

ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE CONGRESS, LYON, 30 JUNE - 2 JULY 2026

ST 03 · CHARACTERIZING AND MEASURING PUBLIC POLICIES IN ORDER TO COMPARE THEM

# The making of target publics, and its layers of inertia

Measuring affective and probative legitimation regimes in Canadian and Quebec parliamentary debates

**Antoine Lemor<sup>1</sup>, Shannon Dinan<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Université de Sherbrooke · <sup>2</sup>Université Laval

CAPP · CIRST · RFICS

# Outline

1

## Context · question · theory

how to measure the symbolic fabric of policy

2

## Method

Agora+ corpus; NER; LLM distillation; tests

3

## Results · 6 hypotheses

what is inert, what flips, what punctuates

PART I

# Context

# Two adjacent sentences, two unequal regimes

---

## Linda Lapointe · PLC

HOUSE OF COMMONS · 5 DECEMBER 2016 · GOVERNMENT

---

« We are very proud of our commitment to help the middle class, as proposed in the last election campaign. »

---

## Wayne Stetski · NPD

HOUSE OF COMMONS · 5 DECEMBER 2016 · OPPOSITION

---

« About 35,000 Canadians have no fixed address, and one household in five risks joining the homeless because it must devote more than 50% of its income to housing. »

Two different target publics, two different probative regimes?

# From social construction to a missing measurement

---

**Target publics are socially constructed:** public policy distributes reputations across categories (advantaged, contenders, dependents, deviants), each receiving a different legitimacy and a different proof burden.

SCHNEIDER & INGRAM 1993, 1997 ; PIERCE ET AL. 2014

---

**These constructions shape policy instruments:** who is targeted, with which programs, with which conditions and which sanctions; the construction of the public becomes the design of the policy.

INGRAM & SCHNEIDER 2005 ; PIERCE ET AL. 2014 ; LASCOUMES & LE GALÈS 2007

---

**Yet this construction is rarely measured** in the language where it is actually produced, at the scale where it is at work: thousands of parliamentary statements, every speaker, every public, every date.

PIERCE ET AL. 2014, p. 22 ; SCHNEIDER, INGRAM & DELEON 2014

---

**The literature points to several determinants of the construction:** policy domains and causal stories, attention shocks and agenda dynamics, partisan signatures and group appeals.

STONE 1989 ; BÉLAND 2009 ; BAUMGARTNER & JONES 1993 ; PETROCIK 1996 ; THAU 2019

---

**And more:** MP-level portfolios, the affective tone of political communication, and the structuring effect of government versus opposition position.

FENNO 1978 ; MAYHEW 1974 ; BÄCK ET AL. 2014 ; SOROKA 2014 ; PROKSCH & SLAPIN 2012 ; BONIKOWSKI 2017

Each tradition isolates one determinant of the construction, but none jointly measures, in parliamentary language and at scale, **how the social construction of target publics is legitimized:** the affective valence and the probative burden borne by each public, jointly, across speakers, domains and positions.

# Research questions

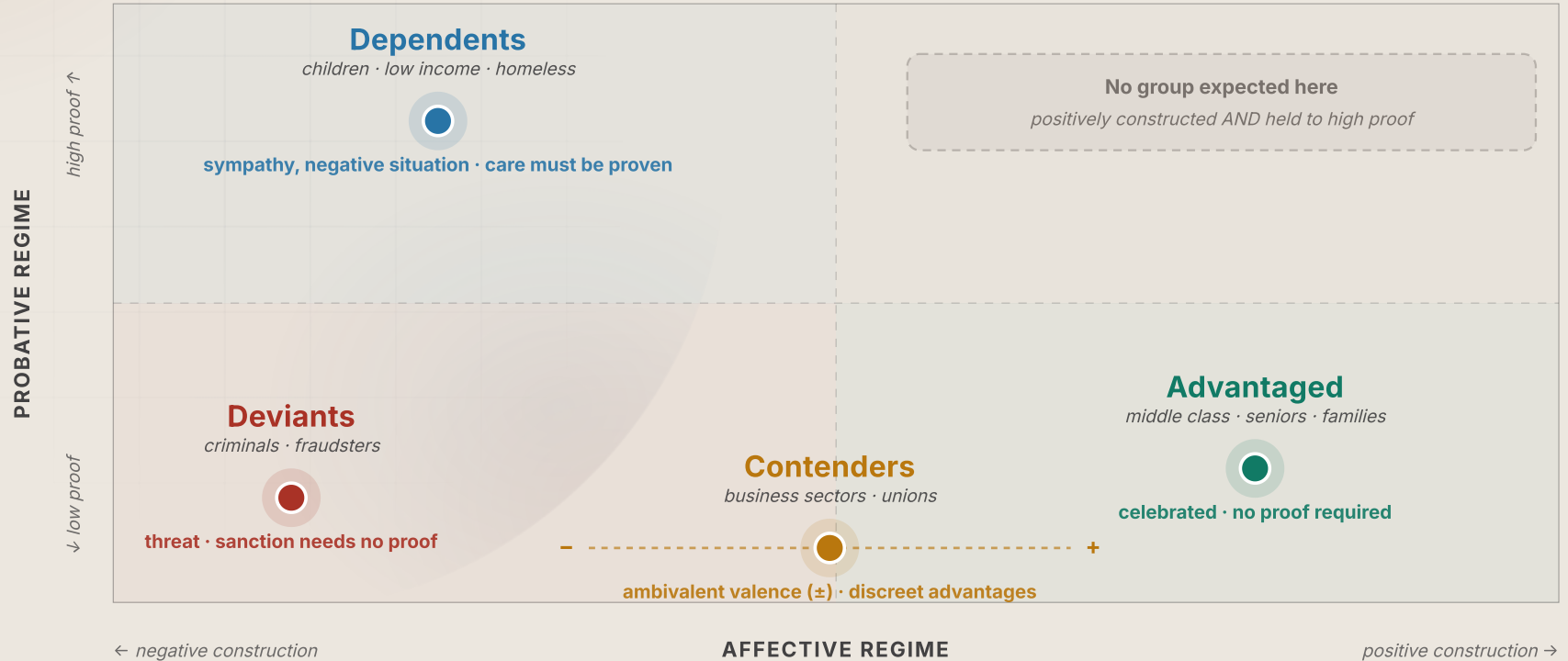
## MEASUREMENT

**How can we measure what first appears impossible to measure: the symbolic fabric of target publics in parliamentary language?**

## SUBSTANTIVE

**From MPs to parties, from parties to domains and attention punctuations: what determines the affective and probative regimes attached to publics?**

# Two legitimization regimes for each Schneider–Ingram public



Expectation space (H1) — the measured profiles will say where each group actually sits in this plane.

# A layered theory: concentric inertias

## 1 Target publics are socially constructed

Public policy distributes reputations: advantaged, contenders, dependents, deviants. Each category comes with its own attached legitimization regimes.

*SCHNEIDER & INGRAM 1993, 1997 · PIERCE ET AL. 2014*

## 2 Each construction works through two regimes

### AFFECTIVE

Valence attached to the public:  
positive (celebrated) or  
negative (denounced).

e.g. "middle class" (+)  
e.g. "unemployed" (-)

### PROBATIVE

Proof burden required:  
high (must be proven)  
or low (taken for granted).

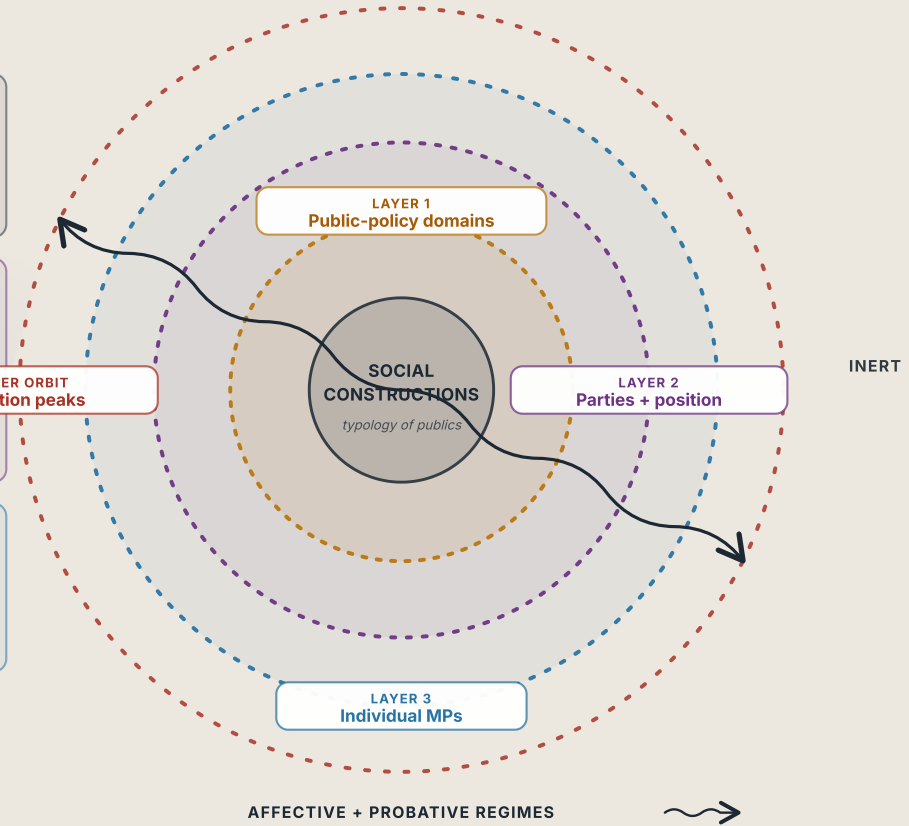
e.g. class: 3% proof  
e.g. low income: 17%

OUTER ORBIT  
Attention peaks

## 3 Constructions are organized in layers of inertia

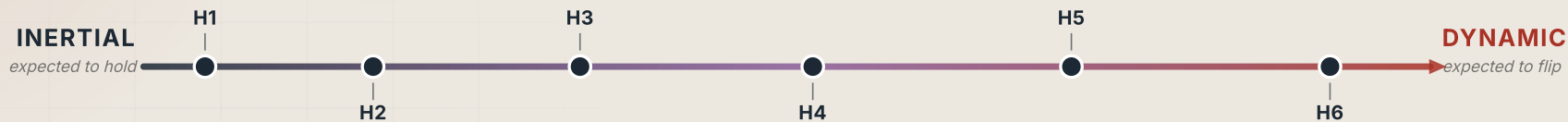
Around an inert core (the typology), each layer adds variability: domains, parties + position, attention peaks. Both regimes pierce every layer.

*BAUMGARTNER & JONES 1993 · PETROCK 1996 · THAU 2019*





# Six hypotheses, one per layer of inertia



## LAYER · WHAT WE PREDICT

### LAYER

### WHAT WE PREDICT

**H1** Core: Schneider–Ingram typology

Profiles match the typology: advantaged = positive affect + low proof; dependents = negative affect + high proof.

**H2** Domains

Each domain has preferred publics and imprints its own regimes; both stay inert across parties and alternations.

**H3** Parties + position flip

Parties carry preferred publics and a proof style of their own (H3a); alternation flips the affective regime but spares the probative one (H3b).

**H4** MP portfolios

Within parties, MPs hold persistent portfolios of publics and personal regimes, beyond what party, position and domains explain.

**H5** Attention peaks

Negativity bias: the most negative publics peak most (H5a) — or informational: peaks stand out by extra proof, not affect (H5b).

**H6** Punctuations · feedback on layers

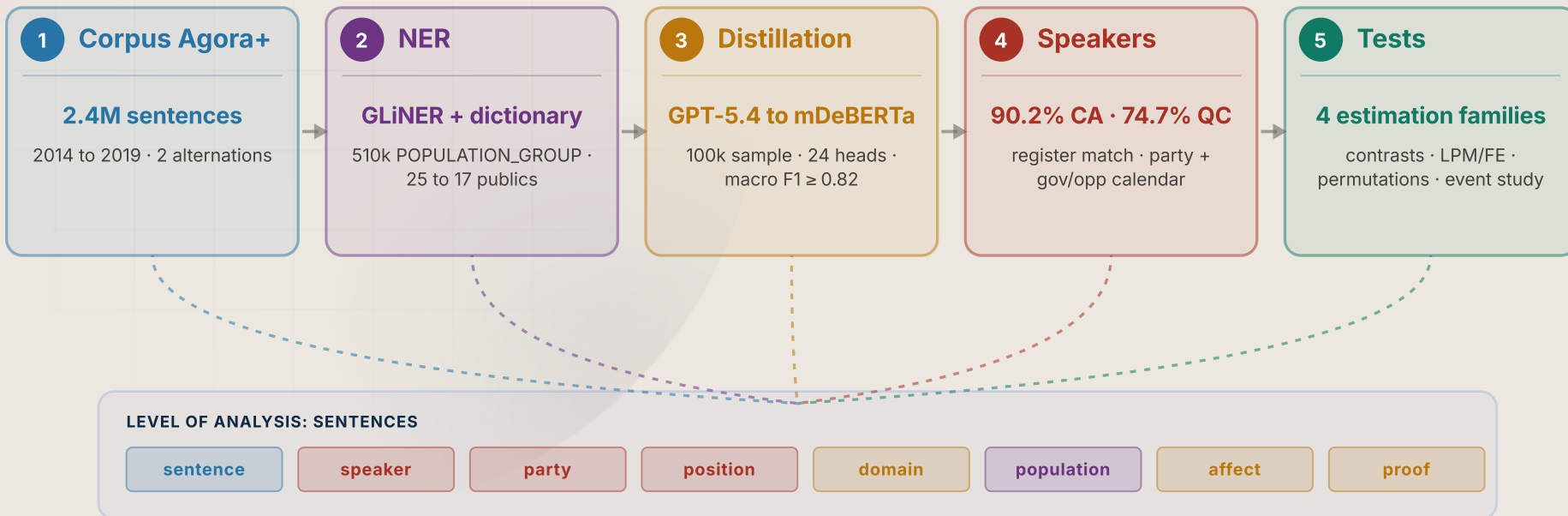
Peaks recompose thematic profiles and regimes (H6a) — or the inertia hierarchy holds and profiles traverse peaks unchanged (H6b).

PART II

# Method

# Method overview: five steps, sentence-level analysis

## FIVE STEPS, SENTENCE-LEVEL ANNOTATION



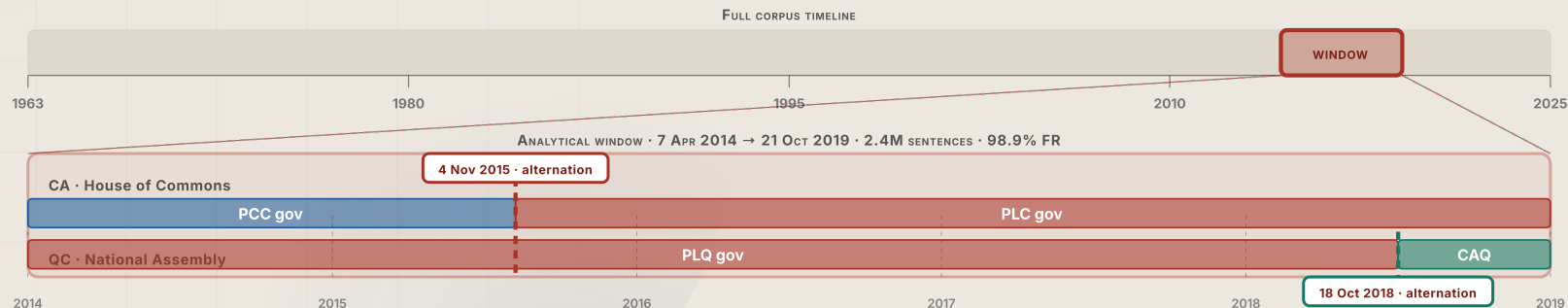
# Step 1: Corpus Agora+ and the analytical window

## AGORA+ · CANADIAN AND QUEBEC PARLIAMENTARY DATABASE

14,455,163 sentences · Quebec 1963 → 2025 · Canada 2006 → 2024 · SaT segmentation

14.5M

TOTAL



1,731,400

Federal (House of Commons)

2006 → 2024 · 71.7%

### SENTENCE VOLUME

684,518

Quebec (Nat. Assembly)

2014 → 2019 · 28.3%

### CLEAN CONTROLS · OPP THROUGHOUT



NPD federal *always opp. · isolates position effect*



PQ Quebec *always opp. · within-window placebo*

### LINKED SENTENCE RECORD

speaker

party

position

domain

population

affect

proof

*Same parties on both sides of the government-opposition boundary, in the same arena.*

# Step 2: Detecting publics with GLiNER + a dictionary

## STAGE 1 · GLiNER TAGS EVERY SURFACE MENTION WITH ONE OF 11 ENTITY LABELS

ONE EXAMPLE SENTENCE · FIVE ENTITIES EXTRACTED BY GLiNER

« **Mr. Stetski** said in the **House of Commons** that **35,000 Canadians** have no fixed address and that one household in five risks joining the **homeless**... »

**Mr. Stetski** PERSON   **House of Commons** VENUE   **35,000 Canadians** POPULATION\_GROUP  
**homeless** POPULATION\_GROUP

### GLiNER multitask-large

V0.5 · THRESHOLD 0.50 · 11-LABEL NESTED NER

Kept · POPULATION\_GROUP + SOCIAL\_CATEGORY

Dropped · 9 control labels (PERSON, etc.)

**510k** POPULATION\_GROUP on 2.4M sentences

but each public has many surface forms

## STAGE 2 · POPDICT\_V1 MAPS EACH SURFACE MENTION TO ONE OF 25 CANONICAL PUBLICS

### SURFACE VARIANTS

Indigenous peoples   First Nations   Inuit   Métis   « Premières Nations »   autochtones   aborigina

### CANONICAL

**Indigenous**

regex · ordered  
specific > generic

### SURFACE VARIANTS

homeless   homeless people   sans-abri   itinérants   personnes en situation d'itinérance

### CANONICAL

**Homeless**

regex · ordered  
specific > generic

### SURFACE VARIANTS

seniors   elderly   aînés   personnes âgées   older Canadians   retraités

### CANONICAL

**Seniors**

regex · ordered  
specific > generic

### SURFACE VARIANTS

low-income Canadians   people living in poverty   low-income families   à faible revenu   pauvres

### CANONICAL

**Low income**

regex · ordered  
specific > generic

## STAGE 3 · 25 CANONICAL POPULATIONS · 17 KEPT WITH ≥ 200 SENTENCES

**Canadians**

105k

**Children**

31k

**Indigenous**

24k

**Women**

21k

**Youth**

18k

**Quebecers**

15k

**Seniors**

10k

**Vulnerable**

5.0k

**Disabled**

4.0k

**Immigrants**

2.4k

**Low income**

1.6k

**Middle class**

1.1k

**Unemployed**

1.0k

**Homeless**

0.6k

**Families**

0.4k

**Refugees**

0.3k

**Francophones**

0.3k

EXCLUDED · "phenomena" not "publics"

unemployment   immigration   homelessness   poverty

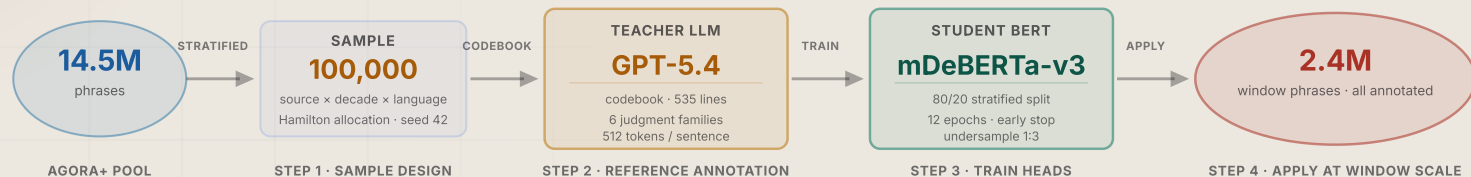
theory is about constructed groups, not problems

CANONICAL YIELD

**79.4%**

of raw mentions canonicalised  
the rest: ambiguous, excluded, manual review

# Step 3: LLM distillation onto specialist BERT classifiers



Training F1 (stratified 80/20 split)

## PROOF

|                 |                        |      |
|-----------------|------------------------|------|
| expert_evidence | <div><div></div></div> | 0.92 |
| expert_cited    | <div><div></div></div> | 0.90 |

## TONE

|          |                        |      |
|----------|------------------------|------|
| negative | <div><div></div></div> | 0.82 |
| neutral  | <div><div></div></div> | 0.84 |
| positive | <div><div></div></div> | 0.81 |

## DOMAINS (CAP)

|                         |                        |      |
|-------------------------|------------------------|------|
| agriculture             | <div><div></div></div> | 0.95 |
| culture_nationalism     | <div><div></div></div> | 0.91 |
| defense                 | <div><div></div></div> | 0.95 |
| domestic_commerce       | <div><div></div></div> | 0.88 |
| foreign_trade           | <div><div></div></div> | 0.95 |
| governance              | <div><div></div></div> | 0.83 |
| public_lands            | <div><div></div></div> | 0.92 |
| rights_minorities       | <div><div></div></div> | 0.88 |
| social_welfare          | <div><div></div></div> | 0.89 |
| technology              | <div><div></div></div> | 0.92 |
| transportation          | <div><div></div></div> | 0.93 |
| education *             | <div><div></div></div> | 0.82 |
| energy *                | <div><div></div></div> | 0.68 |
| environment *           | <div><div></div></div> | 0.68 |
| health *                | <div><div></div></div> | 0.81 |
| housing *               | <div><div></div></div> | 0.77 |
| immigration *           | <div><div></div></div> | 0.64 |
| international_affairs * | <div><div></div></div> | 0.81 |
| labor *                 | <div><div></div></div> | 0.72 |
| law_and_crime *         | <div><div></div></div> | 0.74 |
| macroeconomics *        | <div><div></div></div> | 0.74 |

\* head shared inside one multi-label CAP model (macro F1 = 0.741); other CAP heads are independent binary models.

# Step 4: Speakers, parties, and the position calendar

## RAW HANSARD HEADER

**Mr. STETSKI**

5 December 2016 · House of Commons  
Sitting 71, 42nd Parliament

## MP REGISTER · 268 ENTRIES

**Stetski, Wayne**

NDP · Kootenay-Columbia · BC  
42nd Parl. · 2015-10-19 → 2019-09-11  
*exact full name → unique match in legislature*

## RESOLVED RECORD

**speaker\_id:** CA\_42\_NDP\_STETSKI\_W  
**party:** NDP  
**position (date):** opposition  
**arena:** House of Commons

## POSITION CALENDAR · PER ARENA · GOV/OPP AT EACH DATE

### CANADA · HOUSE OF COMMONS

CPC gov · 2014-04 → 2015-11-04

LPC gov · 2015-11-04 → 2019-10-21

alternation · 4 Nov 2015

### QUEBEC · NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

PLQ gov · 2014-04 → 2018-10-18

CAQ gov

alternation · 18 Oct 2018

## RESOLUTION RATES

Federal



90.2%

Quebec



74.7%

## QUEBEC UPLIFT · 19.4% → 74.7%

- compiled register: 268 MPs, 41st & 42nd legislatures
- cross-checked against official seat distributions
- homonyms + presidency excluded

**315**

## FINAL SPEAKER POOL

**MPs · ≥ 200 population phrases**

*eligible for H4 layer analysis*

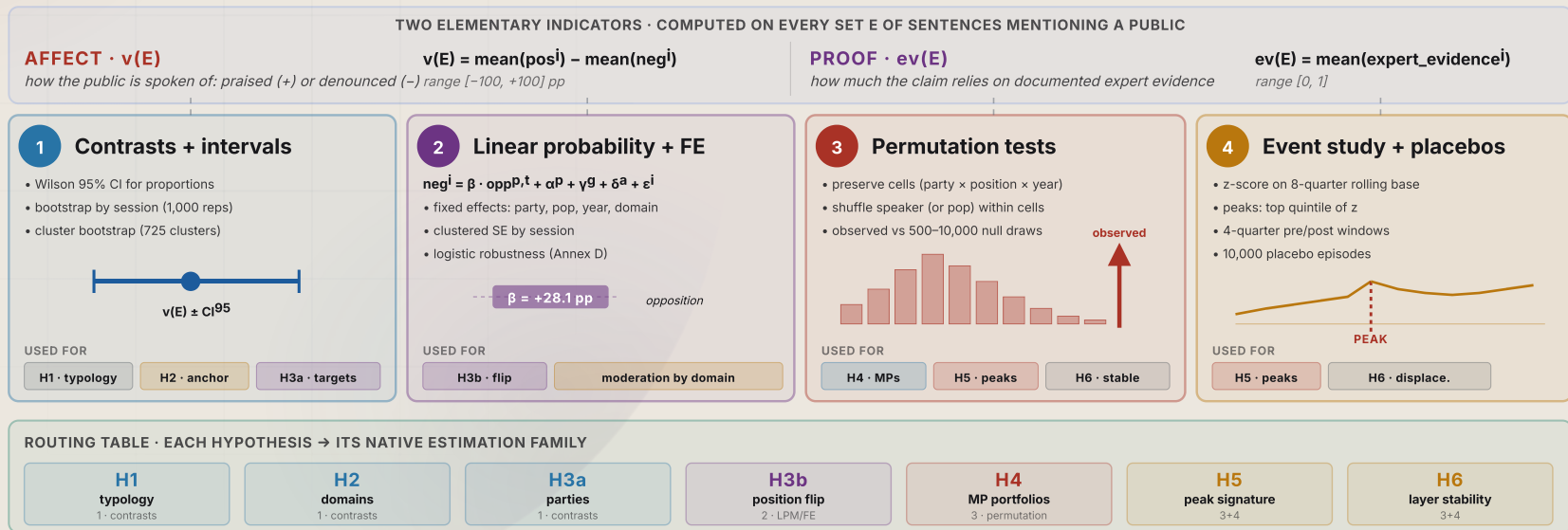
*used as the unit of within-party permutation tests*

## WHY DOES THE QUEBEC RATE STAY BELOW THE FEDERAL ONE?

Quebec hansard names are heterogeneous (with/without title, first/last only, abbreviated), which prevents a clean 100% match.

Remaining noise is non-correlated with position/party/quarter → bias toward attenuation of reported effects.

# Step 5: Four estimation families, one per inertia layer

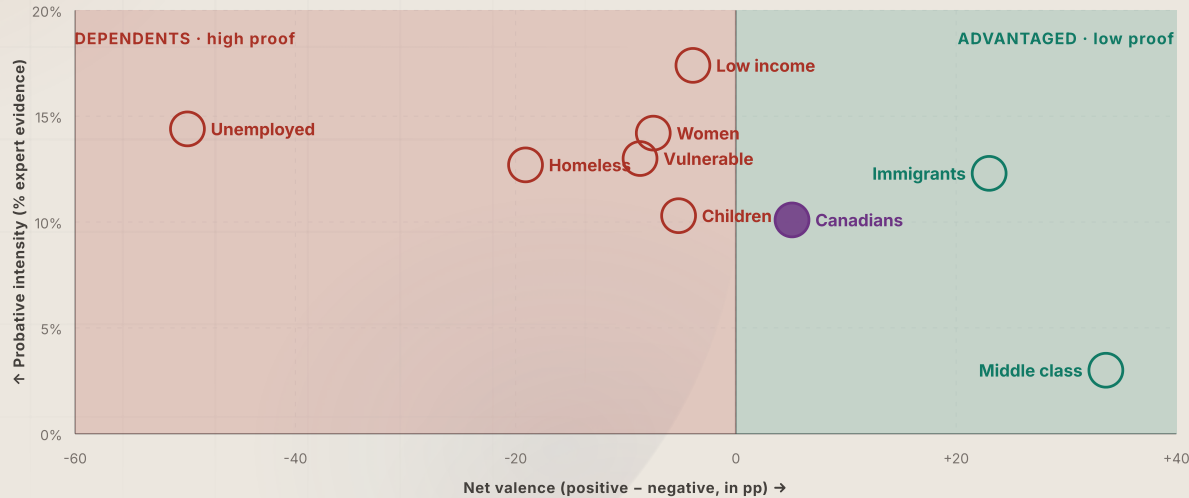




PART III

# Results

# H1: The core reproduces the classical typology



## ADVANTAGED CASE · Lapointe (LPC gov)

5 Dec 2016 · House of Commons

« We are very proud of our commitment to help the middle class. »

+ pride · no stats · v = 33.6 · proof 3%

## DEPENDENT CASE · Rafferty (NDP opp)

8 May 2015 · House of Commons

« 20,000 jobs lost this month, Canada has a quarter million more unemployed than before. »

numbered · indictment · unempl. -49.8 · proof 14.4%

## READING THE CORE TYPOLOGY

### ADVANTAGED · CELEBRATED

**v = +33.6**

middle class · only 3.0% proof

### DEPENDENTS · PROVEN

**v = -49.8**

unemployed · 14.4% proof

### PROBATIVE INEQUALITY

**5.8x**

proof gap · « middle class » to « low income »

H1

## Core: Schneider-Ingram typology

Profiles match the typology: advantaged = positive affect + low proof; dependents = negative affect + high proof.

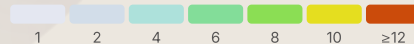
CONFIRMED

# H2: Domains anchor publics before parties speak

POPULATION × POLICY DOMAIN · LIFT OVER ARENA BASELINE · ≥ 1 MEANS OVER-REPRESENTED

|              | Rights | Welfare | Housing | Macro | Health | Education | Culture | Lands |
|--------------|--------|---------|---------|-------|--------|-----------|---------|-------|
| Indigenous   | 9.2    | 2.5     | 2.6     | 0.8   | 1.4    | 2.4       | 2.9     | 5.1   |
| Women        | 7.4    | 3.7     | 1.6     | 0.9   | 2.3    | 1.7       | 1.1     | 1.1   |
| Refugees     | 6.1    | 8.3     | 3.1     | 0.9   | 1.4    | 1.7       | 1.2     | 1.6   |
| Disabled     | 8.1    | 9.7     | 3.1     | 2.0   | 3.9    | 2.6       | 0.9     | 1.6   |
| Vulnerable   | 5.7    | 9.0     | 3.6     | 1.4   | 4.4    | 1.7       | 0.5     | 2.6   |
| Low income   | 1.9    | 11      | 9.5     | 5.1   | 1.0    | 5.7       | 0.3     | 1.4   |
| Homeless     | 2.6    | 9.8     | 52      | 1.3   | 2.0    | 0.8       | 0.6     | 1.5   |
| Unemployed   | 0.8    | 7.3     | 1.1     | 5.6   | 0.4    | 3.4       | 0.5     | 0.4   |
| Middle class | 0.4    | 6.5     | 1.0     | 5.0   | 0.3    | 0.6       | 0.6     | 0.7   |
| Children     | 2.7    | 5.8     | 1.6     | 1.6   | 3.0    | 7.8       | 0.9     | 1.1   |
| Youth        | 1.9    | 3.7     | 1.6     | 1.1   | 3.9    | 7.2       | 1.0     | 0.7   |
| Seniors      | 1.6    | 11      | 6.3     | 2.2   | 3.1    | 1.7       | 1.0     | 0.8   |
| Immigrants   | 3.6    | 3.4     | 0.9     | 1.3   | 0.2    | 5.5       | 3.1     | 0.7   |
| Canadians    | 1.8    | 2.4     | 1.3     | 2.0   | 1.4    | 0.5       | 1.1     | 0.9   |
| Quebecers    | 1.0    | 1.2     | 1.0     | 2.1   | 1.3    | 1.6       | 2.4     | 0.8   |
| Francophones | 7.3    | 0.9     | 0.3     | 0.4   | 0.4    | 3.6       | 8.4     | 1.3   |
| Families     | 1.1    | 4.1     | 2.2     | 1.3   | 1.7    | 4.0       | 1.1     | 0.6   |

COLOR SCALE · LIFT VALUE



PROFILE STABILITY

$r = 0.96$

median, across alternations · all parties

DOMAIN R<sup>2</sup> GAIN

+5 pp

R<sup>2</sup> rises 0.119 → 0.169 with domain FE

EACH DOMAIN PRINTS ITS OWN AFFECTIVE + PROBATIVE REGIME

Criminal law

tone: -32.6 pp

proof: 19%

Social welfare

tone: +10.7 pp

proof: 10%

Labour & employment

tone: +5.3 pp

proof: 12%

Culture

tone: +34.8 pp

proof: 9%

H2

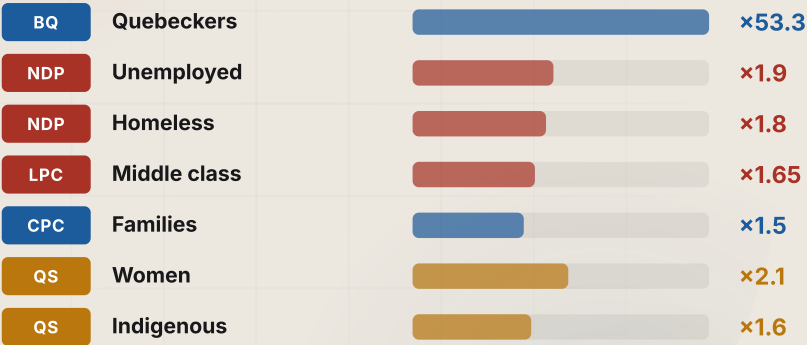
Domains

Each domain has preferred publics and imprints its own regimes; both stay inert across parties and alternations.

CONFIRMED

# H3a: Parties have preferred publics and partisan regimes

PREFERRED PUBLICS · PARTY LIFT OVER ARENA BASELINE



PARTISAN REGIMES · FE COEFFICIENTS VS LPC BASELINE

| PARTY | PROOF                 | NEGATIVITY | READING                    |
|-------|-----------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| NDP   | +1.1 pp               | +7.5 pp    | evidence + negative tone   |
| BQ    | -4.9 pp               | +5.3 pp    | less proof, harder tone    |
| CPC   | -0.7 pp               | +4.6 pp    | tough-on-crime tone        |
| QS    | +0.3 pp <sup>ns</sup> | -5.1 pp    | positive tone despite left |

TESTED OVER THE FOUR FAMILIES AND THE 14 PARTY-ARENA PAIRS

NDP MP quote

« The government prefers to lower the contribution rate for electoral reasons and divert workers' funds, depriving 130,000 unemployed of benefits. »

Jonathan Tremblay (NDP, opposition) · 8 June 2015

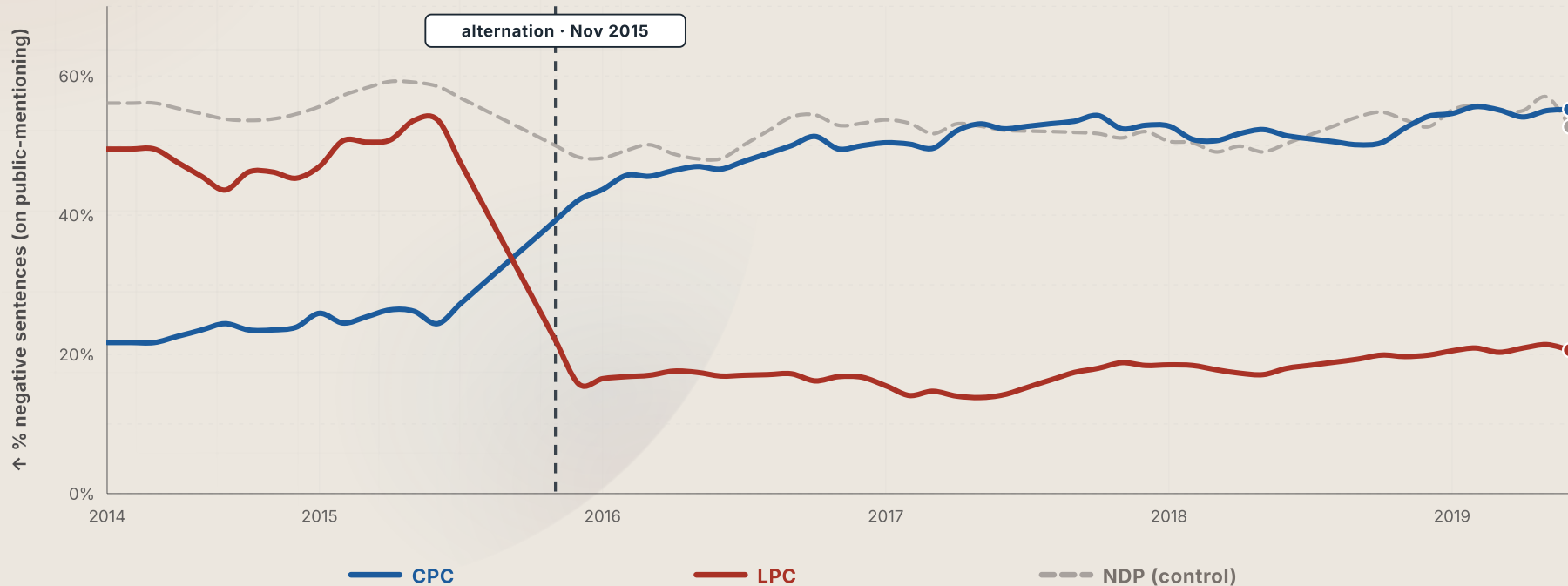
H3

Parties + position flip

Parties carry preferred publics and a proof style of their own (H3a); alternation flips the affective regime but spares the probative one (H3b).

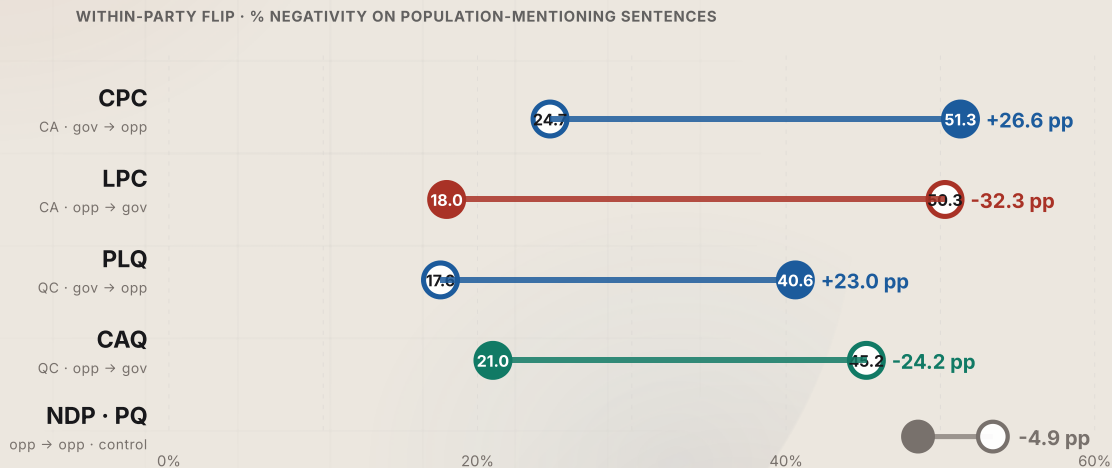
CONFIRMED

# Negativity on public-mentioning sentences, federal arena · monthly



*Federal arena · months with  $\geq 50$  public-mentioning sentences · 5-month rolling mean, recesses and 2015 election interpolated*

## H3b: Alternation flips affect, spares proof



### AFFECTIVE REGIME

**+23 → +32 pp**

*within-party flip (gov ↔ opp)  
Δ neg = ±25 pp (median)*

### PROBATIVE REGIME

**≈ +2 pp**

*14× smaller · regimes dissociate  
Δ proof = ±1.6 pp (median)*

### CPC · after the alternation

Bergen · 15 Nov 2016 · opp

« *Why does he not see he would hurt  
Canadians and create an astronomical  
deficit weighing on future generations?* »

same party as 2014: positive about Canadians · now: tort

H3

### Parties + position flip

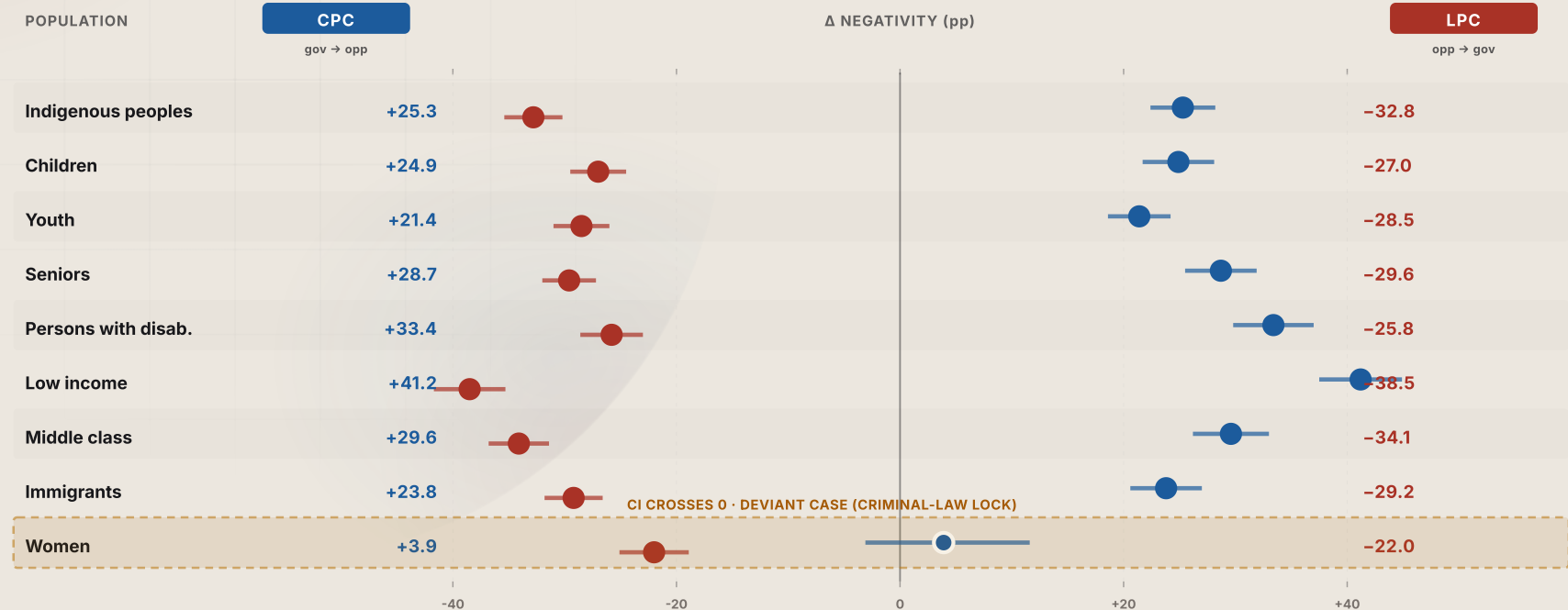
Parties carry preferred publics and a proof style of their own (H3a); alternation flips the affective regime but spares the probative one (H3b).

CONFIRMED

# The tone flips for every public when position flips

Δ NEGATIVITY (POST – PRE ALTERNATION) BY POPULATION · FEDERAL

% on population-mentioning sentences · 95% CI

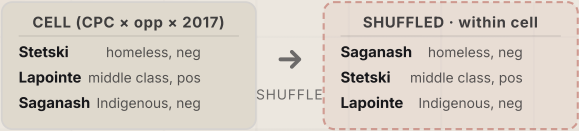


● CPC · gov → opp · rises towards negativity for every population (except Women)

● LPC · opp → gov · drops symmetrically · same publics, mirrored imputation

# H4: The fabric has specialized artisans

PERMUTATION LOGIC · PRESERVE CELLS, SHUFFLE SPEAKER IDENTITIES

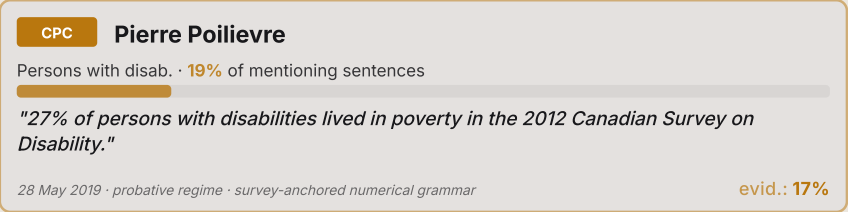
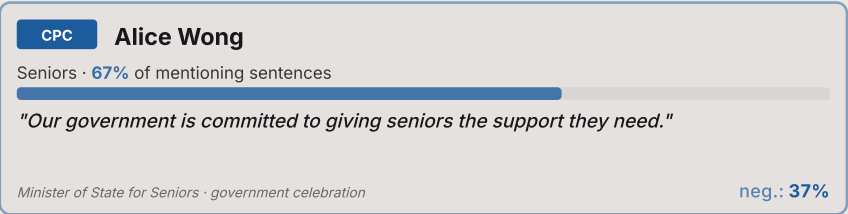
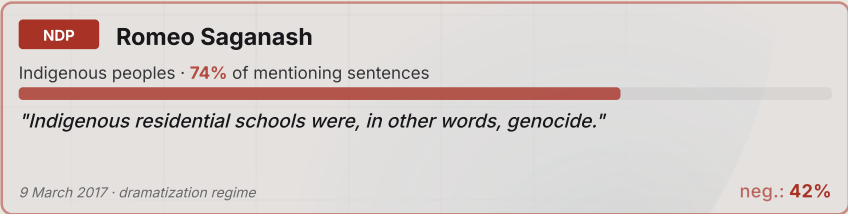


INDIVIDUAL SIGNATURE · BEYOND THE PARTY

+0.076

$p_{self} = 0.945$  vs  $p_{cross} = 0.869$  ·  $\sigma$  between MPs 7.2 pp vs 2.6 pp null ·  $p < 0.002$  (500 perm.)

FOUR SPECIALIST MPS · CONTRASTED REGIMES (NEGATIVE VS PROBATIVE)



H4

## MP portfolios

Within parties, MPs hold persistent portfolios of publics and personal regimes, beyond what party, position and domains explain.

CONFIRMED



# H5: Attention peaks are probative episodes, not negative ones

## TWO RIVAL EXPECTATIONS ABOUT PEAK SIGNATURES

H5a

### Negativity bias rules attention

Prediction: publics with high proof + negative valence (probation couple) should peak disproportionately.

SOROKA 2014 · VAISH ET AL. 2008 · LENGAUER ET AL. 2012

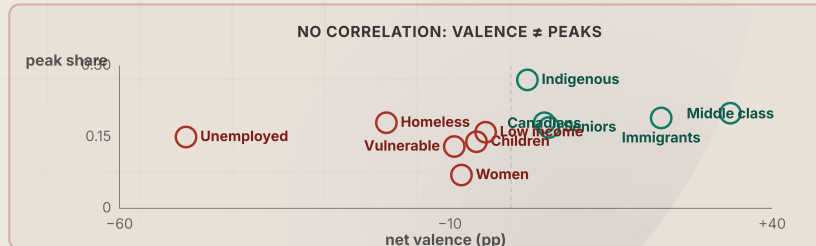
H5b

### Informational reading rules attention

Prediction: peaks are identified by extra proof, not extra negativity, regardless of public configuration.

BOSWELL 2009 · JONES & · BAUMGARTNER 2005 · WEISS 1979

## H5A TEST · NEGATIVITY VS PEAK PROPENSITY, BY PUBLIC



## H5A VERDICT

**REFUTED**

$\rho(v, \text{peak share}) = -0.28 \cdot p_{\text{perm}} = 0.38$

no link between negativity and attention peaks

## H5B TEST · WITHIN-PEAK SIGNATURE (PEAK VS ROUTINE, ALL PEAKS POOLED)

### Δ (PEAK – ROUTINE)

#### Δ negativity



-0.2 pp [-2.9 · 2.8]

#### Δ proof



+2.3 pp [0.7 · 3.7]

peak share with proof: 12.7% vs routine 10.4%

## H5B VERDICT

**CONFIRMED**

Persons handicapées Q3 2018 ·  $z = +11.3$

Indigenous Q1 2018 ·  $z = +6.3$  · both saturated with stats

H5

### Attention peaks

Negativity bias: the most negative publics peak most (H5a) — or informational: peaks stand out by extra proof, not affect (H5b).

MIXED

# H6: Peaks traverse the layers without recomposing them

EVENT STUDY DESIGN · 27 PEAK EPISODES, 4-QUARTER PRE/POST WINDOWS

PRE · 4 quarters

PEAK

$z > 0.8$  quintile  
excluded

POST · 4 quarters

rolling 8-quarter baseline · no future leakage · + 10,000 placebo episodes

THEMATIC PROFILE CORRELATION (CAP DOMAINS × PUBLIC) · PRE VS POST-PEAK, PER EPISODE



THEMATIC PROFILE (CAP)

$r = 0.984$

$p\_rand = 0.84$  · profiles traverse unchanged

$\Delta$  NEGATIVITY (POST – PRE)

+1.1 pp

placebo  $\Delta = -1.6$  ·  $p\_rand = 0.030$  · residual hardening

$\Delta$  PROOF (POST – PRE)

-0.2 pp

$p\_rand = 0.72$  · no durable proof displacement

TWO SUB-HYPOTHESES · SEPARATELY TESTED

H6a

Peaks recompose the layered fabric

REFUTED · only 2 / 11 publics shift (chance level): Immigrants  $r = 0.96$  ( $p = 0.026$ ), Quebeckers  $r = 0.94$  ( $p = 0.034$ ).

H6b

Profiles traverse peaks unchanged

CONFIRMED · per-population  $r \in [0.86 ; 1.00]$ , median 0.97

Only residual negativity hardening (+1.1 pp); the inertia hierarchy holds even through peaks.

H6

Punctuations · feedback on layers

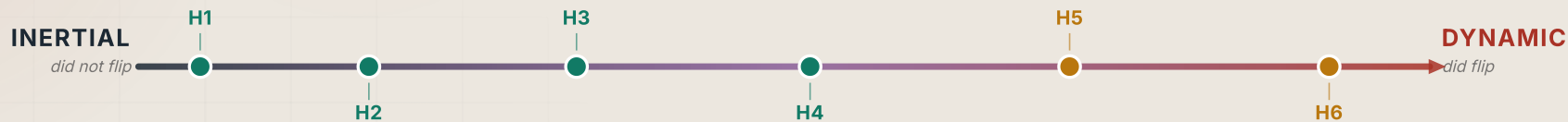
Peaks recompose thematic profiles and regimes (H6a) — or the inertia hierarchy holds and profiles traverse peaks unchanged (H6b).

MIXED

PART IV

# Conclusion

# Confirmed inertia, refuted negativity bias



LAYER · OUR PREDICTION · WHAT THE DATA SAYS

| LAYER                                       | PREDICTED                                                                                                                                        | VERDICT   |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| <b>H1</b> Core: Schneider–Ingram typology   | Profiles match the typology: advantaged = positive affect + low proof; dependents = negative affect + high proof.                                | CONFIRMED |
| <b>H2</b> Domains                           | Each domain has preferred publics and imprints its own regimes; both stay inert across parties and alternations.                                 | CONFIRMED |
| <b>H3</b> Parties + position flip           | Parties carry preferred publics and a proof style of their own (H3a); alternation flips the affective regime but spares the probative one (H3b). | CONFIRMED |
| <b>H4</b> MP portfolios                     | Within parties, MPs hold persistent portfolios of publics and personal regimes, beyond what party, position and domains explain.                 | CONFIRMED |
| <b>H5</b> Attention peaks                   | Negativity bias: the most negative publics peak most (H5a) — or informational: peaks stand out by extra proof, not affect (H5b).                 | MIXED     |
| <b>H6</b> Punctuations · feedback on layers | Peaks recompose thematic profiles and regimes (H6a) — or the inertia hierarchy holds and profiles traverse peaks unchanged (H6b).                | MIXED     |

# Three takeaways

1

## ALTERNATION CHANGES IMPUTATION RATHER THAN GRAMMAR

Position inverts affective regime by 23 to 32 pp  
· probative regime moves only  $\approx 2$  pp. Parties  
do not displace populations to other domains ·  
they re-narrate the same publics.

2

## PROOF OBEYS MERIT RATHER THAN POWER

Middle class: 3% proof. Low-income: 17.4%.  
The gradient runs between group reputations  
and party identities rather than between  
government and opposition. Probative  
inequality is structural.

3

## INDICATORS BEYOND BUDGETS

The pipeline makes the symbolic fabric  
measurable: problem definition, group  
reputations, causal imputation, instrument  
justification. Constructions of publics now join  
budgets and outputs as policy indicators.

# Thank you!

Questions and discussion

---

Antoine Lemor · Shannon Dinan

Université de Sherbrooke · Université Laval

CAPP · CIRST · RFICS

[antoine.lemor@usherbrooke.ca](mailto:antoine.lemor@usherbrooke.ca)