

## Sept 9th, 2019 - Day 1

- Key words
  - Royal Proclamation
  - Quebec Act
  - Act of Union
  - Confederation/BNA Act (Constitution Act, 1822)
  - Compact Theory
  - Meech Lake/Charlottetown Accord
  - Multinational State
  - Canada First Movement
  - Hartz-Horowitz Thesis
- Geography matters
  - Territory matters greatly in Cdn politics
    - Size
    - Distribution of population
      - Has the potential to create conflicts between people who live in urban spaces and more northern, rural spaces
    - Economy
      - Huge discrepancy between natural resources and interest vary due to this
        - Western Canada: wheat, oil, heavy industrialization
  - Resources matter greatly in Cdn politics
    - Harold Innis's approach to Cdn politics
      - To understand the history of Canada, you must understand various Cdn resources and the role they play
      - Major resource: oil industry in Alberta
        - Led to the creation of the Reform Movement
  - But also who occupied/occupy that territory
    - Who was here first
      - Canada was built on the colonization of Indigenous people
    - Who came here after
- Presence of Indigenous people
  - Contact between nations (originally)
  - Royal Proclamation recognized land rights
    - Without a treaty between the Indigenous peoples and the Crown, land could not be bought
      - But, we saw an increase of land displacement in relation to the indigenous people
      - Population decreased due to disease
- Francophone-Anglophone Relations
  - Very important in relation to Confederation in 1867
  - "La Conquete" and the Royal Proclamation

- Forbidding Catholics from being involved in politics
    - Trying to assimilate all francophones into the english speaking population
      - This was never really enforced because anglophone leaders needed to keep Quebec stable
  - Quebec Act
    - Royal Proclamation revoked
      - Elements that dealt with French people
        - Legal system stayed
        - Roman Catholic church was allowed to practice in Quebec
  - The 1791 Constitution Act
    - Rising immigration (anglophones)
      - Do not want to be governed by French-Cdn laws
    - Creation of Upper and Lower Canada
      - Each with their own Parliament
  - 1837 Rebellion and the Act of Union (1840)
    - Strong separation of church and state
    - Wanted more democratic elements
    - Durham Report
      - Merge lower and upper Canada to assimilate French Cdns
      - Many french-cdn rights were abolished
  - Laurier-Baldwin Union
    - Example of consociationalism
      - A way by which the elite of a divided country share power to ensure that one group does not have more power than another
      - All main groups are represented, everyone has a veto
      - Proportionality - certain proportion of jobs and seats will be reserved for each group
      - These groups can settle their own affairs independently
- Confederation
  - Key factors
    - Economic
      - Desire to create an internal market in Canada
      - Would bring all of the colonies together
    - Military
      - Post Civil War US is always viewed as a threat to Cdn sovereignty
    - Political
      - Stalemate between anglophones and francophones
      - Desire to go back to lower and upper Canada
  - BNA Act, 1867
    - Canada West (Ont), Canada East (Quebec), Nova Scotia, New Brunswick
    - Defines the government structure, ensuring peace, order and good government
      - Unclear what Canada stands for

- Interpretations of Confederation
  - McDonald: Imperial status granted by British Crown
    - Provinces are nothing more than “glorified municipalities”
    - Strong federal government that could sustain a new political nationality
  - Loranger: Compact Theory of Provincial Rights
    - Basis of the Mowat-Mercier alliance
    - Confederation was created by a pact between the provinces and the Crown
    - Provinces enter the union by willingly giving up some rights to the Federal government but they still retain some of their rights
    - If provinces are independent entities, then they can restrict the rights of minorities in each province
  - Bourassa: Double Compact Approach
    - Because both parties (English and French) were original settlers, minorities (English in Quebec and French outside of Quebec) should be respected
- Quest for (constitutional) independence
  - Expansion of Canada
    - Manitoba 1870
    - BC 1871
    - PEI 1873
    - Saskatchewan and Alberta 1905
    - Newfoundland 1949
  - Gradual independence
    - Statute of Westminster (1931)
      - Ended the status of Canada as colony of GB
    - BNA Amendment (Supreme Court, 1949)
      - People would still be able to appeal to the Privy Council in GB previously
      - This stopped that and the Canadian Supreme Court became the highest court
    - Quest for a new constitution
      - Attempts at incorporating a domestic amending formula
- Constitution Act, 1982
  - Intro to new elements
    - A Charter of Rights and Freedom
    - An amending formula
  - Canada’s constitution as a citizens constitution
    - Focused on the rights of individuals
    - Provided people with rights
    - Never signed by the Quebec government
- Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords
  - PM Mulroney tried to get Quebec to sign the Constitution

- Meech Lake Accord
  - Recognition of Quebec as a distinct society in Canada
  - Rejected as a result of the mobilization of different groups
  - Signed in 1987 - in June 1990 if it is not signed by Newfoundland and Manitoba, it will expire
  - Indigenous people were not included in these negotiations
  - Failed on June 23rd, 1990
- Charlottetown Accord
  - Canada clause
  - Rejected in a referendum - 1995
- Canada as a multinational state
  - A state that contains more than one nation
    - Indigenous, Quebec, Acadian etc
  - States that give official recognition to the various nations inside of it
  - Factors
    - Defeat of the 1995 referendum
      - Very close vote
    - Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
      - Need to restore nation-to-nation discussion with the Indigenous peoples and Canada
    - Motion in the House of Commons
- First group discussion
  - **What are the implications on conceptualizing Canada as a multinational state?**

## Sept 12th, 2019 - Day 2

- Canada, diversity and relationship with the US
  - Canada First Movement
    - Nationalist movement - started after Confederation
    - Canada as "Britain of the North"
    - Stressed racial homogeneity of Canada
      - Ensuring that Canada would have a British-only or Northern European-only immigration system
  - Central importance of British connection
    - Remains until the late 1950-1960's
  - Post-war period: in search of an identity
    - Two "Quiet Revolutions"
      - Development of Canadian symbols and institutions
        - Cdn flag was viewed very controversial due to the removal of the union jack insignia

- Diversity as a defining characteristics of the country (Official Multiculturalism, 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Official Bilingualism)
- Hartz-Horowitz Thesis
  - Understanding in the 1960s why Canada was more “socially progressive” than the US
  - Notion that when settlers came, they brought one ideology and it tended to congeal over time creating a dominant political culture
  - Canada had a “Tory-touch” (where the US were uniformly liberal) more conducive to progressive policies
    - Due to the fact that British loyalists brought Toryism to Canada when they fled the US during the Revolutionary War
  - Adapted to the provinces by Nelson Wiseman
  - Liberalism + Toryism = Socialism
  - Quebec was “feudal” (backwards)
  - Critiques
    - Historical perspectives
      - Toryism + Quebec
        - Does not explain why some of the largest socialist movements in Canada emerged in Quebec
- Key Words
  - Royal Proclamation
  - India Act
  - Colonialism
  - 1969 White Paper
  - Self-Government
- Indigenous Peoples of Canada
  - Original settlers of North America
  - 5% of the Cdn population
  - Diverse population
    - First Nations - 60%
    - Metis
    - Inuit
- Colonialism
  - “Process of exploitation, domination and subjection of a people by another people”
  - In the context of the indigenous people of Canada
    - Control over lands and resources
    - Control over people: “civilizing mission”
- Royal Proclamation - 1763
  - Document that sets out guidelines for European settlement of Indigenous territories
  - Establishes the relation between Indigenous peoples and the Crown

- Only the Crown could buy land from Indigenous people, not people
- People would not be able to steal Indigenous land
- Still valid today?
  - A lot of the land had been stolen and/or settled without consent
  - Clause 25 of the Constitution says that the Royal Proclamation was still valid
- Land Cession Treaties (1764-1923)
  - Transfer of land titles from Indigenous peoples to the Crown
    - Land was reserved for indigenous community (basis of the reservation system) - only 2-3% of their original land
    - Payments were promised but not always upheld
  - Treaties were often not respected
  - Not all areas of Canada were covered by treaties
- Indian Act of 1876
  - Key characteristics
    - Centralizing administration responsible for Indian Affairs
    - Imposed a definition of Indian status
      - Cdn state determined who was Indian or not
      - Strong emphasis on male lineage
    - Not citizens of Canada, guidelines existed that would make people citizens but lose their Indian status
    - Different protective features
      - Forbidding some people from buying Indigenous lands
    - Assimilation
  - Brought together a number of legislations that had been passed previously
  - Indigenous people became legal wards of the state - dehumanizing
  - Govern status Indians but not Metis and Inuit
  - Different amendments adopted over the years
  - Still governing the relationship between the Crown and Indigenous peoples
- Philosophies of the Indian Act
  - Protection
    - No taxes
    - No private property
    - No right to vote
  - Civilization
    - Removal of indigenous systems of gov't
    - Residential schools created
    - Prohibition of traditional activities and language
  - Assimilation
    - Loss of language, history and tradition
- Consequences: political
  - "Second class citizens"
  - Illegitimacy of democratic institutions

- Land conflicts
- Consequences: socio-economic
  - Lower rate of high school graduation for on-reserve indigenous population
  - Rate of poverty is significantly higher
  - Housing
    - Lack of clean water in many communities
    - Many homes need major repairs
- 1969 White Paper
  - Goal was to abolish the Indian Act and the Indian Affairs bureaucracy
    - Idea was to grant “full citizenship” to Indigenous people
  - Transfer responsibility for education, healthcare, social services to the provinces
  - Contributed to the rise of contemporary indigenous nationalism
    - Goal: gradual self-government
- After Indian Act
  - Section 25 and 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982
    - 35: the existing Aboriginal treaty rights are still valid and confirmed
  - Land claims policy, treaty renewal, devolution of powers to band councils
  - Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples
    - Asked for an official apology
    - Asked for self-governance
    - Asked for a place on the table for Indigenous peoples in relation to Constitutional issues
  - TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission
    - 94 calls for action that are related to addressing the legacy of residential schools
    - Inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women
- Key demand: right to self-governance
  - Right to govern their own affairs
  - Product of section 35
  - Unclear what it concretely entails
    - But related to argument for a third order of government that is constitutionally protected
- Contemporary problems and enduring issues
  - Difficult negotiations over land claims
    - Nunavut
  - Canada's recognition of its past treatment of indigenous peoples
    - Apology
    - Truth and Reconciliation Commission
  - Progress through the Courts
  - Continuing socio-economic problems

## Sept 16th, 2019 - Day 3

- Key Terms
  - French Cdn Nationalism
  - Conquest
  - Patriot Rebellion
  - Survivance
  - Quiet Revolution
  - Quebec Nationalism
  - Interculturalism
- 21.4% of the population have French as their mother tongue (79.1% within Quebec)
  - 86% live in Quebec
- Nationalism
  - A belief system that gives special significance to the nation as a source of loyalty, a nation it wishes to promote and preserve
  - Nationalism can change over time as the definition of nation changes
  - It is often an exclusionary policy
    - Defining who belongs in the nation and who doesn't
- New France and the “trauma” of the Conquest
  - French colony, but limited resources
    - Very slow expansion
    - Mostly around the St. Lawrence and much smaller compared to British colonies (60 000 in relation to 1.5 million)
  - Conquest as a “traumatic” event in Quebec history
    - British government's decision to completely assimilate the population
      - Loss of language and religion
  - Loyal citizens of the British Crown
    - Quebec Act of 1774
    - Constitution Act of 1791
  - Quebec identity is much more North American and British than we acknowledge and much less French and Catholic than we realize
- Patriot Rebellion of 1837-38 and its Aftermath
  - Francophone and Anglophone
  - Responsible government and the fight against the Chateau Clique
  - Rebellions happened in both upper and lower Canada
  - Not a french vs english thing
  - Defeat and the Durham Report
    - Wrote a report about what happened
    - Solution to the problem was to assimilate the french Canadians
      - “Every other race than the English race is inferior”
      - He believes that what he is proposing is for the good of the french Canadians
    - Merge back lower and upper Canada and have a responsible government

- Profoundly transformed nationalism in the province
  - More conservative
- “Survivance” and the Revenge of the Cradle
  - The idea of survival against the pressures of a dominant culture that was anglicizing, protestant, materialistic, liberal and capitalist
  - Culture becomes increasingly close with the Catholic Church
- French Cdn Nationalism
  - Key role of the church
    - Protects and promotes the interests of the nation is the Catholic Church
  - Boundaries
    - All of Canada
    - Protection of French Cdn minorities key
      - Quebec is viewed as the focal point of the community
  - Key characteristics
    - Protection of French and Catholicism
    - Viewed french-Cdn’s as having superior religious values
    - Cdn nationalists
      - Want Cdn’s to have their first attachment to Canada not the UK
    - Conservative nationalism
      - Does not want change
- “La Grande Noirceur” - myth or reality
  - “Priest-ridden province”
    - Church has a wide role in the province
    - Most social services are under the power of the Catholic Church
  - “Unholy alliance”
    - Alliance between church and state
    - Puts a cross in the National Assembly of Quebec
  - Beginning of a welfare state all around the world and in Canada
    - State takes more social policy
    - Goes against what the Church and State do in Quebec
  - Backward, folk society
  - Obsession with communism
    - Against it harshly
  - Anti-semitism and rights of minorities
    - Vocal anti-semitic movement in Quebec
  - The Refus Global and the Asbestos Crisis
    - Refus Global: Manifesto of artists
      - Denounced the culture in Quebec and the government
      - Leader of the movement will go into exile after this
    - Asbestos Crisis
      - Duplessis loves business and the free market
      - Encouraged foreign markets to come into Quebec
      - Restricted workers unions

- Others trying to negotiate better working conditions in Quebec
  - Was Quebec that unique? Revisionism in Quebec history?
    - For a long period of time, it was a liberal society and more organized than the rest of Canada
    - Fairly similar to the rest of NA
- Quiet Revolution
  - Duplessis dies in 1959 and is replaced by the Liberal Party in 1960
  - Leads to the revolution
    - Rapid economic, political and cultural changes
      - Rise of Quebec nationalism
      - Decline in the power of the Catholic Church
      - Mobilization against anglophone government
  - State takes control over responsibilities from the church
    - Public education
    - Healthcare system becomes public
  - Quebec becomes more amenable to a welfare state
  - Demands for more power in the Cdn federation
  - Efforts to expand the economic power of Francophones in Quebec
    - Montreal is the economic center of the country
      - Of all of the ethnic groups in Quebec, francophones were not welcomed, represented and in some of the lowest social echelons
      - Francophones were much poorer than anglophones
  - Broader cultural changes
    - Decline in church attendance
      - Will become one of the lowest in the world
- The rise of Quebec Nationalism
  - Stress the territorial aspect of nationalism
  - Rise of political parties promoting independence of Quebec
    - RIN, RN, MSA and the PQ
  - Linguistic controversies and attempts to find a compromise
  - More radical movement: the Front de Liberation du Quebec and the October Crisis
    - October Crisis 1970:
      - Kidnapped James Cross (British diplomat in Montreal)
      - Kidnapped Pierre Laporte (minister of Quebec assembly)
        - Found dead a few weeks later
- Explaining the rise of Quebec Nationalism
  - Severe economic disparity in francophones
  - Exclusion from federal institutions
    - Underrepresented
  - Lack of guaranteed rights for francophones
    - Decide that the only way to save the French language is to separate
  - International context

- Era of anti-colonial struggles and rapid independence
  - Canada's reaction to the rise of Quebec Nationalism
    - Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission
      - Look at the role of bilingualism in the federal government and how to improve anglo-franco relations
    - Two nations view adopted by political parties
    - Adoption of Official Bilingualism Act 1969
    - Putting in place measures to properly represent francophones in the federal government
    - Changing strategy with the election of Trudeau
  - Election of the Parti Quebecois (1976) and Bill 101
    - They promised a referendum
    - Quebec's main language legislation (1977 -)
      - Key aspects
        - Language of education
          - Reserved for traditional anglophones
            - Changed to: if one parent received english education in Canada then they can send their child to english school in Quebec
          - English private schools are very expensive
          - French schools are free
        - Language of work
          - All business communication needs to be in french
        - Language of commercial signs
          - All languages except for french are forbidden
      - Some aspects will be modified over time
      - Bill 101
        - Profoundly changed the linguistic face of Quebec, especially Montreal
        - One of the factors that contributed to reverse the economic inferiority of francophones
        - Changed Quebecers view of immigrants
        - "Bill 101 has been a great **Canadian** law"
          - Stephan Dion said this (formal leader of the Liberal Party)
            - If it wasn't for Bill 101, Quebec might be a different state
            - Showed to Quebecers that they didn't need to separate from Canada in order to protect their language
  - 1980 referendum
    - Quebec will vote for secession
    - Idea of two referendums
    - Campaign very much about the economic consequences about Quebec independence
    - Promise by Trudeau

- Significant defeat for sovereignists
- Patriation and the road to 1995 referendum
  - Patriation without Quebec
    - “Night of the long knives”
  - Will lead to Meech Lake
    - Premier of Quebec created a list that the federal government would have to agree to in order to join the constitution
    - June 1990, the accord expires and fails
  - Revival of the language debate
  - Revival of support for Quebec independence

#### **Sept 19th, 2019 - Day 4**

- 1995 referendum and its aftermath
  - Very close result
    - 49.4% of yes
    - 50.6% of no
  - Key factors
    - Economic
      - 1980 referendum was very focused on the negative economic impact
      - 1995 referendum was focused more on free trade
    - Social
    - Leaders
  - Is Quebec nationalism dead?
    - Support for independence has never been lower
    - Not fully dead but conditions are not favourable for revival
- Contemporary debate: religious accommodations
  - Religious accommodation and Bouchard-Taylor Commission
    - Policy of interculturalism
      - Interculturalism: more along the pluralist approach to diversity
        - Keeping a french speaking core but also the recognition that the main Quebec “core” will change with the arrival of more and more immigrants
    - Policy on the wearing religious symbols
      - Only limit it to public employees that have coercive power (at first)
  - Quebec Charter of Values (2013-2014)
    - Parti Quebecois decide that religious symbols should not be worn by ALL employees
  - Bill 21 - 2019

## Sept 23rd, 2019 - Day 5

- Key words
  - “Third force”
  - Multiculturalism
  - Visible minorities and employment equity
- Encouraged immigration to populate western provinces
  - Discouraged certain groups from settling in Canada
    - India and China
      - China - head tax
      - India - must come from a single journey from India
        - Most ships would stop in Japan or Hawaii before coming here
  - Overwhelming immigration from 1950 from Great Britain
- Explicitly excluded certain nationalities from 1919 to 1967
  - Two important Immigration Acts during that period
    - 1919 to 1952
    - 1919 Immigration Act
      - Certain immigrants from certain countries were bringing revolutionary ideas to Canada
        - Whether the country of origin was an enemy of Canada
        - Whether they were bringing different ideas
        - Whether the climate or culture from the country of origin barred them from assimilating into Canada
    - 1952 Immigration Act
      - Selecting people based on race has become very taboo and delegitimize
- Contemporary immigration policy
  - Adoption of point system - 1967
    - Economic immigration - if a person has a sufficient number of points they can be accepted
      - Knowledge of english or french
      - Not too young or too old
      - Proper education
      - Already have a job
      - Do they have family or relatives in Canada
  - Creation of categories of immigrants - 1976-78
    - Independent class
      - Economic class
    - Family class
      - Joining family members in Canada
    - Humanitarian class
      - Refugee class



- Why?
  - “Vertical Mosaic”
  - “Third force” and the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Multiculturalism
    - Ukrainians in Western Canada argue that they have their own culture in Western Canada and favour multiculturalism
    - Emergence of the “third force”
      - Present in mainstream dialogue
  - Changes to Canada’s immigration pattern
    - Population is less and less British and French
  - Trudeau and Quebec
    - Any sort of special status for Quebec can lead to secession
- Rejected by Quebec
  - Promotes “interculturalism”
  - Multiculturalism is a rejection of Quebec specificity
    - Canada should recognize itself as both multinational and multicultural
    - Multiculturalism is not seen as contributing to Quebec
- Other aspects of Canada’s multicultural approach
  - Charter of Rights and Freedoms
    - Section 15
      - Forbids discrimination due to ethnicity
  - Visible minorities
    - “Persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour”
  - Employment equity
    - Result of the Royal Commission on Equity and Employment (Abella Commission)
    - Apply also to aboriginal women and persons with disabilities
    - How does it work?
      - The number of employees should correspond with the number of professionals in the labour force of that ethnicity/gender
- Experience of immigrants and visible minorities in Canada
  - Comparatively high level of educational attainment and social mobility for the second generation of immigrants
  - Comparatively high level of economic employment
  - High level of attachment to Canada (but less so for the second generation) and feelings of being accepted (but lower in Quebec)
  - Increasing rate of poverty and racialization of poverty
  - Recent increase in reporting of hate crimes

## Sept 26th, 2019 - Day 6

- Key terms
  - Regionalism
  - core-periphery/Metropolis-Hinterland
  - Western Alienation
- Regionalism
  - Different regions in Canada have different interests
  - Brooks: “A political identity based on a shared sense of place”
  - Factors
    - Proximity and similarity
      - Cultural values
      - Fiscal similarity
      - Linguistic similarities
    - Ideas: “regions are socially constructed”
      - Imagined communities
      - Sometimes created internally
        - Politicians sometimes put some provinces in the same basket
          - Would talk about the ‘the west’
    - Discontent/alienation
      - People feel that they are not listened to, excluded and not treated fairly
        - This is mainly due to most of the population being from Ontario and Quebec
          - HOC is filled mainly with MP’s from these two provinces
          - Senate is supposed to reflect regions
            - Not a strong second chamber
            - Does not play the role of protecting regional interests
        - Wide economic disparities between regions
  - Five or Six regions?
    - Atlantic Provinces/Quebec/Ontario/Prairies/BC/North
    - Eastern Canada/Quebec/Ontario/West/North
  - Core-Periphery
    - Core as dominating central realm that exercises political and economic control over a periphery that is isolated politically, dependent and underprivileged
    - Core composed of Ontario and Quebec and the periphery as the rest
  - New and Old Canada (Micheal Bliss)/Have and Have Nots
    - Provinces that receive equalization and those that don’t (equalization: resources are transferred to provinces with less economic resources)

- Economic basis of regionalism
  - Different factors endowments
    - Difference in resources
    - Difference in access to markets
  - Economic policy reinforced economic disparities, access to markets and feelings of injustice (justified or not)
    - Importance of the National Energy policy
      - Intl oil prices were very high at this time (late 70s and early 80s), and this policy was hurting the central economic of central Canada
        - PM PT set the price in which oil could be sold in Canada
        - Restricted Alberta from setting a higher price for oil on the intl markets
        - Mass resentment
    - Increase importance of equalization
- Political basis of regionalism
  - Domination of political institutions by central Canada
    - Representation by population
    - No mechanisms of regional representation
    - Electoral system/party system
      - Reinforces regionalism
      - Not a fair reflection of regional interests
- Atlantic regionalism
  - Maritime rights movement in the 1920s
    - Economic demands largely ignored
  - But contrary to the West, political powerful historically
  - Key contemporary issue
    - Equalization and economic development
    - Demography
      - Lots of people are leaving the region to look for larger job markets
      - Older population - more provincial healthcare
- Western Alienation
  - Frustration with economic policy of Central Canada
    - Tariffs
      - Forced people in Western Canada to buy overly expensive goods
    - National Energy Policy
  - But mostly firststration that it has not achieved political power within the federal government
  - Contemporary issue
    - The West is In!

- Does the West want to share?
- Does the East care?

## Sept 30th, 2019 - Day 7

- Key terms
  - Social class
  - Class analysis
  - Class politics in Canadian politics
- Social class: a sociological concept
  - What is it?
    - A grouping of people who have related social status and similar place in the economy
  - Perspectives on class
    - Marxist perspective/Weberian perspective
      - Weber: more cultural view on class
      - Marx: difference between the capitalist class and the working class
    - Statistical/Analytical perspective
      - Allows to compare one society to another
    - Objective vs subjective class perspective
      - People do not necessarily identify correctly to which class they belong
      - Easy to identify people due to their income
  - Two, three, four, five classes?
    - Bourgeoisie and proletariat
    - Working class, middle class, upper class
    - Nobility, underclass (lumpenproletariat), new middle class
      - New middle class emerged with the development of the state
  - What is class analysis?
    - Use political relations and political phenomena as the product of unequal access to power, authority and influence, that are rooted in the unequal organization of the economy or the division between the owners of the means of production and the workers
- Class and Canadian politics
  - No class politics in Canada?
    - Class politics
      - Is a form of national politics, especially party politics, that is organized around citizens or voter identification on the basis position, instead of the basis of other markers of identity such as ethnicity or religion
    - Common argument in NA: “we are not like Europe”
      - Culture

- We were a liberal fragment and founded on egalitarian status
  - Education and social mobility
    - High degree of social mobility
    - People could move out of the socio-economic status that they were born in
    - Children of immigrants in Canada have a high rate of social mobility
  - No strong working class party/class voting
    - Do not historically have a strong working class or socialist party
- Class is being superseded by other factors
  - National conflict
    - Anglophone vs francophone
    - Should we maintain the British connection?
  - Regionalism
    - Western Canada was not viewed as very important to the Liberal Party of Canada and they would often vote for third parties - later the Conservative Party
  - Political institutions
    - Federalism
      - Politics becomes about the division of power between the federal and the provincial governments
    - Electoral system
      - Makes it hard to vote based on class
      - Difficult to make a class based appeal to get elected
- Inequality in Canada in a comparative perspective
  - A lot of our inequality is market based, but we don't redistribute a lot (Gini Coefficient)
- Class politics in Canada: Key Periods
  - Up to the late 19th century
    - Relative slow industrial conscience but...
      - Mobilization around the right of workers
  - End of WWI and the Great Depression
    - Winnipeg General Strike
    - Rise of third parties in Western Canada
    - Ontario is one of the first in Canada to create a workers' compensation program
  - WW2 and its aftermath
    - CCF and the NDP
  - Labour militancy in the 1960s and 1970s
  - The End of Class Politics?



- Notwithstanding anything in this charter, all rights are granted to males and females
- Third wave of Feminism
  - Many ways, a critique of the second wave of feminism
  - Focuses on the diversity of women's experience
  - Does pursue some of the same fights of 2nd wave feminism, but with different strategies
  - Challenged the official definition of what it meant to a feminist
- Different strands of feminism
  - Liberal feminism
    - Most common branch
    - Focus on increasing participation of women in existing institutions (political or economic sphere)
      - Does not seek to “rock the boat” too much
  - Marxist feminism
    - Connects the oppression of women not only to their sex or gender but to their role in the capitalist system
      - Tend to be in underpaid positions in the economy
  - Radical feminism
    - Key term is patriarchy
      - Patriarchal relations
        - Not just the court or economic system but the culture that grants powers and privileges to men not women
- Political representation
  - Is it improving?
  - Yes, from a historical representative
    - Increase of representation in HOC and in provincial legislatures
    - Also the same for the Cabinet
  - Not fast enough from a comparative perspective
  - Does it make a substantive difference?
- Some other key issues
  - Employment issues
    - Equal pay for equal work
  - Legal/constitutional issues
    - Refusal of Quebec to join the Charter made some feminists believe that they could use this to roll back on women's rights
  - Reproductive and sexual health, violence
  - Feminization of poverty, childcare
    - Some of the poorest in Canada are single mothers
- Sexual diversity in Cdn politics
  - Criminalization of homosexuality until 1969
  - Gay Liberation Movement and the HIV/AIDS crisis - 1970s and 1980s

- Advocated for radical action to end the social and legal oppression of gay people
    - Wanted civil rights legislation to stop discrimination against LGBTQ+ people
  - “Right Talk” and the Same-Sex Marriage Question - 1990s and 2000s
    - Section 15 and the human rights code in Canada should include homosexuality as another prohibited ground of discrimination
  - “Homonationalism” and “political homophobia”
    - Homonationalism
      - Granting of rights to homonormative sexual minorities within a nationalistic ideological framework
        - Uses western nations as the ideal framework for diversity and inclusivity while putting down other countries for not being so
    - Political homophobia
      - People who have been charged with a crime for homosexuality previously, still do not have their records cleared
  - Transgender rights
    - The Human Rights Act included gender diversity and identity as a prohibited ground of discrimination
- Key terms
  - Westminster model
  - Responsible government
  - The Crown
  - Ministerial responsibility
  - Individual ministerial responsibility
- Parliamentary
  - The executive also sit with the legislature and must be elected to it
- Presidential
  - The president and Congress each separately derive their authority from being elected by the people
- Westminster Parliamentary System
  - Definitions
    - The model of government developed in Britain in which the political executive is given extensive power to provide effective leadership - Dyck
    - A parliamentary system in which administrative and legislative responsibility are fused. The political executive (the cabinet) sits in, and typically leads the majority party in the House of Commons - Stein
  - Also called a “majoritarian system”
    - It tends to be dominated by majority governments
    - Different as such from “consensual democracy”
  - Strengths and weaknesses?
    - Strength: easy for parties to move their agenda along

- Strength: not a lot of space for fringe-radical third parties
- Weakness: not a lot of space for normal third parties
  - Essentially creates a two-party system

## October 7th, 2019 - Day 9

- Key Principle of Governance: Responsible Government
  - Definition: a form of government in which the political executive must retain the confidence of the elected legislature and resign or call an election when it is defeated on a vote of non-confidence
  - Historically an important fight in Canada
    - Because the Crown did not require the support of the legislature to govern
  - Two dimensions to responsible government
    - Enable
    - Constrain
  - Responsible for party discipline
    - Mechanism political parties use to keep their members functioning as a cohesive group rather than a collection of individual members
      - During voting, members of parties will tend to vote together
      - Through this, the government can ensure that they keep the legislatures confidence
- The Crown in Canada
  - Canada as a constitutional monarchy/democracy
    - Head of state
    - Dual executive
      - Executive that is in charge of ceremonial tasks - Queen
      - Executive in charge of actually ruling - PM
  - Concept of the “Crown”
    - Non-partisan authority
    - Included in all parts in Canada
  - Powers of the Crown
    - Constitution Act, 1867
    - Prerogative Powers and Conventions
      - Powers through which the PM and Cabinet do not need to consult the HoC
        - Foreign and Military Affairs
        - Judicial appointments
    - Actual powers are largely ceremonial
  - (In)famous: King-Byng Affair
    - 1926
    - Conservative got a minority government and the Liberals did manage to have the confidence of the House by getting support from other parties
    - The party that rules is the one that has the confidence of the House

- Does not just matter who has the most seats
    - About to be defeated in a vote of confidence
    - PM King went to the GG Byng to dissolve the government and call an election
      - Byng refused
    - Changed the role of the GG and GG's now follow the PM's lead
- The Executive: The PM and Cabinet I
  - The PM and the Cabinet
    - Powers not written in the parts of the Constitution
    - Privy Council to advise the governor generals
  - Powers of the Cabinet
    - Powers of the Crown
    - Legislative powers
    - Administrative powers
    - Quasi-Judicial powers
  - Cabinet Committees
- PM and Cabinet II
  - PM is person who has the allegiance of a majority of members of Parliament
    - Usually the leader of the party with the seats, but not necessarily
  - Powers of the PM
    - Powers of the Crown
    - Choose the GG
    - Choose the Cabinet
    - Appoints a range of public servants
    - Organize government
    - Nation's chief diplomat
      - Plays a key role in international negotiations
  - Primus Inter Pares
    - Considerable powers in Canada
    - A "friendly dictator"?
  - Why such an increase in the powers of the PM?
    - Because of the constitutional crisis due to Quebec's high risk of secession, the PM's power increased
- The PM and Cabinet III
  - Role of Ministers
    - Develop policy and draft legislation
    - Managing line departments
  - Key principles guiding the work of Ministers
    - Cabinet solidarity and secrecy
      - Allows ministers to be truthful in their discussions with one another
      - What is said at Cabinet remains secret
        - Once a decision is made, all members of the Cabinet must show solidarity

- If they cannot, they must resign
  - Individual ministerial responsibility
- Factors influencing the selection of ministers in Canada
  - Seat in Parliament
    - 99% of the time
    - Sometimes a Senator might be appointed to Cabinet
  - Geography, language, ethnic origin
  - Sex
  - Expertise?
    - Sometimes, yes
      - Business background for Minister of Finance
  - Personal relationship with the PM
  - Ability to be good in front of the camera/media
  - Prior negotiations to appoint someone to Cabinet

### **October 10th, 2019 - Day 10**

- Key terms
  - Central agencies/Cabinet support agencies
  - Parliament
    - House of Commons
    - Senate
  - Party Discipline
- Cabinet Support Agencies
  - Executive power in the hands of the PM and the Cabinet, but helped by central agencies
  - Four central agencies
    - PMO
      - Political loyalists
      - Advice on domestic and foreign affairs
      - Politically driven office
    - Privy Council Office
      - PM's dept in terms of civil servants
      - Headed by the Clerk of the Privy Council - head of the civil service
      - One of the most important departments in the govt of Canada
      - Moves forward the agenda
      - Supposed to provide non-partisan advice to the PM
      - Link between the PM and the public service
      - Supports Cabinet
        - Administrative role
      - Coordinating policy proposals between depts
    - TBS
      - Management of govt expenditures

- Overviews the development of human resources in the govt of Canada
    - Dept of Finance
      - Tax policy and tax expenditures
      - Line dept and central agency
  - The Department of Justice: a fifth central agency?
    - The importance of the Charter and all policy must comply with the Charter and as such, all departments need to get approval from the Dept of Justice for a policy
- Parliament
  - Canada's Parliament
    - Crown
    - Bilateral legislature (HoC + Senate)
  - HoC: representation by population, but...
    - Senatorial rule
      - A province cannot have less MP's than they have Senators
    - Grandfather clause
      - Number of seats assigned to a province cannot be lower than the number of seats in 1986
    - +/- 25% variation (with exceptions)
    - 338 seats
  - Divided in three groups
    - Those who serve in the Cabinet
    - Those who support the Cabinet (backbenchers)
    - Those who oppose the government (opposition)
  - Key moments
    - Speech from the Throne
    - Budget and budget debate
    - Estimates
    - Opposition days
      - Reserved for discussion of topics brought by opposition parties
- Role of the HoC
  - Representing interests
    - Specific ridings
  - Focusing debates, setting the agenda, keeping the government accountable
    - Question period
  - Making laws
  - Legitimizing legislations
- The HoC and Party Discipline
  - A mechanism political parties use to keep their members functioning as a cohesive group rather than as a collection of disparate individuals
    - Strongly associated with responsible government
  - Other causes of party discipline in Canada?

- Party leader has a very strong power on who can run for office under their party
    - Voting against your party can lead to an end of your political career
- The Senate
  - Composition (105 Senators)
    - Regional composition
    - Specific qualifications required
    - Appointments for life originally, now until 75
    - Historically nominated by the PM
  - Purposes
    - Conservative role: Sober second thought
    - Idea of regional representation
    - Improve legislations
  - Powers
    - In theory, almost identical to the HoC
- Reforming the Senate
  - Idea of an elected Senate or a House of Regions
  - Alberta began pushing in the 1980s for a “Triple-E Senate”
    - “Equal, Effective and Elective” - slogan
    - 1989, tried to hold a Senatorial election
    - Problem: requires a constitutional amendment
  - Conservative governments proposal (Bill C-7)
    - Harper govt
    - Would have allowed provinces to have elections for Senate and the PM would have to take the results of these elections when appointing Senators
    - Lowering the tenure of Senators to 9 years maximum
    - SCC issued a decision in 2014 that reforming the Senate would require 7 provinces to agree and abolishing the Senate would require all 10 provinces to agree
  - Liberal nomination of Independent Senators
    - Trudeau expelled all Liberal Senators from his caucus
- Adopting legislations
  - Types of bills
    - Public or government bills - including money bills
    - Private members’ bills
    - Private bills
  - Stages (three readings)
    - First two readings
    - After second reading: committee stage
    - Report stage
    - Third stage
    - Senate

- Goes back to the HoC for Royal Assent
- Midterm
  - Two parts (each worth 50%)
  - Part A: Keywords
    - Pick 3 out of 5
    - Define, present the main characteristics and discuss the significance
    - Do not use bullet points
  - Part B: Essay
    - Pick 1 of 2
    - Present the thesis in introduction
    - Make sure to discuss all aspects of the question

### October 24th, 2019 - Day 11

- Key terms
  - Parliamentary supremacy vs Constitutional supremacy
  - Charter of Rights and Freedoms
  - Notwithstanding clause
  - Reasonable limit clause
- Key distinction
  - Parliamentary supremacy
    - Parliament is the ultimate source of authority
    - In Canada, we always had **limited** parliamentary supremacy
      - Due to federalism, ultimately each Parliament was supposed to stay within their jurisdiction (federal-provincial)
        - Within their own sphere of jurisdiction, they can do whatever they want
  - Constitutional supremacy
    - Constitution is the ultimate source of authority
    - Entails judicial review
      - Authority of the court to strike down governmental action or legislation that it deems to be in violation of the constitution
    - Restricts what the government can do
  - Canada has made the transition from (limited) parliamentary supremacy to constitutional supremacy
- Before the Charter: The Canadian Bill of Rights
  - Adopted by the Conservative Party
    - More “conservative” view of the Canadian political community
  - Contained many of the rights that would be in the Charter
    - Freedom of speech, religion, life, liberty, security
  - Significant limits
    - It only applied to federal legislations and federal government
    - Wasn't a part of the Constitution and was a regular federal bill

- Could be changed easily
      - Included a notwithstanding clause
    - Limited impact
  - The Constitution Act of 1982 and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms
    - Constitution Act of 1982
      - Part 1: Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Sections 1-34)
      - Part 2: Rights of Aboriginal Peoples (Section 35)
      - Part 3: Equalization
      - Part 4: \*not very important\*
      - Part 5: Procedure for Amending the Constitution
    - Another reminder
      - Constitutional accord signed by all the provinces except Quebec
        - Still applies to Quebec
  - Charter of Rights and Freedoms
    - Basic provisions
      - Fundamental freedoms
      - Democratic rights
      - Mobility rights
      - Legal rights
      - Equality rights
      - Linguistic rights
    - What is not in the Charter
      - Property rights
      - Social rights
  - Limits on rights
    - Section 1: Reasonable Limit Clause
      - Interpreted clause'
      - States that the Cdn Charter of Rights and Freedoms is subject only to such reasonable limits within a democratic society
        - Now it is up to the courts to interpret some legislation
        - How do you determine what is a reasonable limit?
      - Oakes test
        - In limiting rights, is there an oppressing and substanting objective? (is there a valid justification?)
        - Is the mean use to restrict rights, proportional to the objective?
          - The means must be rationally connected to the objective
          - Must have minimal impairments of rights
          - Must be proportionality between the infringement and the objective
    - Section 33: Notwithstanding Clause
      - A legislature can pass a legislation and declare that that legislation is adopted notwithstanding contravening with the Charter and it will still be enforced and upheld

- Applies to sections 2, 7-15
    - Does not apply to all parts of the Charter
    - Only valid for 5 years, after 5 years the legislature must renew the clause
  - The *Ford Case* ( and recently Bill 21 in Quebec)
    - Bill 101 banned all languages except for French in commercial signs
      - Adopted before the Constitution of 1982
      - Will be challenged in the courts
      - SCC says that you can ask for the predominance of French but cannot ban other languages
      - 5 years later, public opinion had changed in Quebec and they decided not to renew the notwithstanding clause
      - Ultimately followed what the SCC told them to do
    - Bill 21
      - Immediately included the notwithstanding clause
      - Will still go to the courts
  - Case for and against section 33
- Key debate: Judicial Activism
  - Ted Morton
    - “The courts always rule in favour of lefties”
    - Unelected judges are trying to change the country
  - Micheal Mandou
    - The Charter is a pro-conservative document because it protects the rights of business
    - Arguing that the courts always rule in favour of businesses and business interests
- Impact of the Charter (controversies)
  - Political
    - New political venue for groups? Blame avoidance?
      - Same-sex marriage
        - Politicians thought it was too controversial, they waited for it to go to the courts first
    - Right talk?
    - Empower certain groups that had been marginalized? Or a new elite?
  - Cultural
    - Individualism?
    - Nation-building?
  - Federalism
    - Logic of uniformity?
- Key terms
  - Federalism
  - Evolution of Canadian federalism
  - Executive federalism
  - Spending power

- Asymmetrical versus symmetrical federalism
- Fiscal federalism
- Equalization
- Distinction between unitary and federal state
  - Unitary: “A system of governing in which sovereign authority rests with the central government; regional and local governments are subordinate.”
  - Federal State: “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.”
- Social component of Federalism
  - Salient differences that are organized and expressed largely on the basis of territory (linguistic, history, culture, economic)
- Normative component - legitimacy
  - Citizens are members of both the national community, embodied in the national government, and of provincial communities reflected in their provincial governments
  - Federalism is intended to provide a balance between unity and diversity
  - Ultimately need to be sustained by a sense of political nationality or community

## October 28th, 2019 - Day 12

- The Moreno Question
  - Which of the statements describes how you regard yourself?
    - Ontarian, not Canadian
    - More Ontarian than Canadian
    - Equally Canadian than Ontarian
    - More Canadian than Ontarian
    - Canadian, not Ontarian
- Federalism in Canada
  - 10 provinces, three territories
  - Division of powers in the Constitution Act, 1867
    - Federal responsibilities (section 91)
      - Has residual powers
        - Whatever we don't mention in the Constitution, it goes to the federal government
    - Provincial responsibilities (section 92 and 93)
    - Shared responsibilities (section 94a and 95)
      - Pensions - but provinces can opt out
      - Agriculture
      - Immigration
  - A “neutral” umpire
    - Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (until 1949)
    - SCC

- Weakly institutionalized intergovernmental relations
    - Limited intra-state federalism
      - The representation of regional or provincial interests within the institutions of the central government
      - We do not have the strong representation of provinces at the center
    - Ad hoc inter-state federalism
      - The practices of intergovernmental relations between executive and federal
  - MacDonaldis view of Federalism
    - “I have always contended that if we could agree to have one government and one parliament, legislating for the whole of these peoples, it would be the best, the cheapest, the most vigorous, and the strongest system of government we could adopt.”
  - Colonial or Quasi-Federalism
    - Related to existence of disallowance and reservation powers, which were **used extensively until 1911**
      - Reservation: practices by which a bill could be referred back to London for discussion - limited the adoption of certain bills
      - Disallowance: federal government could render null any legislation put forth by a province
        - Used overwhelmingly against the western provinces - leads to more alienation
          - Mostly used to put down laws that would be viewed as an impediment to the National Policy
      - By convention, these have become extinct now
    - Federal government was the main dominant political actor
      - Key role in creating the economic union
    - Able to raise money by any means
      - Only the federal government could raise money through tariffs and made so much more money than the provinces at the time - more fiscal power
- Classical Federalism (1891-1940)
  - Decline in the use of the reservation/disallowance powers
  - Governments limit their intervention to their competencies
    - Both provincial and federal restrain their actions - jurisdiction is explicitly stated in the Constitution (no shared jurisdiction/programs)
  - Key role of the JCPC - Judicial Committee of the Privy Council
    - Tends to side with the provinces more and more
    - Generous interpretation of the powers of the provinces
    - Restrict use of some powers of the federal government
- Cooperative Federalism (1940-1965)
  - Importance of the Great Depression

- An inability of the two levels of government to pass legislation that would fight high levels of poverty
  - A new blueprint: the Rowell Sirois Commission
    - Makes a series of recommendations
      - Most will not be followed
    - Wanted to put all taxation power to the federal government
    - Proposed that the federal government have some input in the unemployment insurance program - Constitutional Amendment
  - Constitutional amendment over UI
  - Growing recognition of the limits of the old classical model
    - Hadn't worked very well in fighting the Depression
      - Most of the responsibility was in the hands of the provinces but they didn't have enough fiscal power
        - Federal government should manage its fiscal powers to make sure that all the provinces have enough
          - Beginning of equalization
      - Provinces had limited taxation power
  - Pressures from the NDP
    - More national programs and central intervention
- Cooperative Federalism and Spending Power
  - Power of Parliament to make payments to people or institutions or governments for purposes under which it does not have the power to legislate
  - Right of the federal government to spend in areas of provincial jurisdictions
    - Not defined in the constitution and never confirmed by the SCC
    - Implicit from the power of taxation
      - If it has the power to tax, it must have the power to spend
  - Associated with shared cost programs with the provinces
    - Medicare
    - Social services and social assistance
    - Post-secondary education
  - Opposed by Quebec
    - Opting out option
- Competitive Federalism (and Constitutional Federalism) (1965-1995)
  - Province vs nation-building
    - Fight for the loyalty of the Canadian population
  - Spurred by the Quiet Revolution and the creation of the Parti Quebecois
    - But not limited to Quebec
  - Trudeau's belief that the balanced had gone too far toward provinces
  - Lead to two referendums and two failed constitutional attempts
- Federal-Provincial Diplomacy
  - Richard Simenon's metaphor of intergovernmental relations in Canada
  - Related to the absence of intra-state federalism and...
  - ...The competitive dynamic inherent in Canadian federalism

- Ideological diversity
  - Differences in provincial economies
  - Lack of party integration
  - Electoral imperative to gain credit and avoid blame
- Executive Federalism
  - Associated with Donald Smiley
  - Definition: Executives at both levels have considerable latitude to strike bargains on behalf of government without input from legislatures
  - Result of parliamentary government and executive federalism
  - Benefits and disadvantages
    - Benefits
      - Facilitates a high degree of flexibility
      - Quick response to policy challenges
    - Disadvantages
      - It limits the participation of citizens
      - Weakens the accountability of a provincial/federal legislature'
      - Contributes to undue secrecy
      - Perpetuates conflicts
- Collaborative, Open, Classical Federalism and back to Collaborative? (1995-)
  - No defining characteristic now, mostly a mix of everything
- Centralization and Decentralization
  - Key debates in Canadian politics?
  - Factors
    - Institutional
    - Cultural
    - Economic
    - Political
  - Comparative perspective is necessary
- Symmetrical versus Asymmetrical Federalism
  - Should all provinces have identical powers? Can powers vary from one province to another?
  - Asymmetrical federalism
    - De jure
      - In the Constitution, legal variations, few in Canada
      - Grants more obligations
    - De facto
      - Agreements from national policies that allows a province to have different powers than others
  - Arguments in favour and against?

## October 31st, 2019 - Day 13

- Fiscal Federalism
  - Definition: the evolving financial relations between the federal, provincial and municipal governments
  - Always been a source of tension in Canada, but increasingly over the last 25 years
    - Budgetary restraints
    - Shift of power away from central Canada
  - Dimensions
    - Constitutional
      - What does the constitution say about the distribution of financial resources?
        - Financial government had sole control over tariffs for most of our history (a lot of money)
        - Since then, financial and provincial governments have had an almost equal number of sources of financial resources
    - Intergovernmental transfers
      - Means by which the federal government can build national programs and promote national standards
        - National standards: provinces must follow certain rules if they want to obtain these transfers
      - Key transfers in Canada
        - Canada Health Transfer
          - Transfer to finance the national health insurance program
            - Standards (one of a few)
              - Forbidden for provinces to have extra billing
          - Canada Social Transfer
            - To pay for things like welfare, social services like childcare
              - Standards (one of a few)
                - Mobility clause
                  - Forbidden for provinces to cut welfare for people who move between provinces
            - Equalization
              - Other key transfers for cities, urban transit, infrastructure
              - Those transfers often have conditions attached to them in order to influence how they are spent
      - Tax structure
        - Wide variation between the provinces

- Quebec has the highest tax out of all the provinces
- Equalization
  - **Federal transfer** program for addressing horizontal fiscal gap
    - Horizontal fiscal gap: Difference between the provinces in their ability to raise revenue
    - Enable less prosperous provincial governments to provide public services that are reasonably comparable to those in other provinces, at **reasonably comparable levels of taxation**
      - Some Maritime provinces would go bankrupt without equalization (around 25% of their revenue comes from equalization)
      - Equalization doesn't say that each province has to spend the same amount of money on the same programs - or offer the same level of service
        - If Quebec had the same amount of taxes as Alberta, then their level of service would be the same as Alberta
  - Entrenched in the Canadian Constitution in 1982
  - Unconditional payments
    - No rules at all, the provinces do what they want with it
  - Equalization in Canada today
    - About 20 billion dollars
      - Half goes to Quebec due to their large population
      - Per capita, it is 5th out of 5
    - Five provinces receive it in 2019-2020
      - Quebec, Manitoba, PEI, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick
- Key terms
  - Local government
  - Special-purpose bodies
  - Amalgamation
- What is local government?
  - What do we mean by local government?
    - Municipalities and all other governmental entities with territories smaller than provinces, that have their own government bodies with some capacity for autonomous decision making
- Why such a vague definition?
  - Unique character of Canada and old British Commonwealth countries
  - Descendants of English municipal corporations
  - But in effect they are "governmental entities"
- Different kind of municipalities
  - Much of Canada's territory is not included in any municipality
  - Urban municipalities and rural municipalities
  - Upper-tier municipalities (counties and regional municipality in Ontario for example)

- Special-Purpose Bodies
  - Bodies that are established to carry out a single government function, as distinct from municipalities that have multiple government functions
    - Either democratically elected or appointed or appointed by democratically elected representatives
- Urban and Rural Canada
  - Urban
    - Demographic approach
      - More diversity and more density
    - Socio-cultural approach
      - Difference in lifestyle
  - Difference in terms of services (and nature of services)
    - Urban municipalities have much more responsibilities
- Statistics Canada
  - Urban areas as “population centre”
    - Need at least 1000 people
    - Density of 400 or more people per sq km
  - 5 162 municipalities
  - Population
    - 18.7% in rural areas
    - 60% live in municipalities of more than 100 000 people
    - 37% of Canadians live in the 15 largest Canadian cities
- Power of Municipalities
  - Core functions: planning, regulating, protecting and providing infrastructure services for built environment
  - Similarities but differences between provinces
  - Some unique powers to urban municipalities
  - The Ontario exception
    - Ontario Works
      - Administer the welfare system of Ontario
    - Subsidized child care and subsidized housing
      - Publicly owned and managed by municipalities
- Constitutional and legal dimensions
  - BNA Act and section 92 (subsection 8)
    - “Municipal Institutions in the Province”
    - Interpreted as “Creatures of the provinces”
      - Limited municipal power
    - Limits the potential for federal intervention
  - Provincial statutes
    - No provincial constitutional protection (unlike US states) - home rule
    - Provincial law establishing rules for municipalities
      - Separate law sometimes for urban and rural municipalities, and for large cities (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Winnipeg)

- Power and borders of municipalities can be unilaterally changed by the provincial government

## November 4th, 2019 - Day 14

- Changing boundaries and governance of cities
  - 19th and most of the 20th century: Annexation
    - Mostly local process
    - Bottom-up process
  - Post 1960s: two tier Metropolitan and Regional Government
  - 1990s: Amalgamation
    - The passage of laws that amalgamated urban and sometimes adjoining rural municipalities with each other to create a much larger, single-tier urban government
    - Common to most provinces, but further in Ontario under Mike Harris
    - Often justified on economic grounds, but limited evidence of savings
    - Change nature of political debates in many municipalities
      - Example of Ottawa
- Municipal politics and financial issues
  - Significant limits on capacity to raise revenues
  - Three main sources of revenues
    - Property tax
      - Based on valuation of a person's house
    - User fees
      - Anytime you pay for a service that is provided by the city, you pay this
    - Grants
      - From upper-levels of government
  - Problems with property tax
    - Low elasticity
      - Does not grow with the economy
        - Property tax is based on the valuation of houses, so it doesn't respond quickly to shifts in economy
    - Highly visible
      - Once or twice a year, people get a notice in the mail to pay their property tax
        - More likely to have a tax backlash since it is so visible
    - Not paid by non-residents
      - People can work inside the city, but live outside so they don't pay the tax
    - Skew the nature of urban politics
      - Urban politics becomes about development versus no development

- Creates incentives for politicians to build things so that people will pay taxes on those buildings, whether they be residential or commercial
- Municipal politics, councils and elections
  - Key cleavage in municipal politics: pro and anti development groups
    - Developers are often the highest donors in urban politics and urban politicians
      - Creates bias
  - Only two provinces allow for the existence of municipal political parties: Quebec and BC
  - Key decision-making structure: Council
    - Three key aspects:
      - Size, representation by ward or at-large, committee system
    - Significant variations across Canada
    - Weak mayor system: no direct control over council or the bureaucracy
  - Municipal elections
    - Date set by provincial law
    - Very low turnout
    - Determinants of voting?
      - Chance of reelection is very high for incumbents
- Key terms
  - Economic policy
  - National policy (first, second and third)
  - Import substitution industrialization
  - Liberal market economy
    - Firms compete, they don't coordinate
    - Limited government intervention in relation to social policy - much more laissez-faire
- Economic policy
  - Different components
    - Monetary policy
      - The process by which the Central Bank regulates the supply, availability and cost of money (rate of interest)
    - Fiscal policy
      - Government policy that attempts to influence the economy through public expenditures
    - Industrial policy
      - The official strategic effort to encourage the development and growth of a specific sector (historically was manufacturing, now it is high-tech)
    - Trade policy
      - Set of rules and regulations that either tries to flow or hinder international trade flow

- Different objectives
  - Stimulate (or maintain) economic growth
  - Increase employment
  - Increase economic competitiveness
  - Balance of payments stability
- Economic policy in Canada: Main Actors
  - Federal government
    - Industrial policy
    - Monetary policy
      - Through the BoC (largely autonomous now)
    - Fiscal policy
      - Taxation (both corporate and personal tax)
      - Equalization
    - Free trade agreements
  - Provincial governments
    - Industrial policy
      - Resource exploitation
    - Fiscal policy
    - Trade policy?
      - Within and between provinces
        - Cross-provincial trade of alcohol
- National policy
  - Refers usually to the economic program adopted by the Conservative Party of John A. Macdonald in 1879
  - Refers also to the “conscious, nation-building policies of successive federal governments”
    - Smiley: “the most persistent expression of the nationalist impulse in Canada has been economic”
    - Three national policies
      - First national policy (1879-1940)
      - Second national policy (1941-1981)
      - Third national policy (1982-)
- First national policy, 1879-1940
  - Three main components
    - Adoption of the “national policy” in 1879
      - Import substitution industrialization
        - An economic development model that involves creating an industrial sector by placing tariffs on imported industrial products
    - Immigration and expansion of the west
      - Trying to settle the new provinces of Western Canada
    - Building of the railway
      - Bring manufacturing and goods to east-west





- Competition: based more on apprenticeship rather than formal education
      - Good job protection in their field and high unionization
  - Wages set up at the firm level
    - Coordinated: wages set at a sector level
      - Unions and firms come together to set a wage for an entire sector
  - Comparative advantage: high tech and services
    - Very general skills
    - Easy to fire people
  - Comparative disadvantage: manufacturing

### November 7th, 2019 - Day 15

- 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
  - Health and social care services
  - Tax expenditures
    - Credits and benefits for certain things
      - Federal Child Care Credit
  - Education?
    - Does this fit into the model of the welfare state?
      - Means to redistribute wealth through the system
    - Rise of the knowledge economy
      - If you do not have an education, you will not be able to participate in the economy
    - Almost every country in the world has some kind of basic minimum free education system up until a specific grade
- Key importance
  - The concept of social citizenship
    - Political
      - Everybody can vote
    - Rights
      - All have equal access to the law
    - Social
      - All citizens who live within the state have access to benefits to the state regardless of where they live
- Two key objectives
  - Decommodification

- You are not expected to exclusively rely on the labour market
    - Some way of separating your value from the market
  - Defamilization
    - It's not just the responsibility of the family to protect and care
    - If you have a welfare state to protect you, then you have a place to go if you get hurt or you get old
- First steps, 1840-1890
  - Role of the state was mostly one of the regulations rather than provision of services
  - Central role of charity
    - English-speaking Canada: social reform movement
    - Quebec: Catholic Church
  - State involvement
    - Education (School Act of 1871 in Ontario)
- Period of Transition toward the Welfare State, 1891-1940
  - Industrialization
    - Workers compensation (Ontario, 1914)
      - People starting working in factories and moving to cities
  - WWI
    - Disability and survivor pensions
    - Mothers pensions act (MB 1916)
    - Old age pension (G of C 1927)
  - By dividing powers through federalism, it allows for local innovation (back and forth between federal and provincial)
  - Great Depression
    - Bennett: New Deal
      - "Deathbed conversion"
    - Rejected by provinces (for coming into provincial jurisdiction) and the JCPC (tended to rule in favour of the provinces)
  - Political movements - pushing for creating protections of citizens
    - Social gospel movement
    - Union movement
    - Co-operative Commonwealth Federations
  - Key moment: Rowell-Sirois Commission
- Expansion of the Canadian Welfare State, 1940-1975
  - Marsh Report
    - Concept of a social minimum
  - Fear of the CCF growing popularity
    - Family allowances (1944)
    - Old age security (1951)
  - Innovation in Saskatchewan
    - 1946: Hospitalization Act
    - 1962: Medicare Insurance Act

- Most important expansion under Lester B Pearson
  - Canadian Pension Plan/Quebec Pension Plan
  - Canadian Public Assistance
  - Medicare
- Factors explaining the expansion of the welfare state under Pearson
  - Minority government
  - Quiet Revolution and nation-building
- Erosion and transformation, 1975-?
  - Economic crisis of the 1970s
    - Increasing costs of social programs
    - Important deficits
  - Three strategies of retrenchment
    - Abolishing the universal character of many programs (under Mulroney)
    - Significantly tightening eligibility rules (under Chretien/Martin)
    - Important reduction of social transfers to the provinces
      - PM Paul Martin: cut money from the provinces budget to reduce the federal government's own deficit
  - After retrenchment? A social investment strategy or permanent austerity?
    - Social investment state: greater spending on education, govt investing in individuals for tools that people will benefit from (early childhood education, lifelong learning, parental leave etc)
- A liberal welfare state?
  - What is a liberal welfare state?
    - For the most part, programs and services are still provided by the market
      - Liberal - small government, reduced emphasis on the state, greater emphasis on the market (classical liberalism version)
    - How is it different than the "social-democratic" welfare state?
      - Greater emphasis on the state, reduced emphasis on the market (opposite from liberal welfare state)
  - Variation according to the program
    - Social insurance program (Canada pension plan)
    - Universal program (family allowance)
    - Social assistance and supplementary programs (means-tested)
  - Variation through times
    - Never fixed or stable, constantly evolving and adapting
    - Increasingly targeted, means-tested programs (ie. increasingly liberal)
  - Variations across provinces?
    - Quebec is more generous (child care and parental leave) but still overall a liberal welfare state
  - Importance of the market
    - Dentist
    - Medication
    - Pension (private pension, RRSP)

- Social services (child care, elderly care)
- Why a liberal welfare state in Canada?
  - Dominant explanation: power resource theory
    - Union level (density, collective bargaining)
    - Presence of left parties in government
  - Other factors?
    - Federalism?
    - National identity?
    - Political culture and ideology?

## November 11th, 2019 - Day 16

- Key terms
  - Single member plurality system
- SMP
  - An electoral system in which voters in each geographical constituency elect a single representative to the legislature. The candidate with the most votes is elected, regardless of whether that candidate received the majority of votes
  - Vote in 338 ridings
- Significant critiques of SMP in Canada
- Canada's "electoral system hinders the development of a party system capable of acting as a unifying agency in a country where sectional cleavages are significant"
- Why?
  - Favours parties that have territorial concentrated appeal
  - Gives the impression that all of a certain region have voted for a certain party
  - Outcomes do not reflect the popular vote some of the times
- Arguments in favour of SMP?
  - Resulting majority governments are good for national unity
  - Smaller number of parties
- Duverger Law
  - When you have first past the post, you almost always end up having a two party system (Canada and India are viewed as exceptions to this law)
- Beyond SMP: provincial experiments and reform proposals
  - Provinces have historically experimented with other electoral systems
    - Single transferable vote
    - Alternative vote/preferential voting
  - Recent attempts at modifying the electoral system
    - Referendums on mixed member proportional system (Ontario and PEI)
    - Two referendums on STV in BC
    - Changes ahead?
  - Why is it difficult to change the electoral system?
    - People resist change
    - Other electoral systems are difficult to understand sometimes

- Our current system rewards rural voters, which could change under a different system
    - Ridings could become larger than they already are in some places
- Elections in Canada
  - Timing?
    - HoC cannot continue for more than 5 years without an election
    - GG will call an election
    - Fixed election date: third Monday of October in the 4th calendar year after the previous election
      - Law allows the government to call an election whenever they want (does not constrain)
  - Who can vote?
    - Any citizen who is 18 years of age or over
  - Who can run for office?
    - Any citizen who is 18 years of age or over
    - Must sign their nomination paper
    - Must pay \$1000
  - How can a party be recognized?
    - 250 eligible voters must back the party
    - Must have a leader
    - Must have an auditor and a chief agent
  - How is the country divided in electoral districts?
    - Divides the cdn population by 279
    - Senatorial Clause: Cannot have less MP than number of Senators
    - Grandfather Clause: Cannot have less seats than in 1985
    - Any province cannot lose 15% of ridings per elections
    - 338 local ridings
  - Voter turnout
    - Fairly low
    - Decline in the 1980s
    - Why do we have a low voter turnout by comparative standards?
      - People think their vote doesn't matter
- Election and party finance
  - Historically financed by large corporations and firms seeking government contracts
  - Starting in the 1970s, major reforms
    - Increased transparency
      - Any contributions over \$200 had to be reported
    - Tax credits
      - Encouraged individual donations
      - People can be reimbursed up to 75% of their donations
  - Reforms following the sponsorship scandal
    - Banning corporate and union donations

- Annual allowance (abolished later by the Conservative Party)
- Voting behaviour in Canada
  - Long-term influences
    - Social characteristics
      - Where you live, who you are changes who you are more likely to vote for
    - Values
    - Party identification
  - Short-term influences
    - Issues?
    - Leaders?
    - Campaign?
    - Local candidates?
    - Strategic voting?
  - Explaining the 2019 election?

### **November 18th, 2019 - Day 18**

- Fourth Party System, 1993-
  - Multiparty system
    - Regionalized electoral competition
  - Direct election of party leaders
    - But growing concentration of powers
    - Virtual party
  - Financing
    - End of corporate donations
  - Focus on neoliberal retrenchment
  - Toward a fifth party system?
- Conservative parties
  - Significant changes over time
    - Organization, names and values
    - Progressive conservatives
  - Main opposition party
    - Opposed by French-Canadians, Catholics and Western Canada (until Diefenbaker)
    - Three important PM: Macdonald, Bennett, Diefenbaker
  - Key themes
    - Opposition to closer link to the US (until Mulroney)
    - Monarchy and link to GB
  - The Mulroney era (1984-1993)
    - Promote closer relations with the US
    - Unique (unstable) coalition: Quebec and the West

- Reform Party and the Canadian Alliance
  - Opposed focus on Quebec, more social conservative, more populist and mostly based in the west
  - Failed attempt at becoming a more national party
- Conservative Party and the Harper era (2003-)
  - Product of a merger between the Canadian Alliance and the Conservative Party
  - Everything old is new again?
- Liberal Party of Canada
  - One of the most successful parties in the world
  - Changing positions over time
    - From provincial rights to defender of a strong federal government
    - From free trade to protectionism to free trade
  - A different type of nationalism
    - Less focus on Britain
    - More focused on developing Canada's own symbols
  - Strong support from Catholics and French-Canadians
  - History of alternating between Francophones and Anglophones
  - A centrist party
    - Borrowed historically ideas from both parties (economy)
    - Associated with pragmatism
    - Associated with national symbols
  - The party's shrinking coalition over time
    - Gradual loss of the West and Quebec
    - Support concentrated in cities
- CCF and NDP
  - Product of the struggle of farmers and labourers
  - Cooperative Commonwealth Federation
    - Regina manifest of 1933
  - New Democratic Party
    - From socialism to social democracy
    - Has been much more successful at the provincial than the federal level
    - Although indirect influence at the federal level
    - The difficult 1990s
    - Difficult road ahead?
- NDP
  - Platform
    - More activist federal government
    - Debates about Quebec over the years
  - Why stuck in third place for so long?
    - Ideology (in the 1990s)
    - Quebec
    - SMP

- Layton and the Orange crush
- Everything old is new again?
- Third parties in Cdn politics
  - Refers to a party other than the two major parties
  - Importance of third parties has grown over time
  - Main third parties
    - CCF/NDP
    - Social Credit
    - Reform Party
    - Bloc Quebecois
    - Green
- Explaining support for third parties
  - C.B. Macpherson's class explanation
    - In the provinces, where you had a large proportion of the population that belonged to the same class, and if they could not see their interests being represented in the two main parties, there would be a new third party
  - S.M. Lipset's institutional explanation
    - Parliamentary factor
      - Party discipline muffled dissent and protestation
        - You would have to leave the party in order to protest
      - Institutional factor
        - Electoral system made it easier for regional parties to get elected
    - Because of party discipline, regions that are shunned from power do not believe that they're interests are represented and have no chance of being elected, so they create a third party
  - Maurice Pinard's one party dominance explanation
    - 2 conditions
      - Feeling of alienation and grievances (regional or linguistic)
      - One party dominance
        - Traditional second party has been weak, so people will not consider it a viable alternative
    - Believed in the one party dominance, and if people kept on seeing the same party being elected over and over again, and their interests are not being represented, the people will create/vote for another party
  - Electoral behaviour explanation
    - What matters more is political grievances rather than economic grievances
- Political parties, membership and organization
  - Parliamentary wing (leader and caucus) and extra-parliamentary wings (executive and permanent office, national convention, local electoral district associations)
  - Impact of federalism on political parties

- Varies from one party to another and within the party
  - Party conventions
    - Limited impact in Canada, but exceptions
  - Electoral district association
- Selection of party leaders
  - Originally selected by the parliamentary caucus
  - Delegate conventions
    - Starting in the 1960s, more inclusive (designate groups)
    - Became more and more expensive
  - One member, one vote
    - Live voting or rank voting
    - Liberal and “supporter class”
  - How to replace a leader
    - No mechanisms until the 1960s
    - Leadership review
- Selection of party candidates
  - Decided in principle in each federal election districts
  - Nomination meeting and selection by members of the local electoral district associations in theory
  - In practice
    - Nomination papers must be signed by the party leader
    - Star candidates (parachuting)
    - Lack of candidates
    - Protection of sitting MP’s

### **November 21st, 2019 - Day 19**

- Key words
  - Voter turnout
  - Civic engagement in Canada
  - Unconventional protests in Canada
  - Interests groups in Canada
  - Social movements in Canada
- Why lower voter turnout in Canada?
  - Electoral system - countries with proportional representation have a higher voter turnout than in SMP systems
- Why lower voter turnout amongst young Canadians?
  - Life cycle effect - people tend to vote more the older they get, young people pay less attention to politics
  - Parties don’t reach out to young people a lot
  - Don’t feel guilty if they don’t vote
- Unconventional political protest
  - Political activities that are not channelled through formal institutions

- Moderate protest
      - Petition, legal demonstrations and boycotts
    - Direct action
      - Unofficials strikes, civil disobedience, peaceful occupations,
    - Violence
  - Protest activities in Canada
    - Over  $\frac{3}{4}$  of Cdn's have participated in a petition
    - Only a  $\frac{1}{4}$  had participated in a peaceful demonstration
  - Explaining the rise of protest activities
    - Post-industrialism and post-materialism
    - Decline of deference
- Violent protests in Canada
- Political participation beyond voting and protest: civic engagement
  - Civic engagement
    - Refers to different forms of community involvement such as joining a voluntary political organization, volunteering for a civic or a political organization or providing unpaid help to others
  - Civil society
    - Interest groups and social movements
    - Volunteer organizations
  - Key to fostering social capital
    - Social capital: norms of societal trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit
    - The more people that participate in groups, the more they can foster trust, health and solidarity and this is good for democracy
  - Significantly higher than political engagement
- Interest groups and social movements: a reminder
  - 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
  - Difference in terms of goals and organization
    - Organization
      - Interest groups are centrally directed - clear leaders direction
      - Social movements are more loosely organized, made up of a network of smaller groups
    - Goals
      - Social movements seek major social and political change, acting outside formal political institutions
        - Want to change values as well as laws

- Old social movements refer to the labour movements, new ones are post 1960s and want broader cultural change (LGBTQ, Womens etc)
- Interest groups in Canada
  - Functions of interest groups
    - Communication - mostly to government, provide information to members of their groups
    - Persuasion - convince the public and political members that certain laws need to be changed, updated or struck down
    - Provide services to citizens and their own members
    - Regulating the activity of members
  - Types of interest groups
    - Institutional
      - Stable
      - Cultivate relationships with officials
      - Represent a wide set of interests - broad umbrella
        - Eg. womens federation of Quebec
    - Issue-oriented
      - Viewed as outsiders
      - Fewer resources, rely on volunteers
      - Pressure government but also mobilize public opinion
      - Groups that tend to be focused on one specific issue
  - Peak associations
    - Organization representing a particular major interest based on a number of related interest groups rather than on individual members
      - Eg. Canadian Federation of Students
        - Groups all student unions in Canada - groups are members
    - Do not have strong peak associations in Canada
  - Factors influencing the organization of interest groups in Canada (and creation)
    - Language
    - Federalism
    - The state interest
      - Interest groups or social movements do not always emerge out of the frustrations of individuals but are sometimes encouraged on by the state
        - They might help support a certain vision of the country
        - Might help the state in a conflict in a different part of the state
- State interest
  - The Court Challenge Program

- State provides subsidies to groups that want to challenge legislation all the way up to the Supreme Court

## November 25th, 2019 - Day 20

- Exam
  - 4/6 key terms
  - ½ essay questions - topics since the midterm
  - ½ essay questions - topics since the beginning of the course
- Key terms
  - Policy community
  - Lobbying
- Interest groups and policy communities
  - 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
- Key targets of interest groups
  - Bureaucracy and Senior Government Advisors
    - Bureaucratic discretion is important here
  - Cabinet
    - Propose change in the HoC at the top level
  - Parliament
    - Might lobby MP's but not much due to the major influence of party discipline here
  - Other targets
    - Courts
    - Press
    - Public
    - Political parties
    - Royal Commission
- Lobbying in Canada
  - Any organized attempt to influence the authorities, now often performed by professional lobbyist firms
  - Who are lobbyists?
    - Have previous exp in politics
    - Former bureaucrats
    - Two types
      - Consultant lobbyists

- Specialized firms or government relations firms
  - In-House lobbyists
    - Rep corporations or organizations
- Regulation of lobbying in Canada
  - Only started in 1989
  - Must be registered and include the name of the client who is being lobbied and object of lobbying within 10 days of being hired
  - Much lobbying is not being recorded however
  - Federal Accountability Act in 2006, Lobbying Act in 2008
    - Created a Commissioner of Lobbying who was independent from Parliament
    - Fines of up to \$200,000 if people did not follow the act
- Federal level - 6051 registered lobbyists (2019)
  - Consultant lobbyists - 966
  - In-house corporation - 2089
  - In-house organization - 2996
- Example of large firms
  - Global Public Affairs
  - Hill and Knowlton
  - Earnscliffe Strategy Group
  - Impact Public Affairs
- Examples of former politicians/advisors working for lobbying firms
  - Darrel Dexter (NDP) - Now with Global Public Affairs
  - Hill and Knowlton - Don Boudria (Liberal), Ian Brodie (Conservative - formerly)
  - Robin V. Sears (NDP), with Earnscliffe
  - Tim Powers (Conservative), Summa Strategies
- Factors accounting for success in influencing government: Group Characteristics
  - Organization
    - Organized interests have more power than unorganized interests
  - Resources
    - Lost of money does not guarantee success but it does help a lot
  - Electoral influence
    - Politicians want to be reelected, therefore, groups that can swing voters can have significant influence
  - Moral claims
    - Need to frame things in view of the broader public interests
  - Group cohesion
    - Whether you have the ability to make the claim that you are talking on behalf of one large group
    - Politicians might be reluctant if they sense division within a group
  - Ability to inflict damage on the economy



## November 28th, 2019 - Day 21

- Key terms
  - Agenda-setting
  - Priming
  - Framing
    - What is the difference between the three?
- Mass media and politics: a few premises
  - Most media are privately owned - main point is to make a profit
  - Divided along linguistic lines
  - Source of most political information
  - But most important to not exaggerate its influence
  - Despite discussion of media bias, media in Canada is more respected than in other countries
- Media circulation, ownership and control in Canada: newspapers
  - 5.2 million average daily circulation
  - 88 daily newspapers in 2019
    - Growing concentration over time
    - Only 7 independent newspapers left
  - 1032 community newspaper titles in 2017
    - Also significant concentration over time
    - 66% corporate ownership, 34% independent ownership
- Media ownership and control in Canada: broadcasting
  - Key differences with newspapers
    - Degree of government regulation
      - CRTC and CBSC
      - Important debate: Canadian Content
    - Publicly owned CBC and Radio-Canada
  - Radio
    - 952 radio stations (2017), out of which 712 are commercial radio stations
    - Significant concentration over time
    - Avg time spent: 17 hours (2018) (really?)
  - Television
    - Avg time spent: 25.3 hours
    - Conventional stations: 93 private and 27 CBC
    - Significant concentration
- Social media as a form of political participation
  - Younger people are more likely than older people to use social media to share political opinions
  - People supporting smaller parties more likely to share opinions on social media
    - Green, BQ, NDP, Liberal, Conservative
  - A majority of Canadians engage in self-censorship when it comes to discussing politics on social media

- Social media and politicians
  - Emerging field (data still relatively limited)
  - Limited online engagement with politicians online
  - Limited personalization on Twitter
    - Leaders tend to transmit party message
  - Although more recent evidence of changes through Instagram
    - Justin Trudeau and the blurring of the personal and politics
- How the media influences politics: theoretical perspectives
  - Agenda-setting
    - Refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media places on certain issues and the importance attributed to these issues by the mass audience (news makes some issues more salient in people's minds)
  - Priming
    - Occurs when news content suggests to news audience that they have to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders in government (which issues should we use in judging politicians or parties?)
  - Framing
    - Based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by an audience
- Media framing
- The case of the reasonable accommodation crisis in Quebec: a case of “media amplification”?
  - Put a lot of blame on the media in Quebec
  - Certain issues were misinterpreted
  - Amplified the feelings that were brewing
  - An example of agenda-setting and priming
- Journalism and the question of “bias”
  - Associated with the idea of an “ideological filter”
  - Literature is unclear with regard to the existence of a “bias”
  - Two approaches: looking at journalists and looking at what is produced
  - Evidence that journalists in (English-speaking) Canada are more left than the general public
    - Less religious, more left-wing views (for CBC journalists), less conservative on social issues, more likely to vote NDP than the general public
  - But analysis of newspaper reporting tends to be neutral between them (and negative toward all of them)
    - Most newspapers endorsement during that period benefited the Conservative Party
- Media, gender and race in Canadian politics
  - Gendered mediation

- More likely to discuss the personal lives of female candidates for during leadership race at the federal level (sexuality, appearance, marital situation)
- “Hegemonic masculinity, Heteronormativity and Racism” in representation of party leadership candidates
- Highly visible women in Canada and the US more likely to be targeted by uncivil messages than men on social media
- Racial mediation
  - More negative coverage of racialized candidates
  - Tolley reports also have a tendency to exotize racialized women