

# BCPSA 2017 Program

British Columbia Political Science Association  
Annual Conference and Articulation Meeting



Douglas College, New Westminster Campus  
(QayQayt First Nation Traditional Territory)

**May 4 - 5, 2017**

## Planning your visit

**How to get here:** Douglas College is located at 700 Royal Avenue, New Westminster and is one block away (about a 7-minute walk, uphill) from the New Westminster Sky Train Station (<https://goo.gl/maps/gJT5oJGroNK2> ). The 8th Street entrance is the closest to the Sky Train. A campus map and parking details may be found here <https://www.douglascollege.ca/about-douglas/campus...>

**Where to stay:** Douglas College (New Westminster campus) is easily accessible from downtown Vancouver (25-minutes by Sky Train). If you'd like to stay in New Westminster, the Inn at The Quay offers conference delegates special room rates (\$145 Queen; \$155 King; \$165 Double). The hotel is a short walk from the College and is located along the Fraser River and next to the New West Quay where you'll find excellent places to eat and drink. <http://www.innatwestminsterquay.com/>

**What to do:** Visit 'Tourism New Westminster' <http://www.tourismnewwestminster.com/> where you'll discover the city's historical streets and modern culture and the many great places to eat and visit. Informal socials will be held at HOPS pub - <https://goo.gl/maps/hCoHmyJ1uXU2>.

## Legend

<b>Articulation</b>	<b>Workshops/Roundtables</b>
<b>Breaks and Food Service</b>	<b>Panels</b>

## Thursday May 04 - Morning

8:30 am - 4:00 pm	Registration & Information	Aboriginal Gathering Place, Lobby
8:30 am - 9:15 am	Coffee/tea/pastries	Aboriginal Gathering Place
8:30 am - 4:00 pm	Poster Display	Aboriginal Gathering Place
8:30 am - 4:00 pm	Publishers' Displays	Room 4307
8:30 am - 5:30 pm	Side rooms open for all to use	Rooms 4308 & 4312
9:15 - 10:45 am	Panel 1A: Democracy & Political Parties	Room 4306
Chair/Discussant: Alex Netherton (VIU) Email: Alexander.Netherton@viu.ca		
Spencer McKay (UBC): Is Direct Democracy a Misnomer? Representative Claims in Popular Voices		
Peter Prontzos (DC): Plan B: A Better World is Possible		
Ariel Taylor (UoV): Democratising CSR? Conflict, Governance, and NGOs in Peru's Mining Sector		
9:15 - 10:45 am	Panel 1B: Ideology, Discourse & Movements	Room 4310
Chair/Discussant: Paul Rowe (TWU) Email: Paul.Rowe@twu.ca		
Derek Cook (TRU): Right-Wing Populism		
Boris DeWiel (UNBC): Affective Tribalism: from Hitler to Trump		
R.P. Kay: Breaking the Big Stick: US imperialism, Cuban Resistance & the Rise of Bolivarianism		
Can Zhao (UoV): Birds in a Cage: Public Interest Lawyers' Activism and Political Opportunity in S. Korea, Taiwan, & China		
10:45 - 11:00 am	Refreshment Break	Aboriginal Gathering Place
11:00 am - 12:30 pm	Panel 2A: Indigenous Politics and Governance	Room 4306
Chair/Discussant: Kevin Ginnell (DC) Email: ginnellk@douglascollege.ca		
Darren Bohle (University of Alberta): Agonistic Retrospection and the TRC of Canada		
Dylan Thiessen (University of Calgary): Political Institutions, Settler States, and Indigenous Reconciliation		
11:00 am - 12:30 pm	Workshop (Gender Sensitive Parliaments)	Room 4310
Jeanette Ashe (DC) and Fiona MacDonald (UoFV)		

## Thursday May 04 - Afternoon

12:30 - 2:00 pm	Territorial Recognition; Dean's Welcome; Catered Lunch	Aboriginal Gathering Place
1:00 - 2:00 pm	AGM	Aboriginal Gathering Place
2:00 - 3:30 pm	Panel 3A (Immigration and Security Policy)	Room 4306
<p>Chair/Discussant: Andy Heard (SFU) Email: <a href="mailto:ahheard@sfu.ca">ahheard@sfu.ca</a>          Marin Ingalsie Beck (Queen's): Neoliberalism, Race, Gender: Implications for Immigrant &amp; Refugee Women          Kathleen Fryer: Canadian Food Security: 150 and Beyond          Joel Fetzer (Pepperdine): Presidents, Prime Ministers, &amp; Immigration Policy in the United States &amp; Canada</p>		
2:00 - 3:30 pm	Panel 3B (Political Philosophy and Theory)	Room 4310
<p>Chair/Discussant: Fiona MacDonald (UFV) Email: <a href="mailto:Fiona.MacDonald@ufv.ca">Fiona.MacDonald@ufv.ca</a>          Cara Camcastle (Kwantlen): Routhier's Political Philosophy and Civic Nationalism in Canada          Darin Nesbitt (DC): John Stuart Mill, Rights, and Assisted Death Policy          David Semaan (UoFV): John Rawls</p>		
3:30 - 3:45 pm	Refreshment Break	Aboriginal Gathering Place
3:45 - 5:15 pm	Panel 4A (Canadian Culture and Identity)	Room 4306
<p>Chair/Discussant: Jason Morris (UNBC) Email: <a href="mailto:Jason.Morris@unbc.ca">Jason.Morris@unbc.ca</a>          Gregory Millard (Kwantlen): The Tragically Hip and Canadian Nationalism          Patrick Smith: (SFU): Reconstructing Canada's Identity. From Rural to Urban: Is There a Role for Constitutional Change?</p>		
3:45 - 5:15 pm	Panel 4B (Elections and Political Socialization)	Room 4310
<p>Chair/Discussant: Shaun Tyakoff (DC) Email: <a href="mailto:tyakoffs@douglascollege.ca">tyakoffs@douglascollege.ca</a>          Clare McGovern (SFU): Nick Poullos (SFU), &amp; Kaija Belfry Munroe (Quest): Elections as Teaching Tools          Sarah Lachance (UBC): The Saliency of Ethnic and Economic Polarization: Long-Term Trends and Electoral Dynamics          Alex Netherton (VIU): Experiential Knowledge &amp; Undergraduate Applied Research, Studying Youth &amp; Politics at VIU</p>		
5:30 - 7:30 pm	Reception (appetizers & cash bar)	Art Gallery & Theatre Foyer
7:30 pm - ?	Unorganized gathering for more merriment	HOPS Pub (48-8th Street)

## Friday May 05

8:30 am - 9:15 am	Coffee/tea/pastries	Aboriginal Gathering Place
8:30 am - 4:00 pm	Poster Display	Aboriginal Gathering Place
8:30 am - 4:00 pm	Publishers' Displays	Room 4307
8:30 am - 5:30 pm	Side rooms open for all to use	Rooms 4308 & 4312
9:15 - 10:45 am	Panel 5A (Political Parties and Public Policy)	Room 4306
Chair/Discussant: Stephen Phillips (Langara) Email: sphillips@langara.ca		
Paul Rowe (TWU): The Conservatives, the Liberals, and the Curious Case of Religious Freedom Policy.		
Linda Elmore (OC): The Promise and Peril of Creating 'Good Green Jobs' in Canada and BC.		
C. Avendano & A. Hira (SFU): The Potential Contribution of Big Data: A Case Study of Vancouver Housing Trends		
9:15 - 10:45 am	Panel 5B (International and Global Politics)	Room 4310
Chair/Discussant: Kevin Ginnell (DC) Email: ginnellk@douglascollege.ca		
Jennifer Cooper (SFU): Streams of Oil & Barrels of Conflict: An MSF Analysis of Canadian Energy Policy		
Ipek Eren Vural (Middle East Technical University): Financialisation in Health Care		
Mark Machacek (SFU): Global Corporate 'Partnerships' & the 'New Constitutionalism' of the United Nations		
10:45 am - 11:00 am	Refreshment Break	Aboriginal Gathering Place
11:00 am - 12:30 pm	Rountable 1: BC Election	Room 4306
Jeanette Ashe (DC); Kevin Ginnell (DC); & Paddy Smith (SFU)		
11:00 am - 12:30 pm	Rountable 2: Teaching Political Science	Room 4310
Clare McGovern (SFU); Peter Prontzos (DC); & Shaun Tyakoff (DC)		
12:30 - 2:00 pm	Lunch and Guest Speaker	Aboriginal Gathering Place
Marjorie Griffin Cohen (SFU): Climate Change and Gender in Rich Countries		
2:00 - 3:30 pm	Articulation Meeting A	Aboriginal Gathering Place
3:30 - 3:45 pm	Refreshment Break	Aboriginal Gathering Place
3:45 - 5:00 pm	Articulation Meeting B	Aboriginal Gathering Place

## BCPSA 2017 Presenters

**Christian Avendano** (SFU, cavendan@sfu.ca) & **Andy Hira** (SFU, ahira@sfu.ca)

***The Potential Contribution of Big Data: A Case Study of Vancouver Housing Trends***

Innovations in Big Data collection and analysis can be used to gain new insights into human behaviour and help guide public policy. Using Hilbert's conceptual model of Big Data analysis, policymakers can analyze how human and technological innovations in measurement and analysis help monitor and examine human behaviour, and how the data analysis can then be used to inform choices on policy instruments. It is important that the data that is used helps policymakers and researchers create causal theories rather than relying on the data to speak for itself, as is the current practice. While Big Data can help us analyze a large variety, velocity, and, volume of the data, there are legitimate concerns around privacy. In this paper, we test out the use of Big Data to create new causal insights around housing affordability in Vancouver, where increased housing costs are creating barriers to affordability. Big data allows us to identify global trends in the housing market and apply them within different localities. The paper concludes that for Big Data to better inform policy, there needs to be a harmonization between the government's ability to analyze the data; the types of data gathered; and the policies chosen to create affordability. Policies from government should aim to create new forms of data while analyzing the data through different levels of aggregation across multiple localities. The importance of investments in training and ways of measuring data can not be underestimated.

**Marin Ingalise Beck**, Queen's University, 13mb12@queensu.ca

***Neoliberalism, Race, Gender and Everyday Life: Implications for Immigrant Women's Service Organizations and Immigrant & Refugee Women in Canada***

Using a theoretical lens grounded in feminist research praxis, this project examines the interplay between neoliberalism, gender, race, class, and citizenship in community-based immigrant and refugee women's service organizations in Canada. While there has been much gender-based analysis of Canada's federal immigration programs and policies there has been relatively little study on the role of immigrant service organizations in addressing needs and experiences according to gender, as well as the gendered effects of such services. This project seeks to understand the effects of neoliberalism in the construction and delivery of gender-specific immigrant services for women by conducting an in-depth study of four organizations, based in Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, and Montréal. This project seeks to understand how the principles of neoliberalism have become manifest within immigrant women's service organizations and how racialized, gendered, and classed conceptualizations of "the immigrant woman" are deepened and/or intensified by neoliberal logic. Analysis of organizational documents will be examined to reveal how neoliberal norms become unknowingly (re)created in organizational spaces and in the everyday lives of immigrant and refugee women. It is the "naturalness" of these modalities of power that I am interested in identifying, analyzing, and critiquing. The objective of this project is to advance critical perspectives on the nature of gender-specific services and programs in order to interrogate taken-for-granted assumptions that underpin predominant understandings of immigrant women, their needs, issues, and experiences. This study aims to create space for the development of new policies, programs, and ways of thinking that will disrupt insidious aspects of neoliberalism that narrow newcomers' understandings of self, gender, family, work, and citizenship.

**Darren Bohle**, University of Alberta, darrenbohle@gmail.com

***Agonistic Retrospection and the TRC of Canada***

Proponents of agonistic democracy praise storytelling for its capacity to unsettle hegemonic narratives, while insisting such counter-narratives do not achieve emancipation, but disclose perpetual contest as a chief characteristic of democracy. By contrast, Dana Villa and Alexander Hirsch depict agonism as a lament for the lost conditions of democratic activity or as the memorialization of this loss, rather than as the realization of contest or the disclosure of an immanent respect between adversaries. In response to these views, this article asks what lessons might be learned from the retrospection organized by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (the TRC). The telling of counter-hegemonic stories by residential school survivors to and through the TRC illustrates a practice of agonistic retrospection

which, although in tension with the circumscription of contest through production of a final narrative, represents an engagement in democratic struggle rather than only an account of its loss.

**Cara Camcastle**, Kwantlen, Cara.Camcastle@kpu.ca

***Routhier's Political Philosophy & Civic Nationalism in Canada***

Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Quebec, Honourable Adolphe Basil Routhier, is recognized as the person who wrote lyrics of the Canadian national anthem in 1880 O Canada, nearly 150 years ago, when the idea of Canada as an independent nation was only beginning to emerge. Routhier also made other important contributions to Canadian political thought in his essays and speeches that have been largely overlooked by political scientists. This paper will show how Routhier's political philosophy reveals a civic republican understanding of politics in contrast to the liberal individualism of many of his political opponents, such as Liberal Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier. Routhier's support for division of power in the federation, his defence of patriotism and civic nationalism, and insistence on civic virtue through education, supported fundamentally republican ideals. The strand of civic republicanism in Canadian political thought continues today, such as in the writings of Charles Taylor and his communitarian critique of liberal theory's understanding of the self.

**Marjorie Griffin Cohen**, Guest Speaker, SFU

***Climate Change and Gender in Rich Countries***

At the June 2016 of the Canadian Economics Association, the Progressive Economics Forum awarded Political Science and Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies Professor Emerita Marjorie Griffin Cohen the 2016 John Galbraith Prize in Economics. As part of receiving the award, Cohen also gave a special lecture at the meeting: "Structural Amnesia: The Appalling Masculinity of Economic Analysis." The Galbraith Prize is awarded based on a "demonstrated contribution combining economic analysis with a commitment to social justice." Cohen, who retired from Simon Fraser University in September 2015, has written extensively on such topics as the Canadian economy, energy policy, labour policy, women's issues and the environment and—amidst her breadth of academic and public service—she was instrumental in establishing the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

**Derek Cook**, TRU, Dcook@tru.ca

***Right Wing Populism***

My approach to an understanding of the attraction of right-wing populism examines the interplay between the facilitation of the use of ego defense mechanisms by an ideology and the resulting attraction of that ideology/belief system for an individual in difficult socio-economic circumstances. The ways in which belief systems may encourage the use defense mechanisms such as projection, repression and regression are discussed with reference particular right-wing populist ideologies.

**Jennifer Cooper**, Simon Fraser University, jlc29@sfu.ca

***Streams of Oil and Barrels of Conflict: An MSF Analysis of Canadian Energy Policy since the Collapse of the National Energy Program***

Canadian policy on protecting the environment has shifted under the Trudeau government, in line with signing onto the Paris Climate Accord was ratified in October 2016, breaking with the previous governments' passivity towards climate change. However, the new Government's stance appears muddled. For example, though Kinder Morgan's Keystone expansion was approved, Enbridge's Northern Gateway Pipeline was rejected. This policy change has shown that the Trudeau government aims for a more environmental/ economic balanced approach. In this paper, I ask how this shift happened? To answer this question, I analyse Canadian energy policy from 1980 to 2015 using John Kingdon's multiple streams framework (MSF) or garbage can model. This framework will allow me to demonstrate why previous governments have prioritised economic growth over environmental protectionist policy since the collapse of the National Energy Program (NEP). I find there are two competing dialogues in Canadian energy policy: neoliberalism and securitisation. During the time-period analysed, neoliberalism has won over securitisation because economic growth



was prioritised by stakeholders. As science has become more concrete and irrefutable about the effects of anthropogenic climate disruption, new stakeholders have found their voice in the energy policy debate.

**Boris DeWiel**, University of Northern British Columbia, boris.dewiel@unbc.ca

***Affective Tribalism: From Hitler to Trump***

This paper presents an abductive argument to help explain the persistence of inter-group antagonisms in politics. An abductive argument uses a hypothetical or unobserved phenomenon to explain an observed phenomenon. For example, if we observe it is wet outside, we may abductively theorize that it had rained. The observed phenomenon that this paper seeks to explain is that politics seems persistently to include strong emotional antagonisms based on perceived group differences of variable sorts. The emotions seem more constant, and therefore more basic, than the nature of the group orderings. The proposed explanation is that our evolutionary history has given us a binary clustering of friend-enemy emotions that originally served to mobilize our ancestors for tribal defense. These clusters of emotions are named in the paper as love-trust versus hate-fear. These emotions cause us to form friend-groups whom we love and trust, and correspondingly to hate and fear those defined as other than ourselves. These emotional propensities are deeply embedded in human nature. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is used as a case study in the affects of tribalism and the theory is used to help explain both the Trump election and the strength of the emotional reactions to it.

**Linda Elmore**, Okanagan College, LElmore@okanagan.bc.ca

***The Promise and Peril of Creating 'Good Green Jobs' in Canada and BC***

Could encouraging the development of more "good, green jobs" be a useful political strategy to build growth and Canada's relationships with emerging markets? Today, Canada is uniformly deemed to be falling behind in its efforts to improve its economic relations with the fast-growing emerging markets in Asia. Meanwhile at home, the country is slow to emerge from the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis with a lingering Great Recession characterized by rising inequality and chronically high unemployment rates (or a jobs-skills mismatch, for some). Within this context, this paper examines the potential and the peril of developing "good, green jobs" in a variety of economic sectors. In the paper, various Green Jobs plans and promises unveiled by both the federal and BC provincial government are critically evaluated, prior to exploring the vast potential of new green jobs to grow the economy, build human capital, intensify engagement with Asian partners possessing a voracious appetite for energy, all the while enhancing Canada's place in a global order tilting toward the East.

**Joel Fetzer**, Pepperdine University, joel.fetzer@pepperdine.edu

***Presidents, Prime Ministers, and Immigration Policy in the United States and Canada***

Despite the crucial importance of chief executives for the immigration policy of North America, no book seems to exist comparing the migration-related decision-making of American presidents and Canadian prime ministers. To help fill this gap in the literature, this essay outlines what such a book manuscript would look like and conducts a preliminary, exploratory analysis of eight key cases that either confirm or deviate from the partisanship hypothesis. In particular, this paper will examine the roots of immigration policy by Libertarian Liberals such as Lyndon Johnson and Pierre Trudeau, Restrictionist Conservatives such as Chester Arthur and John Macdonald, the Libertarian Conservatives Ronald Reagan and John Diefenbaker, and the Restrictionist Liberals Bill Clinton and William Lyon Mackenzie King. Based on the relevant secondary literature and archival work at the National Archives and Library and Archives Canada, the study finds that possible causes include partisanship, electoral self-interest, ethnicity/national origin, class, war, contact with non-European communities or residence abroad during one's youth, religious practice, racial ideology, state of the economy, and the proportion of immigrants in the population. In the eventual book, two additional quantitative chapters will test these various hypotheses.

**Kathleen Fryer**, k.shadow@telus.net

***Canadian Food Security: 150 and Beyond***



Food security lies at the heart of our existence. The Food and Agriculture Organization defines food security as “when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.”<sup>1</sup> In 1921 agriculture was the single most common occupation for Canadians, accounting for 33% of jobs and a third of the population lived on farms. Today, that number in both categories is less than 2%.<sup>2</sup> Despite Canada being the 8th largest producer of cereals and 10th largest producer of meat, only 7% of Canada’s land is suitable for agricultural production.<sup>3</sup> By 2050 Canada is expected to be one of the few countries that continues to produce more food than it consumes. At Canada’s 150th birthday it is important to take stock of Canada’s future food security.

**Sarah Lachance**, University of British Columbia, s.lachance@alumni.ubc.ca

***THE SALIENCE OF ETHNIC CLEAVAGES AND ECONOMIC POLARIZATION: LONG TERM TRENDS AND ELECTORAL DYNAMICS***

The resurgence of nationalist politics and fluctuations in party polarization among liberal democracies in the last decades bear consequences for political representation in the legislatures. The coinciding rise in the salience of ethnic issues (Stoll, 2010: 456) and decrease in Left-Right economic polarization in Europe since 1945 (Johnston, Nuesser & Bodet, 2014) begs the question: are these two phenomena related? Lipset and Rokkan (1967) argue that the presence of national minorities is associated with party systems that are less polarized on the Left-Right economic dimension. However, a limitation of the Lipset & Rokkan scholarship is that it treats cleavages as static forces that can only explain cross-national variation in party system formation. The paper I will present fills this gap by examining covariation between the strength of the ethnic cleavage and polarization on the economic dimension across time and across countries. In order to test the hypothesis that there is a negative relationship between the strength of the ethnic cleavage and economic polarization, I use a hierarchical linear model and data from the Comparative Manifesto Project that cover legislative elections in liberal multinational countries from 1945 to 2015. The main conclusion is that the strength of ethnic cleavages has a negative effect on economic polarization at the election level, but not at the country level.

**R. P. Kay**, rp kaypost@gmail.com

***Breaking the Big Stick: US Imperialism, Cuban Resistance and the Rise of Bolivarianism in the Gulf-Caribbean Shatterbelt***

The strategic importance of 'marcher' and 'semiperipheral' states allied to external powers in managing conflict, stabilization and development in geopolitical shatterbelts has been a recurrent feature of geopolitics since the Reconquista of Muslim Spain and Portugal in the thirteenth century. This paper seeks to explore the geopolitical dynamics of the Gulf-Caribbean, a region that has exhibited the characteristics of a shatterbelt since the fifteenth century, focusing on the extraordinary influence of Cuba since the 1950s, where the failure of the fragile Fulgencio Batista government to secure US assistance in its transition towards a peripheral Fordist regime of accumulation triggered a revolution that would reshape global politics. Revolutionary Cuba forged alliances first with the Soviet bloc and then, after the end of the Cold War, with the Latin American 'Bolivarian New Left' pioneered by Panama's President Omar Torrijos and his principal follower, Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez. Although Havana's relentless drive to build a counter-hegemonic bloc to challenge US imperialism in the Gulf Caribbean appeared to weaken towards the end of President Barack Obama's presidency, the US drive to 'Make America Great Again' under President Trump suggests that the Bolivarian Alliance may not be a spent force after all.

**Mark Machacek**, Simon Fraser University, mmachace@sfu.ca

***Global Corporate 'Partnerships' and the 'New Constitutionalism' of the United Nations: The UNHCR case study and a new research agenda***

The last two decades have witnessed a paradigm shift across the United Nations system – from a contentious relationship with multinational corporations to embracing big business as 'partners' in humanitarianism, development and global governance. Corporate partnerships have since become embedded, granting influential for-profit actors

access to agenda-setting and decision-making processes. Consequently, debates are emerging on the implications these partnerships have on the UN's mandate. While some argue that they provide a participatory and functional solution to gaps in global governance and corporate regulation, others characterize them as a manifestation of Gramscian-style ideological hegemony. This paper contributes to this debate by focusing on the partnerships of a particular UN agency – the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). From a critical global political economy perspective, this paper asks what forms do UNHCR-business partnerships take? What power relations do they constitute? And, what do they mean for the mandate and future of the UNHCR and the UN, more generally? In analyzing the structural and discursive relations between the UNHCR and business, this paper will argue that these partnerships are having constitutive effects on the UNHCR, essentially re-orienting the organization in a process of what Stephen Gill refers to as 'new constitutionalism' - further exposing the UNHCR to the exigencies of the market system - and have demonstrated their potential to undermine the well-being of refugee populations.

**Clare McGovern** (SFU, cmcgover@sfu.ca), **Nick Poulos** (SFU, npoulos@sfu.ca), **Kaija Belfry Munroe** (Quest)

***Elections as Teaching Tools: Building Political Efficacy***

An ongoing challenge in mature democratic systems is the low voter turnout among young people. This phenomenon has persisted over time and space and inevitably shapes politicians' distributive and policy choices (Martin, 2015). As Political Science instructors, we have the opportunity to challenge this, by giving our students the skills to engage with their own political system. This paper takes up that challenge, examining the ways in which elections can be used as participatory teaching tools which connect students to their local community. We draw on our experiences teaching courses at Quest University Canada and Simon Fraser University. In the former, students volunteered with a local political party in the 2015 federal campaign. At SFU, students will be working with BC Elections to conduct a voter registration drive on campus. This course is running in Spring 2017, in the run up to the provincial election. These courses therefore allow us to compare participation in elections at different levels of government, as well as contrasting explicitly partisan student engagement with non-partisan student projects. We will use survey and focus group data from the beginning and end of these courses to assess students' progress against two learning objectives. Firstly, did students increase their knowledge of their local community and the key debates in their area? Secondly, we consider the impact of their experiences on their sense of political efficacy: have we equipped them to engage with political institutions and politicians to express their opinions?

**Spencer McKay**, UBC, spencermckay1@gmail.com

***Is 'Direct Democracy' a Misnomer? Representative Claims in Popular Votes***

The growth of popular votes, such as initiatives and referendums, has been frequently understood as a way of making up for the shortcomings associated with representative democracy because its unmediated nature can produce legitimacy for binding, collective decisions. However, this evaluation of popular votes relies on a narrow conception of representation. Building upon recent theories of non-electoral representation, I suggest that the growth of direct democracy creates new problems of representation in the emergence of petitioners, campaigners, and citizen representatives. I contend that these roles reflect Michael Saward's conception of the dynamic process of representative claim-making in which "would-be political representatives [...] make claims about themselves and their constituents and the links between the two; they argue or imply that they are the best representatives of the constituency so understood" (2006, 302). These representatives introduce principal-agent problems that are underappreciated in the study of direct democracy. I suggest that these forms of representation can have democratic deficits unless mechanisms of authorization, accountability, and deliberation are put into place (Saward 2009; Montanaro 2012; Kuyper 2016).

**Gregory Millard**, Kwantlen Polytechnic University, greg.millard@kpu.ca

***The Tragically Hip and Canadian Nationalism***

The Tragically Hip are a significant – in some ways unique - phenomenon in Canadian popular culture. This essay will interrogate the widespread perception of a privileged link between the band's work and Canadian national identity. It does this by asking two main questions. One is the extent to which the Hip's work may legitimately be read as

'nationalist,' as opposed, say, to having been co-opted for nationalist purposes. The other concerns this co-option. Why is it that almost invariably fragmented, deeply ambiguous, and often critical references to Canada proved sufficient to raise the Hip to the level of icons of nationalism? In unpacking the Hip's deployment of Canadiana, the paper answers the tricky first question in the affirmative, drawing from the theories of Bernard Yack and Michael Billig. The second question warrants a more provisional answer, according to which Canada's status as a 'culturally peripheral' nation helps to explain the appropriation of the Hip's work for nationalist self-celebration. The discourse around the Tragically Hip, then, helps to illuminate some of the ways in which nationalism works in a culturally peripheral context.

**Darin Nesbitt**, Douglas College, nesbittd@douglascollege.ca

***John Stuart Mill, Rights, and Assisted Death Policy***

End-of-life decisions are by their nature highly controversial and deeply contested. Euthanasia involves a range of issues including policy, law, social change, public opinion, professional medical standards, and religious, moral, and ethical considerations. The political and legal debate over physician-assisted death and voluntary euthanasia may be understood as an attempt to balance two fundamental beliefs: the values of personal autonomy and dignity versus the view that the state and its laws ought to protect all human life no matter its quality. The effort to balance such competing interests is fraught with theoretical and practical difficulties. The decision which values and interests are to be balanced and how specifically to decide which will receive priority are two such examples. This paper will use John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, which grapples with how to weigh conflicting individual and societal interests, to appraise how governments and courts in Canada have balanced these two values in dealing with assisted death. The core of Mill's *On Liberty* is widely taken to be the claim that the only legitimate exercise of political power over individuals is to prevent harm to others. This "one very simple principle," as Mill put it, continues to be a source of intense debate, with such disputes usually revolving around the difficult question about what constitutes harmful behavior. Differences over the meaning and application of Mill's harm principle have arisen partly because he failed to supply a clear answer to what is harmful. Mill, however, provided a more compelling method in *On Liberty* – what will be called the Millian liberty proviso – to determine when it is legitimate to override individual autonomy: i.e., when someone's decisions and actions violate the rights of others. His proposed solution for when it is legitimate for governments to limit citizens' rights and freedoms provides a way to reconsider the rights dimension of assisted death policy.

**Alex Netherton**, VIU, Alexander.Netherton@viu.ca

***Switching Gears: Experiential Knowledge and Undergraduate Applied Research, Studying Youth and Politics At VIU***

The intergenerational differences in political engagement has long been a source of concern, particularly for students of democracy and voting behaviour. Relatedly articulation with BC High Schools and concerns of political curriculum and education have been continuous themes in the postsecondary policy and articulation agenda. During the 2016 VIU Political Studies won an Elections BC competition to establish an applied research course to examine issues of youth and politics. Accordingly the necessary curriculum changes were made, a course developed and a pilot completed in the fall 2017 term. The applied part of the curriculum was the establishment of a partnership with local secondary schools whereby VIU student researchers worked with secondary school participants. I would like to make a report on this initiative, a report that will cover the issues entailed in implementing the course as well as issues stemming from research conclusions. I will deliver the report, though one of the VIU researchers may also participate.

**Peter G. Prontzos**, Douglas College, pprontzos@langara.bc.ca

***Plan "B": A Better World is Possible***

The creation of world-wide democratic social movements is the only way to solve the major crises of the 21st century - political oppression, economic exploitation, ecological destruction, and alienation - by creating a global society based on respect and mutual aid, environmental stewardship, equality, self-determination - and a democracy of active, thinking citizens. Such a society would gradually reduce all forms of political, social, and economic domination. As urgent as these priorities have been, they are even more critical this year, with the rise of a potentially neo-fascist regime in the U.S., as well as similar totalitarian/nationalist/xenophobic movements in Europe and Asia. This paper will first briefly outline the

crises that we are facing and then suggest a number of ways to address them. The middle section will discuss the overall strategy that democratic social movements will need in order to create a transition to a truly human global society. Creating a realistic and inspiring vision, a necessary prerequisite to motivate such movements, will be the focus of the final section.

**Paul Rowe**, Trinity Western University, Paul.Rowe@twu.ca

***The Conservatives, the Liberals, and the Curious Case of Canadian Religious Freedom Policy***

Massive refugee flows based on the pushes of human rights violations and the dramatic persecution of religious minority groups in the Middle East and elsewhere have created a quandary in Canada's approach to religious freedom. In office, the Conservative Party sought to cultivate a constituency surrounding the problem of religious freedom worldwide. The Trudeau government perceived the initiative as a divisive relic of a Conservative strategy that construed human rights too narrowly for partisan advantage, and shut it down.

However, the increasing salience of religion as a factor in both the migration of refugees coming to Canada, as well as the tragic armed attack on a mosque in Quebec City have forced the Liberal government to get religion. Embarrassed by the Conservative genocide motion of June 2016, the Liberals returned the favour by unmasking Conservative prejudices in their opposition to Motion 103, which inter alia called for the condemnation of Islamophobia. In the cut and thrust of partisan politics over religious freedom, the greatest casualty has been a consistent application of the principle. In this paper, I will assess the way that partisan politics has brought harm to the consistent application of religious freedom in Canadian foreign and domestic policy.

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***John Rawls***

This paper critically engages with conventional knowledge and perceptions of 'the child' as represented in the social contract theory of John Rawls. The paper draws a distinct connection between social contract perceptions of children and agency and the deliberate attempt in social contract theory of excluding children from the discourse of agency and citizenship. The paper explores the ways in which social contract theory establishes a clear definition of citizenship as consent. Social contract theory distinguishes the child as irrational, and therefore unable to consent, which excludes them from discourses of autonomy and therefore unable to consent to the social contract. This rationalization has fostered perceptions of children which are childist in nature, or in other words, discriminatory against children. Therefore, the particular status of being a child requires a notion of care which acknowledges and respects child autonomy. This requires decoupling agency from rationality and acknowledging children's dependency not as a liability to be disciplined but a condition to be fostered with proper care which demands of adults to recognize their obligations towards children.

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***Reconstructing Canada's Identity – From Rural To Urban: Is There A Role For Constitutional Change?***

Canada's most recent census noted an obvious fact: in 2017, Canada @ 150 is now 83% "urban". In 1867, 83% of the country's 3.5 million residents were rural. Yet, our self-imagery remains full of cows and cowboys/girls, lakeside campfires under the stars, and even when it adds internal combustion engines, it is mainly 4 WD Jeep-like vehicles racing down mountains or up to log cabins in the woods. Enough already! This paper explores the following: \* Can we develop a more urban Canadian identity – and \* can constitutional change contribute to such a re-definition of the Canadian federation

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***Democratizing CSR?: Conflict, Governance, and NGOs in Peru's Mining Sector***

While neoliberal resource extraction has propelled heightened rates of economic growth in many parts of the global south, it has simultaneously generated profound consequences for democracy. Conflicts over the practices and expansion of mining development are today ubiquitous in much of Latin America where democratization has, over time,

also necessitated an important role for civil society, particularly non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In Peru's substantive mining sector, both national and international NGOs now play an influential role in processes of conflict resolution and the delivery of corporate social responsibility (CSR) programming. In light of tensions between extractive-driven neoliberal development and increasingly participatory and deliberative norms, this research examines how the inclusion of NGOs in mining-related CSR activity is shaping democracy. Drawing on eighteen weeks of field research and sixty-two interviews with NGO, industry and state representatives in Peru, this paper argues that nuances must be brought to the democratizing role of civil society under conditions of neoliberal extraction. In the context of Peru, NGOs both support and resist neoliberal extraction by (de)politicizing CSR.

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***Political Institutions, Settler States, and Indigenous Reconciliation***

There are a multitude of institutional arrangements that states can adopt in order to facilitate the overt participation of Indigenous peoples in the political process. Indeed, some states have already done so – most notably New Zealand and Fennoscandia. This essay will begin by critically assessing the most common of these institutional arrangements; namely, electoral quotas, reserved parliamentary seats, and third parliamentary chambers. However, the objective of the essay is grounded in the answers to two questions. First, why have these formal institutions emerged in some states, but not in Canada? This is particularly noteworthy because, even though the Truth and Reconciliation Commission did not include any institutional reforms in this direction, they were made by the earlier Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP). Second, is there an institutional avenue which can move the Canadian state towards reconciliation with Indigenous peoples? While reconciliation will have to be defined in such a way that it can be understood as a measurable concept, I do not seek to make any normative claims about what reconciliation is or should be substantively. Rather, I offer an exploratory, yet critical, analysis on the suitability of these institutions in fostering some of the underlying foundations of reconciliation.

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***Financialisation in health care***

A novel process of financialisation is spreading across health care systems in both the developed and developing world. This can be observed in the increasing penetration of financial actors, markets, and institutions into health care provision and funding as well as the greater reliance of health care providers on financial markets. Despite its profound implications for health care provision, the research on the extent and implications of financialisation in health care is scant. The current paper analyses the nature and impacts of one modality financial investments in health care: that of global private equity firms' investments in private hospitals. Adopting a political economy approach, it analyses the recent (since 2007) upsurge of global private equity investments in the private hospital sector in Turkey and explains how they influence health care provision, policy and politics in markets they penetrate. Drawing on field research, involving in-depth interviews with private hospital owners/executive officers, and private equity firms' partners, the paper explores the reasons for the rising financial sector investments in health care. Research findings indicate the mechanisms through which global private equity investments hasten the marketisation of health care, reinforce inequalities in access to health care, and contribute towards internationalization of capital.

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***Birds in a Cage: Public Interest Lawyers' Activism and their Political Opportunity in Authoritarian South Korea (1960-80s), Taiwan (1960-80s), and China (2000-2015)***

What role do public interest lawyers play in pro-democracy social movements in authoritarian regimes? Could their activism bring about democratic transition? How does their activism shape political opportunities? By making comparisons and contrasts between public interest lawyers' roles in pre-democratic Taiwan and South Korea between the 1960s and 1980s and contemporary China, this paper identifies two components of public interest lawyers' activism in authoritarian regimes: in-court activism through litigation and out-court advocating with alliance to other types of social movement organizations. It argues that in non-democracies without adequate judiciary independence and rule of

law, due to paramount pressures from the state repression that public interest lawyers faced, individual litigations are unlikely to could trigger institutional change or democratic transition. Through collaboration with other social movement organizations, public interest lawyers only performed auxiliary functions, in particular out-court public discourse framing and public rights consciousness popularization. These lawyers' political opportunity largely depends on the state's capacity and willingness to repress, and their more proactive role only came into being after the authoritarian rule became relaxed and/or the democratic transition started.

**Workshops:**

Gender Sensitive Parliaments: Jeanette Ashe (DC) & Fiona MacDonald (UFV)

BC Politics: Paddy Smith (SFU), Kevin Ginnell (DC), Jeanette Ashe (DC)

Teaching Politics: Shaun Tyakoff (DC), Clare McGovern (SFU)

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