

## Political Science 2F03 Exam Review

Exam format:

2 hours; 2 sections

1<sup>st</sup> section shorter answers 3 of 5 based on the readings/ tutorial questions 45%; one each week as a tool as to what are the arguments

2<sup>nd</sup> section 55% essay 3 questions you answer one of them; useful to make the arguments made by the readings, the exam focuses on the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the course a bit more; but all encompassing.

### **Possible Questions for Section 1:**

1. How satisfied should we be with elections and party competition as the primary means of ensuring democratic decision-making, and confronting collective challenges?
2. Can social movements and community organizations interact with the state without being co-opted? Is being co-opted a bad thing?
3. How democratic is interest group involvement in decision-making? Does it enable greater citizen participation or input, or does it supplant the democratic process by allowing unelected groups to make policy rather than representatives elected on specific mandates?
4. Why does Smith argue, “engagement with law is a problematic and ambiguous project for disadvantaged groups”? (p. 146).
5. What kind of relationships can be struck between aboriginal peoples and the Canadian state that meet the standards of justice and legitimacy?
6. Why do Canadians outside Quebec, who claim to embrace cultural diversity, have such a strong antipathy to recognizing national diversity? Is the discourse of diversity really a smokescreen for a pan-Canadian nationalism seeking a “normal” nation-state?
7. Can we say that the media provides enough information about important issues to allow a democratic citizenry to make informed choices? If not, why not?

### **Section 2 Essay questions:**

1. What's the difference between Multiculturalism and Multinationalism? Which one of these frames could accommodate better Aboriginal peoples in Canada? In what ways the situation of Aboriginal peoples is similar to the situation in Quebec? In what ways are they different?
  - Multiculturalism: the doctrine that several different cultures (rather than one national culture) can coexist peacefully and equitably in a single country.
  - Multinationalism: people differ in how they describe themselves, not tied to territory; does not provide other citizens rights

2. Discuss the possibilities and limitations of political parties (cadre, mass, and brokerage model), Social movements and interest groups to represent citizenry and foster democracy, (include examples of Canadian context)
  - Brokerage parties- even though they might differentiate, but they adopt a popular support. Collects different people from different groups; it's a flexible group
  - Mass parties- joined around a certain ideology; clear defined program that joins people
  - Are Interest groups are alternative to parties? Social movements influences policies coalitions between parties and groups; recourses and expertise to bulge for change could be problematic; social movements might have a top down effect.
  - The problem with parties is that they do not adequate preach for the needs of the citizens, there are not many options, overlapping of ideas (they are similar to an extent)
  - Policies and ideologies are behind them to push for things like health care and policies that everyone likes. More economically feasible for that policy (economic issues). More and more neo-liberal ideologies of the economy and free trade (make them to converge in brokerage model)
  - Difference between social movements and interest groups is that SOCIAL MOVEMENT aims to social structure, referred to grass root and make you couscous about issues, main objective to work with people. Interest groups- lobbying and are doing things to directly influence policy
3. What are the problems with parties to represent people? What kind of policies and ideologies are behind them to push for? Difference between social movements and interest groups?
4. Define: voting, Parliament, courts, citizenship, and how effective they are? (the question is something along these lines)
  - Parliament- representation; democratic process, and is time consuming
  - Voting
  - Courts establish over arching evidence for future laws; not representative of the population; but is not representative of the whole population
  - Citizen consultation: how effective would it be? Depends on the size and whether they are motivated; (NAC- evidence based policy making). Consensus; are not effective because everyone has different opinions and does not give concise answers.

Themes and Topics that will be on the Exam:

- Understanding of national and cultural differences

- Poverty
- Inequality
- Environment instability
- Gender equality
- Different ways of political power
- Political parties
- Brokerage parties
- Impact of losing political parties
  - o is there a way to go around them or rebuild them
  - o challenging the power of capital
- Role of parties and the influence of social movements and interest groups
- Social movements; cycle of movement; mobilization resulted in institutionalization
  - o changed our country and how it is different in the world
  - o activism in the corporate community
  - o implications; cost and demobilization
    - § Trying to change what the state is and what it does
- Interest groups
  - o inclusion and exclusion
  - o those who are outside and inside
  - o explained figure of power
  - o legitimacy
  - o experience
  - o ideas
  - o structural power
  - o de-legitimatization
  - o citizen consultation; what is lost and gained
  - o collective interest changing policy
  - o how groups mobilize through legal channels
- Citizenship
  - o relationship of the state and people
  - o interest groups and social movements were pushing for their own rights
  - o about shaping rights
  - o who is included and excluded
- Broader connection/consensus of the political community
  - o what Canada is multinational or multiculturalism
- What policies need to be adopted about multiculturalism
- Structural power of capital
  - o distorts democracy
- How can we re-engage people to solve collective problems?

### **Readings and Lecture notes:**

#### **Parties and Elections:**

##### **Notes:**

Smith, *A Civil Society?* ch. 4

Arenas of Influence: Parliament, Parties, and Elections

- transition from the Keynesian to the neoliberal era had reinforced the obstacles created by the Canadian Westminster system of governance to the influence of groups and social movements on legislatures and the party system
- Canadian party system is dominated by the “brokerage” model with respect to party organization and electoral strategies
- volatility of the voters, the brokerage nature of the major parties, the first-past-the-post rulers of the electoral system, and the rules of party and election financing create a legislative system dominated by the governing party
- Major barriers to group influence through the individual member of parliament or the opposition parties under most circumstances
- The nature of dominant parties is reinforced and exacerbated by the increasingly important role of the media in election campaigns
- Transition to neoliberal has entailed a dumbing down of politics and political debate
- Neoliberalism politics of privatization, deregulation, welfare state roll-backs, and the attacks on social solidarity and collectivism.

William Cross and Lisa Young, “**Are Canadian Parties Empty Vessels? Membership, Engagement and Policy Capacity,**”

Summary/Abstract:

Volunteers have traditionally played a significant role in Canadian political parties, as campaign workers, supporters of candidates for party leadership or nomination, and local organizers. In the contemporary era of professionalized, media-oriented politics, however, the already circumscribed role of the Canadian party member has been limited even further. In this paper, the authors analyze the data of a 2000 survey of members of what were then Canada’s five major political parties and find that party members are not satisfied with their ability to shape party policy and are particularly resentful of the extent to which political professionals have usurped the role of the party member.

Because party membership in Canada is a form of public service and thus contributes to the vibrancy of political life in the country, the authors argue that we should be concerned that rates of party membership appear to be dropping, the average party member is nearing retirement and is not being replaced, and rates of activism within parties are relatively low. All of these tendencies are products of complex social change, reinforced by institutional constraints that have historically limited the role of Canadian party members. As such, they defy easy solutions. Cross and Young argue, however, that one approach that might encourage party membership and help political parties to fulfill their roles in public life would be to encourage parties to give a more meaningful, ongoing role in the development of their public policy positions to their rank-and-file members.

They suggest that if parties are to attract more Canadians as members and, more important, as ongoing participants in their affairs, they need to offer voters greater opportunities to influence party stances on questions of public policy. It is their view that in the long term, the establishment of vigorous party-policy foundations would not only help to address the concerns of voters about the lack of a meaningful role for them in

party politics but would also strengthen our parties and our democracy more broadly. At present, our parties have little capacity for generating new policy alternatives. The parliamentary parties are necessarily concerned with the immediate issues of the day and the extra-parliamentary parties have few resources for anything other than election preparation. The result is that our elected officials are largely dependent on other organizations for policy innovation. Formal policy foundations, organized and maintained by the political parties, would both provide opportunity for grassroots members to influence a party's policy direction and act as an ongoing policy resource for the parliamentary party.

Knowing that policy interest motivates party membership in Canada, and that stalwart party members are not content with their circumscribed role in policy development within their party, the authors see clear potential for parties to involve their members in policy discussions. In an era when Canada's federal political parties are largely funded by the public treasury, it is all the more important that they find ways to engage meaningfully with segments of Canadian society. Moreover, public funding can be structured in a manner that creates incentives for parties to speak directly with citizens on matters of public policy.

Main Points:

Grant Amyot, "**The Waning of Political Parties**"

Summary/Abstract:

Main Points:

William K. Carroll and R.S. Ratner, "**The NDP Regime in British Columbia, 1991-2001: A Post-Mortem,**"

Summary/Abstract:

Main Points:

### **Social movement-State interactions**

Smith, *A Civil Society?*, ch. 3.

Carol-Anne Hudson and Peter Graefe, "**The Toronto Origins of Ontario's 2008 Poverty Reduction Strategy: Mobilizing Multiple Channels of Influence for Progressive Social Policy Change,**"

Summary/Abstract:

This article, while largely descriptive in cast, seeks to make two contributions. The first is a crucial empirical one of describing key moments in the early development of the Ontario Poverty Reduction Strategy, thereby laying bare key events, personalities and networks that to our knowledge have not yet been studied. This can usefully inform future analyses by other scholars, be they interprovincial comparisons or arguments about why Ontario adopted the poverty strategy that it did rather than another one. The second contribution is to deepen our understanding of the "geography" of social policy development in Ontario, and the difficult relationships that emerge between the central agenda-setting role of Toronto organizations and the demands for representation from

other regions. Put otherwise, this analysis supports Mahon's understanding of how Toronto-based organizations often stand in as provincial associations in engaging the provincial state, and are assisted by the Toronto municipal state that is seeking certain policies for its own ends. It however renders that story more complex based on observations in the antipoverty sector. The article notes the tensions that arise from having that Toronto state/advocacy sector complex stand in for truly Ontario wide organizations, and secondarily those related to disputes on how to fashion a united appeal to the state. Given our interest in the sources of the Ontario strategy, our analysis is focused on the period leading up to the announcement of the Ontario Poverty Reduction Strategy in December 2008, although we do briefly look beyond that date to highlight the persistence of those tensions and their impact on poverty policy advocacy in Ontario.

Main Points:

Rachel Laforest and Michael Orsini, "**Evidence-based Engagement in the Voluntary Sector: Lessons from Canada,**"

Summary/Abstract:

The shift towards governance and greater reliance on third parties in the design, implementation and evaluation of policy has created new pressures to ensure that policies are designed and delivered in a consistent and effective manner. In the interest of improving transparency, accountability, effectiveness and efficiency, governments in Canada and in the UK, as in many industrialized countries, have begun to emphasize the need for evidence-based policy-making. As a result, knowledge and research have become key assets in the production of policy. Yet, with their current capacity and knowledge base wanting, governments have increasingly relied on the knowledge and information of external actors and have afforded greater authority to them on this basis. This has created a situation in which evidence-based inputs are given greater weight. This shift has particular implications for voluntary sector organizations whose basis for intervention has lain historically with the interests that they represent. Already, in the Canadian case many national organizations have seen their focus shift to research activities under the impetus of new funding initiatives explicitly encouraging activities grounded in knowledge and policy analysis. Moreover, policy guidelines have been elaborated in order to enhance the sector's capacity to contribute to the development of policy in a depoliticized manner. Using a series of interviews conducted with representatives from national voluntary organizations in Canada, this article explores the implications of such a shift for the voluntary sector in Canada, and asks whether the Canadian case holds some lessons for voluntary sector–state relations in other jurisdictions.

Main Points:

### **Interest groups, Policy communities**

Smith, *A Civil Society?*, ch. 5.

Francesca Scala, Éric Montpetit and Isabelle Fortier, "**The NAC's Organizational Practices and the Politics of Assisted Reproductive Technologies in Canada,**"

Summary/Abstract:

As the formal “carriers” of the goals and agendas of social movements, social movement organizations (SMOs) are committed to both institutional and identity politics. Given this dual engagement, SMOs must attempt to reconcile their intraorganizational strategies for representation and mobilization with their intergroup strategies for instrumental action in the policy process. In this article, these tensions are explored in a case study of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) and its involvement in the policy debate on reproductive technologies over 15 years. The article reveals how the NAC's capacity to influence and participate in the formulation of policy on reproductive technologies was challenged by its inability to resolve competing demands: those of institutional politics, which called for professional advocacy; and the internal demands emanating from its grassroots member groups, for deliberation and participation. The article also attributes the NAC's diminished effectiveness in the policy process to broader changes in the relations between the Canadian state and social movement organizations.

Main Points:**Jonathan Greene, “Whatever It Takes’: Poor People’s Organizing, OCAP, and Social Struggle,”**Summary/Abstract:

On 16 November 1999, six busloads of people from Toronto, Tyendinaga, Kingston, and Montreal descended on Parliament Hill and mounted a spirited protest. This demonstration would have been no different than any other march on "The Hill" except for two things: this was a demonstration by homeless people and anti-poverty activists, and it erupted in violence with protesters attempting to tear down the barricades and the police responding with pepper spray.' This was the first time in Canadian history that pepper spray had been used on the Hill to quell a protest. The demonstration was organized and led by the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP)--a decisively class-based, poor people's social movement organization.

Main Points:**George Hoberg and Jeffrey Phillips, “Playing Defence: Early Responses to Conflict Expansion in the Oil Sands Policy Subsystem,”**Summary/Abstract:

This article examines how powerful policy actors defend themselves against opponents' strategies of conflict expansion through a case study on the oil sands of Alberta. In response to an escalation of criticism of its performance on environmental regulation and related issues, the government of Alberta has pursued a strategy of engaging in several multi-stakeholder consultations. We argue that in examining subsystem change, it is essential to go beyond an examination of formal institutional mechanisms to examine policy impacts. Thus far, despite a significant pluralisation of consultative mechanisms on the oil sands, there is little or no evidence of a shift in power away from pro-oil sands interests. This strategy of selective opening is designed to

bolster the legitimacy of the policy process while maintaining control over decision rules and venues.

Main Points:

### **Citizen Consultation**

Rachel Laforest and Susan Phillips, “**Citizen Engagement: Rewiring the Policy Process,**”

Summary/Abstract:

Main Points:

Genevieve Fuji Johnson, “**Deliberative Democratic Practices in Canada: An Analysis of Institutional Empowerment in Three Cases,**”

Summary/Abstract:

Analyzing three timely Canadian cases, this article develops an important relationship between the theory and practice of deliberative democracy. The Canadian Nuclear Waste Management Organization (NWMO), Nova Scotia Power Incorporated (NSP), and Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) recently held consultative initiatives appearing to seek the democratic empowerment of citizens. In each case, we see institutional features of deliberative democracy. But only the TCHC's participatory budgeting process begins to fulfill the promise of deliberative empowerment, that is, inclusive, informed, and equal public deliberation focused on a common good at the policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation stages. Why is the case of the TCHC characterized by greater deliberative empowerment than the cases of NSP and the NWMO? I explore possible explanations, all of which focus on the political context in which deliberation takes place. My overarching finding is that the motivation of policy elites within these organizations is key in the deliberative empowerment of citizens at the institutional level. I conclude by identifying factors that might account for the presence or absence of this motivation.

Main Points:

### **Courts**

Smith, *A Civil Society?*, Smith, ch. 6

Lisa Vanhala, “**Disability Rights Activists in the Supreme Court of Canada: Legal Mobilization Theory and Accommodating Social Movements,**”

Summary/Abstract:

Disability rights organizations have been active participants before the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) since the mid-1980s but they have been completely neglected in the literature on social movement legal mobilization. This paper seeks to remedy this lacuna by providing an overview of the litigation activity of the main disability rights organizations. It builds on an emerging complementary theoretical perspective for

understanding the participation by movement actors in the Court. Through an analysis of shared and contested collective meaning frames within and across social movement organizations we can complement existing theoretical explanations for the overall development of legal mobilization by social movement actors.

Main Points:

## **Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian Political Order**

Kiera L. Ladner, “**Aysaka’paykinit: Contesting the Rope Around the Nations’ Neck,**”

Summary/Abstract:

Main Points:

Fiona MacDonald, “**Indigenous Peoples and Neoliberal ‘Privatization’ in Canada: Opportunities, Cautions and Constraints,**”

Summary/Abstract:

This article addresses the impact of the current neoliberal political context for Indigenous governance in Canada. While some observers have argued correctly that the neoliberal context provides new opportunities or points of entry in the political opportunity structure for “self-government” initiatives (Helvin, 2006; Scott, 2006; Slowey, 2008), I examine to what extent recent decentralizing initiatives, generally viewed as “concessions” made by the state to meet the demands of Indigenous peoples, must be evaluated as part of a broader governmental strategy of neoliberalism. This strategy is not simply about meeting the demands of Indigenous peoples but also about meeting the requirements of the contemporary governmental shift towards “privatization” within liberal democratic states. As such, I argue that certain manifestations of Indigenous self-government are vulnerable to criticisms launched against practices of privatization, practices which include a variety of policies designed to promote a shifting of contentious issues out of the public sphere and thereby limiting public debate and collective—that is, state—responsibility.

Main Points:

## **Multiculturalism**

Keith G. Banting, “**Is there a Progressive’s Dilemma in Canada? Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State,**”

Summary/Abstract:

There is a widespread fear in many western nations that ethnic diversity is eroding support for the welfare state. This article examines such fears in the Canadian context. In-depth analysis of public attitudes finds remarkably little tension between ethnic diversity and public support for social programs in Canada. At first glance, then, the country seems to demonstrate the political viability of a multicultural welfare state. But this pattern reflects distinctive features of the institutional context within which public attitudes evolve. The Canadian policy regime has forestalled tension between diversity and

redistribution by diverting adjustment pressures from the welfare state, absorbing some of them in other parts of the policy regime, and nurturing a more inclusive form of identity. These institutional buffers are thinning, however, potentially increasing the danger of greater tension between diversity and redistribution in the years to come.

Main Points:

Daiva Stasiulis and Yasmeeen Abu-Laban, “**Unequal relations and the struggle for equality: Race and Ethnicity in Canadian Politics,**”

Summary/Abstract:

Main Points:

## **Multinationalism**

Kenneth McRoberts, “**Canada and the Multinational State,**”

Summary/Abstract:

Along with the nations created by states, there are "internal nations" within states. Several such nations exist within the Canadian state, representing close to one quarter of the population. In recent years, Canadian political scientists have been actively theorizing this multinationalism and showing how it might be accommodated. Yet, the political realm has become highly resistant to such notions. Dualism, the primary historical accommodation of the francophone "internal nation," has been displaced by a state nationalism which, in turn, has entrenched a purely territorial rationale for federalism and has made multiculturalism the only legitimate basis for accommodating cultural diversity. Moreover, the nationalisms of the two predominant "internal nations," Quebec and "First Nations," have been mobilized in direct opposition to each other. In the end, rather than constituting a new form of "post-modern state" which transcends nationalism, Canada is in fact caught in the contradiction between the nationalism of the Canadian state and the nationalisms of its "internal nations."

Main Points:

Nadine Changfoot and Blair Cullen, “**Why is Quebec Separatism off the Agenda? Reducing National Unity Crisis in the Neoliberal Era,**”

Summary/Abstract:

The development of federalism in the context of the neoliberal era in the 2000s has partly created the conditions for a more stable co-operation between the federal and Quebec governments, contributing to the trend of separatism being sidelined in Quebec. In the context of neoliberalism, federal–provincial agreements have created conditions for just enough asymmetry in the relationship between the federal government and Quebec, something that Quebec has historically demanded, for separatism to remain off the agenda. What separates this relationship from past ones is a significant change in the context whereby the neoliberal orientation is becoming the common currency for co-operation. If Canadian federalism continues its present course under neoliberalism without any major mishaps, for the first time since the divisive period of the 1990s and

early 2000s, federal–Quebec relations likely will be stable without national unity crises of the kind that culminated in the 1980 and 1995 Quebec referenda on sovereignty.

Main Points:

### **The Media**

Robert A. Hackett, “**News Media and Civic Equality: Watch Dogs, Mad Dogs or Lap Dogs?**”

Summary/Abstract:

Main Points:

Paul Saurette and Shane Gunster, “**Ears Wide Shut: Epistemological Populism, Argutainment and Canadian Conservative Talk Radio,**”

Summary/Abstract:

Although scholars have identified political talk radio (PTR) as an important site of political socialization, the current literature has largely failed to examine the political relevance of PTR's rhetorical strategies and has virtually ignored Canadian PTR altogether. This article addresses these gaps by analyzing *Adler On Line*, Canada's only nationally syndicated commercial PTR program, to show that *how* Canadian PTR talks, particularly its use of populist rhetoric, plays a central role in establishing what type of political deliberation and debate is possible within it. Divided into two main sections, the article first explores how *Adler On Line* renders a particular epistemological framework authoritative. The second section then analyzes the rules and norms of political expression and debate encouraged by the show's style of argutainment debate. The article concludes with a more speculative evaluation of the practical consequences as well as the theoretical and normative implications of these discursive practices.

Main Points:

Nicole Goodman, Heather Bastedo, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett, “**Young Canadians in the 2008 Federal Election Campaign: Using Facebook to Probe Perceptions of Citizenship and Participation,**”

Summary/Abstract:

The gradual withdrawal of young voters from the active electorate is one of the strongest and most important factors in accounting for declining voter turnout in Canada and other western democracies. Because qualitative approaches may be better able to probe the reasons underlying these changing values and attitudes than traditional mass surveys, we used the popular social media site Facebook during the 2008 federal election campaign to collect data on young people's perceptions of electoral politics in the context of their civic obligations. This medium proved to be a valuable and productive research tool. Based on this project, we argue that non-voting tends to be seen as a more socially acceptable behaviour to young voters than is typically found in the thinking of older cohorts, and that this may be connected to changing concepts of the obligations of citizenship.

Main Points:

**Lecture Notes :****Political Parties**

- making decisions on public policies
- brokerage
- political parties are publicly organized groups of people who are motivated by some common set of political ideas and whose goal is to have their particular members win public office so that those ideas can put into practice
- importance of ideas
- political parties become important switching points
- power and institutions
- there is a leverage of power
- the ideas that rule us emerge through the conflict of power
- parties emerge to play a specific role as representative politics is started; to play a particular role
- is there for legislature; to organize, it is important that the legislature has the support of executive
- the origins came from legislature; not free standing organization
- they were set up to be institutions to make legislatures to work
- Distinctions
  - o Cadre vs Mass
  - o Cadre
    - § to make legislature work smoothly
    - § took on names like liberals, 'tories, conservatives
    - § the recognizable parties
    - § organizations that were controlled by the parliamentarians
    - § need delegates
    - § more specific, more varied in their appeal
  - o Mass
    - § comes into being in the 20<sup>th</sup> century
    - § as the expansion of the vote of the population
    - § organize to elect people, then they would represent those ideas
    - § create a platform of interest and then elect representatives to then put forward the ideas/platforms
    - § based on the idea to change politics and to create structure
    - § were built around an ideological vision
    - § idea that politics was not running for the working people
    - § this was to transform to a more socialist political way
    - § nationalist parties have developed this ideology
    - § membership; Cadre started to take this ideology now of membership, and such
    - § EXAMPLE; PARTI QUEBECOIS
- Ideological vs Brokerage

- o Ideological
  - § straightforward statement
  - § vision for the country
  - § express interests out there to affiliate with their values with the parties
  - § divided around class in earlier times
  - § right winged, left winged
  - § parties defined particular divisions and ideas
  - § often Mass PARTIES formed/pursued what the GOOD should be
  - § These parties had their own social world/spaces that tied to your identity
    - ú what the world should be
  - § Examples
    - ú 1990; reformed party
    - ú Bloc-Quebécois
- o Brokerage
  - § take interests as they are but have compromises
  - § try to broker a certain number of deals and such for their party
  - § present a grab bag approach
  - § all things for all people
  - § series of trade off and deals
  - § classic understanding that parties are like this
  - § Miriam Smith; the Progressive Party
  - § regional, national, and specific
  - § national unification
  - § how they educate us on policies
    - ú idea that ultimately...reconciliation; settle elections, maintaining social peace
- o The absent mandate
  - § brokerage politics places emphasis on leader stitching interests together
    - ú means few clear choices and public policy and direction of the country
    - ú parties tend to downplay principled differences
  - § result 1
    - ú voters are volatile. they come to see political as short term tinkering, rather than a choice between competing world-views and the projects that follow from these world-views
      - not about something more fundamental
      - what is wrong in this society and create something less wrong or rather right
    - ú link between interests in societies and parties becomes weak and tenuous. what exactly did people vote for?
      - someone strong
  - § Result 2: become relatively weak leader run/driven organizations
    - ú create new alliance; a lot of power to the leader
    - ú lack rich internal life policy debate

- ú DO NOT really invest in policy capacity; don't have brains, rich in generality, but poor on specifics and costing's; propose ideas but cant achieve them
- ú find it hard to innovate and take broad departures, relying instead on the bureaucracy we

#### What do Parties do?

- enable legislatures to function
- recruit people as members, and as candidates: maintain interest in politics among the people and provide the people and organization to allow elections to work
  - o organizations that are important in making things work/organized
- Raise money: reduce the cost of elections to the public treasury
  - o if democracy is important we would have to pay for it
    - § private/public funded; mixed of subsidies
    - § certain subsidies; tax refund plans, reimbursement
- identify, represent and balance the diverse interests of citizen: interest aggregation
  - o take interests and put them together in institutions/ put together interests, in a common program
- parties formulate and influence public policies in their attempt to aggregate interests
  - o either to be rally around ideas
  - o what people will like
  - o more debate on public policies and how they will guide us
- parties educate people about political life
  - o they provide their members with training in holding elected offices, they provide venues to debate issues. they simplify politics by reducing information costs (branding)
    - o they help define what politics is about
      - § to deal with everything that is political
      - § comes to define what we think politics is
      - § what politics should be about
      - § classic argument the brokerage idea where leaders promise, and we think about politics in regions
      - § shaped and helped define it and what it is about
      - § aspect of education, issues that count in politics and which ones are important; socioeconomic are less talked about
- national integration: parties (can?) help organize a national political space
  - o media that covers debates, people are more aware, apart of the same debate
  - o organize national space; connections in the community
  - o uniformity of issues
  - o difference in the Canadian realm; due to the languages

#### Mandates

- based on what people have to do/done and will do
- give direction
- not a strong theory of democracy
- we have elections and choose who govern us
- authority granted by electorate to act as its representative
- delegates?

- trustees?
  - o elect people who are better than us
  - o but faith in people
  - o they have to consider the national interest
  - o latitude
  - o have authority
  - o give them their mandate
- party members?
  - o electing members of parties
  - o people who will translate the ideas on their platform
- three different ways of mandate; elected members and how we elect them
- political parties are democratic machines
- central to control on people who we elect
- Determinants of success
  - o party in power
  - o capacity of government agencies
  - o access to government decision makers
  - o skills, information, expertise
  - o size and representation
- To which we might add
  - o Power relating to existing institutionalization (path dependency and linkages to other areas)
  - o Structural power of capital
- Smiths dynamic analysis
  - o Changes in public administration
    - § Decline of line department
    - § Decline of politics/administration dichotomy
  - o (Public administration)
  - o New public managements embrace of citizen
  - o from advocacy to charity
- Thinking government
- Departmentalized cabinet system
- Process each developing policies and
- Departments played a huge role in policy making;
- Policy community are circles around the department
- The way that policy being made is changing; they haven't disappeared; because there are less "lines"
- More policies made in the centre of the government
  - changes in interest groups
  - why groups succeed or fail?

Social Movements definition:

- "purposive collective action whose outcome, in victory as a defeat, transforms the value and institutions of society" (Castells/p.34 Smith)
- "collective challenged by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities" (Sidney Tarrow/power movement, p.3)

key traits

- challenges boundary between state and society, private and public
- identity over interest? post material values over material one?
- radicalism of strategy and tactics

structural change (demographic, labour market)

- new identities formed me interests defined

mobilization to affect the state both through contention action (demonstration, petition) and through various representable vehicles (parties interest groups bureaucratic agencies)

interest groups who win and who loses?

how do interest groups get a hearing?

foot in the door

- lack of clear mandates
  - o electoral mandates-fuzzy
- representation
  - o maintaining membership list, writing letter, demonstrations
- expertise
  - o interest groups have a better grasp/expertise than the government
  - o new technologies;
  - o financial regulations
- legitimacy and compliance
  - o better compliance if more people agree and are involved
  - o applicable to all

Policy community

- smiths
  - o "network of stakeholders who may be involved in a given policy issues"
- young and evans
  - o "all actors or potential actors with direct or indirect interest in a policy are or function who share a common 'policy focus; and who with varying degrees of influence shape policy outcomes over the long run"

on one hand there are government actors, series of ministries like the ministry of the province perhaps

- What explains the engagement of groups with the courts overtime?
- What is the pattern of outcomes
- Parliament can do some things courts cannot; such as impose
- Courts and social conflict
  - o Protection of property rights as ensconced in the common law
  - o Interpret the constitutionality of laws and executive action
    - § negative power
      - repeal the law

Pre 1982

Constitution: and the division of power

- This is where the courts got involved in constitutional cases
- Court decisions
- rights

Access:

- standing
- mootness; nothing the court can do in that situations
  - o Morgentaler- abortion laws?
- interveners status

Funding:

Post 1982

constitution: charter of rights and freedoms and aboriginal rights (s.35)

Who mobilizes:

- o those that can get a hearing
- o groups with legal advantages
- o groups with stable characteristics
  - funding
  - legal resources
  - collective identities and normative vision

Multinationalism

- resistance in plurality
- complex form of citizenship
- pan-Canadian/unified relations- mix of rights and freedoms, would vary amongst province to province
- citizenship-not abstract...questions of justice and effects how claims are made how they are persuasive
  - o how social movements and issues look like within the question of citizenship
- Quebec
  - o when people organize they need to know their position
  - o ambition
- Anti-poverty movement- cater to Ontario- more provincial, variety of responses in our society; it is fragmented not in a bad way the rights we have as a citizen is different
- pushed the votes of the status quo- 1% point of 1995 making a major constitutional crisis- brings out the fundamental questions in the constitutional community
- social welfare
  - o federalist
    - § more Canadian
    - § Quebec nationalist- primary attachment to Quebec culture
  - o sovereigns
    - § separatist-
  - o nationalist
- survey Canada: asking Quebec's population what they would classify themselves
- most Quebecers have a dual identity – first to Quebec then Canada
- where does this sense of belonging come from
  - o the history of French Canadians
  - o colonialism
    - § empires the have now created different communities
    - § conquests treaty
    - § treaty of Paris

§ a sense of having a community with different faith, different ideology of who they were

§ the British had several strategies to assimilate the minority

    ú disestablish the church

    ú they also tried to accommodate and find institutions to help the French Canadians

§ in the process the French Canadian community created a stronger will to resist assimilation

    ú a development of identity

    ú elites making a continent

o Sir John A MacDonal

    § the Canadian debate

        ú compact between the four original provinces

· Identities are shaped in part by politics. Political events and mobilization will change the distribution over time

· mono-nationalism or bi-nationalism? single state of duality of states?

· compact theory- country is made up of deals between others (two of more)

· 1950's programs for visual impairment

· 1957 – hospital

· 1966-medical care

· policies to link us together

· development of autonomist systems, the flag and national anthem to create a pan-Canadian identity

· 1960- faced with Canadian nationalist- Canada is bi-national, and what the French Canadians need is a state, and that nation is Quebec

Twin claims: recognition and autonomy (duality)

Recognition: clear recognition of Canadian duality...that Canada is made up of more than one historic community. Special status (not a province like the others), distinct society.

Quebec as a nation

autonomy: ensure that Quebec has the necessary power, one of Canada's constitute

nations, to ensure the flourishing of that nation home of the distribution of power,

devolution of power, control of the "spending of power" (tool of federal government to create forms of centralized citizenship)

(Cullen argue that there is some control of spending power after the 1960s)

Questions of Statecraft