

POLITICAL SCIENCE 3JJ3: PROVINCIAL POLITICS IN CANADA

Fall 2019

Instructor: Peter Graefe
Email: graefep@mcmaster.ca
Lecture: Monday 11:30-12:20;
Wednesday 11:30-1:20
Room: ETB-235

Office: KTH-512
Office Hours: Tuesday, 11:30-12:30

Contents

Course Description.....	3
Course Objectives	3
Required Materials and Texts	3
Class Format.....	3
Course Evaluation – Overview	4
Course Evaluation – Details	4
Group assignment 1 (15%), due October 10	4
Group assignment 2 (20%), due November 6	4
Group participation grade (10%).....	4
Final Paper (30%), due December 1	4
Final Exam (25%)	4
Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings	5
Week 1 (September 4).....	5
Week 2 (September 9, 11): Political Economy	5
Week 3 (September 16, 18): Roots of Economic Strength and Weakness.....	5
Week 4 (September 23, 25): Towards a post-manufacturing economy	6
Week 5 (September 30, October 2): Political Economy of Public Policy 1: Economic Policy Challenges	6
Week 6 (October 7, 9): Political Economy of Public Policy 2: Wages and Working Conditions.....	7
Week 7 (October 14, 16)	7
Week 8 (October 21, 23): Political Economy of Public Policy 3	7
Week 9 (October 28, 30): Political Economy of Public Policy 4: Housing, Health and Education.....	8
Week 10 (November 4, 6): Political Economy and Community: Federalism	8

Week 11 (November 11, 13): Political Economy and Community: Indigenous Ontario	9
Week 12 (November 18, 20): Political Economy and Community: Racialized Ontario	9
Week 13 (November 25, 27): Political Economy and Community: Urban Ontario	10
Week 14 (December 2, 4): Review and Conclusions.....	10
Course Policies	10
Submission of Assignments.....	10
Grades.....	11
Late Assignments	11
Absences, Missed Work, Illness	11
Avenue to Learn	11
Turnitin.com.....	11
Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)	12
University Policies	12
Academic Integrity Statement.....	12
Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities.....	12
Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy	13
Course Modification	13

Course Description

The election of a Conservative government under the Premiership of Doug Ford has increased interest in the politics of Ontario. The government's programme of reforming health care, secondary and postsecondary education, municipal planning, and social services reminds us of the considerable array of responsibilities held by Canadian provinces. While citizens and journalists are right to be interested in what the new government is changing, one contribution of the social scientist is to contextualize these changes against the longer-run challenges of economic and social development facing the province.

This course will address the provincial politics of Ontario from two perspectives. Course readings and lectures will emphasize the political-economic dimensions of Ontario politics. It will provide a sense of how political economists analyze the province's economic and social challenges, and the constraints that Ontario's position within global economic forces place on political and policy choices. A group assignment completed in stages across the course will provide a complementary approach in developing an interest-group analysis of Ontario politics.

Course Objectives

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

- Describe trends and events in Ontario's development trajectory and core public policies
- Assess the constraints on political choices posed by Ontario's economic organization
- Understand and summarize briefs and reports from interest organizations
- Apply research and analytical skills to extract, summarize and evaluate the positions of interest organizations

Required Materials and Texts

- We will be reading most of Greg Albo and Bryan M. Evans (eds.) *Divided Province: Ontario Politics in the Age of Neoliberalism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018). It is available at the Campus Store.
- The remaining materials are either available on the web, as e-resources through the library catalogue, or are on the course's Avenue to Learn page.

Class Format

The assigned readings form the heart of the course. Lectures complement and supplement the readings. They may provide context, further information, or competing explanations. Neither the lectures nor the readings are enough alone. They are meant to be synthesized. Students can greatly enrich their learning and that of their fellow

students by bringing questions arising from the readings, including requests for explanations and clarifications.

Time will be provided in most weeks of September and October for groups to meet in order to plan and discuss their group work.

Course Evaluation – Overview

1. Group Assignment 1: Organizational Profile: 10% (October 10)
2. Group Assignment 2: Development of a Brief and of Briefing Materials: 20% (November 6)
3. Group Participation Grade: 10% (December 1)
4. Final Paper: 35%
5. Final Exam: 25%

Course Evaluation – Details

Group assignment 1 (15%), due October 10

This assignment involves completing an organizational profile of your assigned organization. Please see the assignment details on Avenue to Learn.

Group assignment 2 (20%), due November 6

This assignment involves completing two “products,” namely a budget brief and a briefing note for an appearance on a current affairs program. Please see the assignment details on Avenue to Learn.

Group participation grade (10%)

At the end of the group assignment, a participation grade will be assigned. This grade will be based on attendance in class work sessions, and on information provided in a group and self-assessment tool.

Final Paper (30%), due December 1

Students will write a short paper on a topic covered in a course reading. The paper should briefly summarize the reading’s argument and then assess the continued pertinence of its claims given events in the later years of the Wynne Liberal government and the first sixteen months of the Ford Conservative government. Students can work in groups of two if they wish, but assume all risks that come with group work. Please see the specific assignment details on Avenue to Learn.

Final Exam (25%)

The final exam will be scheduled during the final exam period and will cover the entire course.

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (September 4)

September 4 – Introduction to the Course

Week 2 (September 9, 11): Political Economy

Readings:

Charles Lindblom, "The Market As Prison," *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 44, no. 2 (1982), 324-336.

Peter Graefe, "Political Economy and Canadian Public Policy," in Michael Orsini and Miriam Smith (eds.) *Critical Policy Studies* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 19-49.

Weekly objectives:

Describe how political economists theorize the state, and the role of social forces in making public policy.

Compare and contrast the relationship between the economy and political outcomes in the accounts by Lindblom and Graefe.

Assess the strengths and weaknesses of using political economy for political analysis.

Week 3 (September 16, 18): Roots of Economic Strength and Weakness

September 16 – What went wrong, what went right

Readings:

Bruce Smardon, "Rethinking Canadian Economic Development: The Political Economy of Canadian Fordism, 1880-1914," *Studies in Political Economy*, no. 85 (2010): 179-208.

September 18 – What went wrong, what went right II + First Group Meeting

Readings:

Greg Albo, "Divided Province: Democracy and the Politics of State Restructuring in Ontario," in *Divided Province*.

Weekly objectives:

Explain how Ontario became one of the richest societies in the world.

Apply Smardon's explanation for Ontario's development in the early 20th century to explain Ontario's economic weaknesses over the past seventy years.

Assess the claim that Ontario is both a core and a peripheral society.

Describe how Ontario's economic stagnation has shaped the course of politics over the past forty years.

Week 4 (September 23, 25): Towards a post-manufacturing economy

September 23 – Deindustrialization

Readings:

Stephen Tufts, "The Geography of the Ontario Service Economy," in *Divided Province*.

Dimitry Anastakis, "A Neoliberal Pause? The Auto and Manufacturing Sectors in Ontario since Free Trade," in *Divided Province*.

Amy Cernevan, [*Service Class Prosperity in Ontario*](#). Toronto: Martin Prosperity Institute, 2009; p. 4-6, 22-47.

September 25 – Service Sector Dualization + Second Group Meeting

Weekly objectives:

Assess the economic and social consequences of the shift of Ontario's economy from manufacturing to services.

Apply the understanding of deindustrialization and service sector dualization to assess the adequacy of the party platforms in the current federal election.

Week 5 (September 30, October 2): Political Economy of Public Policy 1: Economic Policy Challenges

September 30 – Economic Policy Challenges

Institute for Competitiveness and Prosperity, [*Unfinished Business: Ontario Since the Great Recession*](#). Toronto: Institute for Competitiveness and Prosperity, 2018.

John Peters, "The Ontario Growth Model: The 'End of the Road' or a 'New Economy'?" in *Divided Province*.

October 2 – Economic policy continues, plus brief group meeting

Mark Winfield and Becky MacWhirter, "Competing Policy Paradigms and the Search for Sustainability in Ontario Electricity Policy," in *Divided Province*.

Weekly objectives:

Describe the Ontario Growth Model and explain the challenges that it faces.

Compare the different policy options available for economic policy in Ontario, and assess whose interests they are likely to favour.

Week 6 (October 7, 9): Political Economy of Public Policy 2: Wages and Working Conditions

October 7 – Working in Ontario

Readings:

Tammy Findlay, "Gendering State: Women and Public Policy in Ontario," in *Divided Province*.

Charles W. Smith, "Class, Power, and Neoliberal Employment Policy in Ontario," in *Divided Province*.

October 9 – Wages and Working Conditions continued + Final Group meeting

Note: Review first assignment, start planning second assignment

Readings:

Stephanie Ross, "The Challenges of Union Political Action in the Era of Neoliberalism," in *Divided Ontario*.

Notes: Group Assignment 1 due October 10.

Weekly objectives:

Use the case of labour market policy to assess the place of women's movement actors within the state.

Compare the different policy options available for regulating wages and working conditions in Ontario, and assess whose interests they are likely to favour.

Week 7 (October 14, 16)

October 14, 16 – Reading Week

Week 8 (October 21, 23): Political Economy of Public Policy 3 Poverty and Childcare: Inclusive Liberalism?

October 21 – Neoliberalism, Inclusive Liberalism, Social Investment

Readings:

Rianne Mahon, "Childcare, New Social Risks, and the New Politics of Redistribution in Ontario," in Keith Banting and John Myles (eds.) *Inequality and the Fading of Redistributive Politics* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 359-380.

Peter Graefe and Carol-Anne Hudson, "Poverty and Policy in Ontario: You Can't Eat Good Intentions," in *Divided Province*.

October 23 – Poverty and Childcare continued

Note: Group meeting to review progress on second assignment

Weekly objectives:

Describe the concepts used by Mahon and Graefe & Hudson to differentiate between different kinds of social policy interventions.

Assess the relative importance of changing policy ideas as compared to social movement mobilization in the development of childcare and poverty policies.

Week 9 (October 28, 30): Political Economy of Public Policy 4: Housing, Health and Education

October 28 – Public Policy and Private Accumulation

Readings:

Martine August and Alan Walks, “Gentrification, Suburban Decline, and the financialization of multi-family rental housing: The Case of Toronto.” *Geoforum* vol. 89 (2018): 124-136.

Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, “Reforming Health Services in Ontario: Contradictions,” in *Divided Province*.

Alan Sears and James Cairns, “Schooling Goes to Market: The Consolidation of Lean Education,” in *Divided Province*.

October 30 – Privatization, + group meeting to review progress on second assignment

Weekly objectives:

Explain how public policy choices in housing and health care have shaped private sector accumulation strategies.

Mobilize examples from housing, health care and education to illustrate the practical difficulties of drawing lines between the “public” and the “private.”

Week 10 (November 4, 6): Political Economy and Community: Federalism

November 4 – Ontario in the Federation

Readings:

Julie Simmons, “Ontario and Contemporary Intergovernmental Relations: Still a Responsible Partner in Confederation?” in Jonathan Malloy and Cheryl Collier (eds.) *The Politics of Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 135-156.

Robert Drummond, “New Bargains? Ontario and Federalism in the Neoliberal Period,” in *Divided Province*.

November 6 – “The Agenda” episode 1 plus federalism wrap-up

Notes: Group assignment 2 due by start of class November 6.

Describe how Ontario’s intergovernmental politics have been shaped by its relationship to Canada’s broader development strategies.

Assess whether current federal government policies are beneficial or harmful for Ontarians.

Evaluate whether it makes sense to speak of an “Ontarian” interest in intergovernmental relations, or whether any definition of “Ontario’s interests” has some Ontarians winning and others losing.

Week 11 (November 11, 13): Political Economy and Community: Indigenous Ontario

November 11 – Ontario and colonialism

Readings:

James Lawson, “Colonialism, Indigenous Struggles, and the Ontario State,” in *Divided Province*.

Anna J. Willow, “Clear Cutting and Colonialism: The Ethnopolitical Dynamics of Indigenous Environmental Activism in Northwest Ontario.” *Ethnohistory* vol. 56, no. 1 (2009): 35-67.

David Leadbetter, “Northern Ontario and the Crisis of Development and Democracy,” in *Divided Province*.

November 13 – “The Agenda” episode 2, plus Indigenous Ontario wrap-up

Weekly Objectives:

Describe the historical evolution of indigenous peoples and the Ontario state.

Evaluate the centrality or marginality of economic development priorities in shaping recent settler-Indigenous relationships.

Assess whether the importance of land in situations of settler-colonialism requires modifications in the theoretical frameworks employed to date in the course.

Week 12 (November 18, 20): Political Economy and Community: Racialized Ontario

November 18 – Racialization in contemporary Ontario

Readings:

Grace-Edward Galabuzi, “Unequal Futures: Race and Class under Neoliberalism in Ontario” in *Divided Province*.

Parastou Saberi, "Toronto and the 'Paris Problem': Community policing in 'immigrant neighbourhoods.'" *Race and Class* vol. 59, no. 2 (2017), 49-69.

November 20 – "It Takes a Riot"

In-class screening of *It Takes a Riot: Race, Rebellion, Reform* (dir. Howard Grandison), 2017. Screening presented by Dr. Simon Black, co-writer and co-producer of the film.

Weekly objectives:

Assess the accuracy of optimistic narratives of Ontario as a multicultural land of opportunity against the accounts provided by Galabuzi and Saberi.

Describe and evaluate the effectiveness of the various strategies adopted by racialized communities to contest their treatment by the state.

Apply the lens of racialization to critically reconsider material from earlier in the course, such as on labour market policy, housing, poverty and child care.

Week 13 (November 25, 27): Political Economy and Community: Urban Ontario

November 25: Policy and Political Challenges at the Municipal Level

Readings:

Carlo Fanelli, "Municipal Neoliberalism and the Ontario State," in *Divided Province*.

Terry Maley, "The Democratic Imagination in Ontario and Participatory Budgeting," in *Divided Province*.

November 27: Democratic imagination, continued.

Notes: Final Paper due by 23:59, December 1

Describe why it is important to understand the actions of municipalities if we are to properly assess policies in Ontario.

Week 14 (December 2, 4): Review and Conclusions

December 2 – Review and Conclusions

December 4 – Spare class for review, if requested

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

Assignments are to be submitted to the appropriate folder under the assignment tab on Avenue to Learn. Where students are working in a group of two for the final essay, one student should submit the paper, but the file name should include both students' names.

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

There will be no extensions granted for the group assignments due October 10 and November 6.

For the final essay due December 1, papers received after that date are late and subject to a penalty of 2% per day. A four day grace period is provided for this essay to accommodate health and other issues that might give rise to an MSAF.

Absences, Missed Work, Illness

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".

Avenue to Learn

In this course we will be using Avenue to Learn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, 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 this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Turnitin.com

In this course we will be using a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. Students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via Avenue to Learn (A2L) plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for

academic dishonesty. Students who do not wish to submit their work through A2L and/or Turnitin.com must still submit an electronic and/or hardcopy to the instructor. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to Turnitin.com or A2L. 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 information please refer to the [Turnitin.com Policy](#).

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 requiring a RISO accommodation 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

University Policies

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.

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.

It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

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.

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students who require academic accommodation must contact [Student Accessibility Services \(SAS\)](#) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic

accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or e-mail sas@mcmaster.ca. For further information, consult McMaster University's Policy for [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#).

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.