BCPSA 2018 - Abstracts

May 3 - 8:45 – 10:15

Panel A1 - The Federal Government – Chair / Discussant – Stephen Phillips (Langara)

Room AE 208

a.) Robert Diab (TRU) - Bill C–59 and the Roads Not Taken: Why the Parliament opted to forgo new interception and password compulsion powers

Soon after coming to power, the Liberal government published a green paper canvasing public opinion on possible amendments to the 2015 Anti-Terrorism Act (Bill C–51). Among the ideas floated in the paper were new powers to compel internet service providers to install interception capabilities and to allow for data surveillance on a lower standard than a warrant on probable grounds. Another idea was a power to compel individuals to provide passwords to circumvent encrypted data on personal devices. The green paper suggested the powers were necessary for effective national security. Many Canadians were opposed. This paper examines the rationale for the powers, the public response, and the politics and law surrounding the decision to decline to include them in bill C–59, the 2018 revision to the Act.

b.) Charis Kamphuis (TRU) - Canadian Economic Diplomacy & the Rule of Law

This presentation summarizes the findings to date from a body of empirical research that has endeavored to identify the human rights impacts of Canada's economic diplomacy policy. With this context, it reviews Canada's existing policy framework as it applies to economic diplomacy in order to identify the gaps in existing policy from an international human rights law perspective. This research and analysis forms the basis for two law reform recommendations.

c.) Serdar Kaya (SFU) - Multiculturalist Policies in Rhetoric and Practice: The Case of Muslims in the West

Multiculturalist policies came under suspicion after a series of high-profile events in the late 1980s, and and early 90s, due to problems associated with the integration of non-Western immigrants into their larger societies. Reactions to multiculturalism have intensified after the 9/11 attacks in 2001, and led to what some scholars refer to as a policy retreat. Others argue that the retreat is largely rhetorical, and that multiculturalist policies are still in effect. This study contributes to that debate by measuring the extent of multiculturalism in the Western world with a special focus on policies toward Islam. It draws comparisons (1) between Western Europe and the four settler-colonial countries (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States), as well as (2) between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Findings indicate that countries that proclaimed multiculturalism in the 1960s and 70s (e.g., Australia, Canada, Sweden)

accommodate Islamic traditions and practices to high extents. Settler countries are also more accommodating, but policy differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada imply that political traditions also influence policy decisions regarding cultural pluralism.

Keywords: accommodation, immigration, integration, Islam, multiculturalism, Muslims

Panel A2 - 'Finding' Ethics in Sustainable Development and Human Security Initiatives

Room AE 212

Chair: Rosalind Warner / Discussant: Linda Elmose

Description:

Sustainable development and human security innovations have often emerged in response to crises that provoke widespread questioning of purposes and direction. The current wave of crises arise from changes in world order, ecological contradictions, and human security failures. The need for sustained and rigorous scholarly examination of these trends is therefore acute. The papers in this panel will survey recent trends with the aim of identifying their sources and exploring future directions for global sustainable development theory and practice.

Presenters and Papers:

a.) Rosalind Warner "Expanding the Ethical Community to Include the Non-Human World: Implications for International Sustainable Development Theory and Practice"

This paper will examine recent trends toward the expansion of the ethical community to include the non-human world, and the impact of this trend on international development theory and practice. The purpose of the project is to identify and analyze patterns in law, policy, and civil society practice that have moved international actors toward recognition of non-human entities as part of the human ethical community, particularly the role of indigenous knowledge. Using two case studies, the Whanganui river decision and the Ganges River decision, the project will analyze the factors for success of these cases, the potential to impact further development of national and international environmental law, and the implications for international development theory and practice. Although there exists a burgeoning literature on human rights, ethics, and ecology in sustainable development, few studies to date have directly explored how changing views of the non-human world affect international development thinking and practice.

b.) Robert J. Hanlon & Kenneth Christie "Corporate Social Responsibility in times of Populism and Human Insecurity"

This paper explores the rise of populist movements in the West and their impact on the behaviour of transnational corporations. We argue such movements are contributing to business uncertainty thereby forcing industry to entrench politically sensitive policy into their social responsibility platforms. By exploiting human insecurities, populist movements have targeted some of the most marginalized groups in society including refugees and migrants. This brand of governance has motivated the business sector to publicly reject populist doctrine while advocating a continued commitment to globalization and free markets. Indeed, the rise of populism in the West is forcing multinational companies to align their business philosophy with core themes found within the human security paradigm. Drawing on recent examples in Europe and the United States, this paper shows how corporate social responsibility (CSR) has entered a new phase where business can no longer justify remaining politically-neutral if they are to protect their employees, customers and the communities in which they operate.

c.) Linda Elmose "Does Social License (to Operate) Reveal an Emerging Power Shift toward Civil Society-Driven Environmental Justice?"

This paper seeks to answer the question: Are we witnessing, in the context of natural resource projects, a power shift in authority relations from corporate compliance to decreasingly severe governmental regulations, toward civil society-based participatory decision-making and environmental justice?

A generalized consensus conceptualizes "social license" (to operate) as the continuous realization of social legitimacy for a development project. Attaining and retaining this social legitimacy spurs businesses to go beyond mere legal compliance with governmental regulations. Increasingly, this legitimation requirement applies to both the company and the government of the day. For instance, it has been suggested that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is striving for social license in the pursuit of oil & gas pipeline expansion by means of instituting a national carbon tax. The paper will expand this simplified notion of social license qua legitimacy in several ways, demonstrating its versatility as a concept imbricating: the "political risk" associated with business uncertainty over a project's viability; an emerging form of private governance filling a void opened by neoliberal governance; and a political space of contestation amongst competing interests, ideas and discourses associated with natural resource development projects. Further, from standpoint of Development Ethics, which reflects upon the means and on the ends of local, national and international development, the notion of social license enables an exploration of such ethical considerations as inclusiveness, participatory decision-making, and environmental justice as measured by procedural fairness, long-term sustainable development, and the precautionary principle. The paper will explore the trends or drivers of social license, and apply the concept to resource-based projects in BC and elsewhere

in Canada, with the goal of sussing out the promise and perils of social license as an ethical development approach.

Kenneth Christie is the author, co-author, editor and co-editor of 10 books, the most recent being Freedom From Fear, Freedom from Want: An Introduction to Human Security (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016) with Robert Hanlon.

Robert J. Hanlon is an Assistant Professor in Political Science at Thompson Rivers University and an associate faculty member in the School of Humanitarian Studies at Royal Roads University.

Rosalind Warner is continuing College Professor at Okanagan College. Publications include: Editor, Unsettled Balance: Ethics, Security and Canada's International Relations UBC Press, (2015), Editor, Ethics and Security in Canadian Foreign Policy (UBC Press, 2001).

Linda Elmose is continuing College Professor in the Department of Political Science at Okanagan College.

10:30 – 12:00

Panel B1 - Quebec – Elections & Identity – Chair / Discussant – Dawn Farough (TRU) & Marc Fafard (Respondent)

Room AE 208

a.) Alex Rivard (UBC) & Jocelyn McGrandle (Concordia) - By-Elections in Quebec: Signs of Discord, Dissatisfaction, or Simple Dialogue?

By-elections are a regular aspect of Canadian politics but have been subject to a relatively scarce amount of study. Loewen and Bastien (2010) undertook the most comprehensive test of federal by-elections but little work has been done on by-elections within individual provinces, aside from that of Massicotte (1981), who demonstrated that the governing party in Quebec largely won every contested by-election throughout the twentieth century. His study, while influential, stopped in 1981. With the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976 serving as a critical juncture, we find that that opposition parties won a clear majority of by-elections in almost every single parliamentary sitting from 1976 onward. The question, then, is why? More specifically, what factors most impact by-elections in Quebec today?

Previous theories postulate that by-elections can serve as a referendum on the current government, or as a barometer for future elections, but neither of these theories seems to hold in Quebec post-1976. As noted by Loewen and Bastien (2010), by-elections in Canadian politics are considered significant events, as their outcomes are not simply idiosyncratic or exclusive to

a particular riding. Based on this argument, it appears that by-elections in Quebec may also be significant events in Quebec politics, and that parties may have lessons to learn from previous elections. Similar to Loewen and Bastien (2010), this will use a combination of public opinion polls to test the referendum theory as well as electoral data like voter turnout, vote totals, and reason for by-election to test the predictors of by-elections.

b.) Stephen Gnanasihamany (U of Victoria) - Snapshots of Cultural Identity: Deconstructing Models of Nationalism and Diversity Management in Quebec Society

In this paper I explore how models of nationalism and diversity management in Quebec have developed through the province's history in order to understand how Quebec's identity has shifted in response to increasing ethnocultural diversity since the 1960s. I begin by establishing a theoretical understanding of nationalism and diversity management, exploring how a variety of potential models, ranging from ethnic, assimilative approaches to civic, integrative approaches, respond to the anxieties which arise from ethnocultural diversity. I then apply this understanding to Quebec to highlight the specific tensions which animate the debate around Quebec's identity. These tensions include the precarity of francophone culture and the French language in the North American context, the question of Quebec sovereignty and its place within the Canadian federation, and the negative connotation attached to Canadian multiculturalism in Quebec. I then move on to analyze how the debate over Quebec's identity has shifted through the province's history. In doing so I identify some of the key political moments where the debates over identity politics have shifted, focusing on the dynamics and aftermaths of the Quiet Revolution and the post-2007 debate on the reasonable accommodation of cultural differences. This analysis reveals a general continuity throughout this period in the grounds of the debate over Quebec's identity politics, with recent debates focused more acutely on the nature of Quebec secularism and the development of an intercultural model for diversity management. I conclude by highlighting the persistent shortcomings in this intercultural approach, both in its design and its implementation.

Panel B2 – Political Theory – Chair / Discussants - Mónica Sánchez-Flores & Jacob Plato

Room AE 212

a.) S. Jovian Radheshwar (Douglas College) - Overcoming Existential Fear through the Aesthetics of Freedom

The political theory of liberalism has been shown in numerous recent studies to be underlain by contradictory impulses emerging from conservative and fear-driven reactions to existence. Some scholars argue that this strain of reaction is a betrayal of liberalism understood as overcoming narrowness, wherein openness is seen as the essence of liberality. Other scholars argue, to the contrary, that the processes of liberalization of structures of authority were

commenced and acted upon by persons fundamentally informed by a conservative mindset seeking to preserve established circles of power to whatever extent possible in the midst of social change. These thinkers and practitioners of liberalism thus built in a number of caveats that allow for the overturning of normal political and legislative procedures in favor of extraordinary measures that violate those procedures but are deemed nonetheless necessary for at least a time. We thus have two options when considering the future of liberal theory: are these exceptions and thus their possible multiplication always already through the system simply the natural limitations on liberality, cooperation, solidarity, and generosity, or, if we can think of these limitations, hard as they may be, as political constructs emergent through the normalization of a paradigmatic approach to risk avoidance, perhaps there are ways to reexamine what is considered possible in the context of political order and human sociability, and push the boundaries of what is possible and therefore of our concrete freedom?

It is on this second point that this paper shall proceed, in exploring a practical set of confrontations with the thought of Hobbes, whose model of human nature, many have said, provides the ground for secularization and democratization of epistemology. In Hobbes' Leviathan, there are numerous situations wherein individuals, societies, and leaders alike are all presumed to be capable of exercising an imperfect choice over possible outcomes, and Hobbes counsels what he considers to be logical advice that emerges from the application of his model's assumptions. This paper will consider a number of classic Hobbesian dilemmas, and, through an inversion of lenses, will reconsider the same situations from a Foucaultian position, wherein the view of the construction of the individual as an effect of power, and whose affects further convey that same power's operations in the social fabric, allows for a mature, honest, and empowered understanding of power politics that can permit the individual to freely construct their identity and their ethical position in relation to the classical and other dilemmas that may emerge in their lives. At the core of this view is a total acceptance of both the possibilities and limitations of aesthetics understood as the creation of the self.

It will be argued that the use of fear as a tool for education creates a false self – indeed, this is the claim – whose defense requires the surrender of the possibilities inherent in an aesthetic understanding of self and community. The further that the process of alienation is intensified, however, the less likely an aesthetic recovery and the more likely that the false self will distance itself from aesthetics altogether and resent the presentation of freedom in these terms. Indeed, Hobbes' admonition against vainglory matches precisely this, whereas a creative ideal, in which we can enjoy both personal glory and confer recognition of as much onto others, sees glory as never in vain, and as a contribution to the truth of existence itself. We will conclude that Hobbes' system of political order contains the seeds of its own corruption, and that the idea of representative government remains corrupted as long as the fearful individual at the center of Hobbes' ontology remains the one making the decisions for the future.

Overcoming being beholden to fear-driven decisions of the so-called rational actor requires a new interpretation of existential, spatial, and temporal limitations and realities, not as evidence of frailty, but of diverse possibility. Such a project promises an alternative grounding for multicultural liberalism as a theory of freedom in an age of illiberal backlash the world over. The economic implications of this theory, are, of course, both an acceptance of limitation (taxes, resources, finitude, etc.) and an embrace of the possibilities of cooperative endeavor and cooperation. This doesn't merely provide more riches – it makes human freedom itself possible.

b.) Mónica J. Sánchez-Flores (TRU) – Reflexive politics: Self-referentiality, contingency, and the present moment

In his 2002 'Kobe' lecture "Republican constitutionalism and reflexive politics," delivered at Doshisha University in Kyoto, Japan, Emilios Christodoulidis argues against a republican vision of constitutional politics and proposes instead a theory of reflexive politics. Republican constitutionalism focuses on the articulation of law (or constitutional reason), politics (or will to participate in the dialogic-deliberative practice) and the identity of "the people" (as a sovereign citizenry of individuals with political rights) that is against a pluralist understanding of politics as a kind of bargaining process and for the view that the constitution itself contains the deliberative practice of a community. Although Christodoulidis sees some value in the republican thesis, he considers it a "usurpation of politics" in that it attempts to contain and stifle both politics and the *demos* in law. Instead, Christodoulidis proposes a "reflexive politics" that keeps the revisability of political meanings always open and contested on the basis of self-referentiality, contingency and "constituent power" located in the present moment. The self-referentiality of politics is analogous to the self-referentiality of love: both politics and love can only be defined within the horizon and enhancement of politics and love. Contingency allows for distinctions to be made, to question and relativize givens in the light of alternatives. "Constituent power" refers to the power of a sovereign actor in Rousseau's sense when he talks about the General Will, never of the past or pre-determined constitutionally, always in the present, in a coincidence of time, place and effect. In this paper, I review Christodoulidis's proposal, consider its implications for an inclusion of the notion of compassion in the public domain, and apply it to the emergent politics of transnational social movements that occur beyond the realm of the national state and a clearly delineated *demos* or sovereign people.

c.) Ben O'Heran (U of Victoria) - From Nation-to-Nation to Decolonial Federalism: Building Decolonial Constitutional Alternatives through Anarchist and Indigenous Legal Orders

Within the current era reconciliation, there has been a growing importance of using the Canadian legal system to assert Aboriginal rights and title, while simultaneously trying to articulate and build upon already existing Indigenous legal orders. However, with this focus on using the Canadian legal system to assert Indigenous authority and reconcile the current

relationship(s) between the Crown and Indigenous nations, few have stopped to ask if there are other legal orders that may be more compatible with Indigenous legal practices. To answer this question, I will examine whether anarchist constitutional practices can act as a reciprocal legal order to create decolonial constitutional practices between Indigenous nations and non-Indigenous peoples. Answering this question requires investigating the literature on Indigenous legal systems, orders, and constitutional practices; in addition to, the history of anarchist constitutionalism/rule-making. I will use the works of John Borrows and Val Napoleon to distinguish between Indigenous legal systems and orders while explaining why Napoleon's conception of Indigenous legal orders is more compatible with anarchist constitutionalism. This will be elaborated on by using George Woodcock's work to unearth and illuminate the hidden history of anarchist constitutionalism in Canada. Finally, I conclude the piece by proposing that Woodcock's ideas on an anarchist influenced form of federalism can act as a means of solidifying the affinities between Indigenous and anarchist constitutionalism. By putting Indigenous legal orders into conversation with anarchist practices of constitutionalism, new political alternatives can be created to the settler state based on the principles of autonomy, decentralization, and democracy.

Bio:

Benjamin O'Heran is a scholar/activist living on the ancestral, traditional, and unceded territories of the Musqueam nation in what is currently known as Vancouver. Their research focuses on critical animal and plant studies, posthuman international relations, and Indigenous/non-Indigenous decolonization.

1:30 – 3:00

Panel C1 - Authoritarian Responses – Chair / Discussant – Robert Hanlon

Room AE 208

a.) Peter Prontzos (Langara) - NOT THIS TIME: Antidotes to Authoritarianism in the 21st Century

The rise of authoritarian movements and leaders around the world, from the Philippines to India to the United States, is one of the most dangerous developments in modern times. Not only are they anti-democratic and often xenophobic, but they are one more significant obstacle to dealing with such other dangers as the climate crisis and war. This paper will focus less on the explicitly political causes of authoritarianism and more on the social, economic, and

psychological reasons why these forces have been growing in the past decade, as well as discussing possible remedies for this outbreak of irrationalism and hate.

b.) Wilson Bell (TRU) – Putin, Memory Politics, and the Gulag

Western commentators often accuse Putin of reverting to a Soviet-style authoritarianism. Official memory of the Gulag, however, suggests that the situation is complex. NGOs devoted to the study of the Gulag, such as the Memorial Society, periodically face crackdowns by the authorities. Yet, Putin himself presided over the unveiling of a prominent Gulag memorial in central Moscow in October 2017, and the relatively new Gulag History Museum (opened in 2015) has received considerable state support. The proposed paper will examine the politics of memory, as related to the Gulag, from the vantage point of Tomsk, Russia. Tomsk is home to one of the longest-lasting Russian museums devoted to the history and memory of those repressed under Stalin. The museum's first official visitor was Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in 1994. How has this museum fared under Putin? What can the Tomsk case tell us about the politics of memory in Russia, today? The proposed paper will examine these and other pertinent questions.

c.) Bala Nikku (TRU) - Maoists of Nepal: Comparing Perspectives on South Asian Politics

Panel C2 - Provincial Dynamics – Chair / Discussant – Paul Rowe (TWU)

Room AE 212

a.) Patrick Smith (SFU) - When is a Coalition Not? The 41st British Columbia General Election of 2017 and its Aftermaths

On May 9, 2017, British Columbia held its 41st General Election. Its 2013 electoral predecessor had produced an unexpected return of a Christy Clark-Liberal Administration with a solid working majority, meaning that by its mid-summer 2017 resignation, the provincial Liberals had been in power for more than 16 consecutive years. The May, 2017 BC General Election saw Gordon Campbell`s successor, Christy Clark narrowly defeated (44 seats to-43) by a combined NDP-Green 'alliance'. The challenges of British Columbia`s governing now fell to Premier John Horgan and the NDP, with Green support. Over the summer following the election, the outgoing Liberal Premier undertook a series of political manouevers before the electoral outcome was determined:

• she sought to have the Lieutenant-Governor dissolve the House and call another election;

• then had a brief late Spring House sitting with a new throne speech and budget containing key policy ideas largely stolen from NDP and Green election platforms in the hopes of enticing sufficient support to stay in office;.

• Then was defeated in a confidence motion when the House briefly sat; and, subsequently

• resigned (both her leadership and legislative sea).

On the L-G dissolution request, Premier Clark was turned down; the combined opposition had signed an accord with agreed support on necessary supply, and had so informed the monarch's representative. With the abandonment of central Liberal policy positions from the General Election – and their replacement with opposition electoral positions in a new Throne Speech calling of the House strategy, Clark was outflanked again by the new 'combined' BC opposition and defeated as lacking House majority confidence. The L-G called on the NDP Leader to form a new Government. On August 4th, more than three months after the actual election, Christy Clark formally resigned her legislative seat, having shortly before resigned her party leadership after six and a half years as provincial Premier (2/3 as long as Gordon Campbell, her predecessor. She left behind an Interim Leader of the Opposition (replaced with an early 2018, leadership race.) Given this all developed as an outcome of the May, 2017 BC General Election, how that contest unfolded seems an appropriate start point in analysing current BC politics and governing.

b.) Josip Dasovic (SFU) - Competing Perspectives on Canadian Provincial Economic Performance

With the relatively recent elections of social democratic (NDP) governments in Canada's western-most provinces {Alberta (2015) and British Columbia (2017)} a long-simmering debate that revolves around competing approaches to political economic governance seems to be have reached a boil. Which approach to economic governance {social democratic, or market-oriented neo-liberal} produces better economic outcomes such as higher economic growth, lower inequality, higher standards of living and well-being? Although a large (and growing) literature has developed that addresses inter-state comparisons in the United States, relatively little systematic study on the role and effect on Canadian provincial economies of political parties of competing ideologies has been published. This study econometrically examines various economic outcome variables to determine whether left-wing, right-wing, or centrist parties are more adept managers of provincial economies. Using data during the period 1991-2016, fixed-effects panel data regression analyses are used to estimate the effects of party ideology on the aforementioned economic outcomes. The results are mixed {left-wing parties are better in some areas, right-wing parties in others, while national and international economic factors sometimes overwhelm inter-regional economic factors.

Keywords: political economy; comparative economic performance

c.) Alexander Netherton (VIU) - Kinder Morgan: Where Old and New Politics Meet for a Crisis

3:15 – 4:45

Panel D1 - Indigenous Peoples and Governments – Chair / Discussants – Jeffrey McNeil (TRU) & Ben O'Heran

Room AE 208

a.) Heather Middlemass (U of Victoria) - Treaties: Settler Obligations and Responsibility

This project employs a critical discourse analysis and a post-colonial approach to expose Crown inconsistencies found between Treaty Eight (1899) and Eleven (1921) negotiation promises and contradictory article clauses. I critically analyze the primary written texts of Treaty Eight (1899) and Eleven (1921), highlighting notions of Eurocentrism, capitalist interests, and sovereignty claims, as previously discussed. An analysis of these historical documents illustrates key inconsistencies between negotiations and written treaty articles. Specifically, the Crown made promises during negotiations to protect and respect Indigenous autonomous rights to hunt, trap, and move freely that contradicted clauses in written agreements allowing the Crown to override these obligations. The first section of this chapter focuses primarily on Crown motivations to enter a treaty and the events leading up to Treaty Eight. The next section offers an analysis of Treaty Eight negotiations and written inconsistencies included within the Treaty. The latter portion of this chapter discusses commissioner assumptions that underscored negotiations, followed by an analysis of Treaty Eleven motivations, negotiations, and similar inconsistencies. This work will be tied to more recent work I have conducted for a law firm in the US, Hogen Adams, regarding treaty rights.

b.) Morgan Mowatt (U of Victoria) - Terminology as a colonial weapon: How Canada's nation to nation narrative undermines Indigenous state-sovereignty

Legal and political documents involving Indigenous and state relations, from early settlement to today, have predominantly categorized Indigenous communities within Canada's borders as nations (CRA, 1998; Mintz et al, 2015, p.310; RCAP 1996). Conversely, Canada appears to have earned its status as a sovereign nation-state and asserts itself as a multinational state, thus implying that the nations within its borders are incapable of self-governance (Mintz et al, 2014; Mintz et al, 2015; Pierson, 2004). This leads me to ask: Are Indigenous nations within Canada's borders sovereign states? And, if so, is Canada a successful nation-state project? By attempting to define the sovereign state and analyzing examples of pre-contact and early settler

governance, I argue in this paper that the categorization of nation was erroneously applied to Indigenous states at the time of settlement, and has contributed to a political climate that today functions to undermine Indigenous sovereignty and depoliticize Indigenous political organizations. To support this, I theorize why the categorization of "nation" has persisted over time, and consider the implications of this for Indigenous nation-states. Finally, I argue that for Indigenous communities to assert themselves as sovereign states it is critical that they identify themselves as such in the context of diplomatic negotiations.

Panel D2 - The Student Experience in BC – Chair / Discussant – Tina Block (TRU)

Room AE 212

a.) Jason Morris (UNBC) - Overachieving Undergraduates: Using Experiential Learning Techniques to Teach Quantitative Research Methods

Political science research methods courses all teach what to do with quantitative data, but few, if any, get the data to consider. I teach the research methods class to third year political science majors. I have them do a large project in an experiential learning sense. From scratch, they design, conduct, assess, and then release the results, of a public opinion survey. The results generate community, political and media attention and can impact public policy, including their most recent look at electoral system reform in BC. This past March, with no funding, the students did a province-wide survey on electoral systems that generated a sample size of 1,390, along with much online and traditional media buzz - and more important, gleaned interesting, usable findings. This approach requires trusting undergraduate students to ably apply what they learn from the readings and lectures; it has its drawbacks and tradeoffs. The advantages include seeing students pull together to learn together. This can create for them an immersive grasp and even an emotional engagement with the materials, and overall, brings a great feeling of purpose to the endeavour of learning quantitative research methods.

b.) Dan Reeve (Camosun) - Applied Learning Projects in Political Science within a College Setting

May 4th

8:30 – 10:00

Panel E1 - Contemporary Social Policy Concerns in Canada: Social Work Responses

Chair - Oleksandr (Sasha) Kondrashov / Discussant – Jeffrey McNeil

Room AE 208

a.) Oleksandr (Sasha) Kondrashov (TRU) - Social Policy Concern paper: Social work students' responses to contemporary concerns in Canadian social policy

Social policy courses are required components of social work curriculum. The presentation highlights one of the assignments that is used in teaching undergraduate social policy course that allows students to design individual research in the area of students' interest to address specific social policy concern. The procedure on how students complete their multi-part assignment is discussed. They start the assignment from the selection of their social policy concern using the 6A criteria for researching existing piece of Canadian legislation: availability of services, accessibility of services, acceptability of services, affordability of services, appropriateness of services, and adequacy of services. Then students create a video poster and finally develop a social policy concern research paper. The examples of social policy concerns selected by students will be shared, and implications for social work practice in addressing current Canadian social policy concerns will be discussed.

b.) Saima Farooqi (TRU) - Availability of Legal Status for Stepparents in Alberta in a Parental Role for Children Under 18 Years in Blended Families

Stepfamilies are increasing in number in Western societies. Remarriage and cohabitation are a rising phenomenon. Blended families are fast becoming an important family structure that result in complex relationships. Adults and children are challenged by the ambiguous roles that they may encounter in the new family dynamics. Canadian policy has also failed to legally recognize the current reality of multiple parents and parenting. The Family Law Act of Alberta lacks in defining and stating rights and roles of stepparents living in blended families, albeit child support obligations are outlined. In addition, there is much literature and research providing support for ex-partners and their children, but there has been less focus on blended families, their systematic rights, roles, and expectations. The objective of this presentation is to contribute towards understanding the influence of social perceptions on blended families, and the significant issues faced by stepparents in blended families in their day-to-day lives regarding their rights, roles, and expectations. Based on a critical perspective, the author aims to present proposals to overcome limitations in Canadian policy to create availability of a structural

framework that acknowledges and appreciates blended families as a norm in our society. Policy implications are also included.

c.) Rayell Sellars-Sarnowski (TRU) - Inappropriate criteria for registration of status Indians

The adverse effect that the Indian Act has had, and continues to have, on Indigenous peoples is palpable. Specifically, the adversities that status registration causes for Indigenous people. To provide insight on how inappropriate the policy is, an in-depth exploration of the implications that Indian status, as defined in the Indian Act, has on Indigenous peoples in Canada is performed. The inappropriateness references the use of 'Indian', and the exclusion of Métis and Inuit peoples from Indian status. The Indian Act also inappropriately provides the government with the right to unethical management of status Indians, due to delegated authorities that exclude Indigenous leadership. While it can be seen that there is a need for revision to the Indian Act and Indian registration, many who are uninformed about the issue may be resistant to the changes. Registration concerns should be taken into consideration by the government of Canada to end the systemic oppression of First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples. This discussion may ensure that Indigenous status could transform into appropriate and beneficial legislation. It could potentially be the beginning of equity for Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Panel E2 - The Indigenous Experience – Chair / Discussant – Shelly Johnson (Canada Research Chair in Indigenizing Higher Education – TRU)

Room AE 212

a.) Shianna McAllister (U of Victoria) - Wastelanding the Waterways: Environmental Racism and the Mt. Polley Mine Disaster

This paper will discuss the dominant narrative of the Mt. Polley Mine Disaster to assess the colonial mechanisms at work throughout using Sarah Hunt's Colonialscape and Traci Brynne Volyes's Wastelanding as the theoretical lens. Specifically, focusing on how the narrative generated from official reports and news coverage operate to render invisible the First Nations communities impacted, whose needs are much more complex than the reports indicated. First Nations communities were consistently listed as one of the primary groups impacted however, their concerns are never fully explored in the bulk of the reports. The framing of the investigation was incredibly narrow with no inclusion or acknowledgement of longterm and downriver impacts of the disaster as well as the consistent shift to discuss the impact of the disaster in economic terms rather than environmental or a clear violation of Indigenous sovereignty. The exclusion of First Nations communities specific impacts can be seen as quite

deliberate. Meaning the framing of the official reports and the narrative that falls out from them leaves First Nations communities with little official documentation of their struggles in the wake of the disaster. Ultimately I utilize the Colonialscape and Wastelanding to demonstrate the ways in which the disaster is representative of how colonialism and the ongoing threat to Indigenous lives, political authority, and cultural practices are at work today.

b.) Brydon Kramer (U of Victoria) - The (dis)appearing 'Indian': Examining settler colonial practices of inclusion/exclusion in Banff National Park

On February 1, 2017, Parks Canada announced the return of the wild Plains Bison to Banff National Park. Coinciding with the nation's sesquicentennial, the return has been represented as both an ecological and cultural feat. For example, many view the return as not only representing hope for nature but, also, constituting an important step towards reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. In this paper, I examine how the bison reintroduction fits into the on-going dispossession and displacement of the Nakoda and other Indigenous peoples in the Banff-Bow-Valley region of the park. Using critical discourse analysis, I trace the reintroduction back to events surrounding the signing of Treaty 7 and the establishment of the Park. In doing so, I suggest that discourses surrounding the bison reintroduction and its reconciliatory significance reveal a key tension confronting Canada and its settler population: namely, the on-going and paradoxical desires to both "eliminate" yet incorporate—exclude and include—notions of indigeneity within the (white heteropatriarchal) Canadian state.

This is exemplified by the project's attempt to, on the one hand, include the Nakoda and other Indigenous communities by emphasizing their cultural (and racial) difference while, on the other hand, bracketing off and excluding notions of Indigenous political autonomy inconsistent with state jurisdiction. In other words, the reconciliatory discourses surrounding the reintroduction of bison exemplify settler colonial practices of inclusion and exclusion that attempt to undermine and erase Indigenous peoples as politically autonomous communities by reducing them to a racialized minority. Thus, although the reintroduction project possesses great significance for many settlers and Indigenous nations alike, I argue that framing it in within reconciliatory politics risks serving as a move to innocence where settlers are not required to challenge or question the ways they continue to benefit from the on-going displacement of the Nakoda and other Indigenous peoples.

Keywords: Indigenous politics, Canadian politics, settler colonialism, critical race theory, heteropatriarchy, National parks

10:15 – 11:45

Panel F1 – Democracy – Chair / Discussant – Derek Cook (TRU)

Room AE 208

a.) Matthew Law (U of Victoria) - Educating Democracy in Everyday Life: Political Education in Tocqueville and Dewey

What are the implications of situating democracy within the spaces of everyday life? Writing in a time of political turmoil and democratic revolution, Alexis de Tocqueville explored how the emerging democratic order, or the democratic social state, extended beyond formal institutions by permeating social and cultural life. As transformations in religious sentiments, familial structure, and social organization fuelled political institutional transformations, and as the latter, in turn, fuelled further transformations in the former, Tocqueville turned to education as a means of directing the democratic passions of the ordinary people who were transforming the world around them. Half a century later, John Dewey continues this task of educating the people, now to expand their capacities for action in response to an emerging technological age increasingly managed by inaccessible experts and bureaucrats. This paper explores how the educational theories of Alexis de Tocqueville and John Dewey establish everyday life as a vital part of democratic society and, subsequently, how this foundation in everyday life produces the need for the political education of the people. By granting an expanded role for everyday actors and their practices in the constitution of society, I suggest that Tocqueville and Dewey offer valuable insight into the challenges of maintaining a democratic orientation while advancing an account of political education. Both theorists address a distinctly modern problematic of balancing Aristotelian political aspirations towards the good life, on the one hand, and the spontaneous self-directed movements of the people, on the other.

b.) Phil Henderson (U of Victoria) - Whose laws are being disobeyed? The problem of 'disobedience' discourses in settler colonies

As tensions continue to mount over the Kinder Morgan Pipeline extension, I reflect upon the significance of settlers using the language of 'civil disobedience' to frame Indigenous-led movements - in particular, I focus on the standoff against the Dakota Access Pipeline, centred around the Sacred Stone Camp and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. I assert that the language of civil disobedience is a not only an inadequate discourse within this context, but it also performs a dangerous re-signification of these events, reinscribing them as contiguous with processes of colonization.   This is because the language of civil disobedience, as it is deployed throughout dominant liberal academic literature seems to be inextricably tied to, and instantiate a reification of, the (settler) state. In as much as the canonical literature is concerned, those who commit acts of civil disobedience tend to be conceptually emplaced as subjects within a

temporality signified through the state. The civilly disobedient subject(s) are not viewed as resistant to the prevailing political order: they are emplaced within the state and within the state's claim to legitimate political obligation. Affixing such discourses to Standing Rock reproduces the logic that the American government is itself a given or apolitical body. This works to disappear the processes of historic and ongoing settler colonization by normalizing the settler colony's claim to authoritative rule over Indigenous peoples. I propose the ethical and political imperative of abandoning discourses of civil disobedience, in favour of those that more fully respect the anticolonial struggles that Indigenous peoples are leading.

Keywords: Settler Colonialism; Standing Rock; Temporality; Civil Disobedience; Anticolonial resistance

Author Bio: Phil Henderson is a settler, originally from Saugeen Anishinaabek territory, who now spends much of his time in Coast Salish territories. A PhD candidate at the University of Victoria, Phil's research is particularly interested in the rising tide of settler anger, and the ways in which neoliberalism functions to reinforce settler subjectivities.

c.) Darielle Talarico (UBCO) - The Deliberative Ethical Dilemma

Deliberative democracy has spurred the use of a variety of representative processes, including: mini-publics, assemblies and deliberative polls each of which has its advantages and disadvantages. One disadvantage, I call the epistemic gap describes an unintended knowledge difference between those who get to represent in the mini-public process and the majority of citizens that do not. I argue this is a failing of the mini-public process and therefore the implementation of deliberative democracy theory so far. To examine this problem, I review a mini-public called the 2004 British Columbia Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform (BC-CA). This Assembly made recommendations that the voters rejected twice in two provincial referendums. The examination of the BC-CA process shows that post release of the BC-CA report, citizens' views might have naturally polarized as they became self-informed in manner dissimilar to the BC-CA deliberative process. The first referendum came close to meeting the strict super majority benchmarks to pass the BC-CA recommendations, whereas the second referendum did not. I examine what influence the BC-CA recommendations and the role of the post information campaigns might have had on the outcome of the two referendums. This examination suggest an epistemic gap existed and maybe a participatory governance problem. Ideally, the epistemic gap requires more attention, if we are to ask citizens to engage in new public governance. Alternatively, a mass mechanism for citizen deliberation would be ideal but does not presently exist, to this end I speculate on two views of deliberative theory: the systemic and digital view of mass deliberation.

Panel F2 - University Policies and Practices – Chair / Discussant – Terry Kading (TRU)

Room AE 212

a.) Conrad King (Capilano) - The Internationalization of Canadian Higher Education: which direction are we heading?

This research project addresses the internationalization strategies of universities in Canada (and B.C. more specifically) by looking at various dimensions of higher education internationalization. Is internationalization primarily about revenue-generation or curriculum development? Is it primarily about inbound or outbound mobility? How do undergraduate and graduate students experience mobility differently? Ultimately, this research project investigates the impacts of the Europeanization of higher education on Canada, reflecting on the 'direction' of HE internationalization in a more geographical sense – are we increasingly 'east' or 'west' facing? (supported by UBC's Institute for European Studies and the European Commission's Erasmus Plus Program).

b.) Kenya Rogers (University of Victoria) - Centering Voices of Survivors: Sexualized Violence and Institutional Accountability at the University of Victoria

This project is based on the testimony of nine current or former University of Victoria students who self-identify as survivors of sexualized violence. Following their shared experiences and stories, discourse and frame analysis reveal several key themes. Firstly, student-survivors are powerful agents of change, and played an influential role in the creation of sexualized violence legislation in British Columbia. Secondly, student-survivors express a profound mistrust towards the university, despite the creation of policy related to sexualized violence on campus. Accordingly, this project interrogates the roots of that mistrust, illuminating that the corporatization of the university setting overall, combined with institutional betrayal, culminates in a lack of faith in the university's capacity to meaningfully implement policy. Centering the voices of student-survivors, this project provides recommendations on how the university might move towards partnership with student-survivors in the future.