

POL2101 Exam

Key Terms

Economic policy

- Different components
 - Monetary policy
 - It the process by with the central bank regulated the supply of money, and the rate of interest money
 - If there too much inflation then prices go up
 - Fiscal policy
 - Any government policy that involve changes in taxation public broughing and expenditure
 - Industrial policy
 - You will give grants and money to corporation to expand a certain structure
 - Trade policy
 - A set of rules that are intended to promote or hinder trade flows
 - We went from closed trade policy to a more trade policy (ex. Canada and South Korea trade policy)
- Different objectives
 - Stimulate (or maintain) economic growth
 - Increase employment
 - Increase economic competitiveness
 - Balance of payments stability

National policy (first, second and third)

- Refers usually to the economic program adopted by the Conservative Party of John Macdonald in 1879.
- Refers also to the “conscious, nation-building policies of successive federal governments” (Eden and Molot, 1993)
 - Smiley: “The most persistent expression of the nationalist impulse in Canada has been economic.”
 - The policy was made because of fear of the Americans
 - Three national policies (their wasn't in consensus)
 - First national policy (1879-1940)
 - Second national policy (1941-1981)
 - Third national policy (1982-)

The First National Policy, 1867-1940

- Three main components
 - Adoption of the “national policy” in 1879
 - Import substitution industrialization
 - Tax produces from other countries to protect ourselves
 - Immigration and expansion of the west
 - The west would send products to the east. Central Canada would build tractors for the west
 - Increase the market by bring more immigrants to the west
 - Building of the railway
 - Use the immigrants to build the railway to bring things to the West
 - Three elements were linked
- Objectives
- Role of governments
 - To put into the development of infrastructure and stay out of the economy and let people do what they want
 - There are people that believe that the NP didn’t have too much of an effect on the country. While others believe that it did help at all

Second National Policy

- Context leading to the Second National Policy
 - The great depression had a role.
- Not a single document/moment, but three characteristics
 - Macroeconomic management (Keynesianism)
 - The state using monetary and fiscal policy to help the economy. The state should intervene and they have to make a deficit when the economy goes bad.
 - Participation in the construction of a liberal postwar international economic order
 - After ww2, all industrial countries will open their doors, slowly.
 - The expansion of the welfare state
 - Protect the Canadian from the booms and bust
- Differences and similarities with the first national policy
 - Greater degree of state intervention (also in the provinces)
 - Tax incentives (especially in the resource sector), welfare state, subsidies
 - We try to bring US corporation to Canada
 - Allowing car people to come but there must have car manufacturing here
 - We eliminate tariffs but not in manufacturing
 - ... But still relatively protectionist in the manufacturing sector

Third National Policy

- Context
 - Stagflation of the 1970s
 - Neoliberalism
- Key moment: Macdonald commission
- Key characteristics
 - Free trade
 - Balancing the budget
 - Reduce the role of the state in the economy (privatization, deregulation)

Liberal market economy

Canada as a Liberal Market Economy

- Distinction between coordinated and liberal market economy (Hall and Soskice)
 - Competition vs coordination
- Key characteristics
 - Product competition
 - Employment favours general skills; education favours formal education over apprenticeship
 - Low unionization
 - Wages set up at the firm level
 - Comparative advantage: high tech and services
 - Comparative disadvantage: manufacturing

Single member plurality system

- Single member plurality system: “An electoral system in which voters in each geographical constituency elect a single representative to the legislature. The candidate with the most vote is elected, regardless of whether that candidate received the majority of votes”
 - How every gets the most votes will win the ridings
- Vote in 308 ridings (soon 338)
 - There is a law, that if there is changes in the population there can be an increase or decrease of seats
 - The opposition might not like this because NDP is stronger in Quebec. But no one has control of where the changes will happening

Federalism

- A system of governing in which sovereign authority is divided or shared between the central government and regional governments, with each deriving its authority from the constitution.
 - Power isn't absolute it divided. There are 3 characteristics: specific levels are government are in charge of different things, there is a construction that

explains it, and there is a judicial system.

Evolution of Canadian federalism

Colonial or quasi-federalism (1867-1891)

- Related to existence of disallowance and reservation powers, which were used extensively until 1911
 - Reservation power the leader can stop the bill from passing. The LG and send the bill to the GG and see if this bill is just. Between 1867-1896 75% of bills that weren't past were from the West (alienation)
- Federal government was the dominant political actor
 - Key role in creating the economic union
- Able to raise money by any means
 - The church and charities

Classical Federalism (1891-1940)

- Decline in the use of the reservation/disallowance power
 - It does seem right to use the disallowance clause
- Governments limit their intervention to their competencies
 - Think of it as a water tight compartment, you stay here and you stay there. Harper believes in this in the beginning
- Key role of the JCPC
 - Generous interpretation of the powers of the provinces
 - Restrict use of some powers of the federal government
 - I want to make a unemployment policy but the JCPC will stop you. If you're a nationalist you'll hate them.

Cooperative Federalism (1940-1965)

- Importance of the Great Depression
- A new blueprint: the Rowell-Sirois Commission
 - Royal commission on employment insurance. By make higher taxes then use the money to make social programs.
- Constitutional Amendment over UI
 - Now the responsibility of the federal government (Quebec was liberal)
- Growing recognition of the limits of the old classical model
 - Sometime the financial resources do match the needs.
- Pressures from the NDP
 - King was pressured by the NDP because he was afraid that the liberals will become a 3rd party like the UK.
- Province vs nation-building

- Fight for the loyalty of the Canadian population
 - Trudeau want to stop babying Quebec
- Spurred by the Quiet Revolution and the creation of the Parti Québécois
 - But not limited to Quebec
- Trudeau's belief that the balanced had gone too far toward provinces
 - He wanted to balance the country and was afraid of PQ and of regionalism in the West
 - It was a fairly bitter time
- Lead to two referendums and two failed constitutional attempts

Executive federalism

- Associated with Donald Smiley
 - Coined the term
- Definition: Executives at both levels have considerable latitude to strike bargains on behalf of government without input from legislatures.
 - Power is centralized in the provincial and federal system
 - So confused....
- Result of parliamentary government and executive federalism.
- Benefits and advantages
 - D: very low level of citizen participation weakens accountability of grants and legislations. Distort party agenda, and perpetuates intergovernmental conflict always having to interact with one another makes room for argument.
 - A: high degree of flexibility and the ability to respond to party challenges. Goes beyond the range of party politics

Spending power

- Right to spend in areas of provincial jurisdictions
 - Not defined in the constitution and never confirmed by the Supreme Court
 - Implicit from the power of taxation
- Associated with shared cost programs
 - (the federal will send money the provincial will respect what the federal)
 - Medicare
 - Social services and social assistance
 - Post-secondary education
 - Canada is now a welfare state
- Opposed by Quebec
 - Opting out option
 - This doesn't the federal nature of the country.

Asymmetrical vs symmetrical federalism

- Should all provinces have identical powers? Can powers vary from one province to another?
- Asymmetrical federalism
 - De jure
 - Legislative power, and rights and obligations written in the constitution
 - De facto
 - Symmetry that isn't in the constitution
- Arguments in favor and against?
 - The more you give the more likely that something bad will happen.
 - Scotland: let's say that in Canada that Quebec pension plan. Canada wants to change their pension plan will Quebec be allowed to vote on it? This is a problem in England when it comes to tuition fees

Fiscal federalism

- Definition: the evolving financial relations between the federal, provincial and municipal governments
 - In Canada it's always the source of tension. The shared cost programs with the Provinces such as health care making it expensive
- Always been a source of tension in Canada, but increasingly over the last 15 years
 - Budgetary restraints
 - 90s they need to fight the deficit and the only way to fix it was to cut transfers to provinces.
 - Shift of power away from central Canada
 - The west believes that the equalization program
- Dimensions
 - Constitutional
 - It's the problem of equalization. The constitution has it, and all good have to be spread out to the provinces. West wants to ban it, it would
 - Intergovernmental transfers
 - Sending money to provinces
 - Tax structure
 - If provinces want more services raise taxes. Tax revenue

Equalization

- Federal transfer program for addressing horizontal fiscal gap
 - Enables less prosperous provincial governments to provide public services that are reasonably comparable to those in other provinces, at reasonably comparable levels of taxation.
 - Mortan: believes that money from Alberta is sent to Quebec this isn't true. While it's true that Alberta gets more money taken away it only because they are hard workers and make more money.

- It main objective it protect to maritime provinces so they can offer services to residents
- Entrenched in the Canadian Constitution in 1982
- Unconditional payments: can be use the way they want
- Equalization in Canada today
 - Six provinces receive it
 - PEI, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Que, Ontario... mostly Quebec gets it. Maritime provinces need it more then Quebec
 - 16.1 billion in 2013-14

Policy community

- Numerous interest groups in a specific policy sector + Parliamentary Government = POLICY COMMUNITIES
- Definition: “Loose communities that form for the purpose of shaping public policy, taking the form of discrete and specialized clusters of government departments and agencies, advocacy groups, politicians, corporations, and interested individuals”
- Being part of a policy community means that a group is part of the flow of information
 - That relationship between government and interest group, it’s a two way process and the government will actively seek out interest groups

Lobbying

Lobbying in Canada

- Any organized attempt to influence the authorities, now often performed by professional lobbyist firms.
 - There are two type:
 - Consulting lobbyist: they present on their behalves
 - In-house lobbyist: they devised pressures to get what they want
 - They will use both
- Who are lobbyists?
 - Former politician and old staffers, they know the political game. Also former bureaucrats
- Regulation of lobbying in Canada
 - Only started in 1989
 - We came pretty late
 - We then created a registry
 - Must be registered and include name of client, who is being lobby and object of lobbying within ten days of being hired
 - It must be done within ten days
 - Much lobbying is not being recorder however
 - It happens in bars, parties, and group meetings. All informal

Political parties

- Definition: “Any political group that presents at election, and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office (Sartori).”
- Multiple functions in our political system
- Types of political parties
 - Cadre vs mass parties
 - Ideological vs catch-all

Brokerage politics

- A party that tries to appeal to a variety of interests and bridge those differences by promising benefits to a variety of interests
 - Objective is to incorporate representative from different regions and groups
- Why?
 - Electoral success
 - Need to maintain national unity and social stability
- Perspectives on brokerage parties
 - Necessary in a country like Canada
 - Tweedledum and Tweedledee (lack of creative politics)

Party system(s) in Canadian politics

- Definition: “A pattern of electoral competition that emerges between two or more parties”
- Duverger, electoral system and the number of parties
 - Two-party system vs multi-party system
- Party system in the study of Canadian politics: other criteria (Patten)
 - Organizational structure
 - Party leadership and relationship with citizens through the media
 - Discursive framework

Relation with other institutions (interest groups, social movements, etc)

Third Parties in Canadian politics

- Refers to a party other than the two major parties
- Maurice Pinard: “Any non-traditional party which has not yet been in power. It thus remains in the eyes of the voters as an untried alternative.”
- Importance of third parties has grown over time
 - In the late 1920s there was a growth of third parties

- Main third parties
 - CCF/NDP
 - Social Credit
 - Reform Party
 - Bloc Québécois

Different political parties

Conservative Parties

- The Mulroney era (1984-1993)
 - Promote closer relation with the United States
 - He embrace relation with the US and does not follow the historical ideas of the US
 - Unique (unstable) coalition: Quebec and the West
 - Quebec followed the conservative because Mulroney was from northern Quebec
 - Signed a contract with an aviation company in Quebec instead of the west
- Reform Party and the Canadian Alliance
 - Opposed focus on Québec, more social conservative, more populist and mostly based in the west
 - They are more socially conservative, and they want to listen to constitution
 - There was a growth of the Bloc Quebecois and a nationalistic ideals
 - Failed attempt at becoming a more national party
 - They was a huge split of the vote between the conservatives between the two parties
- Conservative Party (2003-)
 - Product of a merger between the Canadian Alliance and the Conservative Party
 - Everything old is new again?
 - Are we just seeing a revival of the Progressive Conservative or not, It moved away from its roots of the reform party
- Canada's new natural governing party?

Liberal Party of Canada

- One of the most successful parties in the world
 - Because it was in power longer and is the most centralist
 - When a centralist party goes to 3rd it will stay in 3rd
- Changing position over time
 - From provincial rights to defender of a strong federal government
 - It was the party of provincial rights and was the party of the West

- because it was try to protect provincial
 - From free trade to protectionism to free trade
 - Under free trade with the USA
 - A different type of nationalism
 - Less focus on Britain
 - It was the party of Canadian nationalism and not with the Britain
 - More focused on developing Canada's own symbols
 - Canadian flag, The charter, Bilingualism
 - Strong support from Catholics and French-Canadians
 - It really understood why but they do
 - History of alternating between Francophone and Anglophone leaders

Liberal Party of Canada

- A centrist party
 - Borrowed historically ideas from both parties (economy)
 - They would take ideas from other parties
 - It would follow the mood of Canadian
 - Associated with pragmatism
 - Associated with national symbols
- The party's shrinking coalition
 - Gradual lost of the West and Québec
 - Support concentrated in cities
 - Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal
 - They are trying to gain more popularity in other areas. However they still need to get seats in Quebec and it going to be a long bumpy ride.
- Will the Liberal Party ever come back?

CCF and NDP

- Product of the struggle of farmers and labourers
 - Emerged in the West, join force together against central Canada
- Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF)
 - Regina Manifest of 1933
 - More socialist but not communist
 - Did well in the west but not in Quebec
- New Democratic Party
 - From socialism to social democracy
 - More mainstream social democratic program
 - As been much more successful at the provincial than the federal level
 - It was more successful in provinces then federal winning in the maritime, nova scoria, Saskatchewan.
 - Although indirect influence at the federal level

- They policies was stolen but they didn't have to do the dirty work
- The difficult 1990s

NDP

- Platform
 - More activist federal government
 - Wasn't well seen in Quebec because they believe that the party will centralize in Ottawa
 - Debates about Québec over the years
- Why stuck in third place for so long?
 - Ideology (in the 1990s)
 - Quebec
 - SMP
 - Electoral system did help the party
 - Although they gain seats they did have a territorial area
- Layton and the Orange crush
 - Layton went on a Quebec tv show and was born in Quebec

Voter turnout

- Voter turnout is lose by international standards
- While other countries will have high voter turn out, they will be fined if they don't
- Some people won't vote because there will be not chance of being represented or even win
- Some have zero fate in the political system with increase criticism and lack of confidence

Civic engagement in Canada

- Civic engagement
 - Which is the different from a community involvement and volunteering
- Civil society
 - Interest groups and social movements
 - I: business associations, women association, unions
 - Volunteer organizations
 - Bowling leagues: we use to bowl together and now we are alone
- Key to fostering social capital
 - When we are involves in other things other then the internet, we begin to learn trust and will allow people not be afraid in getting involve
- Significantly higher than political engagement

Unconventional protest in Canada

- Political activities that are not channeled through formal channels (putting pressure on the state through other means)
 - Moderate protest
 - Going against legislation was passed by a government
 - Direct action
 - Signing a petition, not buying a product, peaceful occupation
 - Violence
 - Breaking windows, throwing rocks, G20 in Toronto
- Protest activities in Canada
- Explaining the rise of protest activities (read Neviite)
 - Post-industrialism and post-materialism
 - The economic expansion, there are more people who want to be involved in social policies
 - Decline of deference
 - Canada can defy authority

Interest groups in Canada

- Interest groups: a group of people who have joined together to pursue common interests and to try to influence the making and implementation of the laws and policies of a political community.
- Social movements: A network of groups and individuals that seeks major social and political changes, particularly by acting outside of established political institutions.
- Differences in terms of goals and organization
 - S: the main goal is to change the attitudes and ideas that people deal with things. It is not clear based, there are multiple collections of groups together

Interest Groups in Canada

- Functions of interest groups
 - Canada's groups are more scattered when comparing to other countries
- Types of interest groups
 - Institutional
 - Issue-oriented
- Peak associations
 - All the groups are fragmented
- Factors influencing the organization of interest groups in Canada (and creation)
 - Language
 - Other groups will have language barriers (amenity Canada French and English)
 - Federalism
 - It will have an impact on the behaviour in interest groups, lobbying in the provincial and federal level. It opens up opportunities

- The state interest
 - It had directly finance interest groups that would help the party in power

Social movements in Canada

- Social movements: A network of groups and individuals that seeks major social and political changes, particularly by acting outside of established political institutions.

Policy communities

- Comprised of actors in policymaking process with an interest in a particular policy field. These actors can be in the public sector (for example a ministry) and/or the private sector (for example a business association) and/or the 'attentive public'

Welfare state

- The welfare state: Government expenditures to ensure some minimum standard of living/protection from hardships resulting from unemployment, sickness and old age.
- Types of programs
 - Income transfers (Pension, EI, social assistance)
 - Social care services
 - Tax expenditures
 - Education?
- Two key objectives:
 - De-commodification
 - A person can maintain a livelihood without help
 - De-familialization
 - A degree of which household responsibilities are relaxed. In the capacity in which they can go to work, school and take care of children and family

History of the Canadian welfare state

First steps, 1840-1890

- Role of the state was mostly one of regulation rather than provision of services
 - Poor Laws in the Atlantic provinces
- Central role of charity
 - English-speaking Canada: social reform movement
 - Different groups made to help the poor
 - Quebec: Catholic Church
 - We are in charge.
- State involvement
 - Education (School Act of 1871 in Ontario)
 - It was the start of a province wide system

Period of Transition toward the Welfare State, 1891-1940

- Industrialization (it was a lot slower than Europe and US)
 - Workers' compensation (Ontario, 1914)
 - This was adopted in the most industrialized province. If you get an injury and can't come to work then you get compensation. Before 60s Quebec saw it as a communist idea, now it's the most pro-welfare state.
- First World War
 - Disability and survivor pensions (for widows)
 - Family allowances (Manitoba) (if the primary breadwinner is dead then families can get money for the number of children in the family)
 - Old age pension (70 years and old and be poor)

Period of Transition toward the Welfare State, 1891-1940

- Great Depression
 - Bennett: « New Deal »
 - Rejected by the provinces
- Political movements
 - Social gospel movement
 - Greater economic justice.
 - Union movement
 - Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
- Key moment: Rowell-Sirois Commission
 - Shared cost equalization, giving to the poor

Expansion of the Canadian Welfare State, 1940-1975

- Marsh Report
 - Concept of a social minimum
 - During the era, the creation of the EI (UI)
- Fear of the CCF growing popularity (the fear that Liberal party will lose popularity and fall to 3rd place, so he stole party policies from the CCF)
 - Family allowances (1944)
 - It was a bit of a problem because Quebec families are fairly big in size
 - Old age security (1951)
- Innovation in Saskatchewan
- People coming to the first socialist government
 - 1946: Hospitalization Act
 - In a hospital care you don't pay
 - 1962: Medicare Insurance Act
 - These policy became so popular then the federal government stated to do this in other provinces

Expansion of the Canadian Welfare State (1940-1975)

- Most important expansion under Lester B. Pearson
 - Canadian Pension Plan
 - It's an insurance program for people who worked
 - Canadian Assistance Public
 - Social assistance welfare
 - Medicare
 - He took the SK model and put it in the other province
- Factors explaining the expansion of the welfare state under Pearson
 - Minority government
 - Some of the greatest policy that were pass were under a minority government
 - Quiet revolution and nation-building
 - Develop national program to let Quebec be happy

Erosion and Transformation, 1975-?

- Economic crisis from the 1970s
 - Increasing costs of social programs
 - Déficits importants
- Three strategies of retrenchment
 - Abolishing the universal character of many programs (under Mulroney)
 - Old Age security, you can only have this if you have this
 - Significantly tightening eligibility rules (under Chrétien/Martin)
 - They change the name to EI, and changed the requirements to get EI
 - Important reduction of social transfers to the provinces
 - It use to be 50-50, but then there were huge cuts to social transfers. Hospitals started to close down.
- After retrenchment? A social investment strategy or permanent austerity?

Liberal welfare state

- What is a liberal welfare state?
 - How is it different than the "social-democratic" welfare state?
 - One that characterized by means tested assistances...
- Variation according to the program
 - Social insurance program (Canada pension plan)
 - Universal program (family allowance)
 - Social assistance and supplementary programs
- Variation through times
 - Increasingly targeted, means-tested programs
 - You can get it if you need it?

- Importance of the Market
 - Dentist
 - You might have a personal insurance but the government won't pay
 - Medication
 - Pension
 - Most people have to pay for retirement
 - Social services
 - The state doesn't give you it

Why a liberal welfare state?

- Power resource perspective
 - Low union level
 - Lack a strong left political party
 - They used to believe that Quebec was left until today
- Impact of institutions
 - Federalism as an impediment to the expansion of the welfare state
- Political culture and ideology
 - Focus on the individual, liberal fragment
 - It often view liberals ideology as bad
- National identity
 - Lack of strong common national identity
 - When people have a national identity, then distribution of wealth is greater then compared to other countries

Parliamentary supremacy vs. Constitutional supremacy

- Parliamentary supremacy
 - Parliament is the ultimate source of authority
 - In Canada, we always had limited parliamentary supremacy
 - 1982: we moved from this to this
- Constitutional supremacy
 - Constitution is the ultimate source of supremacy
 - Entails judicial review
 - Whatever the government decides then it must go through this
- Canada has made the transition from (limited) parliamentary supremacy to constitutional supremacy

Charter of Rights and Freedom

- Basic provisions
 - Fundamental freedoms: civil right (religion, of association, freedom)
 - Democratic rights (election, hold office)

- Mobility rights (you can move across Canada, and work at any area of provinces)
- Legal rights (life liberty, police work in Canada)
- Equality rights (can not be discriminated)
- Linguistic rights (education rights of Anglophones and Francophones)
- What is not in the Charter
 - Property rights
 - Social rights (no rights to health care and minimum wage, environmental rights)

Notwithstanding clause

- Section 33: The Notwithstanding clause
 - This falls under freedom right, and equality and most fundamental rights but not under language rights
 - Does not apply to all parts of the Charter
- The *Ford Case*
 - The right to have bilingual signs, it was challenge in the courts. You can have predominated of French but you can get rid of other language. Burassa said, you can be monolingual outside but inside you can be bilingual. After 5 years Quebec followed the desistion of the court
- Case for and against section 33

Reasonable limit clause

- Section 1: Reasonable limits
 - Right can be restricted if its justified
 - Oakes Test
 - 1st, it must be oppressing can be for the sake of it
 - 2nd, the means must be proportional
 - The means must be rationally connected to the objective
 - It must be a minimal impartment of rights
 - The must be proportionality of the infringement and objective