

ISSUES IN CANADIAN POLITICS
POLSCI 4CA3
Winter 2022, Term 2

Instructor: Peter Graefe
Email: graefep@mcmaster.ca
Lecture: Tuesday, 2:30-5:20
Room: ETB-228

Office: KTH 512
Office Hours: Tuesday, 1:45-2:20 or by
appointment

Contents

Course Description.....	3
Course Objectives	3
Required Materials and Texts	3
Class Format.....	3
Course Evaluation – Overview.....	4
Course Evaluation – Details	4
Think Tank Group Assignment (10%), due February 7.....	4
Simulation Brief and Reflection (20%), due March 29	4
Simulation Participation (5%), Self and peer- assessment due April 13	4
Participation in Class Discussions (15%), ongoing.....	4
Final Paper (30%), due April 13.....	5
Final Take-Home Exam (20%), scheduled by Registrar during final exam period.....	5
Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings	5
Week 1 (January 11)	5
Week 2 (January 18)	5
Week 3 (January 25)	6
Week 4 (February 1).....	6
Week 5 (February 8).....	6
Week 6 (February 15).....	7
Week 7 (Feb 21-27, 2022) Mid-term recess, NO CLASS	7
Week 8 (March 1)	7
Week 9 (March 8)	8
Week 10 (March 15)	8
Week 11 (March 22)	9
Week 12 (March 29)	9

Week 13 (April 5).....	9
Week 14 (April 12).....	10
Course Policies	10
Submission of Assignments.....	10
Grades.....	10
Late Assignments	10
Absences, Missed Work, Illness	10
Courses With An On-Line Element.....	11
Online Proctoring.....	11
Authenticity / Plagiarism Detection	11
Copyright and Recording	11
Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)	12
Academic Integrity Statement.....	12
Conduct Expectations.....	12
Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities.....	13
Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy	13
Course Modification	13
Extreme Circumstances.....	13

Course Description

Canada is a Welfare State. The state's funding and provision of transfers and services like health care, education, pensions, social assistance, and housing comprise a large share of the country's economic activity. These activities create winners and losers. They enable certain choices and possibilities while disabling others. In other words, they affect the distribution of power in political relationships. This course attempts to canvass the different dimensions of the politics of the Canadian Welfare State.

In addition to class readings and discussions on the weekly themes, there will be two group activities. The first aims to provide an overview of a number of the Canadian think tanks that weigh in on social policy issues. The second involves preparing for a simulated Parliamentary committee hearing.

Course Objectives

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- Describe and compare major theoretical approaches to understanding the welfare state and its social and political ramifications
- Describe the main stages in the development of the Canadian welfare state, explain how these stages differ, and evaluate the potential political causes of change
- Evaluate how welfare state development contributes to larger debates and conflicts about the nature of the Canadian political community
- Map Canadian think tanks in terms of their views on the welfare state
- Assess the strategic context facing interest group representatives in developing policy briefs

Required Materials and Texts

- Class materials will be available in online formats, either in e-books/e-journals held by the library (and available through the library catalogue), as hyperlinked documents hosted on the web, or on the course's Avenue page.

Class Format

- Most weeks, the first two hours will be used to discuss the week's readings, with the aim of understanding the arguments and concepts at the heart of each reading, and a reflection on their contribution. This will be followed by time for groups to meet and prepare their work, with the instructor checking in with groups to answer their questions or provide advice.
- As part of the weekly discussion, students will sign up to "present" one reading. The presentation involves sharing one or two drawings that can assist in understanding a central concept or the argument in the reading.

- If the instructor is unable to attend class due to illness or requirements to isolate, he will post this as an announcement on Avenue as soon as possible and ideally before 10am on the day of class. If he has enough lead time, he may organize to hold the class in a virtual format.

Course Evaluation – Overview

1. Think Tank Group Assignment, due February 7. 10%
2. Simulation Brief and Reflection, due March 29. 20%
3. Simulation Participation. 5%
4. Participation in Class Discussions. 15%
5. Final Paper, due April 13. 30%
6. Final Take-Home Exam, during final exam period. 20%

Course Evaluation – Details

Think Tank Group Assignment (10%), due February 7

Students will be assigned to groups of 4-5, and asked to prepare a roughly 10-page (double-spaced) overview and analysis of a specific Canadian think-tank. This grade will be based on the written assignment, but groups will also be asked to make a 6-8 minute presentation of their main findings in class on February 8.

Simulation Brief and Reflection (20%), due March 29

The class will be preparing a mini-simulation of a Parliamentary Committee. The federal government is currently engaged in a [review of the Employment Insurance program](#) and is consulting with stakeholders. We will use this real-world event as the premise for considering welfare state policies through the eyes of interest groups. Students will be assigned to small groups to prepare a 8-10 page (double-spaced) brief for presentation to a mock Parliamentary committee studying Employment Insurance. They will also submit a short reflection (4-5 pages) on the strategic choices they made in preparing the brief. The class of April 5th will be used for the presentation of the brief and questioning by the Parliamentary Committee. The grade for this assignment will be based on the written submissions (brief + reflection).

Simulation Participation (5%), Self and peer- assessment due April 13

Participation in the development of group work is crucial to the success of the group. This grade will be assessed based on the instructor's observation of attendance and involvement in the weekly group work meetings, as well as from the self and peer-assessments of group members. The self and peer assessment form can be found on Avenue.

Participation in Class Discussions (15%), ongoing

The success of a seminar relies on the engagement of all participants. It is crucial that participants arrive having read and reflected on the readings for the week. The point of

participating in a seminar is not to score debating points, but to instead contribute to the collective effort of better understanding course materials and themes and developing original insights. This grade will also reflect the degree of preparation shown in presenting the drawing(s) discussed under the Class Format subhead above.

Final Paper (30%), due April 13

Students will produce a 10-12 page paper (double-spaced, not including bibliography) on a welfare state policy named in the Federal government's 2020 or 2021 Throne Speeches or in the Ontario government's 2018 or 2021 Throne Speeches. Please see the description of the Final Paper on Avenue to Learn for the full instructions.

This assignment can be completed in a group of two, in which case it should be 12-14 pages in length. Students who choose to work in a group accept all risks related to the inequality of effort or commitment within the group.

Final Take-Home Exam (20%), scheduled by Registrar during final exam period

Students will be asked to take 2-3 hours (within a larger window) to write a take-home exam. Potential questions for the exam will be posted on Avenue before the last day of semester. Students will be evaluated on how well they mobilize and synthesize the material from class readings in order to answer the questions.

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (January 11)

January 11 – Introduction to the course

Theme I: What do Welfare States Do?

Week 2 (January 18)

January 18 – What do Welfare States Do (Part 1)? Classical and Left Perspectives

Readings:

Asa Briggs, "The Welfare State in Historical Perspective," in Christopher Pierson, Francis G. Castles and Ingela K. Naumann (eds.) *The Welfare State Reader* 3rd Ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 14-27.

Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Policy Press, 1990, 18-34.

Peter Graefe, "The Political Economy of Social Policy in Canada." In Heather Whiteside (ed.) *Canadian Political Economy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020. 278-296.

Notes: Class time to begin group project 1 (Divide tasks)

Week 3 (January 25)

January 25 – What do Welfare States Do (Part 2)? Right Perspectives

Readings:

Ryan Shorthouse and David Kirkby, [*Give and Take: How Conservatives Think About Welfare*](#). London: Bright Blue, 2017. Executive Summary (p. 6-18).

Norman Barry, "Conservative Thought and the Welfare State." *Political Studies* 45:2 (1997), 331-345.

Claus Offe, "Some Contradictions of the modern welfare state." *Critical Social Policy* 2:5 (1982), 7-16 (esp. 7-10, although read the whole paper).

Notes: Class time to continue group project 1 (Present, discuss drafts)

Week 4 (February 1)

February 1 – What do Welfare States Do (Part 3)? Gender relations and nativism

Readings:

James J. Rice and Michael J. Prince, *Changing Politics of Canadian Social Policy* 2nd Ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), ch.9.

Ann Orloff, "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship," *American Sociological Review*, 58: 3 (1993), 303-328.

Keith Banting, "Is There a Progressive's Dilemma in Canada? Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 43:4 (2010), 797-820.

Notes: Class time to finalize group project 1 (Assemble, discuss (near-) final version). Project is due February 7, 11:59pm.

Theme 2: The Development of the Canadian Welfare State to Today

Week 5 (February 8)

February 8 – The Development of the Canadian Welfare State 1: The Keynesian Welfare State

Readings:

Alain Noël, Gérard Boismenu and Lizette Jalbert, "The Political Foundations of State Regulation in Canada," in Jane Jenson, Rianne Mahon and Manfred Bienefeld (eds)

Production, Space, Identity: Political Economy Faces the 21st Century. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1993. Pp. 171-194.

Ann Porter, "[Women and Income Security in the Post-War Period: The Case of Unemployment Insurance, 1945-1962](#)," *Labour/Le Travail* 31 (1993), 111-44.

Jane Jenson, "Historical Transformations of Canada's Social Architecture: Institutions, Instruments and Ideas." In Keith Banting and John Myles (eds.) *Inequality and the Fading of Redistributive Politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003.

In-class film: *Farewell Oak Street* (dir. Grant McLean), 16 mins

Notes: Class time for presenting group project 1

Week 6 (February 15)

February 15 – The Development of the Canadian Welfare State 2: Neoliberal Reform and After-Neoliberalism

Readings:

Rianne Mahon, "Varieties of Liberalism: Canadian Social Policy from the 'Golden Age' to the Present," *Social Policy and Administration* 42:4 (2008), 342-361.

Keith Banting, "[Disembedding Liberalism: The Social Policy Trajectory in Canada](#)." in David Green and Jonathan Kesselman (eds), *Dimensions of Inequality in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006. pp. 417-452.

Linda A. White, *Constructing Policy Change: Early Childhood Education in Liberal Welfare States*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017. Chapter 7 (p. 201-224).

Notes:

In-class film and discussion: *Return to Regent Park*, NFB, 55mins

Week 7 (Feb 21-27, 2022) Mid-term recess, NO CLASS

Week 8 (March 1)

March 1 – Simulation Preparation: Making Sense of Unemployment Insurance

Readings:

Mohammad Ferdosi, "Canada's Unemployment Insurance in Crisis." *International Journal of Social Welfare* 30:2 (2021), 182-192.

Ann Porter, "Austerity, Social Program Restructuring, and the Erosion of Democracy: Examining the 2012 Employment Insurance Reform." *Canadian Review of Social Policy* 71 (2015) 21-52.

Peter Graefe, "Employment Insurance and Regional Dynamics in Canada." In James Farney and Julie M. Simmons (eds.) *Open Federalism Revisited: Regional and Federal Dynamics in the Harper Era*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021. 248-267.

Notes: Simulation Groups meet, distribute tasks

Week 9 (March 8)

March 8 – Paying for the Welfare State: Taxation

Readings:

Olivier Jacques, "Funding the State: Taxation in Canada from a Comparative Political Economy Perspective." In Elsbeth A. Heaman and David Tough (eds.) *Who Pays for Canada? Taxes and Fairness*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020. 37-65.

Hugh Mackenzie, "Taxes and Public Services," and "Benefits from Public Services" in Alex Himelfarb and Jordan Himelfarb (eds.) *Tax is not a four letter word*. Waterloo: WLU Press, 2013, 55-82.

Jane Jenson, "Recreating solidarity via social citizenship: Why it is not enough to tax the rich." In Olaf Cramme, Patrick Diamond and Michael McTernan (eds) *Progressive Politics After the Crash: Governing from the Left*. London: IB Taurus, 2013. 171-182.

Notes: Simulation groups meet, discuss early findings

Theme 3: The Welfare State and Competing Conceptions of Community

Week 10 (March 15)

March 15 – Nationalism and the Canadian Welfare State

Readings:

Banting, Keith. "Canada: Nation-building in a federal welfare state." In H. Obinger, S. Leibfried, & F. Castles (Eds.), *Federalism and the Welfare State: New World and European Experiences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. pp. 89-137

Daniel Béland and André Lecours, "Sub-state nationalism and the welfare state: Québec and Canadian federalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 12:1 (2006) 77-96.

Alain Noël, "[Quebec's New Politics of Redistribution Meets Austerity](#)." In Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant, Richard Johnston and Will Kymlicka (eds.) *Federalism and the Welfare State in a Multicultural World*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019. 73-100.

Notes: Simulation groups meet, discuss early drafts

Week 11 (March 22)

March 22 – Federalism and the Canadian Welfare State

Readings:

Peter Graefe, "Intergovernmental Relations in Canadian Social Policy." In Karen Baehler et al. (eds.) *Oxford International Handbook of Public Administration for Social Policy: Promising Practices and Emerging Challenges*, expected fall 2021.

Barbara Cameron, "Accounting for Rights and Money in the Canadian Social Union." In Margot Young et al. (eds) *Poverty: Rights, Social Citizenship, and Legal Activism*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007. 162-180.

Rahim Mohamed, "A Curious Case of Negative Policy Diffusion? The Legacy of Quebec's '\$5-a-day' Childcare." *Canadian Review of Social Policy* 81 (2021).

Notes: Simulation groups meet, assemble near-final draft

Week 12 (March 29)

March 29 – Indigenous Peoples and the Canadian Welfare State

Readings:

Martin Papillon, "Segmented Citizenship: Indigenous Peoples and the Limits of Universality." In Daniel Béland, Gregory P. Marchildon and Michael J. Prince (eds.) *Universality and Social Policy in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019. Pp. 137-154.

Gina Starblanket and Dallas Hunt, [COVID-19, the Numbered Treaties & The Politics of Life](#). Toronto: Yellowhead Institute, 2020.

Florence Larocque and Alain Noël, "Kelowna's Uneven Legacy: Aboriginal Policy and Multilevel Governance in Canada." In Martin Papillon and André Juneau (eds.) *Canada: The State of the Federation 2013: Aboriginal Multilevel Governance*. Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 2015. Pp. 237-258.

Notes: Simulation Group brief and reflection due by 11:59pm, March 29

Week 13 (April 5)

April 5 – Simulated Parliamentary Hearing

Notes: Class time will be used for the presentation of briefs and the questioning of brief presenters.

Week 14 (April 12)

April 12 – Conclusion and Debrief

Notes: Final paper due April 13

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

Assignments should be submitted in standard file formats (such as .pdf or .docx) to the appropriate assignment folder on Avenue to Learn. Students should retain a copy of their assignment until their submitted file is graded.

Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

MARK	GRADE
90-100	A+
85-90	A
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	B
70-72	B-
67-69	C+
63-66	C
60-62	C-
57-59	D+
53-56	D
50-52	D-
0-49	F

Late Assignments

Group assignments must be submitted by the deadline, as they need to be completed in order for class activities to take place as scheduled. If there are particular issues preventing the on-time delivery of these assignments, please contact the professor immediately.

For the final paper, papers will be assessed a late penalty of 2 percentage points per day, including each day of a weekend. Recognizing the need to accommodate minor illnesses and the complications of life, including those giving rise to an MSAF, four days of late penalties will be forgiven.

Absences, Missed Work, Illness

McMaster Student Absence Form (MSAF): In the event of an absence for medical or other reasons, students should review and follow the Academic Regulation in the Undergraduate Calendar “Requests for Relief for Missed Academic Term Work”.

Courses With An On-Line Element

Some courses may use on-line elements (e.g. e-mail, Avenue to Learn (A2L), LearnLink, web pages, capa, Moodle, ThinkingCap, etc.). Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of a course using these elements, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in a course that uses on-line elements will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Online Proctoring

Some courses may use online proctoring software for tests and exams. This software may require students to turn on their video camera, present identification, monitor and record their computer activities, and/or lock/restrict their browser or other applications/software during tests or exams. This software may be required to be installed before the test/exam begins.

Authenticity / Plagiarism Detection

Some courses may use a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. For courses using such software, students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via an online learning platform (e.g. A2L, etc.) using plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty.

Students who do not wish their work to be submitted through the plagiarism detection software must inform the Instructor before the assignment is due. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to the plagiarism detection software.

All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more details about McMaster's use of Turnitin.com please go to www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity.

Copyright and Recording

Students are advised that lectures, demonstrations, performances, and any other course material provided by an instructor include copyright protected works. The Copyright Act and copyright law protect every original literary, dramatic, musical and artistic work, **including lectures** by University instructors

The recording of lectures, tutorials, or other methods of instruction may occur during a course. Recording may be done by either the instructor for the purpose of authorized distribution, or by a student for the purpose of personal study. Students should be aware that their voice and/or image may be recorded by others during the class. Please speak with the instructor if this is a concern for you.

Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the [RISO](#) policy. Students should submit their request to their Faculty Office **normally within 10 working days** of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests.

Academic Integrity Statement

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity. **It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty.**

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](#), located at <https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures-guidelines/>

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- improper collaboration in group work.
- copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Conduct Expectations

As a McMaster student, you have the right to experience, and the responsibility to demonstrate, respectful and dignified interactions within all of our living, learning and working communities. These expectations are described in the [Code of Student Rights & Responsibilities](#) (the "Code"). All students share the responsibility of maintaining a positive environment for the academic and personal growth of all McMaster community members, **whether in person or online.**

It is essential that students be mindful of their interactions online, as the Code remains in effect in virtual learning environments. The Code applies to any interactions that adversely affect, disrupt, or interfere with reasonable participation in University activities. Student disruptions or behaviours that interfere with university functions on online platforms (e.g. use of Avenue 2 Learn, WebEx or Zoom for delivery), will be

taken very seriously and will be investigated. Outcomes may include restriction or removal of the involved students' access to these platforms

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities who require academic accommodation must contact [Student Accessibility Services](#) (SAS) at 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or sas@mcmaster.ca to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. For further information, consult McMaster University's [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#) policy.

Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Course Modification

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

Extreme Circumstances

The University reserves the right to change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances (e.g., severe weather, labour disruptions, etc.). Changes will be communicated through regular McMaster communication channels, such as McMaster Daily News, A2L and/or McMaster email.