than to opinions in other regions in the same country? Rather than focus on US/Canada differences, should we consider North American regions?

2:45 – 3:15 - coffee break

3:15 – 4:30

PANEL 3: Diversity and democracy: immigration and multiculturalism policy

Chair: Irene Bloemraad (UCB)

Presenters: Jack Citrin (UCB), Allison Harell (UQAM)

Commentator: Keith Neumann (Environics), Rima Wilkes (UBC)

While Canadians often juxtapose what they see as the Canadian multicultural mosaic to the American "melting pot," various scholars have argued that cross-national differences in public opinion on diversity and cultural retention are minor or even non-existent. At the same time, Canadians do express among the highest levels of support for immigrant admissions among the Western nations. Just how distinctive is Canadian opinion from that of Americans? Do views vary based on the type of immigrants we consider?

4:30 – reception

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS (in order on program):

Irene Bloemraad (University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley CA)

Irene Bloemraad is an associate professor of Sociology and the Thomas Garden Barnes Chair of Canadian Studies at Berkeley. She is also a Scholar with the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research and will serve in 2014-15 as a member of the U.S. National Academies of Sciences committee reporting on the integration of immigrants into American society. Her research focuses on how immigrants become incorporated into political bodies and the consequences of their presence on politics and understandings of membership. She is the author of *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada*, *Civic Hopes and Political Realities: Immigrants, Community Organizations, and Political Engagement* (with Karthick Ramakrishnan), and *Rallying for Immigrant Rights* (co-edited with Kim Voss).

Michael Adams (Environics, Toronto ON)

Michael Adams, president of the Environics group of research and communications companies, founded the Environics Institute in 2006, and serves as its President and CEO. Michael Adams is a noted commentator on social values and social change in North America. The founding president of the Environics group of research and communications consulting companies, Michael has written five books published by Penguin Canada, including the bestselling *Fire and Ice: The United States, Canada, and the Myth of Converging Values*, which won the Donner Prize for the best book on Canadian public policy in 2003. In his most recent book, *Stayin' Alive: How Canadian Baby Boomers Will Work, Play, and Find Meaning In the Second Half of Their Adult Lives*, Michael reflects on the changes Baby Boomers have brought about in Canadian society—and the changes that are yet to come.

Keith G. Banting (Queen's University, Kingston, ON)

Keith Banting is the Queen's Research Chair in Public Policy and a professor in the School of Policy Studies and the Department of Political Studies. His research interests focus on public policy in Canada and other contemporary democracies. He has had a long-standing interest in the politics of social policy, and has recently extended this research to include ethnic diversity, immigration and multiculturalism. In 2004, he was appointed as a member of the Order of Canada. In 2012, he was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, was awarded an honorary doctorate by Stockholm University, and received a Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal. He is the editor (with Will Kymlicka) of *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and Redistribution in Contemporary Democracies*, and the editor (with Thomas Courchene and Leslie Seidle) of *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*.

Stuart Soroka (McGill University, Montreal, QC)

Stuart Soroka is Professor and William Dawson Scholar in the Department of Political Science at McGill University, in Montreal, Canada. His research focuses on political communication, the sources and/or structure of public preferences for policy, and on the relationships between public policy, public opinion, and mass media. He is the author of dozens of articles in leading academic journals as well as the books, *Agenda-Setting Dynamics in Canada* and *Degrees of Democracy: Politics, Public Opinion and Policy* (with Chris Wlezien), which was awarded the Seymour Martin Lipset Best Book Award, and *Negativity in Democratic Politics: Causes and Consequences*, forthcoming with Cambridge University Press in 2014.

Leslie McCall (Northwestern, Chicago, IL)

McCall is a Professor in the Department of Sociology at Northwestern University. Her areas of interest include social inequality, economic and political sociology, methods, and social theory. Her work on rising class inequality among women in the United States, and, more generally, on how racial, educational, and gender inequality variously overlap and conflict with one other, has been published in a number of journals as well as in her book, *Complex Inequality: Gender, Class, and Race in the New Economy*, which was the first runner-up for the C. Wright Mills Book Award. Her current research includes (1) an ongoing study of economic inequality among women, (2) an analysis of the impact of corporate restructuring (e.g., downsizing, subcontracting) on rising inequality, and (3) an investigation of the political consequences of rising wage inequality, in terms of awareness of and opposition to inequality, preferences for redistributive policies, and political participation.

Paul Pierson (University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley CA)

Paul Pierson is the John Gross Professor of Political Science at the University of California at Berkeley. Pierson's teaching and research includes the fields of American politics and public policy, comparative political economy, and social theory. His most recent books are *Off-Center: The Republican Revolution and the Erosion of American Democracy* (with Jacob Hacker), *Politics in Time: History, Institutions and Social Analysis*, *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism* (co-edited with Theda Skocpol), and *Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer and Turned Its Back on the Middle Class* (with Jacob Hacker). Pierson is an active commentator on public affairs, whose writings have recently appeared in such outlets as The New York Times Magazine, The Washington Post, and The New Republic. Pierson is also the author of *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment*, which won the American Political Science Association's 1995 prize for the best book on American national politics.

Kathryn Harrison (University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC)

Kathryn Harrison is Professor of Political Science at the University of British Columbia. Her research focuses on comparative analysis of government's decisions on policy adoption, and the

efficacy of alternative policy instruments. Although Dr. Harrison's research focuses primarily on environmental policy, she is also interested in comparisons across other policy areas. She is the author of the book *Passing the Buck: Federalism and Canadian Environmental Policy* and co-author (with George Hoberg) of *Risk, Science, and Politics*. In addition, she has edited three volumes, the most recent of which is *Global Commons, Domestic Decisions: The Comparative Politics of Climate Change* (co-edited with Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom). She has published over 50 journal articles and chapters in edited volumes

Erick Lachapelle (Université de Montréal, Montreal, QC)

Erick Lachapelle is an assistant professor at the Université de Montréal. His research focuses on the comparative political economy of environmental and energy issues, as well understanding how political actors assert their preferences in a way that encourages government to adopt particular environmental and energy policies. His work has appeared in *Review of Policy Research* and *Globalization and Political Ethics*.

Michal Moore (University of Calgary, Calgary AB)

Michal Moore is Professor of Energy Economics, and holds a Senior Fellowship at the School for Public Policy and the Institute for Sustainable Energy, Environment and Economy at the University of Calgary. He is a research fellow at the Cornell Center for a Sustainable Environment and specializes in research on cross-border regulatory issues affecting the energy industry. He lectures in microeconomics and energy policy at both universities. He formerly served as Chief Economist at the National Renewable Energy Laboratory in Golden, Colorado and is a former regulator in the energy industry in California.

Dan Kammen (University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley CA)

Dan Kammen is the Class of 1935 Distinguished Professor of Energy at the University of California, Berkeley, with parallel appointments in the Energy and Resources Group, the Goldman School of Public Policy, and the department of Nuclear Engineering. Kammen is the founding director of the Renewable and Appropriate Energy Laboratory (RAEL), Co-Director of the Berkeley Institute of the Environment, and Director of the Transportation Sustainability Research Center. He has founded or is on the board of over 10 companies, and has served the State of California and US federal government in expert and advisory capacities. Dr. Kammen has served as a contributing or coordinating lead author on various reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change since 1999. The IPCC shared the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize. He serves on the Advisory Committee for Energy & Environment for the X-Prize Foundation. He has authored or co-authored 12 books, written more than 300 peer-reviewed journal publications, testified more than 40 times to U.S. state and federal congressional briefings, and has provided various governments with more than 50 technical reports.

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CONFERENCE SCHEDULE - SEE WEBSITE FOR FURTHER DETAILS

<http://igs.berkeley.edu/events/canadianizing-the-us>

9:00-10:15 -Welcome and Opening remarks: Is the Continental Divide Closing?

- Irene Bloemraad (UCB): Welcome, overview of difference /convergence debate
- Michael Adams (Environics): Beyond *Fire and Ice* – 10 years later

10:15-10:45 -Coffee break

10:45-12:15 –Panel 1: Public Opinion and the Welfare State

- Chair: Keith Banting (Queen's University)
- Presenters:
 - Stuart Soroka (McGill University): "Redistributive Preferences and Partisan Polarization: Canada in Comparative Perspective"
 - Leslie McCall (Northwestern University): "Comparative Implications of Beliefs about Inequality, Opportunity, and Redistribution in the U.S."
- Commentators: Paul Pierson (University of California, Berkeley), Keith Neuman (Environics Institute)

12:15-1:30 -Lunch

1:30-2:45 -Panel 2: Energy, Global Resource Markets and the Environment

- Chair: Kathryn Harrison (University of British Columbia)
- Presenters:
 - Erick Lachapelle (Université de Montréal): "Explaining attitudes toward climate and energy policy: The spatial determinants of public opinion in Canada and the United States," co- author: Tim Gravelle (University of Essex)
 - Michal Moore (University of Calgary): "Energy Literacy: connecting the dots between knowledge, hunch, misinformation and energy systems"
- Commentator: Dan Kammen (University of California, Berkeley)

2:45-3:15 -Coffee break

3:15-4:30 -Panel 3: Diversity and Democracy: Immigration and Multiculturalism Policy

- Chair: Irene Bloemraad (University of California, Berkeley)
- Presenters:
 - Jack Citrin (University of California, Berkeley): "Continental Divide or Two Solitudes? Public Opinion on Identity & Diversity in Today's US and Canada"
 - Allison Harell (Université du Québec à Montréal): "Threat, Control and Support for Immigration in Canada and the US"
- Commentator: Rima Wilkes (University of British Columbia)

4:30 - Reception, sponsored by the Consulate General of Canada - San Francisco/Silicon Valley. Featuring:

- **The Honourable Cassie Doyle**, Consul General of Canada/San Francisco-Silicon Valley