Carleton University
Department of Political Science
https://carleton.ca/polisci/

PSCI 5810 - F Approaches to Environmental Politics

Wednesdays, 11:35am-2:25pm
This course will be in-person. To confirm location, consult Carleton Central.

General information

Instructor: Peter Andrée

In-person Office Hours: Wednesdays, 2:30pm-3:30pm. Loeb D691

Online Office Hours: Thursdays, 3pm to 4pm via zoom (sign up via Brightspace)

Email: Peter.Andree@carleton.ca (I will respond within 48 hours)

All email communication is to be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace, not personal emails.

II Course Description

The study of environmental politics is concerned with the myriad complex relationships between human societies and the 'natural' world. In fact, a key insight of years of study in this field is that 'society' and 'nature' are inseparable, and that many of the environmental issues we face today are exacerbated by social constructs which perpetuate a human/more-than-human dualism. Climate change, extinctions, desertification, and food crises bring home just how interconnected and dependent we are with well-functioning natural systems. Growing inequalities between the wealthy and poor, and the fact that class, race and gender can influence whether one is harmed by carcinogens or can access clean water, demonstrate that there are important social justice issues which must be addressed as we define more sustainable paths forward.

Big changes are on the way. On the one hand, we are seeing many experiments with new ways of doing things that still enable material prosperity, and a more equitable sharing of resources, while causing less harm to the ecosystems we are a part of. On the other hand, many of these ecosystems continue to degrade, and we can expect an increase in the scale and impact of natural disasters. These issues will result in further tensions, new conflicts, new waves of migration, etc. The future will bring fantastic new highs as well as potentially destabilizing new lows.

Environmental politics is about looking at these issues through the lens of power. Who has access to resources? Who does not? What are the origins and impacts of the relevant norms and institutions? How do these factors structure the way that governments, companies, social movements, and civil society organizations respond to environmental issues, whether in Canada or elsewhere?

This course can be thought of in two parts. First, it is a graduate-level introduction to the interdisciplinary field of environmental politics for political science students who may or may not be familiar with this field of research, and open to students from other disciplines too. This course goal is met through a focus on a core text written by John Dryzek, and by discussing podcasts produced by the professor along with Prof. Ryan Katz-Rosene of the University of Ottawa (https://www.ecopoliticspodcast.ca/).

Second, it is a "workshop" course, with a series of short assignments, culminating in a final paper, that is designed to build your theoretical acumen, research skills, as well as presentation and

peer-reviewing skills. The course is designed to allow students to bring in a range of theoretical approaches to the study of power relations and politics (whether domestic or international) that they would like to gain more experience with. To that end, the readings for the latter part of the course are not all set in advance, so students can help set the agenda.

Finally, a note on my teaching process. Over the years, I've noticed a growing level of anxiety among students and practitioners of environmental politics. This comes as no surprise, as the state of the natural environment is in decline. There is much to be concerned about, and much loss to grieve. I have been learning to teach mindfulness meditation to help myself and my students stay grounded, and begin to metabolize the difficult material that we deal with in courses like this. Most class sessions will begin with a short guided meditation, and we'll have discussions on the role of embodied mind/body practices in responding compassionately and with courage to the complex ecological challenges of our time.

III Course Format

This is a seminar course. There will be no formal lecturing. Both the students and the professor will be engaged in research projects throughout the term, and seminars will be used as an opportunity to share what we are learning in our research and to trouble-shoot research obstacles, in addition to discussing assigned podcasts and readings. There is a series of research assignments set for this course, each of which will build on previous assignments. You will also be expected to write short responses to the podcasts and readings for 8 classes of material. All students are expected to contribute to class discussion and give a pecha kucha presentation once during the term.

IV Learning outcomes

By the end of this class, students should be able to:

- Characterize the field of environmental politics/ecopolitics, including major topics, fields of research, and issues of contention.
- Critically analyze a variety of environmental political positions using Dryzek's approach to discourse analysis as well as other approaches introduced through course readings.
- Plan and execute a research project that includes preparing a pecha kucha presentation, a series
 of short written assignments and a final course essay.
- Undertake constructive peer reviews of the research, presentations and writing of fellow graduate students.

V Texts

There is one required text for the course, John Dryzek's (2022) *The Politics of the Earth*, Fourth Edition. Oxford University Press (\$64.99). It is available for purchase at the Carleton Bookstore or can be ordered online. The remaining readings can be found through on-line journals available through Carleton's library.

VI Evaluation

Participation	10%
Podcast/Reading/Video responses	20%
First two research assignments and peer review	30% (see table below)
Final paper	30%
Presentation	10%

All course requirements must be completed to receive a passing grade. Participation in at least 50% of classes is required to receive a passing grade.

VII Assignments

Research assignments:

Assignment	Due date	% of final grade
1) Description of field of research and positing of a research question. Why is this question important? This should include background on your case, including a (selective) literature review and (if relevant) a discussion of the role of key actors (government, industry, civil society) on the issue. (max. 1500 words via Brightspace)	Sept. 23, 11pm	10%
2) Refined research question, along with a discussion of a theoretical approach (what to examine and why? What have others employed this approach to study and with what results? What are the challenges associated with this approach?) (max. 1500 words via Brightspace)	Oct 7, 11pm	10%
3) First complete draft of essay (3000-4000 words, submitted to me and your peer reviewers via Brightspace)	Nov 18, 11pm	-2%/day if not completed on time
4) Reviews of two other students' essays (min 500 words plus comments in the margins, shared via Brightspace)	Nov 26, 11:30am	10%
5) Final draft of essays due (3000- 5000 words via Brightspace).	Dec 2, 11pm	30%

Participation: Half of your participation grade will be based on attendance in class. (Please let the instructor know if you will be missing a class. You are allowed to miss one class without penalty.) The other half of your participation grade is based on the quality of your contributions to class discussions, and your ability to interact with your fellow classmates in a respectful manner. Students will occasionally be asked to work in small groups during class time.

Podcast/reading/video responses:

<u>Before</u> each class for 8 of the 12 classes, each student should submit a short (300-500 words, excluding references) response to at least three of the resources (assigned podcasts, videos, or readings) to the course Brightspace site. This short piece should present your own analysis and insights: a) in response to an issue raised by authors, films and/or podcast guests; b) by relating the readings or podcasts to the topic you are researching for the course; c) by picking a representative quote and critiquing it in reference to the rest of that class's material; and/or d) raising questions for further discussion. I also expect at least some of your responses to include critical analysis of the way

environmental issues are framed by authors or podcasts guests drawing on Dryzek's discourse approach by, for example, situating what is said in relation to one or more of his environmental discourses, and by drawing attention to underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions, as well as key metaphors and rhetorical devices (see the first chapter of the text). The primary purpose for reading responses is to kick-start discussions and to identify issues that need further elaboration. These responses will be seen by your peers (though grades will not be).

These responses should meaningfully incorporate references to each of the required readings, podcasts or videos for that class, but don't have to systematically analyze all required resources, nor do they need to touch on the optional resources (though they may). Come prepared to share your response in class, and to contribute to discussions in all classes you attend based on the readings and podcasts scheduled for that class. Students are responsible for submitting a total of 8 responses. Podcast/reading/video responses will not be accepted after the start of class unless supported by suitable documentation. If students submit more than 8 responses, I will count the top 8 grades.

Presentation:

At some point during the term, each student will do a pecha kucha presentation on their research, discussing their main research questions, and work completed to date, including preliminary arguments and conclusions. About half of the presentation should focus on your chosen theoretical approach. Presentation dates will be assigned by the instructor based on the topic students are working on. Presentations will be done in a pecha kucha format (20 slides, 20 seconds each, for a total presentation time of 6 min and 40 seconds (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/PechaKucha). Rehearse well especially if this is your first time presenting using this format! There are lots of tips available online (e.g. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vIDV0gCbeXA). Presenters should use slides (e.g. PowerPoint or Prezi) and post them to the course Brightspace site before the presentation. Grading will be based on both content and style. Two classes prior to your presentation, and in consultation with the instructor, you are expected to select a journal article that the whole class will read for the date of your presentation. The article should speak to the theoretical approach you are taking to your topic and does not need to be focused on the same substantive issue you are researching. Your presentation should refer to this article (in addition to other references) and discuss how the approach taken by the article's author(s) relates to your own work. Articles selected should be 10 to 20 pages long and come from a journal that is accessible on-line through the Carleton library, so that the link can be posted on the course Brightspace site. After each presentation, there will be up to fifteen minutes available for questions and general discussion on both the presentation and the article.

Policy on Late Assignments:

Podcast/reading/video responses will not be accepted after the beginning of the class that they are due unless you can provide suitable documentation. For research assignments (with the exception of the first essay draft and peer review), late work will be accepted up to one day late with a 5% penalty/day on that assignment (up to a max 15% penalty). Assignments handed in late may not receive any written feedback from me, but only a grade. Please do not submit your first draft of the essay or the peer review late, as this will also affect the ability of your classmates to complete their work on time. Lateness penalties for these two assignments are 2%/day off your final course grade.

Temagami/N'Dakimenan Colloquium Field Trip:

There is an optional field trip that students in this class are invited to participate in. From Thursday morning on Sept 25th, to Sunday evening of September 28th, a group of Carleton students (mostly from PSCI 5810, 4206 and 5100) will join contingents from Trent U, Nipissing U, York U, and U of T

at Camp Wanapitei on the shores of Lake Temagami in Northern Ontario, on the traditional territory of the Teme Augama Anishinaabe (TAA) known as n'Dakimenan. Students will join Indigenous knowledge keepers and TAA leaders, alongside trip leaders from Camp Wanapitei, to share and enjoy n'Dakimenan. Participants will learn about the long-standing relationship between the TAA, the land and their governance practices. They will also learn from TAA experiences with settler neighbours in the context of colonialism, resource extraction, tourism as well as efforts to develop a shared land ethic. Student-centered learning will take place through presentations, group work, on medicine walks, by sacred fires, and in canoes.

Registration costs \$235+tax for the four days. Transportation is covered by the Carleton University Experiential Learning Fund (and we are looking for volunteer drivers who will have their vehicle expenses paid). Spaces are limited. Registration links will be sent to all those who express interest (once finalized). Your spot won't be reserved until you have registered and paid. Limited subsidies for this trip (up to \$120/student) are also available, while funds last. Students in financial need should write a separate letter requesting such a subsidy to Prof. Andree and Prof. Maracle. Departure from Carleton will be at 9am on Thursday Sept. 25, with a smaller contingent leaving at 11:30am sharp.

Course Policy on Generative Al

Generative Artificial Intelligence tools (such as ChatGPT, Jasper, GPT, Google's Bard, Bing AI, etc.) are powerful new tools that can be helpful to social science researchers. However, the quality and validity of outputs from these tools varies considerably. Further, students in this course are being trained, in part, to think critically, and to strengthen their own writing skills.

For this course, students are expected to do their own research and write the entirety of their own assignments. Generative AI can be used as a guide to new topics and bodies of literature. Students may use Generative AI tools to better understand topics at a general level, and to help them identify sources they may not have known about, much as one might use Wikipedia. As with Wikipedia, the validity of which also varies, text written by Generative AI tools should not be copied into a student's assignment, or even quoted from directly. Instead, students should find and work from original primary or secondary sources, as appropriate, to inform their papers, and then cite those sources in their list of references cited.

If Generative AI tools are used as aids in the research process for any course assignment, students must include, in an attachment alongside the relevant assignment submission, a word or pdf document that includes a statement about how they used generative AI, along with copies of all texts generated by these tools that informed their research process.

I reserve the right to ask students to submit evidence of their own research (e.g. rough notes, screenshots of reference sources, etc.) and to participate in an oral defense of any submitted assignment.

VIII Course schedule

Class 1: Sept 3: Introduction

Required: Podcasts: Ecopolitics series 1, episodes 1 (Introduction) and 2 (James Meadowcroft)

Class 2: Sept 10: Foundational concepts and debates; discourse analysis Required:

- Dryzek, John. 2013. *The Politics of the Earth.* Part I (Introduction) and Part II (Global Limits and their Denial) p.1-72

- Podcasts: Season1, episode 4 (Environmental Racism and Justice in Canada) and Ecopolitics series 4, episode 8 (mindful approaches to ecopolitics)
- Video: Six miles deep / Six milles à l'horizon (2010) written and directed by Sara Roque; produced by Lea Marin. National Film Board of Canada https://www.nfb.ca/film/six miles deep/

Optional:

- Ecopolitics series 1, episode 5 (environmental political history in Canada)
- Video: The PRC Forum: Julian Simon. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uLQoa FA zo

Class 3: Sept 17: Environmental governance and politics; Introduction to Pecha Kucha format Required:

- Dryzek, John. The Politics of the Earth. Part III p.73-122 (only Administrative Rationalism and Democratic Pragmatism,)
- Podcasts: Season 3, episode 3 (How do we confront capitalism's excesses? Between revolution and reform)
- Winfield, Mark and Douglas Macdonald. 2020. "Federalism and Canadian Climate Change Policy." in *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness, and Legitimacy*, Fourth Edition. University of Toronto Press. Ed. Herman Bakvis, Grace Skogstad.

Optional:

- Podcast: Ecopolitics series 2, episode 10 (Dairy cows, climate change and settler colonialism: Insights from Aotearoa/New Zealand)
- Podcast: Ecopolitics series 1, episode 6 (federalism)

Class 4: Sept 24: Economic rationalism and neoliberalism

First Research Assignment due

Presentations begin

Required:

- Dryzek, John. *The Politics of the Earth.* p.123-146 (Economic rationalism)
- Podcast: Ecopolitics Season 1, episodes 11 (Environmental political economy) and episode 13 (corporate sustainability in Canada)
- Additional readings to be assigned by presenters (consult Brightspace)

Optional:

- Ecopolitics podcast and Season 1, episode 14 (corporate social responsibility)

Class 5: Oct 1: Global ecopolitics

Required:

Dryzek, John. *The Politics of the Earth.* p.147-186 (sustainable development and ecological modernization)

- Video: 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment <u>http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mJUk70tfELA</u>
- Podcasts: Ecopolitics series 4, episodes 5 and 7 (the environment/growth debate)
- Additional readings to be assigned by presenters (consult Brightspace)

Optional:

- Simpson, Leanne. 2008. Looking after Gdoo-naaganinaa: Precolonial Nishnaabeg Diplomatic and Treaty Relationships. *Wicazo Sa Review* 23 (2)2: 29-42

Class 6: Oct 8: Indigenous treaty relations and the environment

Second Research Assignment due.

Required:

- Podcasts: Ecopolitics season 2, episode 8 (Environmental Justice and the Anthropocene) and season 2, episode 9 (Indigenous environmental rights: the Maya of Belize)
- Additional readings to be assigned by presenters (consult Brightspace)

Optional:

- Podcasts: Ecopolitics series 1, episode 8 (Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and Politics) and 10 (treaty relations)
- Videos: 1) Stiegman, Martha. In Defense of our Treaties. National Film Board (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AeIOZMtcolo);
- 2) Stiegman, Martha and Sherry Pictou. We Story the Land. V Tape. (http://westorytheland.ca/)

Class 7: Oct 15: International relations of the environment Required:

- Podcasts: Ecopolitics series 2, episodes 6 (great power politics and the environment) and series 2, episode 7 (multilateral agreements and institutions)
- Additional readings to be assigned by presenters (consult Brightspace)

Oct 20-24: Reading week

Class 8: Oct 29: Ecological democracy. Required:

- Dryzek, John. *The Politics of the Earth.* p.187-248 (Radicalism)
- Podcast: Ecopolitics series 1, episode 9 (ecofeminism and queer ecologies) and Series 4, episode 4 (geoengineering)
- Additional readings to be assigned by presenters (consult Brightspace)

Optional:

- Video: Vandana Shiva. 2014. Decolonize the mind. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-rV0soljRQk
- Video: Arne Naess and the Deep Ecology Movement (short version). 2015.
 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GJz2zVW9WHM

Class 9: Nov 5: North-South environmental relations Required:

- Podcast: Ecopolitics series 2, episode 4 (eco-colonialism and environmental justice) and season 3, episode 5 (How can we confront the environmental challenges associated with Canadian mining?)
- Additional readings to be assigned by presenters (consult Brightspace)

Optional:

- Ecopolitics podcast season 2, episode 13 (Resources, population, and the global environment: a case study in water)

Class 10: Nov 12: Class cancelled. Peter at a conference. Time to work on your essays!

Class 11 Nov 19: Politics of the Anthropocene Draft Essays due.

Required:

- Dryzek, John. The Politics of the Earth. p.249-260 (Encountering the Anthropocene) and
- Podcast: Series 4, episode 6 (Becoming and ecopolitical researcher)

- Please find and read the Peer Review guidelines for an academic journal of your choice.
- Additional readings to be assigned by presenters (consult Brightspace)

Class 12: Nov 26: Eco-citizenship Peer reviews of two other students' essays due. Required:

- Podcasts: Ecopolitics Season 3 episode 1 (What does it mean to be an Eco-citizen?) and another episode of your choice not previously discussed in a written response.
- Readings to be determined by presenters. Consult Brightspace

Class 13: Dec 3: Transitioning to a low carbon economy Final essays due.

Required:

- Podcasts: Ecopolitics Season 3, episode 4 (What does a just transition really entail?) and another ecopolitics podcast episode of your choice not previously discussed in a written response.
- Readings to be determined by presenters. Consult Brightspace

Political Science Course Outline Appendix

REQUESTS FOR ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Student Mental Health

As a university student, you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus):

https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/

Carleton Resources:

Mental Health and Wellbeing: https://carleton.ca/wellness/ Health & Counselling Services: https://carleton.ca/health/

Paul Menton Centre: https://carleton.ca/pmc/

Academic Advising Centre (AAC): https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/

Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS):

https://carleton.ca/csas/

Equity & Inclusivity Communities: https://carleton.ca/equity/

Off Campus Resources:

Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-

306-5550, https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/

Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991,

http://www.crisisline.ca/

Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389,

https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-

services/

ood2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, https://good2talk.ca/

The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: https://walkincounselling.com

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating

circumstances: Students must contact the instructor(s) of their absence or inability to complete the academic deliverable within the predetermined timeframe due to medical or other extenuating circumstances. For a range of medical or other extenuating circumstances, students may use the online self-declaration form and where appropriate, the use of medical documentation. This policy regards the accommodation of extenuating circumstances for both short-term and long-term periods and extends to all students enrolled at Carleton University.

Students should also consult the <u>Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations</u> for more information. Detailed information about the procedure for requesting academic consideration can be found <u>here</u>.

Pregnancy: Contact your Instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, please contact Equity and Inclusive Communities (EIC)

at equity@carleton.ca or by calling (613) 520-5622 to speak to an Equity Advisor.

Religious obligation: Contact your Instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details click here.

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, please request your accommodations for this course through the Ventus Student Portal at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. For final exams, the deadlines to request accommodations are published in Calendars. the University Academic After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally scheduled exam (if applicable).

Survivors of Sexual Violence: As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working, and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and its survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit:

https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services.

Accommodation for Student Activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

PETITIONS TO DEFER

Students unable to write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control may apply within **three** working days to the Registrar's Office for permission to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully supported by the appropriate documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered. See Undergraduate Calendar, Article 4.3

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s). Permissibility of submitting substantially the same piece of work more than once for academic credit. If group or collaborative work is expected or allowed, provide a clear and specific description of how and to what extent you consider collaboration to be acceptable or appropriate, especially in the completion of written assignments.

WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY

Please reference the <u>Academic Calendar</u> for each term's official withdrawal dates

OFFICIAL FINAL EXAMINATION PERIOD

Please reference the <u>Academic Calendar</u> for each terms Official Exam Period (may include evenings & Saturdays or Sundays)

For more information on the important dates and deadlines of the academic year, consult the Carleton Calendar.

GRADING SYSTEM

The grading system is described in the Undergraduate Calendar section 5.4.

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's <u>Academic Integrity Policy</u>.

PLAGIARISM

The University Senate defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This can include:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs."

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

RESOURCES (613-520-2600, phone ext.)

Department of Political Science (2777)	B640 Loeb
Registrar's Office (3500)	300 Tory
Centre for Student Academic Success (3822)	4 th floor Library
Academic Advising Centre (7850)	302 Tory
Paul Menton Centre (6608)	501 Nideyinàn
Career Services (6611)	401 Tory