

MARCH 24-25
2023

CROSSING

A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY STUDENT CONFERENCE



UNITED STATES | CANADA | BORDER ISSUES

BORDERS





KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Stephanie Bangarth



Dr. Stephanie Bangarth is a Professor in History at King's University College, at the University of Western Ontario. As a graduate of King's, she is delighted to be teaching at an institution that had an important impact on her academic career. She went on to complete her PhD at the University of Waterloo in 2004. She taught at the University of Guelph for two years before coming to King's in 2006. Dr. Bangarth is also an Adjunct Teaching Professor in the Department of History at Western and a Faculty Research Associate with the Collaborative Graduate Program in Migration and Ethnic Studies (MER) at Western.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Day 1 - Friday March 24, 2023

7:00-9:00 p.m. Conference Welcome and Meet and Greet

Location: **New Location** Fourth Floor, Glynn Hall, Niagara University. Park in the Butler Parking Lot. Join us for a social to meet some of your fellow conference attendees. There will be drinks and hors d'oeuvres. This event is fully sponsored by the Office of the Provost, Niagara University.

Welcome and recognition of participating individuals and institutions

Shannon Risk, Professor of History, Niagara University



Day 2 – Saturday March 25, 2023

**Location: Glynn Hall, 4th Floor, Niagara University
5795 Lewiston Rd, Lewiston, NY 14109**

8:00-9:00 a.m. Conference Registration and Continental Breakfast

Location: Glynn Hall, Fourth Floor Atrium and Room 406

Panel 1-A 9:00—10:00 a.m. The Psychology of Casinos in Canada and the U.S.

Location: Glynn Hall, Room 405

Moderator: Dr. Susan Mason, Professor of Psychology, Niagara University

Kylee Healy, Joseph Martino, and Susan Mason, Niagara University
The Psychology of Casinos in the United States and Canada

Joseph Martino, Kylee Healy, and Susan Mason, Niagara University
The Statistics Behind Casinos and Risks to Both Countries

Panel 1-B 9:00—10:00 a.m. Politics: Populism and Campaign Funding

Location: Glynn Hall, Room 407

Moderator: Dan Malleck, Professor of Health Sciences and Director of the Centre for Canadian Studies, Brock University

Rowan Dobson, University at Buffalo

Campaign Funding: Canada vs. the U.S.: Could a Per-vote Subsidy Help the U.S. Electoral System?

Ibrahim Berrada, Laurentian University

The Continental Divide Revisited: Populism in Canada and the United States

Panel 2 10:15—11:15 a.m. Tracking Crime at the Border and Beyond

Location: Glynn Hall, Room 405

Moderator: Michael Durfee, Associate Professor of History, Niagara University

Kaitlin Senftleben, Wilfrid Laurier University

What is Really Passing through Our Borders? Taking a Deeper Look into Canada-U.S. Border Transnational Crime

Olivia Gwizdala, Wilfrid Laurier University

Canada's Gun Problem Has Everything to Do with America

Isabella Trotta, Wilfrid Laurier University

The Fine Line Between Canada and the United States

Panel 3 11:30 a.m. 12:30 p.m. History and Language

Location: Glynn Hall, Room 407

Moderator: Dr. Jack Lorenzini, Visiting Assistant Professor of History, University of Pittsburgh at Bradford

Mabel Gardner, Western University of Ontario

A Settler Colonial Life: The Sifton Family's Influence on Canadian Journalist Gladys Arnold

Paisley Messer, University at Buffalo

Colonial North American Language Policies and Their Impact on Indigenous Languages

Lunch Program 12:45—2:00 p.m.

Location: Glynn Hall, Room 406

Niagara University President's Welcome

Dr. Tim Ireland, Provost, Niagara University

Introduction of Keynote Speaker

Shannon Risk, Niagara University

Keynote Speaker

Stephanie Bangarth, Professor of History at King's University College, at the University of Western Ontario

"A Strong Re-enforcement of the American Initiative": the 1970s, Human Rights and Foreign Policy and Canadian Trade(In)Action

The 1970s ushered forth a wave of foreign policy emergencies and human rights challenges. Conflict in Pakistan and South America, principally Chile and Argentina, alongside refugee issues in Czechoslovakia, Chile, and Uganda, and the ongoing problem of Rhodesia and South Africa concerning apartheid occupied the foreign policy landscape and prompted significant debate in Canada about the relationship between economic assistance – notably foreign aid, Export Development Corporations Credits, tariff concessions, and multilateral development bank loans – and Canada's support of foreign governments engaging in human rights violations. As a result, there was a concerted effort on the part of some parliamentarians and civil society groups to enact legislation to prohibit the Canadian government or its agencies from providing economic aid to such regimes. While merely private member's bills, they nonetheless echoed concurrent efforts by the Carter administration in the U.S. to carve out a "new American foreign policy" that committed to human rights as a fundamental tenet. These efforts by concerned Canadian parliamentarians also exemplified an attempt to move Canada away from its traditional posture of divorcing economic aid from considerations of human justice.

This paper begins a conversation on the origins of legislated government and corporate social responsibility in Canadian human rights history and in a comparative framework with parallel American initiatives. From the pinnacle of Canada's principled stand on apartheid in the 1980s to the nadir of the largest arms contract in Canadian history signed with Saudi Arabia a few years ago, it is important to highlight how the defense of human rights has been articulated and circumvented.

Panel 4 2:15-3:15 p.m. Security and Mobility Rights at the Border

Location: Glynn Hall, Room 407

Moderator: Dr. Joseph Sahr Sankoh, Associate Professor of Political Science; Director of African Initiatives: The Diaspora, Immigrant, and Refugee Studies Program, and the Black Studies Minor, Daemen University

Edward Choi, University of New Brunswick

The Implications of Mobility Rights Amid Covid-19: The Canadian and American Perspective

Amy Kohn, Wilfrid Laurier University

A 'Trusted Traveler': Says Who?

Panel 5 3:30-4:30 p.m. A Reassessment of Border Policies

Location: Glynn Hall, Room 405

Moderator: Heidi Madden, Goodman School of Business, Brock University

Owen Somerville, Wilfrid Laurier University

An Interconnected and Complicated History—The Windsor-Detroit Border as an Economic Resource

Michael Allen, Wilfrid Laurier University

Outdated Canada-U.S. Border Policy—Is Re-evaluation a Necessity?

Announcement of Best Student Paper

Shannon Risk, Niagara University

Crossing Borders Conference 2024

Dan Malleck, Centre for Canadian Studies, Brock University

ABSTRACTS

Michael Allen, Wilfrid Laurier University

Outdated Canada-US Border Policy – Is Re-evaluation a Necessity?

The Canada-US border has not had policy change or evaluation in over a decade and with recent events such as Covid-19, increased globalization and the exponential presence of technology now used in every aspect of life, policies seem to be trailing behind the times. While much research is focused on the Mexico-US border and the obvious overarching issues that populate the media, often the importance of the Canada-US border is overlooked. The border security and policy of the longest unguarded border in the world does not receive the attention that is critically needed especially during times of recent uncertainty. After 9/11 we saw a rapid change in border security with a number of new implementations in order to better serve the present day and issues as they arise. With the pandemic recently occurring, it is time to revisit certain policies and make necessary changes which have not been updated in years. In doing so it is also extremely important that there is great interest in maintaining the rights and safety of individuals. This paper will focus on changing outdated policies and bilateral relations that make up the border and how historical events set precedence amid the pandemic that make policy evaluation critical in a rapidly changing world.

Ibrahim Berrada, Laurentian University

The Continental Divide Revisited: Populism in Canada and the United States

Seymour Martin Lipset's (1990) Continental Divide thesis explains the foundational reasons behind dissimilarities in values and institutions between Canada and the United States. He posits that the American Revolution extensively shaped each nation's national characteristics and organizing principles. The Revolution led to a northward exodus of Loyalists and counterrevolutionaries, leaving behind colonial revolutionaries who advocated for "liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, [and] populism..." (Lipset, 1996, p.19). As a result, Americans are more likely to harbour anti-elitist and anti-establishmentarian attitudes. In contrast, Canadians are elitist, collectivist, and statist and are more likely to respect the role of government. In theory, Canadian elitism produced a mostly non-populist society. In the United States, populist attitudes are deeply entrenched in Americanism, promoting anti-governmental attitudes among Americans. Historical American values explain the widespread support for populist politicians like Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders and events like the January 6th insurrection. Meanwhile, recent Covid restriction protests in Canada and growing support for fringe populist movements like the People's Party, the Maverick Party, and the Wexit movement suggest a shift away from elitism, establishmentarianism, and statism. This research employs a similar survey-based approach adopted by Schulz et al. (2018) to analyze three dimensions of ideational populism considering "anti-elitism attitudes, demand for popular sovereignty, and belief in the homogeneity and virtuousness of the people" (Schulz et al., 2018, p. 320). This study provides insight into current attitudes that shape populist behaviour in both nations.

Edward Choi, University at Buffalo, State University of New York

The Implications of Mobility Rights amid Covid-19: the Canadian and American Perspective

Mobility rights under section 6 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms provide that every citizen of Canada has the right to enter, remain in and leave Canada. The drafters of the constitution considered mobility rights as important. While for practical reasons this section may be subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law, unlike other fundamental rights and freedoms it cannot be overridden using the notwithstanding clause.

The courts have long held that the thrust of mobility rights is to guard "against exile and banishment, the purpose of which is the exclusion of membership in the national community". A dissenting Supreme Court of Canada opinion went on further stating that mobility rights "was designed to protect a Canadian citizen's freedom of movement in and out of the country according to his own choice. He may come and go as he pleases..."

Nevertheless, “suspicions of criminal activity, improper credentials, questionable purposes of entry, or even suspicions of communicable disease” were held to be reasonable limits for limiting mobility rights.

Mobility rights were put to the test in Canadian courts during the Covid-19 pandemic. Border restrictions, testing requirements, hotel quarantines, and self-quarantines were put in place. This paper will examine our previous understanding of mobility rights and how, if anything, the Covid-19 pandemic has changed that.

The United States similarly restricted travel. A brief examination of the American equivalent freedom of movement will be explored.

Rowan Dobson, University at Buffalo, State University of New York

Campaign Funding: Canada vs the US: Could a per-vote subsidy help the US electoral system?

Confidence in electoral institutions has been declining for years in the United States. The perception of the electoral process often is that of a corrupted system with opaque financing and shady fundraising events. This has contributed to many of the issues the US faces, with disillusionment and polarization becoming the defining elements of American politics. The issue of campaign finances is of incredible importance to beginning to alter these views, and perhaps move the US away from its current political climate. One suggested solution comes from Canada, where elections are largely praised by the global community for their security and integrity despite some recent struggles with disillusionment themselves. From 2004 to 2015 they used Per-Vote subsidies and saw some benefits from it. Canada could serve as a good example for the US to full when attempting to repair public trust in its institutions. To understand whether or not a per-vote subsidy would work in the US, we must compare both countries overall electoral regulatory history, finding where they differ, and then examining how those differences could impact the possible implementation of a per-vote subsidy.

Mabel Gardner, Western University

A Settler Colonial Life: The Sifton Family's Influence on Canadian Journalist Gladys Arnold

Gladys Arnold (1905-2002) was a journalist for Regina's Leader Post before becoming a credential war correspondent for the Canadian Press. Arnold also spent part of the war years working on behalf of the Free French movement led by General Charles de Gaulle. This paper will assess Arnold's life through the lens of settler colonialism and her relationship with the powerful Sifton family. The first section of the paper will explore the Arnold family's relocation from Ontario to Saskatchewan in the 1890s where they were offered a free 160-acre homestead by the Canadian government as well as the opportunity to buy additional low-cost lands from both the Hudson Bay Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway. Sir Clifford Sifton was the architect of Canada's settlement strategy that included dispossessing Indigenous persons from the land and removing them to marginal locations in favour of white settlers from Eastern Canada, Europe, and the United States. Sifton became incredibly wealthy in part by building a media empire in Western Canada that included ownership of the Leader Post and several other major newspapers. Arnold got her start in journalism at the Leader Post where she worked closely with Clifford Sifton's son Victor. She chose to leave her job in 1935 and travel to Europe with the trip funded in part from loans secured from Victor Sifton who also used his connections to help Arnold secure freelance writing work in Europe that led to a correspondent position with the Canadian Press. Thus, Arnold's family wealth and career were directly supported first by Canada's racist and exclusionary immigration and settlement policies and later by the direct patronage of the Siftons who were the first family of Canadian settler colonialism.

Olivia Gwizdala, Wilfrid Laurier University
Canada's Gun Problem has Everything to do With America

Canada's gun violence has continued to increase since 2009 with the majority of acquired firearms coming from the United States. While Canada has strict policies on obtaining and possessing a gun, the U.S. makes it not only legal but simple to acquire the weapon. This makes the trafficking of firearms an easy and lucrative business across the Canada-US border. Although there has been some quantitative research surrounding gun trafficking in the past, most of the discourse has remained relatively qualitative due to the lack of data acquired on the illegal issue. The research on gun trafficking between Canada and the U.S. has been sporadic between the bordering nations and misses the opportunity to compile the minimal data available in order to compare trends and potential solutions. This paper will compile the existing data in an attempt to analyze the trends that encourage gun trafficking between the bordering nations. Due to the polar opposite nature of Canada's and America's gun policies, it is unlikely that the core laws of either nation will change to become more compatible any time soon. There will continue to be a firearm trafficking problem until both of the countries can shift their policies and practices to work more cohesively with one another in order to curb the profitability of the business.

Kylee Healy, Joseph Martino, and Susan Mason, Niagara University
The Psychology of Casinos in the United States and Canada

This presentation will delve into the techniques used by casinos to increase gambling, and it will offer possible explanations for the differences in popularity between casinos in the United States and Canada. Entering a casino, you are surrounded by bright lights and loud sounds, a stimulating environment that encourages betting with the hope of winning big. Across the United States and Canada there are hundreds of casinos that welcome thousands of people each day; however, the casinos in the United States seem to attract notably more patrons. Climate, geography, and population density likely play an important role in the relative popularity of casinos in the two countries, but is there another critical variable? Representations of Las Vegas are glamorized in television shows and in movies, making the city almost synonymous with America and the goal of becoming rich and successful. Canada is not portrayed in this manner on such a large scale, which may provide a possible explanation for the difference in popularity of casinos in the two countries. Indigenous populations run many casinos in both countries, allowing these regions to benefit from the subsequent revenue. Research reveals the impressive economic benefits that are provided by casinos, as well as the potential social problems. A majority of casinos operate upon the same basic principles, which are proven to be effective, but alternatives to brick-and-mortar casinos are gaining popularity across both countries. The presentation will conclude with a discussion of possible consequences of the growth of virtual gambling.

Amy Kohn, Laurier University
A 'Trusted Traveller': Says Who?

The events of September 11th, 2001 forced a fundamental shift in the discourse of racial profiling both at and outside the border. While Canada-US remains the largest international, undefended border in the world, there remain established border crossings in which one's skin colour, country of origin, or accent may impact their ability to cross the border smoothly. While most scholars focus on the economic factors that the Beyond the Border and post-9/11 policies influenced, the stigmatization of Arab Canadians and other people of colour has lacked such extensive research. Thus, the question of what qualifies a trusted traveller has remained largely unexplored. Racial profiling as a means of national security has been justified as necessary since the events of 9/11, resulting in the unfortunate and biased treatment of racialized individuals by border agents. Pieces of legislation such as the Anti-Terrorism Act and the Report of the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration provide emphasis on associating immigration and visible minorities with terrorism. This paper will examine how the securitization of the Canada-US border post 9/11 has racialized what it means to be a 'trusted traveller.' How can modern-day border security ensure an unbiased and non-threatening experience at the Canadian-US border for visible minorities and ultimately accept them as 'trusted travellers'?

Joseph Martino, Kylee Healy, and Susan Mason, Niagara University
The Statistics Behind Casinos and Risks to Both Countries

This presentation will go over the statistics that are used in casinos and compare casino betting in the United States and Canada. Most people enter a casino with the hope that luck will be on their side and make them millions. What they may not realize, though, is that there are statistics behind every game they play. House advantage is a way that casinos can bias the games in the casino's favor. With a house advantage, the longer a gambler plays, the more the casino wins. Naturally, casinos do not want to have a negative house advantage, so only two games have this. The first is single player video poker, where playing specific types of poker and using a certain strategy can almost guarantee the player wins in the long run, but the machines have restrictions on the amount one can bet. The second game is blackjack. A blackjack player can win as long as the player counts cards, a mathematical approach that casinos dislike as it can substantially increase player advantage. Virtual betting is very similar to casino betting, but it is much more popular in Canada than the United States due to more relaxed restrictions in Canada. The presentation will conclude with a comparison of the popularity of certain games in the United States and Canada, as well as a discussion of the strategies that can make the games less risky and more enjoyable.

Paisley Messer, University at Buffalo, State University of New York
Indigenous Languages and Contact Languages in North America

Much like in other parts of the world, within North America the impact of colonialism has been well-documented, especially in regard to injustices committed against groups of indigenous peoples. However, one aspect of this contact between the colonists and indigenous populations that has been scarcely documented is the impact on language. It's well-known that North American countries had adverse policies aimed at eradicating indigenous languages, however there have historically been several pidgins and mixed languages within North America, a majority of which are extinct or unremembered. This presentation seeks to look at language policies and its impact on Indigenous languages, as well as to look at historical instances of contact between languages and the result of that, with specific focus on creole languages that persist today, where they came from, and their extinct counterparts.

Kaitlin Senftleben, Laurier University
What is Really Passing Through our Borders? Taking a Deeper Look into Canada-US Border Transnational Crime

A little over a decade ago, the Harper and Obama Administrations developed a new strategy called Beyond the Border, where the main goal was to crack down on transnational crime, specifically across the Canada-US border. With this being developed in 2011, the agreement does provide some value in deterring transnational crime, but much of it is seemingly outdated and has many shortfalls. A substantial amount of scholarly research has been focused on crime along the US-Mexico border, but transnational crime is also occurring along the northern border, much closer to home. Many illicit goods are transported through the Canada-US border on a daily basis. Much of the policy, along with the border security approach that is targeted to deal with this, is often unsuited for the operation. Furthermore, the large discrepancy in what the US wants and what Canada wants out of the Beyond the Border strategy, leaves organized crime seamlessly sliding through the border and aids these criminals in profiting both literally and figuratively. In this paper, I will examine the current use of the Beyond the Border strategy regarding transnational crime and investigate how it can be altered to better combat the smuggling of illicit goods across the border. The Canada-US border is very busy, with approximately 300,000 people travelling across entry points daily and with the use of proper policy and safety measures, it will ensure each nation's security and economic success.

Owen Somerville, Laurier University

An Interconnected and Complicated History – The Windsor Detroit Border as an Economic Resource

Windsor and Detroit present a uniquely intertwined industrial area, as one of the only major developed industrial hubs in the world that sits directly on an international border. This has resulted in a very close relationship between these two cities and a unique economic resource due to various legal asymmetries between the US and Canada. Past research has focused on hot-button issues in this relationship, mainly on the prohibition era and alcohol smuggling in the region in the 1920s and 30s. There are however many more examples of how this relationship has generated economic benefit through legal asymmetries such as prostitution, gambling, horse racing, casinos, and more. This paper will examine the historical connection of these two cities through an inclusive case study on the history of legal asymmetries between Canada and the US and the economic opportunities they have brought to Windsor and Detroit. Dating back to the formation of these two cities, the goal is to create a historical timeline of their unique interconnection and how this has been exploited in the past.

Isabella Trotta, Laurier University

The Fine Line Between Canada and the United States

Is the war on drugs really focused on ending the illegal trafficking of narcotics? The drugs have won the war on drugs. Illegal drug production begins in Mexico; these drugs are then trafficked into Canada and the United States. The role of power in all three of these countries is a dominant factor in the War on drugs. As illicit drugs are transported into Canada and the United States so is the corruption and violence associated with the drug trade. The war on drugs is less about drugs and more focused on economic and political power. This essay will explain why corruption is entering the country through the border, which includes corruption on both sides of the border. The question remains how these drugs are getting into Canada and the USA through patrolled border stops? Research has followed the economic and political power struggle associated with the illicit drug trade which has targeted a specific group of people in Canada and the United States who can afford to purchase these drugs. Those of an elite class who can afford to party and do drugs are the ones purchasing and using these drugs therefore keeping the demand up. Drugs are carried by well-dressed, polite individuals crossing the border with false bottom luggage, not by drug traffickers hauling drugs in the rear of their fruit trucks. This paper will outline the political and economic struggle between cartels and government officials along with those who are trafficking the drugs into Canada and the United States from Mexico.

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CROSSING BORDERS

BEST STUDENT PAPER JUDGES

Dan Malleck, Brock University

Munroe Eagles, University at Buffalo

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