**Abstracts of Papers and Presentations**

**BCPSA 2019**

**Aung,Thet (Bella)** (MA student, SFU; Supervisor:  Dr. Eline de Rooij)

“Underrepresented: Visible Minorities in Vancouver Municipal Offices”

The 2018 municipal elections highlighted that visible minorities, particularly visible minority women, are underrepresented in Vancouver’s politics; yet, in terms of population, visible minorities outnumber white Vancouverites. I examine to what extent and how supply and demand factors contribute to this underrepresentation of visible minorities. A supply-side problem results in the lack of women and minority representation when there are not enough “qualified” women and visible minorities running for office. A demand-side problem occurs when party officials act as gatekeepers discouraging women and visible minorities from running for office. I answer this question using a combination of the statistical analysis of secondary data on candidates from 2005 to 2018 and a content analysis of data derived from semi-structured interviews with municipal party officials involved in candidate recruitment. Based on my results, I draw conclusions about how parties in Vancouver, and potentially urban cities with similar demographics, can strive towards a more representative municipal government.

**Camcastle, Cara** (SFU)

“Green Political Theorist J. Stan Rowe and Rights for Nature”

This paper analyzes the writings of green political theorist J. Stan Rowe. In environmental politics spaces are often contested since different people consider the same area to be a different kind of environment. For example, the Athabasca region of Northern Alberta is the site of an industrial environment that has attracted worldwide attention with oil reserves that rival Saudi Arabia while for others it is a boreal forest recognized as the Northern counterpart to the Brazilian Amazon rainforest. Rowe’s book Home Place argues that the locus of intrinsic value should be shifted from the organism to the ecosystem and focus on the aggregate of all ecosystems - the Ecosphere. He urges human beings to recognize their responsibility for the earth’s ecosystems. Rowe has contributed to the ongoing debate on the meaning of key concepts, such as ‘community’ or ‘ecosystem’. The paper explains the foundations upon which Rowe developed his perspective and why he welcomes the idea of granting legal rights to nature. Criticisms of his approach will also be considered. The paper traces ways in which his environmental ethics could provide the basis for public policy.

**Casavant, Bryce** (Ph.D. student, Royal Roads University)

“ Law gone wild: A descriptive technical analysis of public confidence levels in BC’s wildlife enforcement agencies.”

The purpose of this technical report is to begin to understand the relationship between public confidence and wildlife law enforcement in BC. When wildlife is killed in front of the public, it is reasonable to conclude that these actions are seen by the public as actions of government and a reflection of how government applies its policies through armed law enforcement agencies. However, what is not understood, and not covered in the current literature on this subject area, is what effect these actions on the part of law enforcement have on overall public confidence in wildlife enforcement agencies themselves and, by extension, the government management of wildlife situations. This paper utilizes data from a public survey to explore the relationship between the actions of law enforcement in killing wildlife and levels of public confidence in those law enforcement agencies. The findings of this paper indicate that public confidence in wildlife agencies, who respond to wildlife calls, is directly related to the level of perceived appropriateness of an officer’s actions. By analysing the public survey data, this paper shows that the British Columbia Conservation Officer Service (BCCOS) is failing to maintain public trust as the lead provincial wildlife response agency, and that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the BCCOS require further wildlife training in order to raise public confidence levels in rural areas where members are responding to wildlife calls.

**Chamberlain, Tyler** (Trinity Western University)

“The Right to Refuse Cabinet Advice as a Democratic Reform”

Recent years have seen a rise in concern over excessive power of the Canadian Prime Minister Office. One area of note is the potential to abuse the prerogative power to advise the dissolution, prorogation, or summoning of parliament. This paper will review and evaluate two solutions – fixed election dates and codified conventions – before proposing and defending an alternative solution, namely strengthening the Crown’s right to refuse advice of First Ministers. This solution will be presented via the Constitutional Traditionalism of Eugene Forsey, who conceived of the Governor General as the guardian of parliament against the forces of centralization motivating the PM and cabinet. Such a conception, I will demonstrate, allows us to see how an empowered Governor General could serve as an effective check against the potential partisan misuse of the executive prerogative powers.The final section will reflect on the tension between strengthening the power of unelected Governors General and the project of democratic reform. I will conclude by suggesting that a proper conception of democratic reform in a Westminster system must balance responsiveness to voters with the ability of the House of Commons to hold the Prime Minister and Cabinet to account.

**Cook, Derek** (Thompson Rivers University)

“The Rise of Trump and Belief System Facilitation of Ego-Defence Mechanisms”

Theoretical explanations that adequately account for irrational, unconscious behaviour can advance the study of right-wing populist movements further than theories that deny the existence of the unconscious or use only rationalist assumptions to understand the irrational in politics. This paper offers a psychoanalytic interpretation of the rise of Trump & Trumpism in illustrating how conversion to a belief system can facilitate the use of ego defence mechanisms and, in turn, how the use of defence mechanisms expedites conversion. It differs from many other psychoanalytic accounts of social phenomena in that it argues that individual psychological processes are activated by socioeconomic circumstances. Trumpism or any other ideology may become attractive for unconscious psychological reasons if certain socioeconomic circumstances obtain.

**Crawford, Mark** (Athabasca University)

“Determination: Finding Common Ground in (Very) Contested Spaces”

This paper revisits some of the linkages between economics, property and self-determination examined in  Flanagan, Alcantara and Dresnay's book ***Beyond the Indian Act***: ***Restoring Aboriginal Property Rights***, which urges First Nations to both clarify legal title and privatize ownership in order to reduce transaction costs on First Nations Reserves and enable First Nations people to fully participate in the national economy.   Economic Theory is apt to be especially indifferent to, or ignorant of indigenous epistemes, even though economic analysis and policy is especially consequential for indigenous self-determination and for the success of indigenous economic development.  Authentically 'Indigenous Economics'--defined here as the product of reconciliation between accepted economic theories and indigenous perspectives --is therefore difficult to theorize. A number of promising and interesting observations can be drawn, however, about (1) the receptivity of neo-classical economic rationality to indigenous epistemes; and (2) reviving the importance attached to land in the history of economic thought.  Both of these strands lead to contemplation of neo-Ricardian and neo-Georgist ideas, as well as to Elinor Ostrom's important work on polycentric governance and the sustainability of the commons.

**Cunningham, Frank** (Simon Fraser University)

“Combatting Possessive Individualism”

C.B. Macpherson famously coined the term “possessive individualism” to describe a culture of consumerism, unbounded acquisitiveness, a fixation on private property, and the commodification of nearly everything including people’s own talents. This culture grew from the 17th to the mid-20th Centuries to dominate liberal and democratic political thought and action, and with the triumphant neoliberalism of the 21st Century, it has assumed a scope and force beyond Macpherson’s apprehensions. He counterposed to it a culture of “developmental democracy” that has uneasily co-existed with possessive individualism in the history of liberal democracy. According to this culture, a good society facilitates the development by everyone of what Macpherson called their “truly human potentials” giving examples of the capacities for rational understanding, moral judgment and action, aesthetic creation or contemplation, friendship, love, and community with others.  Whatever these capacities are they share the characteristic that their development by some need not be at the expense of their development by others. This presentation explicates and assesses Macpherson’s attempt to “retrieve” a culture and attendant politics of developmental democracy by reviewing the preconditions he perceived for weakening that of possessive individualism.

**Cushing, Seychelle** (Simon Fraser University)

“Cyberspace Contested: Navigating Canada’s Cyber Capabilities Gap in a Changing Landscape”

Cyberspace  is a contested  space and the terrain  is rapidly changing. State actors  seek competitive advantage in an arena where the rules of engagement are not agreed upon, and where previously held Cold War principles of deterrence, for example, do little to regulate acceptable behaviour. Developments in big data analytics and artificial intelligence are creating new possibilities for warfighting and  intelligence gathering in cyberspace. Streams of information are now collected, connected, and automated as never before. Yet, advanced technologies and data alone do not lead to strategic advantages for Canada without highly skilled talent. Navigating cyberspace is a shifting game. It is becoming less about Stuxnet-like attacks and more about deliberate misinformation  campaigns not only affecting national security, but also Canada’s political outcomes. Being targeted for adversarial cyber attacks is expected. Yet, one of Canada’s most important national security risks is the shortage of talent able to make sense of data and provide actionable insights for responding to and preparing for threats in contested space. This paper examines Canada’s challenges of operating in  cyberspace while building capacity. While reinvestment in attracting talent is occurring, Canada can be constrained in its ability to leverage information for greater strategic advantages.

**Datta, Srijani** (MA student, Political Science, SFU; Supervisor:  Dr. Eline de Rooij)

“The Gender Gap in Party Choices in Indian General Election 2014”

Traditionally, women in India have been more likely to vote for the Indian National Congress (INC) compared to the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) than men; however, evidence has shown that this gender gap has been narrowing since 2004. In the 2014 Indian General Election the BJP removed the INC as the chief political force of Indian political competition, gaining a clear majority in the Lok Sabha (Lower House); however, the INC continued to receive the electoral gender advantage. This paper focuses on the 2014 Election to examine the factors that explain this gender gap in party choice to draw tentative conclusions about what, if anything, leads to it.

I draw from the Modern Gender Gap Theory on party choice and the Self-Empowerment Argument to formulate hypotheses about the structural factors, attitudes and values that are related to gender differences in voting for the INC and BJP. I test these hypotheses by conducting a statistical analysis of data from Wave 6 of the World Value Survey. My research contributes to the field of gender and political behaviour in India and considers the applicability of the Modern Gender Gap Theory in the Indian context two decades since the original research by Norris and Inglehart.

**Duggan, Alan Martin** (Ph.D. student, Trinity College, Dublin)

“Finding the Value of Female Candidate Spending - Evidence from British & Irish Elections”

Do male candidates enjoy a spending advantage over their female counterparts? Most of the campaign spending literature shows female candidates are not disadvantaged in terms of spending efficacy. This paper tests this conclusion more systematically and using more data than previous studies. The paper utilises data drawn from four different parliaments using three different electoral systems across thirteen elections bringing approximately 14,200 observations to bear on the analysis. The paper investigates whether male and female spending efficacy differs significantly across contexts and also explores whether incumbency has any impact on gender related spending effects. This paper uses disaggregated spending data to investigate results by establishing whether spending choices, spending levels and the degree of spending diversification of candidates differ by gender or across the contexts studied. This paper offers a more comprehensive analysis of gender related spending effects than has been possible thus far. It does this through use of fine grained disaggregated data, the ability to investigate effects across contexts and the testing of the empirical robustness of findings through use of matching techniques. Such techniques offer a way to manage issues which arise due to high leverage observations and the generally problematic nature of raw spending data.

“Is the devil in the detail? Investigation into differential campaign spending effects using dis-aggregated data from thirteen British and Irish elections”

Do challengers spend more cleverly than incumbents? Papers using aggregated spending data often show a challenger spending advantage though there is a growing number of dissenting studies in the literature. This paper offers a contemporary approach to investigating the existence and source of any differential spending effects between challengers and incumbents through the use of disaggregated spending data. Such data allows the exploration of what candidates spend their money on and permits us to delve further into spending effects. This paper uses disaggregated spending data from thirteen elections to four distinct parliaments using three different electoral systems in the UK and Ireland. The paper brings approximately 14,200 observations to bear on the analysis and explores whether spending choices differ between incumbents and challengers, whether certain types of spending are more effective for challengers than for incumbents, and whether efficacy of spending diversification differs between incumbents and challengers (building on Sudulich & Wall 2011). The paper will examine effects for consistency across context and test their empirical robustness by using matching to mitigate concerns that results are vulnerable to high leverage observations and covariate imbalance. Accordingly, this paper offers a deeper insight into spending effects than has been possible thus far.

**Elmose, Linda** (Okanagan College)

“Political Scandals in Canada and BC: A Test Run Study of Analytic Issues and Significant Effects”

When the emerging SNC-Lavalin situation recently hit the Canadian news circuit, it jarringly revealed my general lack of analytical tools to comprehend, and to teach about, political scandals or the politics of public integrity. I deemed this a salient knowledge lacuna, given our contemporary context of living in a scandal-laden and “post-truth world”, and our role in helping students navigate this reality as critical thinkers as well as ethically-minded citizens. The purpose of this paper is to provide a state-of-the art overview and meta-analysis of the study of political scandal, with the focus on examples from Canada and BC. The argument is a general one: We should commit to studying political scandals in a serious way, applying political science lenses and methodologies, and treating these “mediated scandals” not just as features of a corporate-media news cycle, but as fundamental to (the study of) politics.

Organizationally, the first section traces the evolution of the scholarly definition of “political scandal”, which has broadened from a concern for abuse of power toward a more comprehensive conception involving political actors’ norm transgressions in their private life (e.g., marital infidelity, tax evasion) (J. Thompson, Political Scandal: Power and Visibility in the Media Age. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000). The second section reports preliminary answers to the core research question unearthed in a meta-analysis and content analysis of the extant literature. These foundational research questions ask: (1) What explains the prevalence or increase of political scandals? Is it related to ramped up media scrutiny, partisanship, or worsening behaviour of our elected and appointed officials? (2) What constitutes a “political” scandal, and can these be arranged according to degree? (e.g. a Senate misappropriation scandal vs. campaign finance violations); (3) What are the main effects of political scandals here in Canada/BC? Effects might range from a candidate’s reputational damage, to the more systematic impacts of lower voter turnout, reduced trust in politicians or higher dissatisfaction with democracy. (4) What does a cost-benefit analysis reveal about political scandals? Could it be that the consequent gains – such as a confirmation in the rule of law and citizen education about social norms-- exceed the costs in terms of injury to reputation, trust and democracy?

**Eom, Tae Yeon** (Ph.D. student, Asian Studies, UBC)

“Under  the Banner  of Wakon-Yōsai(和魂洋才Japanese  Spirit, Western Knowledge): the contested diplomatic spaces in the State Guest House in Tokyo, Japan”

The State Guest House (Geihinkan), was built in the early twentieth century in order to serve as the Imperial Palace for the Crown Prince in Akasaka, Tokyo. After its completion, the building, depending  on the time period, was used for different purposes. Since the 1970s, it has been officially used as a space for the conclusion of treaties, as well as for receptions for foreign dignitaries. The feeling of Westernness provided by the interior of the State Guest House, which was opened to the public in April 2016, is considerably stronger than that of the exterior, although its facade is modelled after the Palace of Versailles. However, when looking more closely, it can be noted that the interior decorations mixed with Japanese style are carefully arranged inside the building. This  paper aims to interpret the architectural reflection of diplomatic ideologies in twentieth-century Japan, as well as the Japanese adoption and transformation of Western-style diplomacy,by analyzing the interior design and decoration of the diplomatic space.

**Gravestock, Katie** (PhD student, SFU)

“Water’s Form and Function in the Contested Space of the Mall”

How do public/private spaces transform water? If water is a universally recognized amenity, at what point does it become a commodity? In the City of Vancouver, safe drinking water is widely available in our homes. According to the City of Vancouver website, Metro Vancouver provides over 500 public drinking fountains. What about the provision of water in malls? To what extent is water commodified in contested spaces such as malls?  Although this question seems insignificant in light of the unresolved access to safe drinking water in so many of Canada’s Indigenous communities, the question of water as an amenity in spaces where humans spend time is an important one. Vulnerable populations (seniors, homeless people) are encouraged by health professionals to seek shelter in malls from extreme weather events. Malls are private spaces (owned by corporations), yet function as public spaces and are often used in unintended ways. We conducted a water audit at four different malls in the City of Vancouver to examine the free availability of drinking water. We selected the malls based on consumers of different income types. Water is a universal human right, but is it universally available in these spaces of consumption?

**Heard, Andrew** (Simon Fraser University)

"Making Sense of the Constitutional Controversies in the SNC-Lavalin Prosecution Scandal"

2019 has seen the eruption of an unexpected scandal with the demotion and subsequent resignation of the Attorney General sparking a lively debate over the prosecution of SNC-Lavalin for the corruption of foreign officials. Based on a review of the competing accounts by former Attorney General Jody Wilson-Raybould on the one hand and those of the Prime Minister, his former Chief of Staff, and the Clerk of the Privy Council on the other, this paper will attempt to sort out the different layers of controversy. The focus here will be on what we can say about the proper constitutional relationship between the AG and the rest of Cabinet when it comes to public interest considerations in criminal prosecutions. Do these constitutional constraints allow room for the apparent divergence of opinion over what was proper contextual information and what was inappropriate pressure? Were constitutional conventions or legal provisions infringed by the contacts between the AG and other government officials? Would it have made a difference to have divided the roles of Minister of Justice and of Attorney General, as many have suggested for years should be the case?

**Kemle, Andrew J.** (MA student, U. of Calgary, submitted by supervisor, Dr. Joshua Goldstein)

“Enlightenment How? On the Broader Impact the “Failure of Development Policy has for Modernity and Cosmopolitanism”

The World Bank—and, recently, public intellectuals such as Steven Pinker—have mounted various defenses of current and past development programs. Nonetheless, neoliberal development policies, such as Structural Adjustment Plans or an emphasis on Foreign Direct Investment, have received sustained criticism from other corners of academia and the public. Concurrent with these criticisms are the rise of “postdevelopment” thinking within the scholarly literature (embodied by thinkers such as Arturo Escobar) and nationalistic populism amongst the public, exemplified by the election of far-right leaders in developing countries such as Brazil. In this paper, I argue that the rise of the latter two movements may be due in large part to the failure of development policy—particularly in its inability to meaningfully involve “Third World” citizens in vital political, legal, and economic affairs—and the refusal of development’s supporters to talk honestly about these failures, let alone acknowledge them. Enlightenment thinking—such as faith in science, progress, and human universalism—is placed at the centre of development discourse; as a consequence the ideas of modernity and cosmopolitanism may be linked with development’s failures and lack of reform, ultimately leading to their rejection in favour of nationalism or postmodernist views.

**Kotb, Shereen** (MA student, UBC; Supervisor:  Dr. Anna Jurkevics)

“Indigenous Imaginative Geographies: The Case of Palestinians”

While territorial conflict is materialized as a conflict over physical geography, Edward Said’s theory of imaginative geographies describes how such conflict is, in the first instance, a struggle over ideas, discourses, and imaginings. Yet, rarely has imaginative geographies been discussed as a relational struggle over imaginings. Instead, it has primarily been conceptualized as a tool of domination to describe how groups with territorial ambition come to take possession of land belonging to others by first reimagining the landscapes they desire. However, indigenous groups are not passive to this process. By examining the case of Palestinians, I aim to investigate how indigenous groups re-imagine landscape as a way of resisting colonial narratives. Through an analysis of Palestinian literature, I find that the way Palestinians imagine land appears to be in direct response to the imagined geographies that justified their dispossession, namely the Zionist imaginary. The land narratives and symbols Palestinians construct directly resist the historical Zionist narrative that this was an empty, undeveloped land, which needed improvement and modernization through settlement.

**Law, Matthew** (Ph.D Candidate, University of Victoria)

“Aesthetics and the Exception in Democratic Politics”

 Over the last several decades, many scholars influenced by “the new social movements” and the rise of postmodern and post-structural thought have offered new ways of thinking about democracy centred around a politics of protest and resistance. Their critique of democratic theory and practice is that its traditional operation occurs in the exceptional sphere of the state which offers few opportunities, outside of periodic elections, for influence by ordinary people. Through participating in a politics of protest and resistance, open to anyone by virtue of their bodily capacities, those who are marginalized or excluded from traditional politics can participate in democracy by practical assertions of their capacities. In this paper I explore how this attempt to overcome the exceptional space of politics (the state) may have the unintended consequence of creating new forms of exclusion and political invisibility. In this paper, I argue that the democratic politics of disruption put forth by Jacques Rancière, which seeks to overcome the political division of labour in modern liberal democracies, may work to depoliticize the invisible or imperceptible kinds of everyday ‘micro’ or ‘infra-politics’ advanced by James C. Scott and Michel de Certeau.

**Matijasevich, David** (Simon Fraser University)

“Red Lines and Out of Bounds Markers:

An Additional Feature of Illiberal Democracy in Southeast Asia”

Southeast Asian democrats face a political paradox. On the one hand, in the year 2019, more Southeast Asian states meet the requirements to be classified as electoral democracies than ever before. With Thailand expected to return to the polls sometime this year, only Vietnam, Laos, and Brunei remain as full-fledged authoritarian regimes. On the other hand, civil society groups as well as ordinary citizens in most of these electoral democracies continue to face serious challenges in setting the national political agenda. Some, of course, will argue that tried and tested explanations from the comparative politics literature can explain these current shortcomings. These include the explanations put forth by analysts of defective democracy, illiberal democracy, and competitive authoritarianism. Given their explanatory power across a number of Southeast Asian states, the purpose of this paper will not be to dispute the main thrust of their arguments. Rather, the goal of the paper is to supplement some of their analysis with one key feature of the Southeast Asian case studies that is missing in their work. This is the prevalence of what have come to be known as “red lines” or “out of bounds markers”. These can be understood as the legal-formal and informal boundaries that, despite other democratic institutions, limit civil society actors from challenging certain “off-limit” areas of institutional design, public policy, and political power. In this paper, the specific red lines and out of bounds markers of several Southeast Asian case studies will be identified and explored. Most importantly, their key features and dynamics will also be put into contrast with defective democracies, illiberal democracies, and competitive authoritarian regimes. This will be done to help make the theoretical point that these particular features of contemporary Southeast Asian politics cannot be fully captured by existing explanations.

**Messamore, Barbara** (University of the Fraser Valley)

“No, she won’t ‘be able to talk to you about why she made that decision’.”

British Columbia’s May 2017 election was a contested space is every sense of the word.

After the actual seats were contested, the situation was far from resolved, and the provincial legislature became a contested space. But the office of the Lieutenant Governor should not be a contested space. The events that followed the election risked violating that important principle. We promote transparency in government, and yet there are sound reasons for maintaining a veil over the Crown’s function. British Columbia’s 2017 events—Lieutenant Governor Judith Guichon’s refusal to dissolve the legislature on the advice of Premier Christy Clark—attracted wide, even international, attention. This is because of the very rare refusal of advice—a Crown prerogative some observers had previously insisted had lapsed—and because of the retiring premier’s violation of the convention that any discussion between the representative of the Crown and her ministers remain private. The proposed paper will address the two controversies arising out of the June 2017 events: the refusal of advice and the failed attempt to draw the Crown into controversy.

**Netherton, Alex** (Vancouver Island University)

“Pipelines and Multilevel Governance”

My paper will define and analyze the changing policy and multilevel governance context of the Kinder Morgan (and other) pipeline project(s) in Canada.

In this paper I want to look at the transformation of the ‘jobs and growth’ strategy of the former Harper Government to the attempt by the Trudeau government to bring pipelines under the umbrella of a wider climate change policy and reconciliation agenda.

Central to the proposed argument within this paper is that both governments wanted a new or expanded Alberta -tidewater pipeline, and the Trudeau Government’s approach was marked by important and problematic regulatory continuities. But the linked policy conditions of each government were considerably different. It is well known that the Harper framework sparked considerable opposition and, in the end, was relegated to dustbin in an election in which the new Trudeau government wanted to do things differently. And yet, close to the end of the Trudeau government’s first term, no ground has been broken. This paper will examine key reasons behind the apparent stall or potential policy failure and offer some thoughts on its implication.

**Phelps Bondaroff, Teale N.** (Consultant)

“Micronationalism and Performative Sovereignty as Activism: The Case of the Gay and Lesbian Kingdom of the Coral Sea.”

In June 2004, Australian gay rights activists frustrated with domestic blockages to same-sex marriage issue occupied Cato Island, the largest island in the Coral Sea Islands Territory. Emperor Dale Parker Anderson raised the rainbow flag and declared the islands as an independent state. Almost immediately, the Gay and Lesbian Kingdom of the Coral Sea (the Kingdom) declared war on Australia. This paper details the case study of the Kingdom: its origins, evolution, strategy, and outcomes. The Kingdom stands out when situated within the broader ‘micronation movement;’ whereas most micronations have strong libertarian underpinnings, and are often enacted as ends in and of themselves, the Kingdom appears as a tactic within a broader campaign. The paper argues that the Kingdom must be seen within the broader context of the strategic and creative use of international law by activists. The paper then contextualizes the strategy employed through the creation of the Kingdom with the strategic use of international law by other movements (Women on Wave, The Black Fish, and the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society).  The paper concludes by considering the possibility of the use of micronationalism by other social movements.

“The Strategy of Women on Waves: High Seas Abortion Advocacy or Direct Action?”

Women on Waves (WoW) is an international non-governmental organization (INGO) that seeks to prevent unsafe abortions and unwanted pregnancies. It is notable for deploying sexual health and abortion clinics on board vessels just outside of the territorial waters of countries with restrictive access to abortion. Through the use of process tracing and interviews, this paper examines the strategy employed by WoW in its ship-based campaigns. In classifying the strategies of INGOs, scholars often draw distinctions between service provision, advocacy, and direct action. The strategy of WoW seems to defy these categories, and includes elements of all three concurrently. Examining WoW campaigns provides a study of interplay between direct action, advocacy, and service provision in INGO strategy. The paper argues that WoW takes advantage of the complex and contested legal environment of the high seas. It employs legal arbitrage to shield itself from state retaliation while engaging in a form of direct action best described as ‘transgressive service provision.’ However, given the goals of WoW, and the number of other elements it includes in its campaigns, the strategy of WoW is best classified as advocacy. The direct action elements of the strategy play a vital part in amplifying the organizations’ message.

**Prontzos, Peter** (Emeritus Instructor, Langara College)

“You Can’t Build A Dream Without A Plan: Surviving Our Triple Crisis”

It should come as no surprise that humanity is facing three existential threats: the environmental crisis, nuclear war, and fascism. If we have any chance at all to avoid these disasters, we need a radically new approach to engage people around the world to not only understand the causes of these problems, but also to develop a variety of effective and timely strategies to have any chance to overcome them. Moreover, we must have an inspiring and realistic vision of how much better life could be – a vision to motivate us to think beyond our day-to-day struggles. After a brief summary of these challenges, I will explore the political, economic, and psychological barriers that must be overcome if we are to succeed in not only overcoming these threats, but in creating a better world for everyone. Finally, I will consider the nature of the global mass movements that are essential to building a sustainable, peaceful, and egalitarian social order.

**Pyo, Seon Kyung** (MA student, Sogang University, Republic of Korea; faculty supervisor:  Prof. Geunwook Lee)

“The Duration of War and Leader’s Loss of Office”

Does the Rally ‘round the flag effect persist? It argues that public approval for the leader surges under the interstate conflicts, however, it might be a mere short-term phenomenon. At the end of war, leader could be punished by the public depending on the cost of war such as the outcome or fatalities. Previous studies have offered a significant amount of empirical evidence in support of the argument above, but relatively little is known about the cost of war in terms of time. Relying on a merged empirical data set including leader and international conflict data, this research demonstrates the duration of war explains the postwar status of a leader: the longer interstate conflict lasts, the more a leader is likely to lose his/her office regardless of the outcome of war. Moreover, for the purpose of comparing the effect of domestic politics, this paper examines how the duration of war interacts with regime type to affect the survival of leader. Consequently, war itself hurts a leader in deed, considering the length of suffering.

**Rogers, Ann** (Vancouver Island University; Senior Research Affiliate, Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security and Society) and 3 undergrad students:

Lisa-Carolin, Morag Champagne-Holland, Justin North

“Canada’s terrorists: the people behind the labels”

Labelling someone a “terrorist” tends to reduce discussion and debate, giving the state a free hand in implementing its national security agenda. Research in the USA, and now Canada, is uncovering problems with how the terrorism threat has been constructed since 9/11. Issues around cultural profiling, the use of informants, the exploitation of vulnerable people in sting operations, and the authorities’ tendencies to mischaracterize the threat posed are apparent on both sides of the border. The Canadian Anti-Terrorism Study project seeks to re-connect “the terrorist suspect” to their wider social and political contexts in order to investigate Ottawa’s response to political violence. This panel introduces and presents granular, subjective case studies developed about individuals who have undergone legal processes under Canadian terrorism legislation, using an approach modelled on John Mueller’s student-research led program at Ohio State University, Terrorism since 9/11: the American cases. Informed by Critical Terrorism Studies, we contend that a more nuanced approach to understanding who is the Terrorist subject is necessary in order to question whether the state is effectively balancing its responsibilities to preserve Canadian security while promoting Canadian rights and freedoms.

**Singh, Sabina** (Independent Researcher)

“Sovereignty in the Third and Fourth World: A Comparative Discussion on Two Levels”

The topic of colonialism has a rich scholarly history. Many scholars, with some success, have declared themselves “postcolonial” or developed theories such as “neo-colonialism” to describe the current international structure. The question of colonial structures, however, still plays a major roll in current politics. This study looks specifically at expressions of sovereignty within the colonial framework. By comparing third and fourth world theories of sovereignty this study will ask if these concepts are still relevant today and what implications they may have for international politics.

**Smith, Patrick J.** (Simon Fraser University)

“Beavers, Cats and Jack Rabbits: Municipal Policy Making Absent Authority In Canada”

Beaver and Cats have been used as comparative descriptors for local governmental authorities in Canada and the USA who confront local policy dilemmas irrespective of whether such challenges fall within local authority or not.  Those in Canada who seek to extend their policy grasp beyond their own formal authority in efforts to solve local policy challenges have been equated with – “Eager Beavers”. This animal motif – comparing Canadian local beavers with American civic cats – was first used to make Canadian-American comparisons by UC Berkeley colleague Victor Jones (‘cats’) and SFU’s Patrick Smith (‘beavers’) in 1988. The Canadian national rodent vs US kitty cat metaphor was subsequently used by now Vancouver Mayor Kennedy Stewart and Smith as a way to understand civic aberrations such as Vancouver, BC establishing the first official supervised injection site in North America and its municipal shift from a “war on drugs” approach to a more health-based “harm reduction’ model in an effort to respond to drug overdose deaths in the City; this civic action occurred despite a lack of municipal authority. Policy-making absent authority is not without fraught elements: in Vancouver’s case this included visit’s such as by US Drug Czar John Walters and American governmental finger-wagging about Canada’s International narcotics and treaty obligations. These did not prevent local action. Nor has lack of governmental action prevented local, non-governmental activity from taking place (by what we might call local “Jack Rabbits”.) This article reflects upon beaver, cat and jack rabbit responses and what such say about community policy capacity to take local action with or, more importantly, without jurisdictional authority.

**Spears, Kimberly**(University of Victoria)

“Analysis of Citizen Satisfaction Surveys in Local Government in British Columbia”

The research paper assesses twenty-one client satisfaction municipal surveys in British Columbia (BC). Many BC municipalities measure the satisfaction of their residents on a variety of services and issues. This analysis hopes to identify common themes and any distinguishing features that exist in the surveys with the intention of providing advice on how to improve the content or process and in so doing, also compare the surveys to SMART practices in client satisfaction research. The client surveys will be from three main categories in BC municipalities: Villages (seven); Towns (seven); Cities (seven). In support of the theme, ‘Contested Spaces,’ the paper will comment on the usefulness of surveys to measure ‘satisfaction’ and will also deconstruct the term satisfaction.

**Spitka, Timea** [Masaryk University (Czech Republic)]

“Myth of Protection: Security and the Protection of Civilians in Contested Spaces “

Traditional notions of security have focused on the protection of the state or ethno-religious groups. To what extent does national or group security provide protection for vulnerable civilians? International protection norms namely Responsibility to Protect (R2P) have given precedence to human security and civilian protection over state sovereignty. Although human security is part of today’s discourse and has evolved into an international norm, it has not been operationalized into protection of civilians in a divisive context. This research examines dichotomies of national and international protection related to power dynamics, dependency, loyalty and exploitation. It examines protection in a single conflict-ridden case; Israel/Palestine, to illuminate on the gaps in the current studies of security and protection. Examining protection within the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, this research analyses Israeli, Palestinian and international security strategies as they apply to the protection of all civilians. Examining protection versus security strategies, this study reveals some of the realities and myths about national and international protection within contested spaces. The research moves beyond the current lack of protection strategies to discuss alternative and more effective human protection.

**Stinson, Andrew** (London School of Economics)

“Decentralised Amalgamation:

The Effect of Empowered Borough Councils to Fight Homelessness”

This paper focuses on Amalgamation: whether municipalities within a single city should merge into a larger authority. I examined the after effects of three cities which had different levels of centralisation. By looking at borough councils, essentially municipalities underneath Amalgamated city governments, it would shed light on the economies of scale of municipal services.The three cases are: Toronto [ON], a unitary city; London [UK], with empowered boroughs; and Montreal [QC], with weak boroughs. To measure the results, I looked at homelessness between the period of 2009-2015, the budgets of each city, and the outcomes that were attained. I found that the unitary governments of Montreal and Toronto struggled to meet the need, with spending either maintaining or dropping relative to the rest of the budget. Montreal saw no significant benefit over Toronto from its boroughs, as they were shut out of the planning process. The empowered London boroughs examined either maintained or increased their funding and were closer to their stated goals. By showing the efficacy of boroughs under an Amalgamated structure, it speaks to the larger debate on this issue, countering the idea that unitary city governments provide better service, at a lower cost, than fragmented cities.

**Trithara, Dakota** (Ph.D. student, University of Calgary)

“Combating the Manipulation of the Sovereign Will of the People:  Westminster’s Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport Committee’s Securitization of Disinformation”

Following American intelligence agencies’ conclusion that Russian interference occurred in the 2016 U.S. presidential  election, Westminster Parliament’s Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) Committee opened an inquiry into  the role of “fake news” and disinformation in the Brexit vote. Disinformation, according to the Committee, is fabricated  or manipulated content that distorts genuine information to mislead individuals. Considering  disinformation  can be leveraged to undermine electoral integrity, this paper asks how, if at all, the DCMS Committee securitized  the threat of social media disinformation? Using securitization theory, the Discourse of the Committee’s interim  and final reports are examined as a securitizing move aimed at an Audience consisting of three groups: the government,  technology corporations, and the general public. Preliminary findings  suggest some concern exists about the threat disinformation on social media poses to democracy.

**Warner, Rosalind** (Okanagan College)

“The Sustainable Development Goals as Discursive Frame: Potential for Global Change”

This paper explores the potential contribution of the Sustainable Development Goals as a discursive framework for communicating environmental, ethical, and social justice values to multiple diverse local audiences.The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals represent a global agenda with substantial legitimacy and authority, both in their content and in the process by which they have been asserted.  The SDGs can be framed in different ways: as measuring standards for progress, as a set of practical indicators, as a set of ethical imperatives, and even as a series of stories about life and well being. To what degree do the SDGs constitute a discursive framework that is different from or similar to past efforts, and how do these differences affect their potential for success?  What particular framings have the greatest potential to elicit change? To what degree have the SDGs been effective in communicating a universal, indivisible, and aspirational agenda with the potential to inspire impactful changes on social and individual behaviours? The paper will explore these questions through an iterative study of the creation of an online community platform by the author, organized around the SDGs and designed to connect information, people, stories and actions to inspire engagement with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in the local communities of the Okanagan region.  This case will focus in particular on the potential of the Goals to bridge the local and the global contexts, as well as to forge stronger community identity ties with the potential to facilitate change. The paper will achieve these purposes through 1) an analytical introduction to the Goals, their background and origins, especially their functions as communicative tools, 2) a review of relevant research on discursive framings of problems, and their application to the SDGs as communication tools, 3) an exploration of the specific application of the SDGs as an organizing discursive framework for an online community platform, and 4) some conclusions regarding the applicability and effectiveness of the SDGs as a discursive frame for activating social, environmental and political change.The chief contribution of this work is to advance knowledge about the strengths of the SDGs, as compared to other discursive frameworks, in facilitating local and global change toward a more sustainable and equitable future.  The conclusions have the potential to impact efforts to inspire change toward these important goals, by helping groups develop more effective strategies to better communicate their importance to the wider public.