

POL2101: Intro to Canadian Politics
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Lecture 1: June 18th

Midterm July 4th

Exam July 30th 4-7

- Canadian politics is a sub-field of Politics, comparative politics, etc...
- What is politics?
 - The art and science of governments
 - Influencing and making policy
 - Politics is about power
 - Found pretty much anywhere. in business, in government, at university level, in churches, and in families
- **Politics** is the activity in which groups or individuals struggle for power and advantage to determine “who get what when and how”
- Influencing and making collective decisions
- What is the **state**?
 - The totality of public institutions that have the authority and legitimacy to enact and enforce laws. Applies to an area of definite boundaries and has a monopoly over the legitimate use of force
 - Must have a permanent population, a defined territory, a government, and a capacity to enter into relations with other states. It can be likened to a car, the State is the Car, and the government in the driver
- **The public Sector**
 - Refers to institutions and departments and crown corporations within the government
- **The Private sector**
 - Refers to small businesses, corporations, charitable organizations, and privately traded company
- **Political institution:** Persistent and connected sets of rules, formal and informal, that prescribe behavior rules, constrain/permit activity and shape
- **Democracy:** The people rule
 - A system of governance in which the people rule either directly or through the election of representative. Can be found anywhere
 - Struggle for democracy underlies many political struggles
 - Electoral process, articulation of view, and direct or indirect representation
 - The collective grouping of laws to the people subject to those laws
 - Minimal conditions include
 - Control of gov’t decision must be constitutionally bested by elected officials
 - Elected officials are chosen in frequent and fair elections
 - All adults may be allowed to vote and run for office
 - Citizens must have the right to express themselves without fear of punishment
 - Citizens must have the right to seek out information
 - Citizens must have the right to for independent associations

- For democracy to flourish, citizens must hold certain beliefs and values. Views of political engagement must be accepted by the citizens, must value involvement, must value participation
- Canada has been described as a liberal democracy
 - **Liberal democracy:** Certain civil and political rights are guaranteed, and are essential for a democracy to flourish. A state bearing these rights is referred to as a liberal democracy
 - Accountability of officials
 - Constitutional limits on state power
 - Belief in liberalism and right
 - \majority rule
 - Political competition
 - Legal and political equality
 - The law is supreme and applies to all
 - **Representative democracy**
 - Citizens elect representatives to make decisions on their behalf
 - Comprised of referendums, initiatives (people will draft a law of policy and if a number of citizens sign a petition it can be put to a vote), recall (citizens can acquire petitions to hold an election in a riding for a member whom is not liked)
 - **Deliberative democracy:**
 - Citizens are assembled in groups and a period of time to discuss certain issues
 - A few years ago many Ontarians gathered to change the electoral systems in Ontario
- **The Canadian Constitution**
 - Comprises the Charter of Rights and Freedoms
 - Establishes the institutions of government, describes processes of by which laws can be made, establishes restriction on the laws of the states, and expresses shared values
- **Civil Society**
 - All organizations and groups between the family and the state while excluding business that provide cheques and balances to government
 - Essential for vibrant democracy
 - Can take many forms, not all political (book clubs, religious associations, hockey clubs)
 - Some more political than others
- **Political engagement:**
 - Different from civic engagement
 - **Civic engagement:** Set of activities in your community (volunteering)
 - Civic can be used along with citizen
 - Canada has a high level of citizen engagement
 - **Political engagement:** The actions people take to raise awareness of issues and influences the choice of gov't personnel and to shape the context of government policies (Ex: protest, joining political parties, petitions, voting, running for office)
- A reasonable level of political interest and knowledge, a reasonable level of trust in government are essential to democratic culture. The level of civic involvement is embarrassingly low
- Canadians aged from 18-24, fewer than 40% voted, however there is a strong adherence to individualistic beliefs
- Resulting in a declining level of political engagement

- The highest level of political engagement in the US is during the depression years, and during the War years.

Cyber activism:

- Has become more prominent in recent years
- Political activism employing online communications tools that has been used by protest groups to great effect
- Tool for activism and may be where young people feel more comfortable

Theory:

- A Logical explanation for why things are the way they are

People look for **explanations** of political phenomena

- And concentrate on the actions of groups, actions of classes, the elites
- How social groups and institutions shape policy

Class Analysis:

- Who pays? Who determines? Who benefits?

Lecture 2: (June 20th)

Base Points:

- **Economic/social context**
- **Canadian Political culture**
- **Confederation**

A successful country is wealthy, democratic, human rights are respected,

- Indicators
 - GDP, 27th on the list
 - States ranks 15th
 - Human development index: measures countries on life expectancy, education, and GNP per capita
 - Index of democracy: measure the degree of democracy in a country
 - Canada ranks number 1
 - Freedom house measures how political rights and liberties are respected

The Canadian economy has a number of major features

Economic context of politics

- Market based economy (capitalist)
 - Right to private property is protected
 - Prices determined by supply and demand
 - Industrial methodology is the motus operandi of business
 - Substantial business competition
- Highly resource dependent
 - Canada has always been dependent on resources
 - Cod harvesting, exploitation of forests, mining reserves, oil sands
 - Oil exports a huge driver of economy
 - North are resource rich areas awaiting exploitation
 - Forests are over exploited
 - Salmon are in an uncertain state
 - Environmental degradation is prominent across Canada

- More economic growth means more government involvement
 - Gov'ts and business have not been concerned with being a manufacturing power
- High degree of foreign ownership
 - The ownership of Canadian corporation by outside interests (US, China, Europe)
 - Has been the pattern for a long time
 - Reliance on British capital for development (aka debt capital)
 - It is now known as Equity capital (Ownership)
 - Difficult to do economic planning when the country is owned by foreigners
 - Can be reversed by jacking up tariffs, setting up companies to work in Canada
 - Can be viewed as a good thing
 - Leftern politicians see no difference
 - Excessive foreign ownership may make it difficult to steer the economy
 - Harper government have limited state owned foreign company's buying powers
- Depends greatly on trade (with the US)
 - ¾ of our trade is with the US
 - ¾ of that is trade within corporations (Microsoft Canada and Microsoft)
 - Canadian Gov't have been seeking Free trade agreements
 - Govts impose tariffs on goods to increase prices and favour home based company
 - Subsidies are given to favour home based companies
 - Globalization is an economic concept
 - To facilitate the free movement of capital goods in the interest of profit-seeking orgs
 - Remove or reduce tariffs
 - Consequences =
 - Attractiveness to foreign countries
 - Decreased labour laws, and env regulations
 - NAFTA, reduced taxes, govt spending
 - Globalisation has an impact on politics and policy
 - Influences democracy itself
 - There is a tension b/w the needs of corporations and needs of citizens
- High degree of state involvement
 - John A Macdonald was determined to assist the railways and build infrastructure
 - Negative = close relationship b/w politicians and businesses
 - The closeness remains
 - As does govt involvement in business activities
 - Bailouts, tax breaks, loans
 - Use fiscal and monetary policy to stabilise the economy
 - Govt presence reduced in a direct sense
 - This approach is called **neoliberalism**
 - Ideological perspective based on a strong belief in a free market system that advocates such measures as a major reduction in government involvement, including the dismantling of the welfare state, reduction in taxes, and global free trade
- To this day we view Canada as being expendable
 - The federal government stayed out of the Quebec referendum
 - The federal gov't did absolutely nothing

Social context of Politics

- The gap between those with large incomes and those with small incomes
- The growing of that gap
- No rise in the disposable incomes of the average Canadians, non-similar to those of previous decades
- Canada is a welfare state
 - Where the state provides an income floor to help the retire, disabled, unemployed
 - Labour legislation to regular work places
 - Childcare support
 - Very expensive (healthcare is 40% of Ontario's budget)
- Stimulus for welfare spending emerged in the great depression
- The tax justice network estimate that tax savings come to the trillions of dollars
- Canada's 1 percent's income has doubled recently
- Inequality amongst gender, race, sexual minorities
- Social classes:
 - Broad groupings of people with similar education and similar education status
 - Serious class differences exist whether they are conscious or not
- Differences in wealth across Canada
 - Such as the Maritimes being less well off than other provinces
 - Equalisation payments made to the poorer provinces
 - Recently put into the constitution by the PM
- Gender inequality remains a feature in Canadian segregation
 - Women often stuck in lower paying jobs
 - And healthcare for family
- Charter of rights and freedoms has helped gay and lesbians against discrimination in equality exists and persists marked by differential in income
 - Govt efforts to deal with it have been substantial and ongoing

Political culture:

- Fundamental political values, beliefs, customs, and orientations that are widely held within a political community
- Attitudes about govts role on freedom, equality, democracy, justice, rights
 - Issues one would talk about while discussing political culture
 - Can learn about Political culture by paying attention to political discussion
 - More prosperous regions may stress different values than poor regions
 - Whether the government exists to do good to the country or themselves
 - About the citizens sense on political efficacy
 - Whether they can influence political decisions and be effective in political discussion
 - Political efficacy is low = political participation is low
 - Efficacy in Canada may be low due to people feeling powerless towards politicians
- Political discourse
 - The ways in which politics is discussed and the rhetoric used in political persuasion

- Political socialization
 - Referring to how young people learn about politics and the political beliefs of the culture
 - Media, schools, family, interest groups, peers are the main influences
 - Begins in childhood, pick up messages about authority, inclusion, exclusion
 - Shaped in part by how we are treated in the family and where we are in the family context
 - Evolve and re-socialized as we become engaged in the world
- Political ideology***
 - A consistent set of beliefs about how society should be run or operated
 - Most often used when speaking of the role of the state or income inequality
 - Consists of:
 - A theory about the causes of a society's dysfunctions
 - And a prescription for those ails
 - The dominant ideologies are liberalism, conservatism, socialism, and nationalism
 - Recent 2 more ideologies have emerged – feminism and environmentalism
 - Less popular: libertarianism, and communitarianism
 - Serves a number of functions
 - Explanatory function
 - Offers and explanations for why economic condition are what they are
 - Evaluative functions
 - Determines if what you have explained is good or bad
 - Orientation function
 - Gives people a way to approach an issue and analyze it
 - Programmatic function
 - The sis your program for dealing with society's problems
 - All of us bear ideologies as we all have a value system
 - Important that we do not hold too tightly to our ideology as rigidity will ignore certain realities, while its gives you something to believe in and a platform for action
- Theories to explain our political culture
 - How did these ideologies become formed
 - 1) The Fragman theory
 - Canada has received many waves of immigrants and that their values have been mixed (the loyalists from the US, the Scotts, Irish, English)
 - Immigration has been responsible to a significant degree for our political values
 - 2) Formative events theory
 - Certain Countries events shaped people's ideas about politics
 - The great depression changed attitudes towards the state
 - 3) The Post-materialist theory
 - Prolonged economic affluence and security have resulted in certain values such as: environmental concern
 - 4) The theory that states that Political culture is mainly shaped by the power holders in society
 - Such as: The economic elite, the media holders

The Confederation (On the midterm**)**

- The creation of Canada
- The move toward constitution (1867)
 - Fundamental document of the state that provides the basic law with which all subsequent laws must preform
 - Provides the framework under which businesses operate
 - Limit the reach and authority of governments by guarding certain rights and freedoms

The constitution has 4 purposes:

- Establishes the institutions of government
- Defines the powers and responsibilities of each
- Describes in broad terms the processes by which laws can be made
- Restricts the powers of the state over citizens
- And expresses the shared values of the population

The constitution is usually written and may consist of several documents

- 2 main documents:
- **Constitution act of 1867**
- **Constitution act of 1982**

Many refer to Canada's creation as a confederation

- Canada is not a confederation but a Federation
 - Terms that deal with the relations between the federal and the provincial government
 - Power relations
- Canada's constitution places Canada nearer to a federation than a confederation
- Federation: Union of governments and citizens
 - Can deal with citizens directly
 - Law making lies with the federal government
- Confederation: Union of governments
 - Does not deal with citizens directly
 - Law making lies in the provinces or states

Constitution act of 1867

- Set out how Canada is to be governed
- Through sections 91 and 95

Lecture 3: (June 25th)

Base points:

- **Discussion**
- **Left-overs**
- **Political ideologies/parties**

Constitution act of 1867 sets out generally how Canada will be governed

- Sections 91-95 law out the power of federal and provincial governments
- Central conflict of Canada bases on those sections
- The journey to the creation of Canada and the constitution of 1867 began developing in 1763 with the Royal Proclamation
- Continued with the Quebec act of 1774

- Constitution act of 1791
- And the act of union in 1840
- They remain very important even though they are not common
- The 1982 constitution action references the royal proclamation
- Quebec act is the official legal source to constitutionally entrenched legal
- In 2004, the Québec premier referred to the Québec act as Canada's most fundamental document. It represents one of the most enlightened decisions ever made for Canada

The Royal Proclamation:

- Established boundaries of British colonies
- Was very tolerant of the French catholic inhabitants
 - Let them speak French and practice Catholicism
- Purpose of the act was to assimilate the French population in a sea of English
- Very significant for the way it treated the aboriginals and did not see them as conquered people, but seen as allies
 - Colonists were told to leave aboriginal land
- British accepted that they would have to purchase or negotiate for Aboriginal land
- They were viewed as sovereign nations and viewed as such

Quebec act:

- Let them speak French Catholics given political rights
- Absence of civilian representative governments
- Generous treatment of the French by the British, explains why the French Canadians maintained a solid attachment to the British crown
- British institutions to protect the French

The constitutional act of 1791:

- After the American revolution, 1000s of Americans fled to the Maritimes, southern Ontario, and eastern townships of Quebec
- The British included a revision for 2 provinces (Ontario, and Quebec)
- An elected assembly in each and an appointed council
- The governor of these provinces listened to their parties and ignored the assembly
- Got to the point of rebellion in 1837 in both colonies
 - Papineau in Quebec
 - Mackenzie in Ontario
- The rebellions had lasting significance whilst lacking military significance
- Britain did send an investigator, Lord Durham, who urged the unity of those two provinces
 - He vouched for assimilation
- Act of union born in 1840 as well as the united province of Canada
- 1848 saw the creation of PEI, Nova Scotia
 - IF executives lose the confidence of legislative assembly, the government falls and an election must be held
- In 1860's John A Macdonald becomes anxious and starts to talk about a new Canadian Nation and discussed approaching the Maritimes to join
- What were they motivated by?:
 - Leaders were very frustrated by their inability to get things done together
 - Agreement between the French and English was difficult

- The western politicians disliked the rule of equal representations from both parts of the province, wanted greater representation
 - Canada east didn't like the attempt to assimilate them
- B/w 1862-1867 = 18 different governments in that area
- All politicians supposedly wanted free trade among the provinces
- The founders wanted a stronger military to resist the Americans
 - Not going to add soldiers, rifles, or deter foes
- Had to do with the link of leading business interests and leading politicians
- Want to finish the railway
- Wanted semi-independence to secure their investments
- 1864 Political leaders gathered in Charlottetown and talked about unions
 - Agreed to basic rules
 - Canada would be a federal union and regions would maintain its distinctness
- 1864 in Quebec city
 - 72 resolutions which form the basis for the constitution act of 1867
 - Spent LOTS of time talking about the senate
 - VERY LITTLE time spent on sections 91-95 (most important sections)
 - NL, PEI declined and the united province of Canada approved it by a handful of votes
 - No referendum
 - Vote held in NB against Canada
- This equalled to a creation of Canada under circumstances of ambivalence
 - Ambivalence about the creation of Canada
- *****3 Arguments (Important)**
 - First feature of Canada's creation is that the founders were not avid democrats, they were dismissive of referendum, their senate was an appointed body, and they believed that the legitimacy of the constitution derived from the crown. Aboriginals were lowered and the approval the constitution in NB and NS had a total lack of transparency and accountability
 - The founders could not be described as Strong Canadian nationalists; the sense of attachment to the created state was not deep. Nor was their sense of trust in each other or in their established institutions. The state created was not fully sovereign and remained tied to Britain. Did not contain a declaration of independence or an amending formula. Constitution did not establish a Canadian supreme court. This gave British courts the opportunity of British courts to change the constitution, or treaty making power
 - The founders provided for the bulk of lawmaking resided with the federal government. Wanted to establish a powerful uniting federal government. Provision in constitution to disallow provincial legislation.

Political parties and Ideologies

Parties: an organization that endorses one or more of its members as candidates and supports their election. Primary objective is to acquire power and govern the jurisdiction in which they reside

Parties: Seeks influence in a state by attempting to occupy positions in government, usually consists of more than a single interest in a society and aggregate interests

Parties: and institution that seeks influence of a state by attempting to occupy government positions, usually consists of more than a single interest and attempts to aggregate interests

- Does not emphasise electoral functions

Parties (Burke): A body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors their national interests upon a particular principle on which they all agree

- Raises stature and broadens horizon

Different types:

- Well defined ideologies
 - Reform Party
- The NDP (aka CCF)
- Ethnicity based parties
 - Bloc Quebecois
- Tent Parties/ Brokerage parties
 - Liberal/ Conservative parties
 - Strong electoral priority
 - Very important in Canada
- Movement parties
 - Try to promote principle over electoral success
 - Green party
- Political parties emerge for a reason. Because of social conflict and sound political cleavage, Liberal and radical parties emerge because a new middle class wants a say in government and does not agree with the view
- Labour Parties/Social democratic parties
 - Working class/union based parties
 - Emerge because of the growth of capitalist power
 - Fight for better working conditions, wages
- Green parties emerged for the preservation of the environment
- Other parties emerged due to a uniquely felt sense of grievance
- Liberal -> Conservative -> labour parties -> socialist -> right wing extremists -> environmental
- Provincially there are similar parties to the federal government
- Most parties adhere to an ideology (see definition above)
- Often use terms left and right
- The definitions of these terms are the role of the state
 - Left equates to okay with state intervention and problems with equality
 - NDP want a strong role for the state
 - Far left is communist parties
 - Right equates to problems with intervention and okay with equalities
 - Conservatives believe in a minimal state and worry not about economical gaps
 - Far right is fascist parties (Nazis, military)
 - Central we have liberal parties
 - Center left = social democratic
 - Central right = Conservative parties
- Liberalism emerged in Europe and is preoccupied with rights
 - John Locke argued all human beings have the right to life, liberty and property
 - Government is meant to protect those rights
 - Philosophy around economic rights – property
 - Tired of being closed out of government by the wealthy
 - Associated nicely with capitalism
 - Flaws due to the emphasis on liberal rights

- Poverty's rights differ from those born into wealth
- Conservatism was the philosophy of establishment
 - Edmond burke
 - Believe in order, stability, the wisdom of history
 - No appeal from liberalism
 - The powerful had a responsibility to those in the lower classes because they believe society is an organic whole
 - Early conservatives believed that state involvement was not a bad thing
 - Evolved to grudgingly accept state intervention
 - Thatcher and Reagan are now believed to be conservative but would once have been liberals in England
- Socialism has roots in social and working conditions
 - Karl Marx is the prominent political philosopher
 - Liberal party displaced as workers found their voice
 - Conditions of the great depression led to the cooperative commonwealth federation (predecessor to NDP)
 - Modified its position to Social Democratic party
 - Social democracy has accommodated itself to capitalist countries
 - Reducing income and equality cannot be done without the support of businesses
- Safe to say that liberalism, conservatism, and socialism do not differ dramatically. All want a healthy private sector, all see the need for social safety and all believe in gender equality and have the same attitude towards the environment

Lecture 4: (June 27th)

Base points

- Leftovers – parties/ideologies
- Three branches of government

Evaluations:

- 30% midterm
- 20% Classroom
 - 10% Peer assessment
 - 10% professor grading
- 50% final

Parties

- All three parties are together on the Canadian economy
- However, they accommodate themselves to realities and the general interests of voters
- They take stands and stand for certain things on occasion,

Ideologies (cont)

- The previous ideologies seem to be moving out and new ones moving in
- Aboriginals, and Quebecers gravitate towards **nationalism**
 - Can be nasty if its ethnically fixed
 - Francophones define their nationalism as Civic nationalism referring to its diversity and pride in Quebec

- Can be a protective force for many people, defensive for the aboriginals which pertains to the survival of the group when threatened
- The Bloc Quebecois is the only nationalist party
- **Environmentalism**
 - Canadians who side with them often find the political parties to have less to offer
 - And highly value the preservation of the environment
- **Feminism**
 - Women who argue that the ails of society lay in patriarchy and male dominance and oppression of women for a long time
 - Idea is to equalise relationships between men and women
- In order to be an engaged Canadian, one must develop an ideology yet you must not hold onto it so tightly that you lose perception of reality
- The liberals and conservatives have a few issues on which they are firm
 - Otherwise they try to appeal broadly to all Canadians
- **Civic republicanism**
 - The ideology that embraces political participation. That is its motivation
 - Civic virtue or the good citizen. Taking his or her civic responsibilities seriously
 - J. Ajzenstat and Peter Brown argue that it is more prominent that thought societies depend on active engaged citizens
 - No party in particular but threads of it remain in current parties policies
- Issues distinguishing political parties
 - Where they stand on Canadian federalism
 - Relations between the federal and provincial governments
 - Trudeau stood for a federal government to govern the entire nation and a devout leader
 - Mulroney believes in strong provincial governments, and brought in amendments to strengthen provincial governments
 - The NDP wanted a strong central government as they thought it was the only way to equalise wealth and power. Only way to get the economy out of difficult circumstances

Parties: Functions (Important)

- From the work of John Meisel
- 1. To integrate citizens into the political system and provide a mechanism for political engagement
 - a. These links to central govt can help them to become engaged (call, e-mail)
 - b. To develop policy, to encourage thinking on political ideas and turn those ideas into doable policies
- 2. All parties have policy conventions where members meet and write resolutions, and they are discussed and debated profoundly, then voted upon. If the party makes it to office, they are implemented
- 3. To represent certain interests or groups
 - a. NDP – labour
 - b. Green – Environment
 - c. Conservatives – Small businesses
 - d. Liberals
- 4. To form a government
- 5. Elite recruitment – job of finding potential ministers and Prime ministers
- 6. Structuring the vote
 - a. People from certain parties voting for representatives of those parties

- b. Filter in the best candidates
7. Organize, shape, and arouse public opinion
 - a. When issues emerge, there is discussion and the parties take position
 - b. Aspect of the issues are simplified and clarified
 - c. Public opinion begins to take shape behind the parties
8. For interest aggregation
 - a. Many interests out there (political goals and objectives)
 - b. They must be assembled and made sense of them, and reconciled those that differ

Parties: Dysfunctions

1. The neglect of the policy function
 - a. Most important ideas have emerged from outside political parties (think tanks, interest groups, media are where idea emerged)
 - b. Vote getting, money raising machines
2. The institutionalising of confrontation
 - a. The assumption appears to be that the adversarial system is the only way to conduct business in parliament
 - b. The closer we get to election, the more intense the confrontation
3. The limiting of political discourse
 - a. The exaggerated partisanship doesn't allow for creative compromises, nuance, or agreement. My way or the highway
 - b. The underlining of legitimacy – then citizens will see you as a constant degrading or each other
4. The tendency to seep issues under the rug
 - a. Especially when they are really sensitive (the issues of the senate)
5. The attenuation of public philosophy
 - a. Parties seek to serve 2 interests (the national interest, and various specific interests)
 - b. Parties have neglected the development of policies serving the national interests in favour of those that serve the specific interests of regions

Organization

- The head of a party has been elected by the members of the party and sits in the house of commons
- Separate from the elected representative and do the work to keep the party functioning
- President of a party and a range of officials that fundraise, do membership development, put on conferences
- Each riding in a country work to try to encourage support
 - Often assert themselves in policy work
 - To become a candidate one must buy a membership then declare your intention and sell memberships in a hope to garner votes
- Issues:
 - Here in Canada a federal wing of a party is often separate than the provincial wing
 - The liberal party of Quebec may take a very different view than the federal liberal party
 - How leaders are chosen
 - A leadership convention of local delegates where they would vote for their leaders
 - All three parties now have a 1-person 1-vote to ensure broader dissipation in the selection of leaders
 - Removing leaders is less elegant when one loses too many elections

- If a leader obtains less than 80% of the vote he should quit

Party systems:

- Referring to the features of parties collectively
- Characteristics as parties as a whole and over time
- You would look at the number of parties, their size and strength, the number of issues on which they compete, the policy differences that separate them, and their willingness to work together
- Evolution provoking factor
 - Change in the electoral system from few to many parties
 - And governments with more than 2 parties
- 4 maybe 5 party systems
 1. From 1867-1917 = liberals and conservatives
 - Task: To build a Canadian state. political patronage was a prominent feature of governments
 - Elections were vigorous contests even though they differed little
 - The influence of money was pervasive
 2. 1917-1957 = time of profound social and political change in Canada
 - Working class emerges
 - West emerged
 - 3 new parties were formed (CCF, the PC, social credit party)
 - Protest parties, and became a threat to the liberals and Tories
 - Eventually they merged
 - Liberal party formed a coalition with Quebec and the working class to have power for many years
 - Professionalizing and becoming sophisticated
 3. 1963-1993 =
 - Liberal party was dominant
 - Kind of liberal-social-democratic consensus
 - Parties took advantage of media, became media-savvy,
 - The provincial governments became more assertive (QC but not only)
 - Challenging govts authority and demanding more autonomy
 4. 1993-
 - Momentous federal election as it followed the free trade debate and Mulroney's attempts at constitutional reform
 - The PC's collapsed and created the reform party and Bloc Quebecois
 - Shortly after the 92 referendum and defeated the Tories reform effort
 -
 5. 2001-
 - Progressive conservatives no longer exist at the federal level

3 branches of government:

- Executive branch
 - Implements and manages
- Legislative branch
 - Represents people and approves the executive branches activities
- Judicial branch
 - Makes sure that the activities of the former two branches are legal and constitutional

Executive 2 types:**The parliamentary type**

- Parliamentary monarchies (Canada)
- Parliamentary democracies (Germany, Israel)
- Prime minister indirectly chose
- Only head of government and not state
- Both prime minister and cabinet are accountable to legislative branch
- Prime minister has considerable control over MP
- PM, Cabinet, Bureaucracy, and The Crown
- **The Core executive:** All those organizations and procedures which coordinate govt policies and arbitrate conflict within the executive
- As democratic gov't took over, many crown-owned powers fell to the Prime minister
- The crown once served a unified function. It is a weak view now and that the crown should be abolished
- Both federally and provincially, the first minister and cabinet are the heart of the government
- Neither prime minister or cabinet are in the constitution but are there due to **constitutional convention**: Not politically binding but considered legitimate
- Prime Minister's powers and responsibilities
 - Appoint the cabinet (first major task)
 - Competence and expertise do not always matter
 - Gender, who you are, background, where you're from matter more
 - Judges of high courts
 - Senior bureaucrats
 - Senators
 - Ambassadors
 - Chairs cabinet meetings and sets government agenda
 - Authority to discipline MP's
 - Final say on candidates
 - Responsible for conduct of foreign policy
 - Authority to dissolve parliament and call election
 - Party leader and responsible for health of his political party
 - Final suitor
- Has a large staff as of the PMO (100+ people), Partisan staff
- The Privy Council office. Also very large and non-partisan. All bureaucrats and the best of them, provide a source of advice to the PM
- 22 PMs including harper
 - Longest serving was \Mackenzie King (22 years)
 - 13 from Tories, 9 from liberals
 - 5 from Quebec and a third of Canada's history
 - Ontarians a little over a third
 - No limits on in-office length
- Problem with Chretien and Thatcher has to do with the treating of **back-benchers** : member of parliament who is new and inexperienced with little power
- Cannot afford to overrule ministers too often
 - They have their own supporters
- Historically, PMs have tried to well-represent each province (1 Per province)
- Ministers job

- Advising PM
- Developing policy
- Running a debt
- All equal but some are more powerful (finance, Foreign affairs)
- Rules
 - Collective Ministerial responsibility (must defend decisions)
 - Support the decisions
 - Cabinet secrecy is supreme
 - Individual ministerial responsibility
 - Take responsibility for the actions of his department
- Multiple committees/Central agencies
 - The treasury board – approve department spending
 - Dept of finance
 - PCO
 - PMO
- Donald Savoie has written on the executive and argues that power has shifted from ministers towards the PMO and a tight group of advisors
- PMO takes over for in-trouble Cabinet ministers
- Reasons for Power shift:
 - The national unity file is in the PM's hands
 - International issues favourite by PM
 - High MP turnover
 - Very few develop expertise or a network
- To improve the democracy - White
 - Enhance the role of legislative branch
 - Increase # of MP
 - Strengthen committees
 - More services and support for MPs
 - And principle of party discipline be relaxed
 - Fixed election dates to take power from the PM
 - Enhance caucus control of party leaders
 - Reduce the power of party leaders to appoint candidates and control party constituency organizations
 - DiGiacomo: Give the HOC and Senate the power to approve or disapprove international agreements

The presidential type

- President is directly elected by the voters
- Both head of state and head of government
- Cabinet member do not have to be from the legislative branch
- More easily collapsed into dictatorships
- President have very little control over legislators

Lecture 5: (July 2nd)

Base points

- **5 characteristics**
- **Constitution**
- **Discussion groups**

The 5 characteristics of the economy

- **Market based capitalist society**
 - In such an economy, enormous savings of wealth are possible
 - People and companies that are indescribably wealthy
 - Rival governments and countries with their wealth
 - Wal-Mart is the 6th largest economy in the world
 - Consequence: Governments listen to these individuals
 - It is a fact of life that governments will attempt to attract investments from these companies
 - This influence impacts on democratic decision making
- **Dependence on resource extraction**
 - In Canada, resource extraction, conservation, and processing is purely provincial
 - Ottawa controls taxation, exports, trade, and the environment
 - The aboriginals have more say over their lands than the federal government
 - They sit on vast resources (oil, ores)
- **Substantial foreign ownership**
 - How and why have we let foreigners dominate our economy
 - Extra-territoriality: One governments laws have effect beyond its borders
 - Infringement on sovereignty
 - The accomplishment of national economic goals
 - Subsidiaries are often restricted by their parent companies
 - Ford Canada Cannot export, or do R&D
- **Foreign trade**
 - 3/4 of our trade to the US and most of that within companies
 - Flow of people, investment capital, services
- **Large amount of state involvement**
 - Separates one party form another
 - Liberal and social parties favour one kind of state involvement, while conservatives favour a different kind

The constitution

- The basic law of the land or any organization
- A set of binding norms and principles that regulate the legitimate exercise of political power
- **4 purposes******
 - Establish institutions of governments and set out their powers
 - Establish the processes by which laws may be made and interpreted
 - Establish restrictions on the power of government over citizens
 - Expresses the shared values of society
- If a law is found to be inconsistent with the constitution, Judges will declare it invalid
- IF done badly the constitution will give rise to serious divisions within the country

- It is very difficult to change or amend the constitution, some countries even require a vote
- Drafting a constitution is an extremely difficult task
 - Can take years to create one with widespread citizen support
- Modern constitutions needs to address a range of issues
 - A preamble which outlines the basic principles of the constitution, affirms the supremacy of the constitution, declares the state's sovereignty,
 - The structure of the state, sets out whether the state is a federation, confederation, or a unitary state
 - Sets out provinces and what powers they may have
 - Must set out the type of executive they will have
 - Presidential or parliamentary
 - Sets out whether the legislative assembly will be bi
 - Set out the role of the judiciary and the structure of the judiciary
 - And affirm its independence
 - Set out a type of electoral system
 - Set out the powers of the central bank
 - Enumerate the rights to be guaranteed to citizens
 - Rights of groups within society (Aboriginals, Gays)
 - Women's rights will have a particular place in the constitution
 - Explain how the state and religion relate to each other
 - Role of the military
 - How to change/amend the constitution in the event that things need to be included, excluded, or altered

Constitutional conventions

- Unwritten norm of behaviour or practice that is not legally binding but is widely accepted as being valid, if it is not obeyed elites get upset
 - The governor general cannot really stop legislation

Constitutions are generally in a constant state of evolution and changed in two ways

- They are continuously amended
 - Insertion of charter of rights
- Input of a judicial decision
 - Challenged before courts, which they will recommend a change in a specific location

Amendments

- During the 50's Maurice Duplessis fell from power and the Catholic church's power was lessened
- The Quebec state, was a non-interventionalist state
- Nationalism was a defensive, ethnic nationalism that centered around protecting farm/church life
- Francophones were largely absent of the Federal public service

The 1960's

- Quiet revolution
- So much social and economic revolution was passed
- Making Quebec a player in Canadian Economic

1980

- First Quebec referendum was held
- Quebec stayed a part of Canada thanks to a 60-40 vote
- Hugely complex and difficult negotiations

- Felt the the decision would restrict the autonomy of the Quebec government
- After fruitless negotiations, Trudeau threatened to
- Brought the issue to court
 - Patriation reference
 - Submit legislation to the court to determine if the legislation is indeed constitutional
 - Constitutional convention that required substantial provincial consent

Lecture 6: (July 9th)

Base points

- **Speaker**
- **The Public Bureaucracy**
- **Legislative/Judicial branches**
- **Discussion**
- **Peer Assignment**

Media and politics

- One of the shaping factors is the Political wave phenomenon : Issues that the govt/state will emphasize over and over again to the point where the media becomes a surgeon looking for stories part of this political wave

Public bureaucracy

- Is included within the executive, formally speaking
- Referring to the people who implement public policies of Cabinet
- In our Gov't system, the cabinet is in charge of the public bureaucracy – yet they the cabinet are a partisan group
- Distinguished from private sector firms and enterprises and third sector co-ops, charitable non-profit organizations
- The Minister is in charge of a department, below him is a deputy minister (he is art of the bureaucracy)
- Roughly 3.5 million people in the Canadian Bureaucracy

3 types of govt structure:

- **The government department** (Labour, justice, foreign affairs)
 - Headed by a minister, managed by bureaucrats
 - The deputy minister is non-partisan
 - Appointed by the PM
 - Department is on a pyramidal basis
 - Assistant deputy minister (3-4), Director General (4-5)
 - Department workhorses
 - Functions
 - Develop policy,
 - administer program,
 - research and analysis,
 - liase with other govt departments and groups

The crown agency

- Does not function like a service deliver

The crown corporation

- CBC, Via rail, Canada post
- Operate at government arm's length
- Combine 2 types of goals
 - Profit making goals
 - Service public policy bill
- Report to parliament through a minister

Issues with bureaucracy

- Merit system and representativeness of public servant
 - Emerged after decades of political pilgrimage
 - Abolished when bad people got the job
 - People hired or promoted based on their qualifications
 - Problem: May not get a public service that reflects the intentions of the society
- Degree of democratic control of bureaucracy
 - 4 ways the bureaucracy may undermine bureaucracy
 - Unrepresentative of society
 - When controlled by a narrowly based group with large control over the bureaucracy
 - Ministers are too-often shifted around = expertise with the bureaucrats only
 - Temptation of bureaucrats to expand their offices to increase their influence over government, no public policy goal
 - Advantages
 - Agencies and whistleblowing legislation to report foul practices
 - House of commons committees keep tabs on bureaucrats
 - Court system can be accessed
 - Federal court/ federal court of appeal
 - The media and public service unions pounce on wrong-doing
- Kind of policy instrument that the bureaucracy will recommend
 - Essentially 9 policy categories of instrument
 - By order of intrusiveness
 - Doing nothing (hope it disappears)
 - Take symbolic action (issue statement, set up investigatory committee, express public concern)
 - Use the public platform and exhort people to do something
 - The tax expenditure (deductions or credits)
 - Spend money on particular programs
 - Legislation and regulation
 - Impose a tax
 - Create a govt corporation (take responsibility for particular issues)
 - Declare state of emergency (depending on problem)

- Relationship between senior public servants and advocacy groups
 - Bureaucrats may move into private corporations, well-paying advocacy groups
 - Raises suspicions about what the bureaucrats were thinking when dealing with those corporations or groups
 - Relationship with them
 - In the public interest? Or their own interest?

Branches

Legislative

- Federal level (House of commons, Senate)
- Provincial level (Legislative assembly, national assembly)
- Functions
 - Representation of the people
 - Passing of legislation
 - Scrutiny by members
 - Recruitment function (Cabinet from the house)
 - Law making function
 - Finances government, and approves spending
 - Political education
 - Educate the public
 - Hear back from citizens
 - Hold govt accountable

Parliamentary supremacy: Make or unmake any law it wishes to without interference from the monarch or anybody

- No parliament can bind future parliament
- Cannot be strictly applied in Canada because of
 - Could be beyond govt jurisdiction
 - Or in violation in the charter
- The supreme court can strike down laws of any government (provincial)

House of commons

- Has 308 members, all elected
- Each member represents a riding or constituency
- Plays 1 of 3 roles
 - With the view to serve under what he or she thinks is best, serves the **trustee function**
 - If an elected representative goes with the view that their duty is to represent constituents, that member plays the **constituency delegate function**
 - If one goes to parliament with the view that he or she will serve the party, that member sees the **party delegate role**
- Most of the work is constituency service (student loans, old age cheques)
- Also do policy development work (very little)
- Education, occupation, class and gender, neither the federal or provincial legislatures are representative (mostly lawyers)
- Speech from the throne (outlines its agenda)
- Budget time (Setting out financial plan)
- Question period
- Characterized by Party discipline
 - Members have to adhere to what their leaders tells them

- Criticised for being too rigid
 - Many advocate for free votes
- Advocates state that
 - It frees the MP from the pressure of advocacy groups
 - Somebody will be lobbied (the leader, bureaucrats)
- Elections held
 - Majority government (1 party more than %50 of seats)
 - Minority government (no parties have more than 50% seats)
 - Coalition govt (2 parties combine and share cabinet)
- Senate
 - 105 senators (Ontario Quebec have 24 each)
 - Western Canada have 24 each
 - Territories have 1 for 105
 - NFL has 6
 - Flaw
 - Appointed body, lacks legitimacy
 - NDP wants to abolish it
 - Western politicians want it to be elected
 - Others want the provinces to appoint it
 - Constitutional amendment required
- **Passing legislation*******
 - **Public bills**
 - Govt bills or private members bills (majority)
 - Stages
 - Minister lets it be known that a bill will be introduced
 - Then he presents the bill (first reading)
 - Debate scope and principle of the bill (Second reading)
 - Vote on it going to a special committee (study content clause by clause)
 - Advise changes
 - Seek public input
 - Votes on bill as a whole
 - House votes on the changes
 - Vote on third reading
 - Final vote to pass the bill
 - Then passes to the senate and the same process occurs and passes to governor general (takes usually)
 - **Private bills**
 - Very rare
 - Have to do with individuals in the ridings
 - Introduced by MP
 - Based on petition by those interested in promoting it
 - Intended to exempt a group from the application of a particular statute

Judicial branch

- **Principle of the rule of law:** All individuals must be subject to the same set of laws
 - Also means that individuals should be subject to known, predictable, and partial rules
 - Independent judiciary interpretes the laws while considering the constitution
 - Laws being interpreted on the basis of the constitution (not on the wealth of others, ethnicity, etc)

Courts settle disputes between national governments and state governments

- Sections 91-92
- Courts have become more important since the charter came into effect
- Supreme court of Canada (9 justices, appointed till age 75 (3 from Quebec, 3 from Ontario, 2 from west, 1 from east)
 - Appointed by the PM
 - Will aim for unanimity in making decisions
 - Justices are required to give reasons for decision and put it in writing
 - Judges come from a certain class/legal culture
 - Very well educated, they cannot empathize with commoners
 - When they attempt to justify their decisions on different basis, this is when we should be concerned
- Throughout Canadian history, numerous groups have been victimized by legislature, and they have been of no help.

Lecture 7 (July 11th):

Base points:

Advocacy groups

Discussion

Speaker

Advocacy groups: Organizations that pursue the interest groups of citizens by trying to influence the making of policy

- Range from single/small issues with few backers
- To well-staffed multi-issue groups

Self interest groups: Primarily concerned with obtaining benefits for their members

Public interest groups: Pursue goals viewed as being for the public good and do not benefit the members exclusively

Advocacy groups concepts

Social movement: Collection or network of groups, individuals, think tanks, and academics that share the same broad philosophy and that seek not only policy change, but changes in social values

- Women;s movement: change the way people think about patriarchy
- Environmental movement: Change the way people think about consumerism and consumption
- Labour movement: Change the way people think about work

Civil society: Groups institutions and organizations that exist between family and the state

- Does not included profit seeking business, but does include business associations

Policy community: Major players in a given policy domain or field

- Govt departments and agencies
- Think tanks
- Advocacy groups
- Corporations
- Politicians and interested citizens

Advocacy group: Functions

- **Political communication:** Transmit demand to the gov't from citizens and inform citizens of gov't activities
- **Member benefits:** Provide benefits to members including/especially the opportunity to participate in public (Argue your point, build friendship, learn about presenting)
- **Policy making:** Frequently involved in policy and decision making. Consulted by politicians on what they think
 - Consulting/ getting the public view
 - Very narrow slice of the public actually participate
- **Recruitment:** Act as a source of recruitment for political parties
 - Elizabeth May active in Sierra club
 - Stephen Harper, president of national coalitions club
- **Gov't duties:** To carry out certain duties of the government
 - Training programs for the gov't
- **Legitimation:** by supporting upcoming laws, advocacy groups give it legitimacy
 - When they don't support a law, the gov't must overcome the opposition of oppositions

Proliferation of advocacy groups or civic groups is a good thing according to Putnam as they:

- **Nurture social capital**
- **Build a sense of trust and reciprocity**
- **Help people develop skills**
- **Feel a sense of responsibility**
 - Putnam found the politically aware and actively advanced were the communities with the most political participation and an indicator of the vibrancy of the country's democracy
 - Valuable because they contribute to political debate and policy making, but also because what they do for the development of their members

Methods for advocacy

- Cultivate close relationships with appropriate public servants
 - Will often fight for the arguments of advocacy groups
- Target the PM, the PMO, The Cabinet, and PCO
 - If they are on your side, your task is over
- Target MPs and Senators
 - Aim to sway high public servants, but MPs and senators are not that influential
 - Committee chairs, HOC members are better
- Timing, target all of these politicians during election
 - Vulnerable and open to what you have to say
- Target the media
 - Obvious target, yet not easy
 - Can easily backfire if untrained in the strategies necessary
- Reach out to public directly via social media

- Use the courts
 - Very expensive, lawyers within the staff of these advocacy groups
 - Can be very effective
- Use public inquiries of one sort or another
 - Often call for these inquiries
 - Opens opportunities for advocacy groups
- Civil disobedience
 - The Quebec student's protest last summer

Determinants of success

- Have the sympathy of the government
 - If they are sympathetic, you're ahead of the game
- Information
 - If you have highly-educated individuals, the government will listen to you
- The financial position of the government
 - Easier to accommodate if the govt is rich
- Membership base
 - 200,000 members = active government
 - 10 member = inactive government
- Group cohesiveness
- Money
 - Must do policy research work
- Leadership prestige
 - Well-known leaders will garner more attention
- Popularity of the cause
 - If you're in sync with the citizens feelings and inclinations, your chances rise
- Consistent objectives
 - Your objectives must be consistent with those of the government

Advocacy group concerns:

- Structure of the state
 - Structured along federal lines (Federal, provincial, municipal)
- Can have many effects:
 - Can be an advantage if the provincial governments support your cause
 - Difficult to reach all the governments as there are soo many
 - When the issue is a Federal thorn (Federal provincial relations are tricky and can overwhelm the justice of your cause)
 - IF you can gain gov't backing, and equate your objectives with those of the gov't you will be persuasive

Lobbying: The effort to influence gov't decisions through direct personal communication with key gov't decision makers

- Typically done in private
- 1989 lobbyist registration defines a lobbyist as: Any indiv who for payment from any person or organization undertake a meeting with a public official or to communicate with a public official on any matter of government, legislation, or any financial benefit or contract
- Typically involves elites
 - One set trying to persuade the other
- Some believe that private lobbying will only affect the groups involved
- Nevertheless it is a legitimate activity
- Can be done by particular advocacy groups, or firms hired to do lobbying
- What is worrisome is that senior public officials leaving government to become professional lobbyists
 - Very lucrative
 - Raises questions about past thoughts before leaving government
 - Cabinet officials may not act as lobbyists for 5 years after leaving office
 - Must report all phone calls
- Office of the commissioner of lobbying
 - Makes sure the law is being followed
 - Reports to parliament
- **Democracy watch:** Monitors lobbying activity
 - Know that MPs can become lobbyist after leaving office
 - And lobbyist can become Cabinet ministers immediately after being elected

Most lobbied departments

- Industry Canada,
- Finance Canada
- PCO
- PMO

Biggest lobbyist

- Global public affairs international
- Capitol hill group
- Hill and Knowlton
- Earnscliff strategy group

*****Speaker: Jamie Kneen – The Mining watch Canada**

- Started in biology but started working in environmental policy
- Mining industry and indigenous right in northern Saskatchewan
- Mining watch create by man environmental/community groups to try and bring some pressure to bear on the mining industry and a place to coordinate the info and experiences people were having
 - Mining industry facing environmental challenges
- **What is mining watch?**
 - Founded in 1999 to create a coordinated public response to the environmental, cultural, social, and economic impacts of mining in Canada and abroad, with a focus on Canadian companies and the Canadian policy framework

Members:

- Roughly 25 members all across Canada
- From small organizations to large organizations (Parks and wilderness)

Areas of work

- Protecting Water
- Reforming mining laws and policies
- Promoting environmental planning
- Ensuring corporate accountability

There are 1000's of different mining projects across Canada

- Southern Ontario and St. Laurence is basically smelting
- All else is mining

Issues

- **Ghana:** Cyanide laced water
- **Guyana:** Omai mine collapse
- **Mexico:** Operating illegally – San Luis Potosi
- **Tanzania:** Barrick Gold – Illegal land acquisition
- **Papua New Guinea** – Barrick Gold – destruction, displacement, rape, restitution

Protests:

- Ecuador: For Life, water, the children
 - Not terrorists, but we are defending life and nature

What we do:

- Support communities affected by mining through research, technical support and campaigns
- Provide a reliable source of information about the impacts of mining
- Carry out academic research
- Advocate for changes in laws and policies that promote irresponsible mining
- Work with coalitions and allies to educate the public, create /channel public pressure
- Through the media, social media, and lobbying

Advocacy

- Working with community groups and supporting them
- We're trying to change those rules at various levels
 - Provincial and federal jurisdiction
- Can claim some credit for the Environmental assessment act and Bill C-38

Tools

- Testifying to committees
- Meeting bureaucrats/civil service
- Lobbying

Lecture 8: (July 16th)

Base points:

-

Speaker: Brock Carleton – President of Federal Canadian Municipalities

- **What he does**
- **The intricacies of the doings of cities**

The intricacies of cities

- Do not get much thought, yet they delivery essential services
- City of Ottawa affects MUCH of life (Police, fire, OC transpo)
- Knowledge and data
 - Must be enormous!
 - Must know all the pipe routes in the city
 - Street/bridge conditions
 - Ottawa neighborhood study – level of poverty in all neighborhoods
 - Can target immigrants needing support, children needing food
 - Quality of life
- Skills
 - Engineering, social services, pest control, recreation
 - Struggling to find the right people with the right skills
- Financial resources
 - Property tax – provide services to properties
 - Ottawa runs social housing/missions – funded by property tax
 - Not sufficient resources for the cities
 - Civil service program budgets
 - Taxes, 8 cents goes to municipalities – 92 cents split between federal and provincial
- Action
 - Deliver water, take garbage

Constitution

- There is no way for the cities and towns to have a say at the deferral level

FCM

- Started in 1991 to stop telecom lines
- Influence policy and programs
- Represent 11 municipalities of Canada
- Run programs that respond to current country needs
- Negotiated to get 47 billion over the next 10 years

What we did

- To get there had to convince the gov't that infrastructure was a federal issue
 - Launched a social media campaign to inform Canadians
- Created many voices around the idea
 - Pulled together many stakeholders to lobby the federal government
- Worked with the 2000 members and created **1 story**

- Could not divide and conquer

What concerns us

- Policing
- Immigrant settlement
- Environment
- Social housing

Facts

- Decaying infrastructure
- Cities are front line of emergency response
- Working on a meeting of federal railway regulations

Programs we do

- Our members must be able to do the work to fix infrastructure
- **Green municipal fund**
 - Helping municipalities with green projects
- **Aboriginal municipal relations**
 - Facilitate conversations b/w Indians and communities
- **Getting the thirty**
 - Supporting women involved in municipal government
- **Municipalities working together**
 - Canadian municipalities helping poorer communities
- **Emergency response**
 - SE Asia earthquake
 - Haiti Earthquake

Part 2 of the lecture

Federalism**

- System of governance characterised by the constitutionally entrenched division of lawmaking powers between a federal government and governments of constituent units applied on a territorial basis (provincial governments)
 - States in the US
 - Lander in Germany
 - Cantons in Switzerland
 - Autonomous communities in Spain
- Can also be described as a way to organize a state
- Must refer to the division of law making powers as constitutionally entrenched

Terms:

- **Jurisdiction** – The range of responsibility that a legally established body possesses
- **Autonomy** – The range of decision making authority that the government will have
- **Centralization** – The movement of power to the next level upwards

- **Decentralization** – the movement of power downwards

Federal countries include: US, Australia, Spain, Nigeria, Austria, Venezuela, Mexico, and Argentina

- On their way: The UK and Italy

Non-federal countries: Belgium and Switzerland

Unitarian: Sweden, Norway, Israel, Denmark

- Have local governments, but are at the mercy of national governments

Federalism features

- About power and where it flows
- Federal government retains dominance over the provincial and municipal governments
 - Federal gov't responsible for dealing with country wide threats
 - Gained dominance through the constitution act of 1867
- A mechanism for unification
 - A Federal arrangement to come together and stay together
 - Recognize their participation in a union and the need to surrender some of their powers to a central authority for financial aid and military protection
- Not a fixed and exact thing
 - Has a general quality but no template to prescribe
 - Must do as society requires you to do
- The central and sub-national gov't have direct interactions with citizens
 - Provide services, prescribe laws
- Constitutionally protected
 - Ottawa cannot erase a province, nor can the provinces establish different types of federal gov't
- Canadian constitution provides a list of Federalist powers in sections 91 and 95
- Neither level can enact laws on areas in another level's jurisdiction
 - Ottawa cannot legislate education in other jurisdictions
- However, encroachment is a factor due to the unclear nature of the constitution
- Each federal state emphasizes certain values and downplays other types of values
 - Equality was a central value in Canada for a long time
 - Now it is protected by the value of diversity
- Diversity, equality, efficiency, harmony are among the values that a federal government may privilege or undermine

Powers of the federal gov't

- Power to disallow provincial laws
- Taxing power – tax anything it wants
- Spending power (even in areas of provincial jurisdiction)
- ****The Peace order and good government power****
 - Gave Ottawa the right to take over responsibility for any area not constitutionally mentioned
 - Since been restricted by the courts

Advantages of federalism

- Democratic advantage
 - Can make government more accessible
 - Competitive governments = responsive governments
- Policy laboratory advantage
 - Try out a certain policy and program to see how it works
 - Ex: healthcare
- Large minorities can have their own gov't to protect their cultural/linguistic rights

Disadvantages to federalism

- Executive federalism
 - Leading politicians and leading bureaucrats make all the decisions
 - Caused the downfall of the Meech Lake Accord
- Can make national solidarity/unity very difficult
 - Very difficult to achieve a national consensus
- Very difficult to achieve country wide equality
 - If each province wants autonomy
 - Can lead to situations of inequality
 - Drugs in BC vs NB
 - Must involve the federal government
- Political parties in seceding territories can gain hold of the power levers
 - The Bloc Quebecois when they wanted to separate
- Federalism can cause a race to the bottom in terms of policy standards
- Very difficult to get national policy
 - When many players can say "No"

Canadian federalism

- Both federal and provincial governments have a say in the environment

Conceptions of federalism in Canada

- Roche and Smith is called the **Equality of Federal and Provincial governments**
 - There is no dominant level of gov't
 - The latitude of each level to do its own thing
 - Gov't can act independently of other governments
 - Provincial premiers have as much rights in citizen representation as the PM
 - Central gov't cannot speak for provincial interests
 - Most premiers would say "We all speak for Canada"
 - This is Harper's view or "Open federalism"
 - Prefers that Ottawa sticks to defence, foreign affairs, economic policy
- **Equality Provincial governments**
 - No province with a special status
 - Same powers available to all provinces
 - Very long-existing
 - Emerged by Quebec leaders and politicians
- **Asymmetrical Federalism**

- Quebec should get special powers to enact laws and policies with linguistic needs and insecurities
- Great acceptance among Quebec politicians and scholars
- Many other scholars like it too
- Faces opposition from out-of-province politicians
- Some argue that other provinces will want special powers as well
- No difference between Quebec and other provinces aside from language
- Federal governments have more power
- A hit with the NDP and PC party
- Difficulty: How is it to be constitutionally expressed
- Inserted in the Meech Lake accord and observed resistance from outside Quebec
- **Nationalizing Vision**
 - Basis of political identity is Canada
 - Sees Canada s more than the sum of its parts
 - Very centralized
 - Ottawa uses constitutional powers to the fullest towards the national interest
 - Originated with John A MacDonal and
 - Social Democrats
 - Pierre Trudeau – little time for provincial power
 - Canada could not endure with a weak central government

Constitutional institutions needed for federal arrangement

- The senate
 - Protect interest of provincial governments
 - Reflects that each member government is equally represented
- A court system
 - To settle jurisdictional disputes between Ottawa and the provinces
- Constitution
 - Protects law making powers of the governments

Judicial committee of the Privy Council

- Give Ottawa powers to govern the economy
- Federal government the POGG power
- Negated employment insurance bill t the height of the depression

Conflicts

- Conflicts of vision between the founders and justices of the Privy council

Financial arrangements

- Fiscal federalism
 - Taxing and spend and powers at both levels
 - Transfer payments (Ottawa to provinces)
 - Revenue raising capacity varies among provinces (Alberta has no limits, NB has many)
 - Autonomy of province
 - Many fields of policy are shared responsibilities among gov't levels
- Provincial money
 - 8/10 provinces cannot raise enough money to support their needs
 - The Federal government sends money
 - 3 largest programs
 - Equalisation program
 - Unconditional, 50 years, inserted into the constitution in 1982

- All provinces have the capacity to deliver comparable services at comparable tax rates
- 14.4 billion

- The Canada health transfer (healthcare)
 - Provides funding for healthcare received
 - Conditions:
 - 25.2 billion
- Canada Social Transfer (welfare/university education)
 - Very few conditions
 - Huge amounts
 - 11.2 billion
- Nunavut is in great need of these transfers, Alberta is NOT
- **Federal spending power**
 - Power of a jurisdiction (Ottawa) to grant money to lower level governments, organizations, and individuals with conditions attached for purposes on which the granting jurisdiction may not have to constitutional authority to legislate
 - Highly controversial in Quebec because it can influence the agenda of the province
 - No province have taken Ottawa to court over this
 - Controversy arises from the attachment of conditions to these moneys
 - Once thought to be unconstitutional
 - Its use has brought Canada enormous good, and a more equal country

Lecture 9: (July 18th)

Base points:

- **Electoral systems**
- **Discussion**
- **Diversity in Canada/The Charter**
- **Discussion**

Electoral systems:

- The Canadian electoral system has been under scrutiny over the last 10 years
- A big deal for emerging countries, especially those emerging from conflict situations
 - Given lots of thought
 - Some insert their electoral system in the constitution
- Fairly mundane, harmless, simple tools to choose a government
 - Impacts and effects widely studied and a lot contributes towards an electoral system
 - Indonesia and Kenya have changed their electoral systems after years of conflicts
- **Definition:** The system by which the votes cast by the population are translated into the representation of political parties in the house of commons
 - Every democratic country uses some type of electoral system, that is accepted and legitimate

- Hugely important, some scholars argue that Canada's unity issue can be attributed to its electoral system
- Italy, Austria, Ireland put their electoral systems into their constitution
- Topic of discussion and debate in academic circles for a number of years
- In BC, ON, and PEI the citizens were asked if they wanted to change the system
 - In all three, change was defeated
- No referendums were

Arguments against electoral systems

- The Canadian system does not produce results that reflect the preferences of citizens
 - Flawed democratic system
- Some electoral system advance social justice more than others
- Can foster reconciliation, conflict resolution, worsen conflict

Types/families of electoral systems

- **Plurality family**
 - The first past the post – single member plurality/district
 - Block vote – several members and several votes for as many seats in the house
 - 1 member elected
 - Categorical ballot structure
 - Winner determined by recipient of most votes
 - 23% of worldwide countries, 44% of world population
 - India, Britain, US, Canada
 - **Advantage** – simple and direct link between voter and the result
 - Provides an incentive for constituency service and maintain independence from his party and work for his riding
 - Strong majority governments with this system – able to act clearly and decisively on issues
 - Difficult for new parties to break into legislature (extremist parties)
 - **Flaw:** Seats that a party gets do not correspond with the votes it gets
 - **Wasted votes:** votes that do not contribute to any gaining of seats in the HOC
 - Result in the under representation of women and minorities
 - Scores well on accountability and stable gov't, scores weak on fairness of representation and voter choice
- **Majoritarian family**
 - Alternative vote – similar to our system, but requires that a candidate get the majority of the votes in a riding in order to win
 - Not widely used (Australia, Fiji, and New Guinea) used in Manitoba in ridings outside Winnipeg in the 20s-40s
 - For societies with deep ethnic or ideological divisions
 - Ballot type – Preferential: voters rank their preferences
 - If no candidate gains a majority of the votes, then the last placed finished is dropped from the count and 2nd place preferences are distributed to the other candidates
 - Two-round system: based on same principle as alternative vote
 - If a candidate does not win majority, then a second round of voting occurs with the top two candidates (France)
 - Not very common
 - Scores well on legitimacy, accountability, and stable/effective government
 - Can ameliorate regional tensions

- **The proportional representation family**
 - **40% of the votes = 40% of the seats**
 - **The list of Proportional Representation** system – most popular system worldwide (Denmark, Norway, Spain Sweden)
 - Danish may be the ideal electoral system
 - Good model for ethnically divided societies
 - ****Each political party presents a list of candidates in multi-member ridings**
 - The determination of who is on the list is determined by the party
 - Order on the list is important, reflects preferred choice
 - Parties much reach a certain level of support to gain a seat in parliament (Israel – 2%)
 - Closed list – list of candidates cannot be negotiated (Sweden is open list)
 - Allows parties to appoint minorities on their list, effective at instating female candidates
 - Good for fairness of representation, voter choice, effective parties
 - Not well on accountability
 - **The single transferable vote** – not a popular system (Australian senate, Ireland)
 - Complex system
 - Provides multi-member districts
 - Preferential ballot system – more than one member from each party
 - Candidates must reach a quota to be elected (mathematical formula)
 - He who first reaches the quota wins
 - Those who get more than the quote, ballots scrutinized, 2nd place finished distributed
 - Last place finisher may also be dropped
 - Good for fairness of representation
 - Ensure fewer wasted votes, help small parties, minorities and women, greater choice
 - Bad for ease of getting to power, bad for accountability, small parties disproportional influence, Can freeze ethnic tension
- **The mixed family**
 - **Mixed member proportional** – attempt made to capture benefits of plurality system with the benefits or proportional system
 - 9 countries (Germany and NZ)
 - Portion of seats are elected by first past the post, and another portion by list PR
 - 2 district types
 - Single district magnitude
 - Multiple district magnitude (greater than 1, larger districts)
 - Double ballots
 - 1 side – list of candidates
 - 2nd side – list of parties
 - Complicated system requiring a mathematical formula
 - Party vote determines the percentage of seats that party is entitled to
 - Good for legitimacy, representation, voter choice
 - Bad for coalition gov't
 - **Mixed member parallel** –
 - South Korea, Japan Russia
 - 2 types of districts
 - 2 electoral systems
 - 2 sided ballots
 - There are no compensatory seats

- Reserved seat system – setting aside a certain number of seats to accommodate linguistic groups, ethnic groups, gender based group
 - Used with any type (Uganda, New Zealand)
 - Problem – undermines the legitimacy of the group or whom it is being reserved

Issues of electoral systems

- **District magnitude:** refers to the number of representative elected from each constituency
 - Each riding has 1 member
- **Ballot structure/type:** refers to whether the ballot requires you to choose one of those listed or whether you can rank your preferences
 - **Categorical ballots** – choose one candidate
 - **Preferential ballots** – ranking system
- **Electoral forming:** refers to how the winner is determined, in some cases (Canada) whoever receives the most votes, wins
 - Others are more complex

In determining the subtypes to be used, it must have goals about what it wants the electoral system to achieve

Criteria of electoral systems: Objectives they want the proposed electoral system to achieve

1. **Simplicity** – be able to know how the system works. Should be straightforward
2. **Legitimacy** – Should have confidence in the system, should think the process is in accord with their political values
3. **Voter participation** – should promote voter engagement with the electoral process, elections should be accessible and meaningful
4. **Accountability** – Voters should be able to oust the rascals if they do not deliver. Should be able to identify their representatives and know who to hold to account. Canadian system seems to be working in this respect
5. **Voter choice** – Should promote voter choice in terms of the quality and quantity of options available
6. **Fairness of representation** – legislature should reflect the population of the jurisdiction in terms of demographic representation, proportionality. Parliament should be a mirror of legislation, all regions, ideologies, genders represented
7. **Stable & effective gov't** – not entirely dependent on electoral system, yet it should not be responsible for weak governments unable to accomplish their goals. Act efficiently and take strong and decisive action when necessary, policy consistency and gov't stability are important for any state of nation
8. **Effective parliaments** – Should ensure that a government gets elected as well as an effective opposition, should carry both a gov't and opposition with both sides able to carry out their roles
9. **Effective parties** – Encourage the development of strong, stable, and disciplined parties. Includes parties that can speak to new emerging conditions

The national institution of

Political parties should embrace a wide swath of the country's demographic

- Not keen on parties that are narrowly based
- Facilitate conciliation between groups and conflict resolution

Diversity in Canada

- Every multi-cultural group is represented in Canada
- Ever since colonization, Canada has been multi-cultural
- Various Europeans, many Africans, Americans, Jewish
- Nowadays most immigrants are from Asia or the Middle East
- Will Kymlicka has written on multiculturalism and immigration
 - Point out that immigration and national minorities has different goals
 - Immigrants to Canada seek inclusion and acceptance
 - National minorities seek acceptance but also a kind of self-direction
 - Difference policy strategies must be used to accommodate different sources of pluralism
- Canada's makeup comes from out national minorities or internal nations
- **Polyethnic rights:** Want acceptance for their ways, don't want to be hampered for their economic and social pursuits
- National minorities tend to seek self-government rights
 - Seek the powers to ensure the survivals or those nations
- Quebec has a large measure of self government, Aboriginals are also gaining the tools for self-government
- Sovereignty often causes a problem when pursued
- Problems is defining the concept of nation
 - Same language, culture, and shared history
 - The members of a sovereign state (Trudeau)
- Numerous groups have been the targets of prejudicial behaviour
 - Japanese Canadians during WWII and internment camps
 - Black citizens in Canada
 - School segregation in NS into the 60s

Lecture 10: (July23rd)

Base points:

- **Diversity**
- **Discussion**
- **The Charter**
- **Discussion**
- **DGD**

Exam

- **Out of 100**
- **65 will be short answer/definition**
 - **Know facts and relate them**
- **45-50 of 100 marks**
 - **Constitution, charter, federalism**

The environment

- 9000 environmental incidents since 1996
- 4000 cases examined – less than 1% pursued by the authorities

Canadian Diversity

- Nearly every country is represented in this country along with numerous languages and minority groups
- Tolerant society
- However groups have been victimized by race or ethnicity
- Vertical mosaic with some groups more privileged than others
- Canada has made many attempts to accommodate its ethnic communities, linguistic minorities,

Aboriginals

- Concerns economic and social policy
- Mostly to do with land
- Right to their use of their land was not often recognized
- Gov't accepts that Aboriginals have rights to their land
- Numerous court cases have been argued about the land (Nisga'a agreement negotiation known to take years! 26 years)
- 1990 case of R.V Sparrow fought nets bigger than the nation's provider
 - Argued for his right to fish as it was in the constitution
 - Aboriginals argue that if life could be bearable on the reserves, they would not need to move to urban centers
- Within Quebec there is the Canadian federal structure as well as bilingualism
 - Reasonable to say that Quebec has been accommodated to an extraordinary degree
 - Quebec politicians continue to argue for more autonomy for Quebec yet Canadians fear autonomy to the point of secession
 - **Right to self-gov't:** Allows the use of a range of powers to govern yourself and determine your own priorities and pursue your own objectives
 - **Right to self-determination:** You are your own nation
- Numerous measures undertaken to promote acceptance and fairness
 - Charter of Human rights and freedoms
 - Human rights codes/act: prohibit discrimination in the private sector
- 1971 – PM Trudeau stated a new vision for Canada including 2 official languages and many cultures
 - Immigrants not encouraged into Canadian society, yet free to retain their practices

4 objectives of multiculturalism policies in Canada

- Assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canada
- Promote exchanges and communication between cultural groups
- Assist immigrants in acquiring at least one official language
- Assist culture groups retain and foster their identities and practices

1988 – Canadian multiculturalism act

- Made Canadian multiculturalism the law
- Evolved over the years
- Eliminate discrimination and encourage communication

Canadian federal government – employment equity legislation

- To promote the hiring and promotion of 4 groups
 - Women
 - Aboriginals
 - Visible minorities
 - Those disabled
- Often the targets of overt and systemic discrimination

1988 – Japanese redress agreement

- Paid compensation to descendants and survivors of those held in camps

Multiculturalism views

- Multiculturalism is the heart of Canada's identity problem
- Encourages the adoption of Canadian values instead of retaining their own

The charter of rights and freedoms

- First 34 sections of the constitution act of 1982
- Prior to it there was very few right protection for Canadians
- Bill of rights passed in 1960 was very weak, not in the constitution, and only applicable in the federal jurisdiction
- Very popular enactment
- Marks the victory of Canadian citizens, women, aboriginals, minorities, gays, language groups participated actively in the drafting of the charter
- Many provincial politicians opposed the charter due to their beliefs in parliamentary supremacy. Also objected to judges having the final say
 - They were fearful that their provincial autonomy would be restricted
- **Heather Macivor** and her reasons for the charter
 - Growing perceptions that existing protection for rights was inadequate
 - Post WWII, there was a tremendous international movement for rights protection
 - UN rights instruments as of 1948
 - Canada's prime minister wanted a constitutionally entrenched charter due to linguistic reasons, and due to his knowledge of Canada's blemished rights history
- Applies to ALL governments in Canada and their laws and decision
- Does not apply to private sector activity

Contents of the charter*****

- 34 sections
- **Section 1** – Reasonable limits clause
 - An out of governments allows them to infringe on rights IF there is a reasonable reason for doing so
- **Section 2** – Fundamental freedoms
 - Freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief, expression, the press, assembly, association
- **Section 3-5** – Democratic rights
 - Right to vote and stand for election, not much judicial activity
- **Section 6** – Mobility rights
 - Leave and re-enter the country, seek employment anywhere, move anywhere, no provincial government can erect barriers to our movement to a province. However can set residency requirements for welfare
- **Section 7-14** – Legal rights
 - Protection for unreasonable search and seizure, right not to be detained
 - 7 – everyone has the right to life, liberty, and personal security
- **Section 15** - Equality rights
 - Prohibited grounds of discrimination
 - Race, ethnic origin, religion, colour, sex, age, mental or physical disability

- **Section 16-23** – Linguistic rights
 - Officially bilingual (NB)
 - Ontario approached to become officially bilingual
 - 23 - minority language rights
 - Have children taught in your language
- **Section 25** – Rights and freedoms of Aboriginal peoples
 - Rights obtained through land agreements
- **Section 27** – Multicultural interpretation
 - The charter must be interpreted while keeping in mind Canada's multicultural nature
- **Section 28** – Womens' rights
 - Protecting the equality of men and women
- **Section 33** – Notwithstanding clause
 - Gov't can violate a number of charter section (2, 7-14, and 15) if their legislature approve of it

Charter Criticisms

- Unelected judges making decisions
- Judges coming from a certain class and cannot relate to people of lower social classes
- When rights are asserted, dialogue ends
- It may overestimate the impact of the favourable judicial decision
- We look upon right very differently

Lecture 11: (July 25th)

Base points:

- **International affairs and Canada's approach**
- **Exam hints**

Foreign policy

- The policy of a state regarding the military, security, diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with other states and organizations
- Distinguishment from foreign affairs policy and foreign relations policy
- **Foreign policy:** refers to security and defence matters
- **Foreign relations:** Economic, environmental, trade and labour issues which bring states together
- **International law:** Type of legal system comprising a set of formal rules and customary practices that define rights and obligation and govern the interactions among states
 - Not located in just one document
 - The sources of international law include all international treaties and conventions, judicial decision of national reports, the writings of various international legal experts, the well-recognized practices and customs of states, and the general principles of the law
 - Important to observe international law, otherwise we have no right to criticize other nations for ignoring international law
- **Globalization:** The process under which trade among nations occurs without state-imposed barriers, capital can move with a minimal amount of hindrance, and markets are ntenational
 - Trade and investment treaties are part of the process along with international financial institutions (World bank) which facilitate free movement of capital goods and services across the globe

- **Multilateralism:** Refers to the resolution of international differences and conflicts through structures and conferences that bring together many states and that give them all voice in decision making
 - Not all voices are equal
 - UN is the pre-eminent structure for multilateralism

Approaches towards countries of organizations

- **Realist approach:** Associated mostly with states power
 - Act to maximize their own interests
 - Not concerned about the welfare of other states unless these actions affect their own countries
 - Rarely willing to brand human rights questions a priority unless it is required to do so
 - They believe that the drive for power is part of human nature and therefore a characteristic of state
 - Believe the international system is anarchy and states cannot rely on a central authority
 - Must look after themselves and pursue their own interests
- **Duty of leaders:** Promote integrity of their own states and protect against outside threats
- **Liberal internationalism:** More optimistic
 - Believe in the potential of interstate cooperation and international organization
 - States have common interests that can be pursued through international cooperation
 - For the creation of international organizations
 - Belief in the rule of law in non-state organizations including NGOs
 - Widespread human rights violation will result in instability and conflict
 - In every states interest to promote the protection of human rights
 - International law and multilateralism can bring forth cooperation
 - Does not see the world In a state of anarchy
 - Self-interest can be gained through working with others
- **Complex Neorealism perspective:** no longer a divide of power east and west
 - Now many centers of power
 - Canada important due to its history of diplomatic action
- **Multilateralism**
 - Act with like-minded governments through international organizations
 - UN, World bank, Organization of American states, WTO, Arctic council, British commonwealth, La francophonie, G8, and G20

The constitution act of 1867

- Not clear on the federal governments international affairs
- Not until 1937 the Judicial Committee Privy Council settled the hunger of federal power in Canada
- Labour conventions reference “the federal gov’t has the authority to enter into and sign any international treaty it wants, and ratify any international agreement
 - Implementation of those agreements depends on the subject matter of the agreement
 - Jurisdiction decides which governments implement policy
 - Before Canada enters into an international treaty, it must gain unanimous support from the provinces

Shapers of foreign policy

1. The prime minister
 - a. The minister of foreign affairs
2. Parliament and political parties: Standing committees in the House of Commons
 - a. Do not need to be ratified by a vote
3. Individual MPs and Senators with foreign policy views
4. Non-state actors
 - a. Corporations and advocacy groups (Greenpeace, Amnesty international)
 - i. Major shapers of international trade policy and human rights issues
5. Provinces
 - a. Foreign trade policy
 - b. Environmental policy
6. Relations with the US
 - a. Important in international trade

Canada's involvement

- was a participant in the League of Nations and International labour organization
- Huge contributor in 2 World Wars
- Drafting of the universal declaration of Human Rights
- 1956 foreign affairs minister won Nobel peace prize
- Contribute immensely to international development
- Diefenbaker and Mulroney helped dismantle apartheid
- International landmines treaty (Ottawa treaty)
 - Stop making landmines and provide tools for removal of landmines
- Creation of international criminal court
 - Huge step in development of international structure
 - Created by the Rome statute of 2002
 - Culmination of many years of negotiation
 - Early signatory
 - Not part of UN
 - Investigation, trying people completing the top echelon of Crimes (Genocide, slavery, sexual violence)
- Extremely supportive of the ICC, Philippe Hirsch
 - Wanted the creation of the criminal court
 - Eventually became a judge
- Support of the court continued under Harper
- 1990's Lloyd
 - Human security: View of security focusing on the protection of threats to their well-being (food, environment, education, housing)
 - Embraces a wide-range of threats
 - Violations of human rights, economic inequalities
 - Human security agenda has faded
 - Harper gov't not a fan
 - Higher trade emphasis

- **Current issues**
 - Renewed emphasis on the protection of Canadian sovereignty
 - Arctic
 - Canada's overseas development
 - Serious questions about the effectiveness of international development
 - International trade
 - Free trade agreements in the cards (Europe, china)
 - Resources
 - Harvested at alarming rates
 - Greenhouse gases emitted at alarming rates

Under the Harper government Foreign policy is LARGELY concerned on Trade and diffence and security issues

The Exam!!

- Midterm subjects **EXCEPT**
 - Preconfederation enactments
 - Politcal culture theories
 - Party systems and organizations
- 40% on federalism, charter, the constitution
- The public bureaucracy
- Types of gov't structures
- 4 issues concerned to political scientists
- **Parliament**
 - Legislative branch function
 - 3 roles of legislators
 - Passage of legislation
 - Officers of parliament
- The Judicial Review and the reference procedure/practice
- **Advocacy groups**
 - Social capital
 - Social movement
 - Civil society
 - Policy community
- **Federalism**
 - The lecture
- **Electoral systems**
 - Families
 - The lecture
- **The charter**
 - The lecture
- **Canada and the world**
 - Not much