

PROGRAM

British Columbia Political Studies Association 25th Annual Conference and BC Political Science Articulation Meeting Virtual Conference October 16-17, 2020

Organized by Okanagan College on behalf of the BCPSA

Friday October 16, 8:30~8:45 a.m. (PST)

Welcome, Indigenous Territorial Acknowledgments, and Opening Remarks

Friday October 16, 8:45~10:00 a.m. (PST)

Panel 1. Pandemics, Political Preferences, and Populism

CHAIR: Dr. Rosalind Warner, Department of Political Science, Okanagan College

PRESENTERS

1. Olivier Jacques
Skelton-Clark Postdoctoral Fellow,
Department of Political Studies, Queen's University

How COVID-19 Shapes Policy Support and Political Preferences

Many pundits argue that the COVID-19 crisis might lead to a return of the interventionist state, as unprecedented crisis relief packages increase its visibility and citizens' economic anxieties heighten their support for social policies. This article examines whether worries about one's health and economic well-being, as well as experiences of health and economic consequences of COVID-19 in any way shape electoral behaviour and support for policy. We utilize an original representative online survey of the Canadian population conducted in May 2020 including a pre-registered wording experiment to understand how the perceptions and experiences of the crisis relate to respondents' fiscal, social policy and electoral preferences. We find that being worried about COVID-19 increases support for health care spending and for the implementation of a universal basic income. On the other hand, vote intentions do not seem to differ for those who have experienced health and economic shocks and those who did not. However, respondents who are more exposed to the crisis tend to be more likely to plan to turnout in the next election. Overall, our findings suggest that worries about getting sick are generally more significantly related to more support of public policy than worries about the economic effect of the crisis.

2. Tyler Chamberlain

Department of Political Science, University of the Fraser Valley

Personalism Versus Institutionalism: A Hobbesian Analysis of Populism

Many scholars interpret populism in terms of the opposition between the people and the elites (Laclau 1977; Taggart 2000; Müller 2016). This, in turn, gives rise to the dichotomy between leaders and institutions; the populist leader must overcome the constraining power of the institutions preventing them from fully implementing the will of the people. The populist leader sides with "the people" over against "the elites" who represent the state institutions ("deep state"). The question then becomes whether the institutional guardrails will adequately constrain the populist leader from implementing an illiberal political project. In this paper I will use the work of Thomas Hobbes to show that this leader-vs-institutions framing is overly dichotomous. Hobbes lays the foundation for the modern emphasis on institutional design, but even he did not conceive of political institutions as ontologically independent of the individuals that comprise them. Even the best institutions require prudent leaders to manage them. That is, institutions alone cannot constrain bad rulers. This explains the importance Hobbes accorded to civic education and citizen formation: the proper functioning of the ideal institutional framework requires properly-educated citizens and prudent rulers. This paper suggests that if this is the case for as stringent an institutionalist as Hobbes, then the contemporary understanding of populism is built around a false, or at least an overly-stark, dichotomy.

3. Matt Horrigan

Ph.D Student, School for the Contemporary Arts, Simon Fraser University

Toward an Understanding of Pandemic-Era Precarious Arts Venues

This essay presents early stages of a cyberethnography of precarious, underground, independent and small-time performing arts venues in British Columbia. It introduces the concept of shadow zones, spaces of activity that are simultaneously shaped by policy and ignored by policy. Shadow zones are defined in reference to: Fred Moten's notion of the *surround*, the space against which colonial powers set themselves; and Pierre Bourdieu's notion of méconnaissance, the misrecognition or misknowing which accompanies practical knowledge in any field. The state intervenes in Canada's small-scale live arts industries through funding programs and legal proscriptions. Assorted bylaws and permit systems have historically made small arts venues difficult to maintain in gentrified urban environs; however, funding organizations at the federal, provincial and municipal levels provide resources for developing and presenting art, leading to a situation of soft control, where artists receive funding based on their ability to meet criteria set forth by administrative bodies. Cultural clash is inevitable and constant. Outside of sanctioned practice, performing arts culture has been upheld largely by a shifting network of precarious places, sometimes called underground venues. These venues are not the product of a single politically dissident ideology, but rather the selective, coherent disregard of several levels of state power. The pandemic moment has severely destabilized the role of such places, calling now for a retrospect of the underground, and prospects for future alternate modes of relationship between performing grounds and official structures.

Friday October 16, 10:00~11:15 a.m. (PST)

Panel 2: New Takes on Political Philosophy: Globalization Ethics, Social Order, and Media Representations of Fear

CHAIR: Dr. Robert J. Hanlon, Associate Professor, Dept. of Philosophy, History and Politics, Thompson Rivers University

PRESENTERS

1. Ananda Majumdar PhD. Student, University of Alberta

Political Philosophy: The Ethics of Globalization and Scenarios Provides Educational Message to the Society

Roman Ideal of Republic (Classic Republic) explained the meaning in this way where Cicero excluded black people (race in society), poor people, and the slaves, but in the modern republic we all are included, which guaranteed the republic for all (a shared moral values). The ethics of globalization are not a test of election, institutes, judges, courts but a test of our (every individual) moral values, a moral way of life, that implies equality of life, voice and respect, a fair trade, a combination of global south and north; and thus the idea of globalism and its ethics exists as a trans-planetary system through cross border transection. The purpose of the topic is to understanding globalization and the proper implementation of its ethics from the Roman Republic to the 20th century's democracy, violence, human rights etc. based on the theories like consequential and non-consequential. It is an educational philosophy by learning of democracy and its openness, its current violent atmosphere. Methodologies have constructed by academic journals and books. The outcome of the essay helps to find out the problems of ethics in the present scenario and its connection from the era of Cicero, Socrates, Plato, Bentham, Aristotle and Immanuel Kant. The feature question is; do ethical terms implement from the beginning of the republic to the current globalism? If not, how can it be implemented?

2. Aaron Hoffman

Department Political Science, Simon Fraser University

The Terrorism Beat: Reflections on 17 years of terrorism reporting in the New York Times, USA Today, Wall Street Journal, and Washington Post

The news media is widely criticized for reporting about terrorism in ways that amplify people's perceptions of threat. Instead of providing a sober account of the real danger terrorism poses to democratic societies, critics charge that the news media represents terrorism as a serious and unchecked threat to public health and safety. Claims like this, however, are mostly based on generalizations about news content that are built on carefully selected instances of terrorism reporting, making them prone to bias. In this paper, I use qualitative content analysis and a database of more than 2500 articles about terrorism drawn at random from the most widely circulated newspapers in the United States to get a better sense of what the terrorism beat really reports on. My results suggest that "scary" stories about terrorism are few and far between on the terrorism beat. Articles about counterterrorism dominate, especially ones that focus on defeating terrorism through the criminal justice system. The implication is that the news media may be far less culpable for sewing fear among the public than is generally supposed.

3. Tyler Chamberlain

Department of Political Science, University of the Fraser Valley

Populism, Classical Liberalism, and the Canadian Red Tory Tradition

Many scholars have noted with concern the rise of populist and authoritarian conservatism. [1] Some conservatives are worried about these ideological trends, and have begun to attack populist conservatism from

the perspective of classical liberalism. [2] The populist turn, and the classical liberal backlash, invite reflection on the nature of conservative thought in general. For Canadian scholars, the time is ripe for a rediscovery of the Red Tory tradition. This paper will explore the work of two oft-neglected tory thinkers, John Farthing and Eugene Forsey. A theme emphasized by each is the importance of social order. The concern for social order grows out of a collectivist social philosophy that rejects an overly-individualistic conception of rights that could weaken the social fabric or do harm to the common good. This manifests itself the combination of constitutional traditionalism and social radicalism. [3] These seemingly different emphases reflect the conviction that the state must promote the common good and limit the potentially corrosive effects of private interests.

[1] Pippa Norris Ronald Inglehart, *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Authoritarian Populism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). Ronald Beiner, *Dangerous Minds: Nietzsche, Heidegger, and the Return of the Far Right* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). Norris and Inglehart, *Cultural Backlash*; William Galston, "The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 29:2 (April 2018) 5-19.

[2] For example, David Frum, Bill Kristol, and George F. Will have emerged as conservative critics of Donald Trump and his influence in the Republican Party. See the following for examples of their classical liberalism:

David Frum, "The Republican Party Needs to Embrace Liberalism," The Atlantic, November 2018,

https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/11/the-case-for-liberal-republicanism/570790/.

George Will, "To Construe the Constitution, Look to the Declaration," Jewish World Review, July 4, 2019,

http://www.jewishworldreview.com/cols/will070419.php3.; George Will, "Is the Individual Obsolete," *JewishWorld Review*, August 8, 2019, http://www.jewishworldreview.com/cols/will080819.php3.

[3] Donald Creighton, "Eugene Alfred Forsey: An introduction by Donald Creighton," in Eugene Forsey, Freedom and Order: Collected Essays Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974) 1-20; See also Gad Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 32:2 (May 1966): 143-171.

Friday October 16, 11:15~12:30 p.m. (PST)

Panel 3. Roundtable: 'Pandemic Pedagogy': Teaching and Learning During the Pandemic

CHAIR: Dr. Rosalind Warner, Department of Political Science, Okanagan College

PARTICIPANTS

Loleen Berdahl, Professor, Political Studies, University of Saskatchewan Heather Smith, Professor, Department of International Studies, UNBC

Loleen Berdahl is the Executive Director of the Johnson-Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy (Universities of Regina and Saskatchewan) and Professor of Political Studies at the University of Saskatchewan. She served as head of Political Studies from 2016-2020 and as Faculty Fellow at the University of Saskatchewan's Gwenna Moss Centre for Teaching and Learning from 2019-2020. After completing her PhD at the University of Calgary, she worked for ten years in the non-profit sector. Her research examines how institutional, cultural, and political factors shape individual attitudes and collaborative decision-making practices, and she has a particular interest in western Canadian politics, regionalism, and federalism. Drawing on her interest in teaching and educational leadership, her work also considers career mentorship, including the use of career skills training in the undergraduate classroom and graduate career mentorship. She is the Principal Investigator for a SSHRC Insight Grant project examining doctoral professional development within the discipline of political science, and her most recent book is *Work Your Career: Get What You Want From Your Social Sciences or Humanities PhD* (2018, University of Toronto Press; co-author J. Malloy). Loleen is the recipient of three University of Saskatchewan teaching awards. She lives in Saskatoon with her husband, their twin daughters, and a vocal cat.

Heather A. Smith is a Professor of Global and International Studies at the University of Northern British Columbia. She is both a 3M National Teaching Fellow and a recipient of the Canadian Political Science Association's Excellence in Teaching Award. She has a long record of scholarship in Canadian foreign policy, as well as the scholarship of teaching and learning.

Friday October 16, 12:30~1:00 p.m. (PST)

LUNCH BREAK

Friday October 16, 1:00~2:30 p.m. (PST)

KEYNOTE

INTRODUCTION: Dr. Rosalind Warner, Department of Political Science, Okanagan College

KEY NOTE SPEAKER

Monica Gattinger, PhD Full Professor, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa Director, Institute for Science, Society and Policy Chair, Positive Energy

Polarization Over Energy and Climate in Canada: How Bad Is It? What's To Be Done?

How can Canada chart a positive path for its energy and climate future amid polarization, partisanship and regional differences? Drawing on research from Positive Energy at the University of Ottawa, this talk will examine the nature and extent of polarization over energy and climate issues in Canada, and will explore possible avenues to navigate divisiveness. The key message? There is room for optimism that Canada can align energy and climate imperatives, but there is much to be done to chart a productive path forward. Positive Energy, chaired by Professor Monica Gattinger, is a research and engagement programme that includes extensive public opinion survey work, in-depth studies of energy and environmental leaders' views, case studies of past efforts to address the challenges, and deep ongoing engagement with policy, regulatory, Indigenous, NGO and industry decision-makers.

BIO:

Monica Gattinger is Director of the Institute for Science, Society and Policy, Full Professor at the School of Political Studies and Founder/Chair of Positive Energy at the University of Ottawa. Dr. Gattinger is an award-winning researcher and highly sought-after speaker, adviser and media commentator in the energy and arts/cultural policy sectors. Her innovative research programme convenes business, government, Indigenous, civil society and academic leaders to address complex policy, regulatory and governance challenges. She has published widely in the energy and arts/cultural policy fields, with a focus on strengthening decision-making in the context of fast-past technological change and markets, changing social values, and lower levels of trust in governments, industry, science and expertise.

Dr. Gattinger is Fellow at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute and serves on advisory boards for the Institute on Governance, the National Research Council Canada, the Nuclear Waste Management Organization, Pollution Probe and the University of Calgary. She Chairs the Editorial Board of the University of Ottawa Press and is a columnist for JWN Energy's Daily Oil Bulletin. Monica received the 2020 Clean50 Award for her thought leadership in the energy sector. She holds a Ph.D. in public policy from Carleton University.

Friday October 16, 2:45 p.m. (PST)

British Columbia Political Studies Association (BCPSA) Annual General Meeting

Saturday October 17, 9:00~12:00 p.m. (PST)

Articulation Meeting 2020

CO-CHAIRS:

Dr. Rosalind Warner, Department of Political Science, Okanagan College

Dr. Robert Hanlon, Associate Professor, Dept. of Philosophy, History and Politics, Thompson Rivers University

Saturday October 17, 9:00~10:15 a.m. (PST)

Panel 4: Canadian Politics: Actors and Institutions of Representative Democracy

CHAIR: Dr. **Alexander Netherton,** Professor, Political Studies, Vancouver Island University President, British Columbia Political Studies Association (BCPSA)

PRESENTERS

1. Cara Camcastle (Ph.D.)

Department of Political Science, Simon Fraser University

The 2019 Federal Election in British Columbia and the Politics of Fear

The 2019 federal election seemed to be the ideal time for the Green Party of Canada (GPC) to capitalize on the growing concern with climate change and win more seats in British Columbia. This paper explores the reasons why this did not happen. Results from the 2019 Canadian Election Study including a module designed by the author are analyzed. A thousand and thirty-four British Columbians were surveyed in this module. GPC candidates in the Lower Mainland and on Southern Vancouver Island who earned more than 10 per cent of the popular vote were also interviewed. The paper argues that both the surging support for GPC during the early part of the campaign and the disappointing results of the election are both based on the politics of fear. Growing fear about climate change was sometimes outweighed by fear of the Conservatives forming a majority government and how policies to counter climate change could stifle the economy. Interviews indicate surprisingly that GPC candidates did not run for political office solely because of their fear of climate change, but out of a deep concern for reform of democratic institutions. This is underappreciated by voters who misperceive GPC as a single-issue party solely focused on the environment. This paper illustrates the difficulty of keeping environmental issues on the agenda. The electorate tends to be fearful of policies that promote dramatic change in the way we conceive politics.

2. Alex Marland

Professor, Political Science, Memorial University of Newfoundland Member, College of the Royal Society of Canada

Party Mavericks in the House of Commons and Provincial Legislatures

This paper is a descriptive account of party mavericks in the Canadian House of Commons and provincial legislatures. It documents a range of politicians who developed a reputation for challenging the party line and yet forged a parliamentary career with a political party. How do party mavericks manage to avoid being kicked out of their party? What are the commonalities between them? How are they different from dissatisfied parliamentarians who sit as independents, cross the floor and/or do not seek re-election? What variances exist between provinces and party systems? The paper reports the findings of a copious review of news stories and in-depth interviews from across Canada. It seeks to explain why some parliamentary loudmouths are renominated as the party's election candidate, are re-elected, and remain in their party's caucus despite repeated instances of challenging the party line, criticizing the leader or otherwise being a disruptive force.

Saturday October 17, 10:15~10:45 a.m. (PST)

BCPSA Awards Ceremony

Saturday October 17, 10:45~12:00 p.m. (PST)

Panel 5: Power Dynamics in State~Society Relations

CHAIR: Dr. Linda Elmose, Department of Political Science, Okanagan College

PRESENTERS:

1. Ronaldo Au-Yeung Student, Simon Fraser University

State Responsibility or National Interests in Human Capital: Unpacking the Reasons behind the United Kingdom's Provision of Full British Citizenship to Hong Kong British National (Overseas)

What explains the United Kingdom's (UK) offer of full British citizenship path to Hong Kong British Nationals (Overseas) (BNO) in response to the Hong Kong National Security Law? In this article, I analyze the roles of State responsibility and national interests in human capital in the UK's response. I first explore the role of State responsibility in the Britain's action. I find that since BNO are de jure British nationals, the UK has State responsibility to protect BNO under international customary law. However, drawing on the case study of Burma's citizenship crisis, I discover that the UK did not embrace an equivalent policy in regard to the Burmese citizenship crisis. I, therefore, question what may further explain the UK's 'eccentricness' to Hong Kong. I find that national interests in human capital could explain the disparity between the UK's response to Hong Kong and Burma as the human capital of BNO greatly exceed the Rohingya people's. Nonetheless, national interests may also not fully explain the UK's provision of full British citizenship for BNO, since the UK would otherwise receive Hong Kong citizens regardless of BNO status. I, consequently, conclude that both State responsibility and national interests in human capital together could explain the UK's action.

2. Andrew Heffernan

Ph.D. Candidate, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa

Accounting for Climate Change: Consumptive vs. 'Non-Consumptive' Conservation in Namibia

Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) has emerged in Southern African as a developing form of resource governance intended to devolve control of natural resources to local populations. The predominant literature treats it as a shift in domestic policy that downloads control from the state to local populations. However, these approaches fail to account for a great deal as I argue these supposed locally based initiatives are inherently global in nature. This paper utilizes an assemblage approach to uncover the variety of actors involved whose very interactions create novel forms of power. These developing power relations are rearticulating global environmental governance and traditional levels of analysis. What emerges from my case study is an environmental assemblage that sees power distributed and enacted in ways that traditional theories of International Relations cannot adequately account for within their state-centric ontology. My conclusions suggest that CBNRM cannot be viewed as an empowering of African communities and corresponding weakening of the state. Instead what is occurring is a complex assemblage of actors that are enacting constantly new forms of power based off their very interactions that see many goals being realized simultaneously, at times in contradiction to one another while at other times in harmony.

Saturday October 17, 12:00 p.m. (PST)