



21ST ANNUAL CONFERENCE

COLLAPSE: NEOLIBERALISM IN CRISIS

**November 17-19, 2017
ETLC, University of Alberta**

parklandconference.ca

COLLAPSE: NEOLIBERALISM IN CRISIS

Parkland Institute's 21ST annual conference examines the current state of neoliberalism, which has been the dominant economic, governmental, and societal ideology of our time.

The conference explores neoliberalism's profound impact on people and the planet, and symptomatic responses to its current crisis, including the rise of extreme right-wing movements.

Seventy years after the Mont Pelerin Society launched the global neoliberal movement, is neoliberalism dead or merely morphing into something even more perilous? What do events such as Brexit, the ascendancy of Donald Trump, and the global (re)emergence of nationalist populism tell us about neoliberalism's collapse? What are the progressive alternatives? And what does it all mean for Alberta, Canada, and the world?

We would like to thank the generous support of the following sponsors for helping us make this conference possible:

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Greetings from Parkland Institute Director

Trevor Harrison

Dear Conference participants,

Welcome to Parkland's 21ST annual fall conference. The institute has long prided itself on addressing topics that are both current and vitally important to the economic, political, and social health of Albertans and Canadians at large. The theme of this year's conference is neoliberalism, and the title, "Collapse: Neoliberalism in Crisis," captures precisely the moment at which we now find ourselves.

Beginning in the late 1970s, we were told repeatedly that a new age of economic prosperity was at hand; that freeing capital markets from government regulation and control would benefit everyone. Moreover, in the words of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, that there was "no alternative."

Some critics argued, however, that the world had witnessed this scene before, and that it always ended badly. The years since have proved these critics largely correct.

Rather than plenty for all, the fruits of neoliberal globalization have gone to a slender few. An Oxfam report released earlier this year showed that 8 men in the world now possess the same wealth as the poorest 50% of the world's population.

Predictably, also, neoliberal globalization has fostered fear and anger; in turn, aiding and abetting growing conflicts within and between nations along racial,

ethnic, religious, class, and gender lines. The seemingly interminable wars across the Middle East and elsewhere, the worldwide refugee crisis, and the polarization of electorates as seen in the United States, Britain, and Europe are only some of the morbid symptoms of neoliberalism in crisis.

But social, economic, and political instability is not the product of a single election or of a single individual. The multiple crises engulfing neoliberalism are built into its DNA. Crises are, in common parlance, "baked in the cake" of neoliberal thought and practice.

These crises have led some to argue that neoliberalism is dead; that the world has entered a new post-global, perhaps even post-capital, period. Is a new regime of capitalist accumulation emerging? Or are we merely at a new stage of neoliberalism? Is there a progressive alternative? If so, what are its elements? And how might progressives win it? In an attempt to answer these questions, Parkland has once again brought together a stellar group of community and academic experts from within and outside Alberta.

Ultimately, as with all of our conferences, the biggest question of all is, "What kind of society do we want – today and in the future?"

Parkland conferences provide the opportunity to meet new people and catch up on old friendships. As

in the past, I hope this conference also informs and inspires you to make a donation so that Parkland can continue to make a difference. Parkland relies on contributions from you, and people like you, to thrive. Finally, I want to personally invite you to come speak with me to discuss your concerns and insights.

With warm regards,

Trevor Harrison
*The Director and Co-founder,
Parkland Institute*

FRIDAY

November 17, 2017

7:00 pm – 9:00 pm
ETLC ROOM 1-001

KEYNOTE

Linda McQuaig

Reclaiming Populism in the Age of Trump

Populism has an honourable tradition of actually defending working people and challenging elites. With neoliberalism now in disarray, the moment is ripe for progressives to tap into the popular dissatisfaction over rising inequality.

SATURDAY

November 18, 2017

8:30 am Doors Open ETLC Lobby

9:00 am – 10:15 am
1-001, ETLC

PLENARY

Martin Lukacs

Justin Trudeau – The Last Stand (and Brand) of Progressive Neoliberalism

How do we contend with a government that preaches diversity, tolerance, and empowerment – but within an inequality-producing economy that is devastating the lives of middle-class and poor people? That marches in our rallies, while courting Bay Street? That borrows its emancipatory language from our movements, while disorganizing our campaigns?

10:15 am – 10:30 am
ETLC Lobby

BREAK

Fairtrade locally roasted coffee and tea from Earth's General Store and pastries by Bon Ton Bakery

10:30 am – 11:45 am
A. 1-013, ETLC

CONCURRENT

Labour: Market Fixes or Market Subsidies

Jason Foster, Athabasca University

Raising the Floor While the Roof Caves In

Andrew Jackson, Broadbent Institute

Basic Income or Decent Work

B. 1-003, ETLC

CONCURRENT

Resistance: Responding to Racism and Prejudice

Isabel Altamirano-Jimenez, University of Alberta

Beyond Resistance – Learning from Indigenous Practices

Bashir Mohamed, Black Lives Matter Edmonton

Historical and Present Systemic Discrimination in Edmonton

11:45 am – 1:00 pm
ETLC Room 1-017

LUNCH

Catered lunch by Upper Crust

CONFERENCE AT A GLANCE

1:00 pm – 2:15 pm
1-001, ETLC

PLENARY

Stephan Lewandowsky

The Post-Truth Era: Decline of Polity or Moral Panic?

Have we really entered a dystopian future in which an opinion market on Twitter, rather than medical experts, determines whether a new strain of avian flu is contagious to humans? Or are we witnessing the moral panic of neoliberal elites whose grip on society is waning?

2:15 pm – 2:30 pm

BREAK

ETLC Lobby

2:30 pm – 3:45 pm
A. 1-013, ETLC

CONCURRENT

Extreme Oil: The Politics of Extraction

Ian Hussey, Parkland Institute

Emma Jackson, University of Alberta

Éric Pineault, Université du Québec à Montréal

B. 1-003, ETLC

CONCURRENT

Health: Protecting the Public Mandate

Rebecca Graff-McRae, Parkland Institute

Blurring the Line: Private Clinics and the Neoliberal Erosion of Public Health Care

Larissa Stendie, Parkland Institute

Social Democracies and Health Care: A Steady Lean to the Right

3:45 pm – 4:00 pm

BREAK

ETLC Lobby

4:00 pm – 5:15 pm
1-001, ETLC

PLENARY

Harsha Walia

Racism, Austerity and Precarity: Canada's Role in the Migrant Crisis

Migrants and racialized communities face systemic barriers to labour rights, permanent residency, and dignity in Canada. With escalating white supremacy as a stark reality alongside the national myth of multiculturalism, how do we challenge structural racism as an integral part of fighting neoliberalism?

5:30 pm – 8:30 pm

DEWEY'S LOUNGE

Conference Social

Join us for conversation and snacks (cash bar).

Dewey's Lounge is on the campus of the University of Alberta not far from the ETLC. Follow the crowd or the signs.

SUNDAY

November 19, 2017

8:30 am Doors Open ETLC Lobby

9:00 am – 10:15 am
1-001, ETLC

PLENARY

Andrew Cash

Working Outside the Law: Neoliberalism's Forgotten Workforce

By 2020 nearly half of all workers in Canada will be forgotten workers with no protection under provincial or federal labour laws or standards. While work has changed, most public policy to support workers is rooted in a past era of mostly stable full-time work. But if old solutions don't work in the new economy how do we make work better?

10:15 am – 10:30 am
ETLC Lobby

BREAK
Fairtrade locally roasted coffee and tea from Earth's General Store and pastries by Bon Ton Bakery

10:30 am – 11:45 am
A. 1-013, ETLC

CONCURRENT

Environment: Neoliberal Assault

Angele Alook, Alberta Union of Provincial Employees

Resource Extraction in Treaty 8 Territory: An Indigenous Feminist Critique

Randolph Haluza-Delay, The King's University

Out of the Corner of the Cage: A better Identity for ecological justice in Alberta

Nicole Marshall, University of Toronto

Thinking Beyond (Neo)Liberal Citizenship: Climate Change, Human Rights, and Migration in the Contemporary Moment

B. 1-003, ETLC

CONCURRENT

Public Services and Democracy

Trevor Harrison, University of Lethbridge

Democracy and Public Services in International Comparison

Dru Oja Jay, Friends of Public Services

A Vision for Democratic Transformation of Public Services

11:45 am – 12:00 pm

BREAK ETLC Lobby

12:00 pm – 1:30 pm
ETLC ROOM 1-001

CLOSING KEYNOTE

Jamie Peck

Neoliberalism: Dead or Alive?

As an ideology, as a political-economic program, and indeed as a concept, neoliberalism has been declared dead more than once. Peck makes the case for the continued salience of this contested and controversial synonym for market rule, even in the age of Trump.

Welcome to Parkland Institute's 21ST Annual Conference

Your full conference registration includes:

- Friday and Sunday Keynotes
- All Plenary and Concurrent Sessions
- Saturday Lunch
- Saturday Evening Social at Dewey's

Food and Beverages

Coffee and tea will be available during breaks. Pastries will be available Saturday and Sunday morning.

Please bring your own cup or mug. If you do not have your own mug, you can purchase a disposable cup for a small donation.

Lunch on Saturday is provided to all full conference registrants, including volunteers who have worked or will work three shifts. Lunch will include vegetarian and gluten-free options. You are welcome to bring your lunch or there are food vendors open on the main floor of the SUB (Students' Union Building).

If You're Late

If you arrive late for the keynotes or plenary sessions, please enter by the doors at the back of the hall so as not to interrupt the speaker.

Parking

We recommend you park in the Windsor Car Park located at 116 Street and 92 Avenue. Friday evening after 6:00 pm, Saturday, and Sunday parking is available for a flat fee of \$5.50. Hourly parking is available on 116 Street for \$3.50/hour.

Volunteers

The Parkland Conference would not be possible without the support of dozens of volunteers who perform hundreds of hours of work on our behalf. Please help us thank them whenever you have the opportunity.

Special Thanks

Flavio Rojas, our graphic designer
Kaitly Doiron, head of stuff and last-minute bailing out
Rob Butz, our web guru

We All Have a Story to Tell

We all have a story to tell, but the precious few minutes afforded us at the end of each session for dialogue is not the time to tell it!

Parkland People are remarkably diverse and our conferences bring together a special blend of academics, activists, students, and community members, every one of whom has an incredible story to tell. That's why we've created a multitude of ways for Parkland People to converse with each other and our guests, including multiple breaks and the Saturday evening social at Dewey's.

Please help ensure that the question and answer time allotted at the end of every session is enjoyed by everyone by following these few rules:

Keep your remarks short and to the point. Questions or comments that require lengthy background information are not well-suited to this format. If you cannot ask a question within 30 seconds, consider saving it for another opportunity.

Do not hog the microphone. People who have not yet had the opportunity to speak will be given priority.

Speaking lists may be altered to balance representation by age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnic or other identities. Just because you put your hand up first doesn't mean it's always your turn.

Value dialogue. Everyone has something to contribute.

Please do not interrupt speakers, facilitators, or other conference-goers.

Do not campaign at the mic. It is inappropriate to ask your fellow conference-goers to support your cause, no matter how important it is.

Be conscious of how your behaviour impacts others. Practice stepping up/stepping back so we can ensure that everyone is allowed to contribute.

And when in doubt, remember what Aretha taught us – RESPECT.

FRIDAY

November 17, 2017

7:00 pm - 9:00 pm

1-001 ETLC



KEYNOTE

Linda McQuaig

Reclaiming Populism in the Age of Trump

The rise of Trump and others on the far-right highlights a deep dissatisfaction with the neoliberal status quo of the last three decades. Parading as populists, Trump and his crowd are trying to shape the anti-status quo sentiment into a nasty right-wing juggernaut that rewards themselves and offers nothing to working people.

But populism has an honourable tradition of actually defending working people and challenging elites. With neoliberalism now in disarray, the moment is ripe for progressives to tap into the popular dissatisfaction over rising inequality—with an agenda that empowers working people and allows them to capture a fair share of the wealth we all collectively create.

Journalist and best selling author Linda McQuaig has a reputation for challenging the Establishment.

As a *Globe and Mail* reporter, she won a National Newspaper Award in 1989 for a series of articles which sparked a public inquiry and led to the imprisonment of Ontario political lobbyist Patti Starr.

As a Senior Writer for *Maclean's* magazine, McQuaig probed the early business dealings of Conrad Black in two provocative cover stories. An angry Black suggested on CBC Radio that McQuaig should be "horsewhipped."

She has been a rare voice of dissent in the mainstream media. Since 2002, she has used her op-ed column in the *Toronto Star* to challenge the prevailing economic dogma, take on powerful business moguls and consistently champion a more equal and inclusive society.

As an NDP candidate in the 2015 federal election, McQuaig was denounced by Stephen Harper after she stated on CBC-TV that much of the oil from the oil sands would have to stay in the ground, if Canada is to meet its climate-change targets.

She is the author of seven controversial national best sellers, including *Shooting the Hippo: Death by Deficit and Other Canadian Myths*, which was recently selected one of the top 25 books of the past 25 years by the *Literary Review of Canada*. Her most recent book (co-written with Neil Brooks) is *The Trouble with Billionaires: How the Super-Rich Hijacked the World and How We Can Take It Back*.

SATURDAY

November 18, 2017

8:30 am	Doors Open ETLC Lobby
9:00 am – 10:15 am Room 1-001, ETLC	Plenary Session Justin Trudeau – The Last Stand (and Brand) of Progressive Neoliberalism



Martin Lukacs

Millions of people voted for Justin Trudeau because he buzzed with progressive charisma. In symbolism alone, he has followed through: we now have “feminist” free trade, colonialism in a buckskin jacket, peace diplomacy via military might, and an environmentalism of windmills and pipelines. In short, this is “progressive neoliberalism.”

How do we contend with a government that preaches diversity, tolerance and empowerment, but within an inequality-producing economy that is devastating the lives of middle-class and poor people? That marches in our rallies, while courting Bay Street? That borrows its emancipatory language from our movements, while disorganizing our campaigns?

Martin Lukacs is a journalist who writes for the *Guardian*. He was an organizer and co-author of the Leap Manifesto, and has been involved in movements for social and ecological justice for fifteen years. He lives in Montréal.

10:15 am - 10:30 am ETLC Lobby	Break Fairtrade locally roasted coffee and tea from Earth's General Store and Pastries by Bon Ton Bakery
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SATURDAY

November 18, 2017

10:30 am – 11:45 am
Room 1-013, ETLC

Concurrent Session

A. Labour: Market Fixes or Market Subsidies



Jason Foster

Raising the Floor While the Roof Caves In

Minimum wages are a hot political topic in Canada these days with Alberta and other provinces committing to \$15 per hour. While higher statutory minimums are a victory for low-income workers, the focus on traditional policy fixes may cause us to lose sight of the bigger picture. The post-war labour market has been systematically dismantled by three decades of neoliberal economic policy. The symptoms of a crumbling labour market structure abound: stagnant wages; the growth in precarious work; employers' increasing use of migrant workers; the dual trends of deskilling and automation; the slow erosion of the labour movement; the rise of the so-called "gig" economy. The future of the labour market appears bleak. Fixing it requires more than higher minimum wages and better employment standards protections. We need to look for new solutions to rebuild the foundation of a healthy labour market.

Jason Foster is an Assistant Professor of Human Resources and Labour Relations at Athabasca University. His research focuses on workplace injury, migrant workers, and union renewal. He is author of *Defying Expectations: The Case of UFCW Local 401* (forthcoming) and co-author of *Health and Safety in Canadian Workplaces*.



Andrew Jackson

Basic Income or Decent Work?

This presentation critiques proposals for a Universal Basic Income (UBI) and argues in favour of fundamental labour market reforms, including pro-union policies, higher employment standards, and reduced working time, as well as re-distribution of wealth and targeted reform of income security programs, to counter the growth of precarious work and economic inequality. UBI could lead to increased poverty, erosion of public services, and acceptance of high levels of under-employment.

Andrew Jackson spent most of his career as Chief Economist and Director of Social and Economic Policy with the Canadian Labour Congress. Since retiring from the CLC in 2012 he has been senior policy adviser to the Broadbent Institute, and spent two years as the Packer Visiting Professor of Social Justice at York University. He is currently an adjunct research professor at Carleton University. He writes a biweekly online column for the *Globe and Mail* and is the author of numerous articles and several books, including *Work and Labour in Canada: Critical Issues* which is now in its third edition with Canadian Scholars Press.

SATURDAY

November 18, 2017

10:30 am – 11:45 am
Room 1-003, ETLC

Concurrent Session

B. Resistance: Responding to Racism and Prejudice



Isabel Altamirano-Jimenez

Beyond Resistance – Learning from Indigenous Practices

Racism against Indigenous peoples still thrives in Canada. The missing and murdered Indigenous women, the deaths of First Nations students in Thunder Bay, and online comments related to Indigenous stories are only a few examples. However, Indigenous peoples are often excluded from anti-racism. Looking at this tension, in this presentation I explore how colonial policies and ideologies have continued to maintain a relation of domination in modern Canada and, in turn, how Indigenous peoples respond with practices that go beyond resistance.

Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez is Zapotec from the Tehuantepec Isthmus, Oaxaca, Mexico and an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Alberta, where she teaches comparative Indigenous politics. Her research interrogates the connections between resource extraction, land, body and consent and explores the contemporary mechanisms and practices through which Indigenous land is accessed. Among her publications are: *Living on the Land. Indigenous Women Understanding of Place* (edited with N. Kermoal) and *Indigenous Encounters with Neoliberalism. Place, Women and the Environment*.



Bashir Mohamed

Historical and Present Systemic Discrimination in Edmonton

We will cover Edmonton's history of systemic racism by exploring historical events and linking them to today. The first part of the talk will cover the resistance against black immigration, the influential role of the Ku Klux Klan in a mayoral election, and the rise of local fights for racial justice. This will lead into a discussion of Edmonton now and what Edmontonians can do to fight racism.

Bashir Mohamed recently graduated from the University of Alberta with a degree in Political Science. He is the former Co-Chair of Policing with Black Lives Matter Edmonton.

11:45 am – 1:00 pm
Room 1-017

Lunch – Catered lunch by Upper Crust

SATURDAY

November 18, 2017

1:00 pm – 2:15 pm
Room 1-001, ETLC

Plenary Session

The Post-Truth Era: Decline of Polity or Moral Panic?



Stephan Lewandowsky

Terms such as *post-truth* and *fake news* have become increasingly prevalent in public discourse over the last year. Have we really entered a dystopian future in which an opinion market on Twitter, rather than medical experts, determines whether a new strain of avian flu is contagious to humans? Or are we witnessing the moral panic of neoliberal elites whose grip on society is waning? I examine recent public events such as the 2016 US presidential election within the broader context of research into misinformation and science denial. What are the various ways that misinformation adversely impacts society? How do people respond to corrections of misinformation, and what kinds of corrections are most effective? Are we really in a *post-truth* world? I argue that what many call the *post-truth* era emerged as a result of societal mega-trends such as a decline in social capital, growing economic inequality, increasing polarization, declining trust in science, and an increasingly fractionated media landscape. I outline a number of hypothetical paths forward.

Professor Stephan Lewandowsky is a cognitive scientist at the University of Bristol in the UK. An Australian Professorial Fellow from 2007 to 2012, he was awarded a Discovery Outstanding Researcher Award from the Australian Research Council in 2011. He held a Revesz Visiting Professorship at the University of Amsterdam in 2012 and received a Wolfson Research Fellowship from the Royal Society upon moving to the UK in 2013. In 2016, he was appointed a fellow of the Center for Skeptical Inquiry for his commitment to science, rational inquiry and public education and, in 2017, was appointed a Fellow of the Academy of Social Science.

His research examines people's memory, decision making, and knowledge structures, with a particular emphasis on how people update information in memory. His most recent research interests examine the potential conflict between human cognition and the physics of the global climate, which has led him into research on climate science and climate modeling. He has published more than 150 scholarly articles, chapters, and books, including numerous papers on how people respond to corrections of misinformation and what variables determine people's acceptance of scientific findings.

Professor Lewandowsky is an award-winning teacher and was Associate Editor of the *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* from 2006-2008. He is currently serving as Digital Content Editor for the Psychonomic Society and blogs routinely on cognitive research at psychonomic.org.

2:15 pm – 2:30 pm

Break

SATURDAY

November 18, 2017

2:30 pm – 3:45 pm
Room 1-013, ETLC

Concurrent Session

A. Extreme Oil: The Politics of Extraction

In this era of extreme oil, we are confronted with the problem of unburnable but extractible oil reserves. Can we overcome the economic, social, and political inertia created by Big Oil and captured state institutions to fulfill our treaty and environmental obligations?

This session will be a conversation on our collective Corporate Mapping Project study — the *Big 8 Project*. The audience will learn about the five bitumen extractors and three pipeline operators that control most of the oil sands industry, and the effects the industry has on the environment and Indigenous rights and title.



Ian Hussey

Ian Hussey is a research manager at Parkland Institute, where he designs, conducts, and manages political economy, labour, and climate research. He is also a steering committee member and the Alberta regional research manager for the SSHRC-funded Corporate Mapping Project. Before joining Parkland Institute, Ian worked for several international development organizations, including as the co-founder and executive director of the Canadian Fair Trade Network (2004-2008). Ian's Master's degree in sociology from the University of Victoria focused on policy research, political economy, and research on corporate-government relations. Ian's PhD studies at York University focused on the sociology of colonialism and on political economy. He is currently writing his dissertation on a part-time basis. It focuses on international Fairtrade certification as an instrument for regulating market relations. Ian is a Research Affiliate of the Global Labour Research Centre at York University.



Emma Jackson

Emma Jackson is a settler on Treaty 6 land, where she is an MA candidate in the department of sociology at the University of Alberta. Her research interests include feminist political economy, transnational migration, and geographies of resource extraction. Her MA thesis is investigating live-in caregivers' experiences of the Fort McMurray wildfire and what said experiences reveal about increasingly neoliberal approaches to disaster recovery. Emma holds a degree in geography from Mount Allison University and has spent four years as a student organizer with the Canadian fossil fuel divestment movement. She is also a research assistant at Parkland Institute for the SSHRC-funded Corporate Mapping Project, where she is investigating Canada's eight largest oil, gas, and pipeline corporations.



Éric Pineault

Éric Pineault is a professor at Université du Québec à Montréal, where he teaches political economy in the department of sociology and ecological economics in the environmental sciences institute. His current research focuses on the political economy of the ecological transition in Canada and of the extractive sector in Canada and globally.

He has recently published *Le piège Énergie Est* with *Écosociété*, a book that critically examines the proposed Energy East pipeline project. Eric is a core team member of the Corporate Mapping Project and the co-lead of a CMP sub-project on the eight largest Canadian oil-producing and pipeline corporations.

SATURDAY

November 18, 2017

2:30 pm – 3:45 pm
Room 1-003, ETLC

Concurrent Session

B. Health: Protecting the Public Mandate



Rebecca Graff-McRae

Blurring the Line: Private Clinics and the Neoliberal Erosion of Public Health Care

A trifecta of neoliberal strategies – budget cuts, deregulation, and privatization – work to undermine our public health care system. As the impacts of reduced resources take effect, waiting times increase and finding a family physician becomes more difficult. Then, those same neoliberal advocates propose market-based solutions for the very problems they’ve created.

One manifestation of this is private membership clinics which have gained a foothold in Alberta over the last decade. The interests behind these clinics claim that their business model merely enhances and complements publicly available services even though they are predicated on exclusivity. The blurred line between private and public health care works to normalize a two-tiered system in which those who can afford to pay have the luxury of expedited care and those who cannot must wait.

Rebecca Graff-McRae is a research manager for Parkland Institute. She completed her undergraduate and doctoral studies at Queen's University Belfast, exploring the role of memory and commemoration in post-conflict transition. She has previously worked with the Equality Commission for Northern Ireland and Edmonton City Council, and has held post-doctoral research fellowships at Memorial University Newfoundland and the University of Alberta.



Larissa Stendie

Social Democracies and Health Care: A Steady Lean to the Right

When the NDP were first elected in Alberta, Parkland reviewed provincial NDP governments elsewhere to see if there was any merit to the hyperbolic warnings from the right about the incoming spendthrifts. In examining the governance, fiscal records, and historical contexts of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and BC, with a focus on health care, what we instead found was a slow movement through the 1990s and 2000s towards the normalization of neoliberal austerity measures across the board.

Larissa Stendie holds an interdisciplinary Masters of Philosophy in Culture, Environment and Sustainability from the SUM Centre at the University of Oslo, where her research focused a political ecology lens on applications of indigenous consultation (FPIC) and deliberative-discursive democracy. Before returning to Canada, she coordinated international development projects in West Africa and researched for The Lancet Commission on Global Governance (Political Determinants) for Health. She has served as conference coordinator and research manager for Parkland Institute, and as Energy and Climate Campaigner for Sierra Club BC. Currently, she is an independent consultant working on research, project management and public engagement with the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-BC (the Corporate Mapping Project), BC-MLA Adam Olsen, the Saanich Inlet Network and BC Sustainable Energy Association.

SATURDAY

November 18, 2017

3:45 pm – 4:00 pm	Break
4:00 pm – 5:15 pm Room 1-001, ETLC	Plenary Session Racism, Austerity and Precarity: Canada's Role in the Migrant Crisis



Harsha Walia

Migrants and racialized communities face systemic barriers to labour rights, permanent residency, and dignity in Canada. With escalating white supremacy as a stark reality alongside the national myth of multiculturalism, how do we challenge structural racism as an integral part of fighting neoliberalism?

Harsha Walia is a co-founder of the migrant justice group No One is Illegal, award-winning author of *Undoing Border Imperialism*, and Project Coordinator at the Downtown Eastside Women's Centre. For the past two decades, she has been involved in grassroots community organizing including through Anti-Capitalist Convergence, Boycott Divest Sanctions campaigns, Indigenous Defenders of the Land network, and the February 14th Women's Memorial March Committee. Trained in the law, she has made numerous presentations on race, migration, detention, gender, and poverty to the United Nations and across campuses and media outlets in North America and Europe. Harsha is a recipient of awards presented by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, BC Civil Liberties Association, *Westender's* Best of the City in Activism Award, and has been named one of the most influential South Asians in BC by the Vancouver Sun and "one of Canada's most brilliant and effective organizers" by Naomi Klein.

5:30 pm – 8:30 pm
Dewey's Lounge

Conference Social

Join us for conversation and snacks (cash bar)



SUNDAY

November 19, 2017

8:30 am	Doors Open ETLC Lobby
9:00 am – 10:15 am Room 1-001, ETLC	Plenary Session Working Outside the Law: Neoliberalism's Forgotten Workforce



Andrew Cash

By 2020 close to half of all workers in Canada will be freelance, on-contract, self-employed, temp, contingent, on-call or part-time workers. Most are a bike accident away from the financial abyss. With no protection under provincial or federal labour laws or standards, independent workers can't access benefits like maternity leave, employment insurance, a pension or job security, not to mention extended health and dental insurance. While work has changed most public policy to support workers is rooted in a past era of mostly stable full-time work. But if old solutions don't work in the new economy how do we make work better?

Andrew Cash is the co-founder of the Urban Worker Project, a national initiative aimed at building a stronger voice and better conditions for freelance, on contract, self-employed and part-time workers in Canada. As a Member of Parliament he tabled ground-breaking legislation dealing with precarious work which led to first-time protections for unpaid interns under federal labour laws. Prior to politics Andrew worked as a freelance writer covering a broad range of social, political, and environmental issues for *Now Magazine*. Andrew is a Juno and SOCAN award-winning musician and composer with over a dozen albums to his credit. He lives in Toronto with his wife and four children.

10:15 am - 10:30 am ETLC Lobby	Break Fairtrade locally roasted coffee and tea from Earth's General Store and pastries by Bon Ton Bakery
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Linda Duncan

**Member of Parliament
Edmonton Strathcona**

780-495-8404
www.LindaDuncanMP.ca   LindaDuncanMP

SUNDAY

November 19, 2017

10:30 am – 11:45 am
Room 1-013, ETLC

Concurrent Session

A. Environment: Neoliberal Assault



Angele Alook

Resource Extraction in Treaty 8 Territory: An Indigenous Feminist Critique

This session examines the profound socio-economic inequity and environmental impacts of resource extraction in Treaty 8 territory. Highlighting specifically the racialized and gendered life scripts of those in my home community of Bigstone Cree Nation, I will use an Indigenous feminist approach to begin to explore the growing social and political movements for climate justice rising in response.

Dr. Angele Alook is proud member of Bigstone Cree Nation and a speaker of the Cree language. She recently successfully defended her PhD in Sociology from York University. Her dissertation is entitled "Indigenous Life Courses: Racialized Gendered Life Scripts and Cultural Identities of Resistance and Resilience." She specializes in Indigenous feminism, life course approach, Indigenous research methodologies, cultural identity, and sociology of family and work.

Angele currently works in the labour movement as a full-time researcher for the Alberta Union of Provincial Employees. She is also a co-investigator on the SSHRC-funded Corporate Mapping Project, where she is carrying out research with Parkland Institute on Indigenous experiences in Alberta's oil industry and its gendered impact on working families.

Save the Date!

Parkland's Annual Fundraising Gala
and Silent Auction

March 1st, 2018

**Chateau Lacombe Hotel
10111 Bellamy Hill Rd NW**

SUNDAY

November 19, 2017

10:30 am – 11:45 am
Room 1-013, ETLC

Concurrent Session (*Continued*)

A. Environment: Neoliberal Assault



Randolph Haluza-Delay

Out of the Corner of the Cage: A better Identity for ecological justice in Alberta

We need to be clear about what is assaulting the environment. Nature is a caged beast made to perform for an elite audience. Neoliberalism is the economization of all things and the valorization of “free” markets where everything is free, except nature itself. Neoliberalism advocates the rolling back of the state and of civil society from protecting public goods to whimpering in the corners of the cage. And what supports this assault? A culture wherein inenergy is what makes us Albertan. Alberta culture itself is a site of political struggle. How can we create a different identity for *homo alberticus* than the neoliberal, nature-assaulting one?

Randolph Haluza-DeLay is a father, birdwatcher, and cycle commuter, and spent 15 years as a wilderness guide. As a sociology professor at The King's University in Edmonton his research includes two co-edited books: *Speaking for Ourselves: Environmental Justice in Canada* (The University of British Columbia Press, 2009), and the *How the World's Religions are Responding to Climate Change: Social Science Investigations* (Routledge, 2014).

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SUNDAY

November 19, 2017

10:30 am – 11:45 am
Room 1-013, ETL C

Concurrent Session (*Continued*)

A. Environment: Neoliberal Assault



Nicole Marshall

Thinking Beyond (Neo)Liberal Citizenship: Climate Change, Human Rights, and Migration in the Contemporary Moment

This paper questions the normative significance that climate change will have on (neo)liberal conceptualizations of citizenship. It suggests that the normative order of the modern world rests upon historically inappropriate (neo)liberal assumptions about territorial sovereignty and political citizenship that provide little guidance for the emerging realities of climate change, where sea level rise will threaten the territorial existence of low-lying small island states, disrupting their citizenship status and — through this — their access to rights. Through a look at the environmental and political conditions on Tuvalu, Kiribati, and the Maldives — the expected first state casualties to climate change — this presentation highlights a deep tension that emerges in the nexus between universal human rights and claims for national identity on the part of potential climate change migrants. Rejecting both liberal and neoliberal approaches to citizenship as inappropriate in the face of climate change, the paper turns to the politics of memory, and a break with many of the traditional time-space limitations these approaches place on citizenship, as a way to bridge the emerging gulf.

Nicole Marshall is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Toronto. Her current research combines political theory and field work in Tuvalu and Kiribati to explore new ways of thinking about citizenship and rights, beyond their traditional ties to the sovereign state. In particular, she works with the concept of post-territorial citizenship as a rights-distributing mechanism that could extend political membership beyond the physical loss of the state in the face of rising sea levels.

Nicole completed her PhD at the University of Alberta, where her research explored how forced environmental migration challenges the moral legitimacy of the Westphalian sovereign state system. In her dissertation, she argues that the fallacious separation of *the political* from *the environmental* in international law, policy, and prevailing public discourses has significantly reduced the capacity of the current international regime to meet the array of challenges presented by climate change.

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SUNDAY

November 19, 2017

10:30 am – 11:45 am
Room 1-003, ETLC

Concurrent Session
B. Public Services and Democracy



Trevor Harrison

Democracy and Public Services in International Comparison

Using cross-national data, this presentation shows that countries with comprehensive public services tend to rate higher on measures of participatory democracy, political engagement, and public trust.

Dr. Trevor Harrison is Director of Parkland Institute. He is a Professor of Sociology in the Faculty of Arts and Science at the University of Lethbridge, and Associate Director and Research Affiliate of the Prentice Institute for Global Population and Economy.



Dru Oja Jay

A Vision for Democratic Transformation of Public Services

How can we expand the horizons of democratic decision making to allow for the possibility of fully addressing the social and environmental crises we face? Dru Oja Jay will discuss the Delivering Community Power campaign, examining how a collaboration between the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and a broad array of social and environmental groups expanded imaginations across the country, and exploring what an expansive vision for democratic transformation of other public services could look like moving forward.

Dru Oja Jay is a writer, organizer and web developer based in Montreal, Quebec. He is a co-founder of the Media Co-op, Journal Ensemble, Friends of Public Services, and Courage. He is co-author, with Nikolas Barry-Shaw, of *Paved with Good Intentions: Canada's development NGOs from idealism to imperialism*.

11:45 am – 12:00 pm

Break

SUNDAY

November 19, 2017

12:00 pm -1:30 pm

1-001 ETLC



CLOSING KEYNOTE

Jamie Peck

Neoliberalism: Dead or Alive?

As an ideology, as a political-economic program, and indeed as a concept, neoliberalism has been declared dead more than once. Peck makes the case for the continued salience of this contested and controversial synonym for market rule, even in the age of Trump.

Jamie Peck is Canada Research Chair in Urban & Regional Political Economy, Distinguished University Scholar, and Professor of Geography at the University of British Columbia. With long-term research interests in urban restructuring, geographical political economy, labour studies, the politics of policy formation and mobility, and economic geography, his current research is focused on the financial restructuring of U.S. cities, the politics of contingent labor, and the political economy of neoliberalization.

Jamie's Recent books include *Offshore: Exploring the worlds of global outsourcing* (2017, Oxford); *Fast Policy: Experimental statecraft at the thresholds of neoliberalism* (2015, Minnesota, with Nik Theodore); *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason* (2010, Oxford); and the *Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Economic Geography* (2012, Wiley, coedited with Trevor Barnes & Eric Sheppard). A Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, and previously the holder of Guggenheim and Harkness fellowships, Peck is the Editor-in-Chief of the *Environment and Planning* series of journals.

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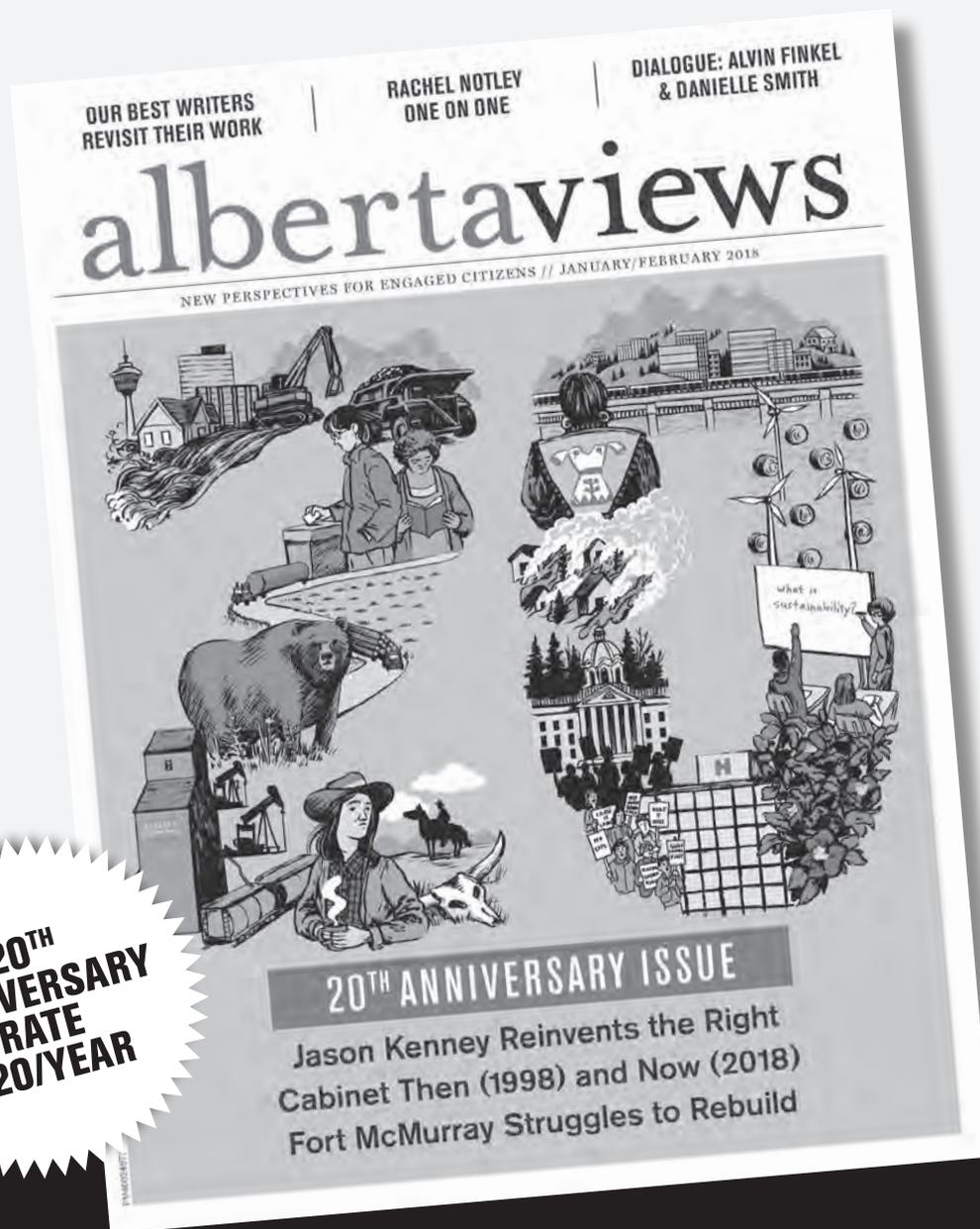
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