

## Week 1

### You Can Lock Me Up, But You Can't Make Me Vote

1. If voting was mandatory the votes cast would be coerced ones
2. To command people to vote would be a loss of freedom
3. Voting already has less freedom as you have to choose from only the people on the ballot
4. To make voting compulsory would be illiberal

### The Right to Vote, and the Obligation

1. There are lots of things that the government requires or forbids us from doing that are more of an invasion of personal liberty than requiring us to vote
2. Voting doesn't just engage the interests of the individual, but also the interests of the collective as it affects what laws are made and how people will live their lives
3. The right to vote is a privilege restricted to citizens as they are the ones that are affected the most by the rulers of their country
4. Voting should be viewed as a right and an obligation like jury duty
5. Voters retain the option of formally declining or spoiling their ballot
6. Question that the quality of the vote may be diminished by making everyone vote
7. He argues that the non-voters are the smart ones as they understand that they cannot make a difference
8. Should offer an incentive like a tax credit for voting to encourage rational people to vote

### W01 Mini-Lecture 1 - Political Participation in Canada

1. Voter turnout has hovered around 60% in the past two decades
2. Was originally much higher
3. Real turnout rate was below 60% because not everyone is registered to vote, and therefore they are not all on the list
4. Voting can be difficult for people that have no fixed address
5. When new people are given the right to vote there is an increase in the number of people who vote
6. There is a traditionally low turnout for municipal elections
7. Voter turnout increases until 64-70 age group and then it drops slightly
8. Youth turnout rate is increasing slightly but it is generally low

### Declining Community Engagement

1. Book Bowling Alone argues that Americans have become less active in politics and their community
2. Decline in political party membership
3. Fewer Canadians are donating to charities
4. Most people view politics negatively and there is a declining amount of trust in the government over time
5. Question of if we really want people that don't care about politics should be able to vote
6. If declining political participation is seen as a problem then there is a question of what should we do to fix it

### W01 Mini-Lecture 2 - Is Mandatory Voting the Answer

1. Mandatory voting - legally making people vote

- a. Generally not forced to vote, but just present themselves to the polls, usually have an option to choose none of the above
2. After a low turnout of 61% in 2000, they started thinking about mandatory voting in Canada if the voting rate goes below 60%
3. A committee brought it up under Trudeau
  - a. Recommended that it not be implemented at this time
  - b. Expressed concerns about penalizing people for not voting
  - c. Almost 55% did not agree with penalizing those who don't vote
4. Used in over 30 countries in different ways
  - a. Australia - small fines, can be excused, turnout is 92%
  - b. Belgium - 88% but this is the lowest since ww2, small fine but it is not enforced

#### Political Concepts

1. Hard to define, larger groups cannot come to a consensus
2. Definition of political concepts makes a difference in people's lives as they create policies
3. There is no proper way to debunk a political concept

#### Liberty

1. Negative liberty - freedom from outside constraint, the coercive power of the state
  - a. Argues for a lesser government so that people can have maximum freedom
  - b. This is seen as the highest value for liberals
  - c. Behind calls for lower taxes
  - d. associated with classical liberalism
2. Positive liberty - freedom to, presence of means or capacity
  - a. Basis for Keynesian state and the welfare state
  - b. Allows for arguments for higher taxes to redistribute money
  - c. It is okay to restrict some people's liberty if it gives the power to people to gain more capacity

#### Is mandatory voting the answer

1. No - negative liberty
  - a. Mandatory voting adds a constraint and is a restriction on liberty
  - b. Orwin says that that would take away freedom, and there needs to be a good reason to take away this freedom
  - c. People should not be forced to vote
  - d. Thought that the state is intervening where it shouldn't be
2. Yes - positive liberty
  - a. Mandatory voting restricts voting to improve the health of a society
  - b. There are already many things that we are required to do, and voting would be for the benefit of the community as a whole
  - c. If more people show up to vote then it is more likely that it will be seen as legitimate
  - d. Coyne focuses on people's freedom to participate
  - e. Seen as a social duty and this outweighs individual freedom
  - f. Seen as a reasonable limit on freedom in order to maintain our system of democracy

## Week 2

### SMP and its Critics

1. Concepts like liberty and equality are always contested
2. The electoral system is always contested
3. The electoral system is a way to translate votes into seats in the legislature
4. The choice of electoral systems has huge political consequences
5. The largest parties benefit from the current electoral system
6. What is considered fair is based on what party you think should win and the definition of the word fair
7. Rules are often not fair, the ones that benefit are usually the ones that created the rules

### Major Voting systems

1. Plurality
  - a. Single Member plurality (SMP)
  - b. Used by Canada, US, UK
  - c. Tends to produce strong majority governments
2. Alternative Vote
3. Coalition government
  - a. 2 parties agree to govern together
  - b. Few variants
    - i. Executive coalition - cabinet and executive positions are divided between parties
    - ii. Legislative coalition - they agree to work together but don't share positions
    - iii. Electoral coalition - agree to work together in an election by agreeing to do things like not run candidates in the same ridings
  - c. Minority governments don't always lead to coalitions
  - d. Minority governments are constantly looking to get back to a majority system
  - e. Canada's electoral system gives them a good chance at getting a majority
4. proportional representation systems mean that majorities are unlikely and coalitions are likely

### Components of an electoral system

1. Ballot design
  - a. How do they mark ballots, x or ranked
2. Districting
  - a. What geographical area is used
  - b. Number of members elected per area
3. Voting formula
  - a. Plurality - more than other candidates
  - b. Majority - 50 percent
  - c. Proportional - as the number of candidates increases the number of votes needed decreases
4. Voting formula determines the basic type of electoral system

### Single member Plurality System (SMP)

1. First past the post, or winner takes all

2. Mark and x on ballot
3. Small single member districts
4. Plurality formula
5. Parties often get more votes than the total seats
6. It artificially inflates majorities and over represents the most powerful party
7. Vote efficiency - the number of votes it took to elect each member - question of how well a party translated its votes into its seats
8. Favours regionally concentrated parties over parties with broad national support, such as the BQ
9. Discourages the formation of new parties, the ones that do form and are successful are regionally concentrated
10. It tends to produce a two party system - duopoly law
11. Argues that there are wasted votes under this system as only the votes for the winners count
12. People are discouraged from voting for other parties as they feel they will not make a difference
13. Question of what counts as a wasted vote, question of if they elect a small party that does not get to effect policy then are those votes wasted as well
14. Strategic voting means voting for a non offensive candidate that actually has a chance of winning
15. ABC campaign - anything but the conservatives, often costs the NDP and greens votes
16. It is also very simple, it provides stability, clear accountability, and local representation
  - a. Vote counting is speedy
  - b. It is already well known
  - c. Produces stable majority governments and these are more efficient
  - d. Coalitions happen within parties rather than between parties
  - e. Create broad centrist parties
  - f. Clear lines of accountability and you know who to blame if things go wrong
  - g. People can go to their local representative

#### Would a Majority System like Alternative Vote be an Improvement?

1. Try to win the most votes, but they must receive at least 50% of the vote
2. Double Ballot
  - a. 2 rounds of voting
  - b. Used in France
  - c. Variants used by Canadian political parties to choose leaders
  - d. One round held, and if nobody wins second round is won with the top two
3. Alternative Vote
  - a. Ranked or preferential ballots
  - b. Used in Australia
  - c. Rank candidates
  - d. Only vote once
  - e. Redistribute the choices to ensure that someone gets 50% of the vote
  - f. Used in London for municipal election
  - g. This was done away with under Doug Ford

- h. Said to be the favourite idea of JT and the liberals
- 4. Forces them to reach out to all voters to get them to be their second choice
- 5. This also produces stable majority governments, but this majority is still manufactured
- 6. The liberals would likely benefit from this system as they are more centrist and likely to be ranked 2nd by many other party voters
- 7. It favours large centrist parties and would maintain basically the same system

#### A Proportional System for Canada?

- 1. SMP - Single Member Plurality
- 2. STV - Single Transferable Vote
- 3. MMP - Mixed Member Proportional
- 4. Strict proportional system is a party list system
  - a. X for party of their choice
  - b. The person voting for that party is voting for the entire list
  - c. They are always multimember districts, but the size of the districts vary, the often spanning the whole country
  - d. The list can also be divided into ones with 10 seats each
  - e. The party gets the number of seats proportional to the percentage of votes they receive
  - f. This is often regarded as more fair
  - g. There is a low effective threshold, and it is open to new parties
  - h. There can sometimes be a legal threshold, which prevents too many parties
  - i. It is more broadly representative
    - i. No wasted votes
    - ii. No need for strategic voting
    - iii. Votes will not be taken for granted
    - iv. Can better accommodate social diversity and the list could be recognised to reflect society
- 5. Swedish election - proportional list system
  - a. 310 fixed seats
  - b. Must get above 4% of the votes
  - c. Vote totals are close to the seat totals
- 6. It can create unstable minority and coalition governments
  - a. The policy leech of SMP makes it quite unstable as well and it can be costly
  - b. The percentage of the votes is fairly stable
- 7. Promotes extremism as there is a low effective threshold
  - a. Be cautious of using the term of extremist
  - b. There is more fluctuation between parties and more fringe ideas can form parties
  - c. Smp system makes it harder to get elected
- 8. Party list criticism as they offer poor local representation, and give a lot of power to party executives that determine the party list order
  - a. Thus can be mitigated through having an open list system
- 9. Single Transferable vote (STV)
  - a. Candidates are ranked in multi member districts - ranging from 3-5 typically
  - b. To be elected they must receive a quota of votes for a district

- c. Votes are based on the first choices marked, anyone who reaches the quota then they are elected
  - d. If they do not, then the votes are transferred to the next preferred candidate
  - e. This is continued until all of the seats are filled
  - f. It allows for more fairness
  - g. There is some regional representation
  - h. More voter choice
  - i. However it is complicated, hard to understand, and computers are needed
10. Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)
- a. Voters make 2 marking, one for the candidate and one for the party of their choice
  - b. There are two different districts, combines SMP with the party list system
  - c. There is a local constituency and a national constituency
  - d. The local candidates are elected normally, and the party vote is added to determine what amount of seats they should receive
  - e. Disproportionalities are addressed according to totals
  - f. The disproportionalities are topped up from party lists

#### Electoral Reform Efforts

1. There have been 2 major citizens assemblies to discuss this
2. They both suggested a new system, but they failed to get voted in during a referendum
3. BC held a third referendum asking but they lost again in a two part referendum question, they had low turnout
4. PEI held a plebiscite - non binding referendum, mmp won with 52% but they had only 36% turnout, so it was not enacted
  - a. 2019 during the provincial election, but only 48% voted for change
5. Quebec is holding a referendum in 2022 on MMP but they had already delayed this once
6. In 2015 JT said it would be the last FPTP election, created a commission on electoral reform, and they recommended a proportional system be proposed in a referendum
  - a. They put together a value survey
  - b. Decided that they were not going to pursue it
  - c. Provincial referendums dissuaded them

#### Hiemstra and Jansen - Getting What You Vote For \_in Crosscurrents, 2013

1. Electoral systems must
  - a. Produce stable and effective governments
  - b. Be fair
  - c. Representative
  - d. Votes cast should be equal to all others
  - e. Allow citizens to hold governments accountable
  - f. Accommodate all sectors of the national political community
  - g. Encourage national unity
2. Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) is proposed

#### A Modest Reform

1. We currently use the single member plurality electoral system
2. Each constituency has a MP who is theirs

3. Geographical region based

#### Making Every Vote Count

1. The plurality system effectively disenfranchised half the voters in the 2011 election
2. Returns very small oppositions even when many people voted for the opposition party
3. Some votes count for less than others

#### MMP and Government Effectiveness

1. There is fear that MMP would make governments ineffective
2. Plurality produces stable and effective majority governments
3. However, there is no evidence that minority parliaments are less effective than majorities
4. Minority governments tend to fall quicker but this is because they are motivated to call an election when they are strong
5. In MMP political parties usually win a steady percentage of the vote
6. Encourages parties to work for compromise within parliament

#### MMP Can Increase National Unity

1. The plurality system rewards small regionally concentrated parties but robs seats from small nationally oriented parties
2. Canada often lacks truly national parties in the house
3. Encourages MPs to search for votes in all regions

#### The Plurality System Produces False Majority Governments

1. The plurality system allows a minority of voters to select the majority of seats
2. The country is reminded of the seats a party won, but not the percentage of votes
3. MMP represents the preferred policies of citizens much better than those elected by the plurality system

#### The Plurality System Weakens Representative Democracy

1. Most Canadians expect their representatives to engage in policy making for them
2. Plurality fails to give representatives a clear mandate
3. Most political parties develop a compromised platform
4. Election campaigns increasingly focus on party leaders and image
5. MMP can increase the representation of women and minorities
6. Allows citizens to join political parties and decide on trustees

#### Pepall - Out of Proportion (in Against Reform)

1. The figures given in proportional representation mean nothing unless you already think that parties should get seats in proportion
2. Is politics really for parties
3. Why should proportional representation be applied to parties but not policies
4. People will always be unhappy with what the government does
5. We cannot have decisions that contradict, such as right wing defence and left wing foreign policy
6. What about mayoral elections, should they share the mayorship

#### Why Parties

1. Parties are associations that put up candidates selected by their rules and run a campaign on behalf of them
2. MPs are called to deal with all of our public business
3. Parliament had a history before there were parties

4. A party exists to form a government and no party has value in politics unless it is a potential government
5. Giving seats to parties themselves makes no sense
6. Coalitions must be formed and voters have no say in these
7. Proportional representation makes party affiliation the legal determinant of who gets elected
8. Under proportional representation voters are forced to cast ballots that do not produce a decision
9. Our system was not created to produce majority governments, it was created to produce representation
10. Majorities were needed when it became responsible to do so

#### PR for Parties, Parties for PR

1. Parties were forced to work and support a government
2. With proportional representation there is a motivation for parties to break apart
3. It is the drug of choice for small parties
4. It keeps small parties going indefinitely

#### What? A Waste?

1. Proportional representation cannot solve the imaginary problem of wasted votes
2. There are small parties that will never die, but also never exercise power
  - a. The votes cast for these parties are as much wasted as they were under any other system
3. Excess votes show the parties where the strength is, they are markers for the future

#### Imbalance of Power

1. The voters do not choose who the government is as they do not choose who the coalition is
2. Voters often feel that their politicians are more concerned with their personal development over the country
3. If voters vote for small parties that they know cannot win what are they voting for?
4. There is often no effective opposition

#### Throw the Bums Out

1. Present voting method allows us to regularly defeat the government
2. In proportional representation parties remain in power despite the fluctuations in their votes
3. Minor parties are often thrown out when their share of the vote gets too high as they look threatening

#### Bad Tactics, Uncertain Coalitions

1. In our way of voting much of it is tactical as they vote for the party more likely to win to avoid getting the candidate that is hated
2. In proportional representation the share of the left wing vote gets transferred between parties and this makes it harder to form coalitions
3. If parties went into elections as coalitions it would effectively create a two party system
4. If parties can govern well together then they should merge
5. The instability of these governments means that they can involve stagnation



6. The instability of governments does not lead to frequent elections as they may form other coalitions
7. Elections change little

#### Token MPs

1. Reduces them to mere party tokens
2. They only get to parliament because they are on a party list which implies that they should act as party tools
3. What even is the point of having mps
4. The internal workings of the party list is only available to a small member of voters and these are very important
5. The party can engage in affirmative action by creating their lists
6. Breaks the connection between the voter and the member

#### Going Soft

1. Sometimes they create a threshold of votes below which they do not get a seat
2. This is likely based on political conjuncture

#### Canada in Proportion

1. Claim that politicians with regional bias have too much influence
2. The popular vote figures are always published and it is clear that there are conservatives in quebec and liberals in alberta
3. Quebec elects different people and parties because it is a different place

#### All is for the Best

1. The current method is the most natural and obvious
2. We have more parties because there are different regional needs
3. It has the ability to create changes in governance
4. It produces a competition for the center between the main parties

### Week 3

#### Extra Readings Notes

1. Politics and mass media connections originated in the US
2. Political marketing - application of business marketing concepts to politics and the government
  - a. More similar to services marketing
3. Reputation can be easily destroyed

#### Mini Lecture 1

1. Single member plurality system creates a tendency for a two party system (duverger's law)
  - a. Suggests tendency, not absolute rule
  - b. Main 3rd parties are for regionally based protest votes
  - c. Small parties tend to get swallowed up, or voters abandon them
2. Electoral system determines what types of parties countries have
3. Small letter names (conservative) are ideologies, not parties
  - a. The relationship between the two are often loose as the parties are pragmatic and look for votes

#### What is the role of an MP

4. MPs are given minimal training and have different views of what their job is

5. Delegate model
  - a. Bring constituent views to parliament
  - b. Tried to replicate direct democracy at one removed
  - c. Responsive to those they represent
  - d. Mirror the interests of the represented
  - e. Have a mandate and they work within that
6. Trustee Model (edmund burke)
  - a. They use their own judgement to make decisions
  - b. Individual judgment is a benefit of representative democracy, which makes it better than direct
  - c. Often tends to be more elitist
  - d. Should find solutions for the common good
7. Party member model
  - a. They are a professional politician part of a political party that wants to be re-elected
  - b. They support the party in the legislature
8. Constituency model
  - a. Advocate for the people in their community
  - b. Should be accessible, and fix problem experienced by residence
  - c. They help them to navigate bureaucracy

#### What do Political Parties Do

1. Administration of political system including political system, including votes and election, they simplify elections
2. Mobilization - they have the objective of taking power, so they convince people to support them
3. Representation of its members
4. Canadian parties seem to tilt towards mobilization
5. Brokerage parties
  - a. Pragmatic middle to the road parties
  - b. Often catch all parties
  - c. Pragmatic rather than has a coherent policy program
  - d. Tries to be responsive rather than about principle
  - e. They tinker with existing arrangement
  - f. Based on locations within parties
  - g. Leader focused
6. Ideological Parties
  - a. Similar to programmatic parties
  - b. Focus on ideological purity, winning elections is secondary
  - c. They put doctrine before the wishes of voters
  - d. They occasionally become more pragmatic to win more voters
  - e. Have difficulty winning in this system as they spread their support broadly between constituencies
7. Interest party
  - a. People with a common interest forming a political party

- b. Limited focus on a single issue
  - c. Narrow base for support
- 8. Cadre Parties
  - a. Can be both one of the above and cadre or mass or devotee
  - b. Clique party
  - c. Dominated by a core of professional politicians
  - d. Aim to win elections rather than get many people involved
  - e. Members should be prestigious, or have special skills for campaigning
  - f. Finances are paid through large donations
  - g. Emphasis placed on the leadership team
- 9. Mass parties
  - a. Membership is large and active
  - b. Recruitment of new members
  - c. Often include pledges when you become a member
  - d. Politically educate a number of people
  - e. They rely on membership dues for its finances
  - f. Democracies financing to some degree
  - g. Often emerge as social movements then move into government
- 10. Devotee party
  - a. Based on the personal characteristics of the leader
- 11. Current leadership election is a closed primary as only members vote for the leadership
  - a. Liberals were last to start holding these primary elections
  - b. Members tend to continue to be very marginalized in the party and they are often inactive in the party

### Mini Lecture 3

1. Should parties adapt to public opinion
2. Is flip flopping a problem of a democratic adjustment to the wishes of the public
3. Public opinion is fickle and easily changes
4. Should political parties rely on public opinion polls
5. Parties now use more sophisticated polling
6. Political marketing - studies the relationship between the product of a political organization and the demands of the markets
7. POPs (Product Oriented Party) - conviction based model of an ideological party, don't change ideas or product, they just try to persuade people to believe in them
8. SOPs (Sales Oriented Party) - gather information about its consumers to find the best way to sell product, the design phase remains the same, tries to find out the best way to package the product, break the group down to advertise for them in different ways
9. MOPs (Market Oriented party) - does market research before developing the product, they develop policies based around what people want, segmentation of population into groups to avoid sending the same message to everyone at once
10. POP is like an ideological parties
11. MOP is an advanced form of a brokerage party

### Microtargeting

1. Form of segmentation into groups that serve you ads based on things you look at, or your demographics
2. Conservative party created character types
  - a. Dougie - single man, late 20s working at Canadian Tire
  - b. Rick and Brenda - common law couple with working class jobs, suburban
  - c. Fiona and Marcus - high income, childfree couple living in expensive condo
  - d. Zoe - single urban female who is fond of organic food and lives in a Toronto highrise
3. Question of who the conservative party should focus on and tailor their policy to
4. Party present in the areas where they could find these people (Tim Hortons Voters)

#### Shopping for Votes

1. Unique tax cuts - give direct tax credits for specific people to buy specific things, targeted wallet policies
  - a. Develop targeted measures for different market segments
  - b. Do polls and focus groups to find out what policies would appeal to these people
  - c. Find a way to send the information to the groups that will be fond of these
2. Only half the public doesn't follow the news, and those that do already have decided their votes
3. Reach the disengaged portions of the population
4. Key to finding this information is through microtargeting
5. Parties have large databases on individual Canadians
6. Conservatives use CIMS - began with all the people on the voters list, then people entered personal information on voters into this system, each voter gets an icon to determine if they are friendly or unfriendly to conservative causes, the undecided voters are the most important to the party
7. NDP uses Populus
8. Liberals use Liberalist.ca
9. Statisticians and pollsters dominate the campaigns
10. Conservatives were the first to adopt these practices, but the other parties are catching up
11. Strict message discipline is key, people become brand ambassadors as they want to avoid the party becoming convoluted and the message being lost
12. The party leader is central with everyone else just trying to reflect the message of the leader
13. This system means that the party is more responsive to voters
14. Concern that voters are seen as consumers, and that they might be using marketing to create interests, question of who determines what issues are on the political agenda
15. Concern that people are not consenting to the collection of their private data

#### Smith, M - Arenas of Influence, Party, Parties and Elections \_in A Civil Society\_

1. Canadian system is dominated by the brokerage system
2. Media is becoming more important in elections
3. Marginalized substantive policy debate
4. Parties are taken over by party professionalism

#### Disciplined Arena

1. In 1988-1989 the Mulroney government tried to create a compromise in abortion policy, but this satisfied neither side
2. It was tied in the Senate which meant a defeat
3. Interest groups succeeded in influencing the legislative outcome, which is uncommon
4. Government must have the support of the legislature to survive
5. This shuts out groups and social movements as party discipline is high

#### Opportunities for Legislative Influence

1. In minority governments it may be possible for groups to influence the outcome
2. Minority governments are important in terms of policy innovation
3. Some issues are determined to be matters of conscience and they do not have to vote the party line
4. However as political culture moves towards rights less things are matters of individual conscience
5. Party caucuses are important for political debate but they are sealed to the public

#### The Nature of Political Parties: Mass vs Cadre

1. Traditional parties emerged from grouping of like-minded individuals, these are cadre parties
2. They mostly existed within the legislature and were leader dominated
3. Did not have a strong platform but acted on the common sense of the day
4. The mass party was pioneered on the left
5. They created the idea of party membership that could be purchased
6. Focused more on the party external to the legislature as they began without members in parliament
7. Pioneered the idea that MPs would stand for the party platform

#### From Duverger to the Brokerage Model

1. Cadre parties of Canada are the Liberals and the Conservatives
2. Canadian parties added a consociational element by which they were divided along religion, language, and regional lines
3. Brokerage parties seek to reconcile cleavages within their parties
4. Cadre parties are good as brokerage ones because they lack a strong ideology
5. Mass parties often have many branches, and they are well connected with the community
6. They were organized to bring new voters into the political system
7. Progressives introduced the idea that MPs needed to represent their constituents
8. Cadre parties began to elect their leaders and debate policy at party conventions
9. Mass parties had a hard time getting a dominant position
10. Often marginalized non-territorial interests

#### New Canadian Party System

1. 1993 created a crisis for the brokerage system as after the Charlottetown Accord the elite accommodation was seen to be in crisis
2. Wanted greater citizen participation in the political process
3. The PC party broke apart and formed regional parties
4. The Liberals were well suited for the neoliberal era as they lacked fixed commitments

5. There is a heightened mediatization of politics, and the cost of media has risen forcing them to find new funding

#### Electoral System

1. Exacerbate legislative executive fusion and undermine the independence of an MP  
Exaggerate the regional strengths of a party
2. A PR system would be better for representing minorities
3. Forced to build coalitions

#### Party and Election Financing

1. Danger that parties might be swayed by financial contributions
2. Often take out party membership to influence party policy

#### Death of Parties?

1. Declines in voter turnout, partisan identification, and membership
2. Some parties remain leader dominated and influenced by professional political class
3. The party leader delivered the basic party product line while MPs act like franchises
4. Citizens are leaving parties for other forms of collective action
5. Each generation votes at a lower rate than the previous generation
6. People see the government as the problem and as markets as the solution

#### Delacourt - Market Leader (in Shopping for Votes)

1. Harper was born in Toronto at the beginning of the TV age
2. Shuffled between big brand and niche parties
3. Went to Alberta as a lover and then became conservative
4. His shifting allegiances matched Canadians' views about politics

#### Tim Hortons Canadian

1. Muttart sorted people into fictional architects of voters
2. Some voters were not worth chasing
3. Coalitions could be built by appealing to multiple segments of the population
4. Described their demographics in terms of their aspirations
5. These people did not vote based on brand loyalty and they did not follow the news
6. Only 50% paid any attention to the news and those that did already had a party that they supported
7. Only about 60% voted so they were only targeting 10% of the electorate who hadn't decided but were likely to vote
8. Mainly used television as or direct mail postcards

#### The Marketing Development

1. Brought market intelligence in house
2. Campaign did not start or stop with election
3. The new conservatives did not mind being in ads
4. Harper paid attention to political packaging
5. Pictures are what people remember
6. Focused on image of being a normal person
7. Idea that people were consumers of government services
8. Harper came around to hard sell marketing and attack ads
9. Finley was fond of organization and tech

10. Polster had an eye for marketing and looked at decision cycles where they tried to anticipate voters needs
11. Presence of former liberals represented the floating loyalty phenomenon that was popular within the electorate
12. They hyper segmented the electorate through politics b postal code and likelihood of voting

#### Five Habits of Successful Political Marketers

1. They simplified the platform
2. Planned to reduce the GST 1 percent then another percent by the end of the mandate
3. Tried to reduce patient wait times
4. Offered a baby bonus that gave them choice in how to spend it
5. Promised to clean up government
6. Crack down on crime
7. They could make an announcement everyday of the business week
8. Created ads that resembled new casts
9. The ads were seen as wooden by the establishment, but familiar to the people
10. Placed the campaign as between starbucks and tim hortons voters
11. Campaign happred over the holidays and this impacted world of mouth opinions

#### Week 4

#### Rose - Institutionalizing Participation Through Citizens' Assemblies (in Activating the Citizen, ocr)

1. Political participation ay be for the collective good
2. Invention of representative institutions led to democratic concept of clashing interests
3. Unitary model often emaines small scale institutions
4. Decline of public interest indicates people are more receptive to unitary model
5. Citizens assembly gets random citizens, educations them, has them undergo public consultations, deliberation, and then they make policy recommendations
6. Public judgement allows for more thoughtfulness, weighing of alternatives, and more engagement
7. Roots of deliberation can be found in friendship rather than competition

#### Why use a Citizens Assembly

1. Policy making by deliberation
2. They make decision in search of the common good
3. Consensus based decision
4. Participation spillover through the participants learning, and the public
5. They must have time to learn, consult, deliberate, have independence from government and be transparent
6. They should be used to form policies that are value driven and meaningful
7. The citizens are diverse

#### How for they learn

1. They have a variety of learning methods
2. Through the learning process they reported more confidence in the subject

3. They need to formulate standards or goals that the system should fulfil, need to understand basic characteristics, need sound knowledge, understand the consequences of their decisions, and consult other citizens
4. Need a benchmark to weigh competing options
5. Mechanics approach was dominant as the participants had to design a system from scratch
6. Traditional classroom methods were supplemented with a variety of visual, and visual materials, and materials that had a range of complexity
7. Lso had discuss groups sessions and personal study
8. This provided competence that was essential to create legitimacy in the public's eyes
9. Principles should be simple enough that they are understandable, but not so simplistic as to be irrelevant and meaningless
10. Position taking was avoided
11. The result was a model that achieved objectives without additional features that make the models more complex than necessary

#### How they Consult the Public

1. Consultation strengthens the relationship between governments and citizens
2. Created legitimacy by hearing from those who want change
3. They were impressed by the public and their presentations
4. It was only the second least important part of the process
5. Those consulted were the experts rather than the usual
6. This process made the consultations more accessible

#### Importance of Time, resources, support

1. Compressed time frame
2. More time was needed in the deliberation and learning phase
3. Had to provide opportunities for their independence and seeking of their own knowledge
4. Had a members only webforum

#### Fishkin et al - Deliberative Polling and Public Consultation (Pearl Affairs 2000)

1. Public input is the center of democracy
2. Referendums and elections votes are not good indicators of public preferences as there is low turnout, and there is a lack of knowledge about the votes that are cast
3. Most people have thought very little about policy options
4. Often no party reflects all of their views
5. Polls have difficulty getting a representative sample, opinions can be hard to measure, they hold conflicting views that cause different responses to different wording, asked to give off the cuff responses to things that are of limited interest resulting in decisions being made off the spot
6. Increasing the deliberation and information creates a gap between the off the cuff answers and later answers
7. Several methods to increasing informed decisions, focus groups, choice questionnaire, televote, citizens juries, planning cells, consensus conferences, they developed deliberative polling



8. This polls random voters, then give them the opportunity to come for a weekend of discussions and learning with a balanced package o background information and then they are re-pollled at the end
9. Discussion are held in randomly assigned small groups with an impartial moderator
10. Also have question and answer sessions with experts and policy makers
11. At the end they complete the same questionnaire and look to see in what ways their opinions changed
12. This allows them to talk to people who have different opinions than them
13. This allows for a larger sample
14. There is no induced consensus
15. Measures opinions and opinion changes
16. There is a sizable change in opinion
17. Intended to complement the current system
18. Should treat ordinary poll information with cation

### Lecture - Deliberation and Public Opinion

1. MOPs rely heavily on polls
2. Question of if it is democratic to create policies that cater to specific people, or that rely too heavily on polls
3. Polls rest on a very crude policy thoughts
4. Ask for off the cuff responses
5. Questions can be framed with specific ideological slants
6. Polls force people to choose between a limited amount of options

#### Critique of public opinion polls

1. Bias
  - a. Ideological slant
  - b. Monologic (one way) - limited choice
  - c. They can't suggest other options
2. Based on existing opinions, neglects the process of forming opinions
  - a. There is no opportunity for dialogue between people
  - b. Their opinions might change if they learned more about an issue
  - c. Hannah Aren't - there can be moods of the public but these are fickle and unreliable, these are immediate impulsive reactions
  - d. Formation of opinion involves the conflict of different viewpoints
  - e. Engagement with the general public is necessary for well thought out opinions

### Lecture - On Deliberative Polls

#### James Fishkin on Deliberative Democracy

1. Democracy should have political equality between the view of everyone
  - a. Both in vote and voice
  - b. Not everyone has the same ability to be heard
2. Should the opinion of someone who is uninformed count equally
  - a. Rational ignorance
  - b. Non-existent opinions, and top of the mind options

3. Thinks that the public is capable of understanding complicated issues, but they are just knowledgeable, not lacking in capacity
  - a. People had have little incentive to educate themselves (rational ignorance)
    - i. Their individual vote and opinion will make no impact on the government so there is little motivation to be informed
  - b. Opinion polls are dominated by non-existent options or top of the head opinions
4. The solution for this is deliberation
  - a. Education + discussion with others = considered judgement
5. Deliberative opinion polls
  - a. Take a random sample (mini public) that is given an initial interview questionnaire
  - b. Weekend of face to face deliberation
    - i. Prior to this, they are given information
    - ii. They have small discussion groups, and question and answer sessions
    - iii. Moderators try to prevent the discussion from being dominated
  - c. Follow-up questionnaire of considered judgment
    - i. These are the same questions
  - d. The mini-public need to be representative, but it is often smaller, 3-4 hundred rather than thousand
  - e. Large and statistically significant changes over the weekend
  - f. The most important thing is the difference between the before and after questionaersrs
  - g. Best use is as a consultation device for politicians
  - h. They should complement normal practices of democracy

#### Democracy as Mob Rule (Plato)

1. Democracy gives to thoughts to what someone did before they enter politics and honours them if he wins the majority well
2. The best don't govern, those who pander to public opinion the most do
3. It assigns equality to equals and unequals alike

#### On Citizens' Assemblies

1. Randomly select citizens drawn from the voter's list
2. Happened in BC in 2003, and 2006 in Ontario
3. Recommended a new electoral system, but were defeated in referendums
4. Selection by lottery or random selection (similar to a jury)
  - a. Tried to get the composition to mirror the demographics of the province
  - b. They wanted people from all walks of life and different amount of voting interest
  - c. Election was not seen as democratic, it was originally thought to be most democratic to have people random;y chosen
  - d. Election was seen as favouring the wealthy
5. Bernard Manin - Principles of representative government
  - a. Notion of rotating between ruling and being ruled in turn
  - b. Democracy was opposed to professionalism, and no expertise was required
  - c. Notion of political equality, and the equal possibility of exercising power
6. Question of why we should follow the recommendations of a citizens assembly
  - a. Collective wisdom

- b. People can bring their knowledge, and perspectives to decision making
    - c. Their diversity means they are well-placed to make moral decisions
  - 7. The process
    - a. Learning
      - i. Education ns sicusses
      - ii. Used a variety of educational techniques
      - iii. They develop a mandate and the criteria to judge decisions by
    - b. Discussions
      - i. Consultation and public earnings
      - ii. Deliberations within group to debate the models
    - c. Considered judgment
      - i. Vote between alternatives
      - ii. They voted between the current system and the system that they had decided on
  - 8. Aim was to provide an educated process and decision
  - 9. After the deison of the citizens assembly were put to a referendum, they failed
- Other ways to enhance democracy
- 1. Why not a binding referendum
    - a. Direct democracy
    - b. Avoids concerns about distortion of the electoral system
    - c. Rare in canada, more common in US states
    - d. Referendum are not necessarily top down, sometimes come from citizens initiatives
    - e. Citizens assemblies can choose referendum questions
    - f. Can increase public knowledge
  - 2. Concerns about referendums
    - a. Are the binding, or just advisory
    - b. Often based on simplistic and ambiguous questions
    - c. Limited view to have people let their view known
    - d. Concern about uneducated voters
    - e. People do not get the chance to talk about an issue, and np process for forming opinions

### **Week 5**

#### **A bias but not a political one - Paul Barker**

- 1. The media have a commercial bias
- 2. Use language to enliven presentations
- 3. Give life to a dry and dreary political system

#### **A Liberal Bias**

- 1. People expect the public to function in the public interest and present a natural and objective view
- 2. If bias is discovered they feel personally betrayed
- 3. Concern that bias hurts democracy
- 4. The media determines what is important and how some people think about the issues

5. Journalists trends to hold left-wing views, likely because they are highly educated, tend to be non-religious, and have a high economic status
6. Journalists will highlight certain elements of a story in order to create a narrative
7. The empirical evidence for a liberal bias is not that strong
8. Journalists vote preferences are in line with the general population
9. The bias shown may be because of market demand
10. The bias of journalists may not be reflected in their stories

#### A Commercial Bias

1. The media is a competitive environment
2. Alienation of a portion of the market through bias is self-destructive
3. To increase their audience they must tell good stories, and this often involves framing
4. Framing selects certain elements of a story in order to create drama, conflict, simplicity and emotions
5. They seek out mistakes by politicians to create a good story
6. The media are about selecting and framing to create something from the chaos of political life

#### The Future for the Canadian Media

1. There are declining audience shares and decreasing ad revenue
2. The newspaper industry is not reaching younger generations
3. The Internet provides infinite choice and the mainstream media is now not the only source of information for the public
4. Want to force cable and satellite distributors to pay the networks for the over the air signals
5. The debate about the media continue without reference to the quality of media produced
  - a. This is because the debate is happening in the media
6. There was a consolidation of ownership
7. This means that one person can create stories for all media owned by the same company
8. They now trade information, stories and exclusives
9. Different types of media require different reporting skills
10. Local news and specialist reporters are being cut
11. Reporters now know less and less about more and more
12. Each day is reported on as a self-contained unit
13. They focus on conflict and personality because they require less research
14. Imposed control designed templates which created a numbing sameness in newscasts
15. Production has been centralized and local news is decreasing
16. Over the air television is suffering an ad drop but specialty channels are still doing well
17. People will continue to pay for content that is good
18. The equipment to create content is becoming cheaper, easier to use, and accessible
19. The internet must be at the center, and media must be created for it, not adapted to it
20. The local news does matter to people

#### Lecture - The Politics of Mass Media

1. Having the best electoral system does not guarantee a robust electoral system
2. Need a largely literate and educated population

3. Need equality
4. Mass media needs to be free
5. Needs to be a democratic spirit
6. Democracy needs the freedom of people to get and share information

#### Mass Media

1. 4 main types
  - a. Broadcast
  - b. Print
  - c. Motion picture and sound recording
  - d. Digital and new media
2. The use of newspapers and tv is declining
3. More people are using the internet to follow news and current affairs
4. Younger people are using more internet, older people still use tv and newspapers
5. Concerns about fake news - fictitious articles that are made to look real
  - a. This is different than bad journalism
  - b. Quality controls on the internet are poor
6. More traditional news places check facts because their reputation relies on it

#### Critiques of the mass media

1. Question of where politics occur
2. Some people argue that politics is everywhere that power relations occur, others think that governmental institutions are where politics is
3. Civil society - areas of social life where the state is absent
  - a. In liberal democracies, civil society is much larger
  - b. The state goes beyond government to include public things like the police and schools
4. Antonio Gramsci - the state is the realm of coercion where the ruling class rules through direct domination
  - a. Civil society is the realm of hegemony - ruling class rules through the creation of consent (persuasion)
  - b. Power is also present in institutions of civil society
  - c. The better the ruling class is at creating hegemony the less power to rule will be used
  - d. Claims that there are no truly free media because the ruling class controls it

#### A Pro-Elite, Pro-Corporate Media Bias?

#### Chomsky and Herman "propaganda model"

1. The press is a propaganda machine that manufactures consent
2. There are powerful filters that mean that the mass media supports the elites and have the people support the status quo
  - a. Media ownership - size, concentration, and profit orientation, media is dominated by several larger companies
  - b. Influence of advertisers - overt censorship is rare, but they have overlapping interests and they must submit to making a profit, make fast and entertaining news so there are more fluff pieces

- c. Sources - rely on the government, businesses and other sources that are inexpensive, costly to have long inventions, easier to have pre-fabricated news, use official statements and press relations, this has a skew to large and well-funded organizations as these groups have communication teams
  - d. Flak - negative responses and complaints regulate what the media says
  - e. Anti-communist bias
- 3. These filters alter the content of the news
- 4. News is pro-corporate, pro-government

#### Media Ownership

- 1. Concentration has been stunning in Canadian media
- 2. Dominated by 7 multinational US-based companies
- 3. Big players buy up the little ones
- 4. Convergence and concentration
- 5. Concentration - merging of companies in one sector
- 6. Convergence - merging of companies that produce different types of media (like tv and radio)
- 7. 3 major players dominate Canadian media
- 8. There are regular closures of news organizations and frequent mergers and acquisitions
- 9. Some companies will buy newspapers that compete with them, and then shut one of them down
  - a. This reduces consumption and variety available
- 10. The biggest media conglomerates control more and more of the media and more aspects of the media
- 11. Social media companies share of the media is growing quickly
- 12. The internet is a site of even greater concentration
- 13. The CRTC has some restrictions to prevent full monopolies

#### Reliance of Advertising

- 1. Ads and entertainment is presented as news
- 2. News has to be short to accommodate attention spans
- 3. They often dumb down news
- 4. Infotainment - television where soft news is pushed over hard news
- 5. Ratings driven journalism is preferred
- 6. Hard news talks about politics, economics, science, technology
- 7. Need hard news to live the life of a full citizen
- 8. Soft news can be presented as a spectacle

#### Sourcing the News

- 1. Concentration and conversion have affected the content
- 2. Small local papers must compete with global giants
- 3. They are losing advertising revenue as it shifts online
- 4. Declining quality of the news that is being produced
- 5. There were a lot of layoffs of reporters, often cutting specialist reporters
- 6. Reporters cannot specialize and they are more pressed for time, cannot research a more in-depth story
- 7. Impose centrally designed templates

8. Increasingly centralized with many newspapers writing on the same thing and they will link back to their owners
9. They increasingly rely on external sources - use news from other news sources
10. More sponsored content that is made to look like the normal news with only a byline that is different

### No Media Bias? Or Perhaps a Liberal Bias?

#### The Media is Neutral

1. Trains them to report naturally
2. Told to follow a professional code
3. Treats all sides the same
4. The editorial section is created to avoid confusion between opinion and fact
5. Stress the importance of a free press and the role this plays in societies and democracies
6. Citizens need to be able to scrutinize governments
7. All facts have some bias involved as they have to be selected
8. The bias of what stories are pursued
9. Re contrary opinions expressed
10. Are these biases significant enough to create bias in the news
11. There are systematic pressures against developing bias-free and advertising free media
12. Public policy forum released a report called the shattered mirror
  - a. Traditional news outlets are increasingly unprofitable today
  - b. Had to get consumers to subscribe with free internet news available
  - c. Thought that there should be a levy on advertising profits on the internet and use the levy to support traditional media
13. News can be neutral and unbiased if it is done well

#### Mass Media has a liberal bias

1. Right wing people get picked on by the media
2. Liberal bias talks about social progressivism, social policies, and the government, positive liberty and the welfare state, also with the liberal parties
3. Journalists tend to be more left than the public
  - a. Less religious
  - b. Their opinions and values are more left winning
  - c. More in support of positive liberty than the public
  - d. More willing to vote NDP
4. Most pronounced in CBC
5. The news reports in CBC are more left leaning
6. Globe and Mail are more likely to have right wing articles
7. Say it is a supply side bias, not a demand side
8. In 2011 federal election the net tone favoured the NDP, and the negative coverage of the Conservative party increased as the election went along

### Week 6

#### Clay Shirky, "The Political Power of Social Media,"

1. Social media helped to force out a national leader

2. Networked population allows for greater access to information, more opportunities to engage in public speech and enhanced ability to undertake collective action
3. Social media is a coordinating tool for the world's political movements
4. Strategic goal of strengthening civil society
5. Social media aligned with american belief of freedom of expression

#### The Perils of Internet Freedom

1. In january 2010 hillary clinton declared that the US would promote internet freedom abroad
  - a. Promote freedom to access information
  - b. Freedom to produce their own public media
  - c. Ability to converse with each other
2. Overestimation of the caule of broadcast media while underestimating private communication and local communication, also overestimates computers and underestimates cellphones
3. Authoritarian governments stie communication among citizens as they fear coordinated policies will constrain their bailey to act without oversight
4. Communicatie freedom is good for political freedom
5. Environmental view that positive changes in the country follow the development of a strong public sphere

#### Theater of Collapse

1. The fall of communism was caused by an economic change
2. The faced strong civil societies
3. The groups were able to create and disseminate literature and political documents so that the public saw alternatives to communist regimes
4. Shift in the balance of power between the state and civil society
5. Communication tools allowed people to take power from the state when it was weak
6. Need a civil society literate and closely connected
7. Opinions are transmitted by the media, then echoed by friends and families and this second step causes political opinions to form
8. The majority demanding change is far more powerful

#### The Conservative Dilemma

1. Disciplined and coordinated groups have an advantage
2. Social media reduces the cost of coordination
3. There is a shared awareness that everyone understands the situation
4. Consequences of government corruption were made publicly visible
5. When a state loses their monopoly on knowledge then they have to account for anomalies
6. If governments shut down internet then they risk radicalising, harming the economy, or signaling that something is wrong to more people
7. Norm of free speech in inherently political and not universally shared

#### Social Media Skepticism

1. Fear of slacktivism where they seek social change through low cost activities
2. Social media is not a replacement for real world action but is a way to coordinate it
3. Chinese try to prevent politically synchronizing information and minimize access



## Looking at the Long Run

1. US should increase its support for local public speech and assembly
2. Secure the freedom of personal communication
3. Promote freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly everywhere

## Malcolm Gladwell, "Small Change"

1. Protests today are defined by their tools
2. There is outsized enthusiasm for social media
3. Activism that challenges the status quo is not for the faint of heart
4. Most real world activists have a personal connection and friends in the movement already
5. Social media relies on weak ties, which give rise to the most new ideas and information
6. Social media increases participation through lessening motivation that participation requires
7. Networks are not controlled by a single authority
8. Have a hard time reaching consensus and setting goals as they have no hierarchy or leadership structure
9. Weak tie connections give information, strong ties help us persevere in the face of danger

## Politics after the Social Media Revolution

1. Allows people to be directly heard
2. Internet is on the rise
3. Concerns about fake news
4. Political parties are getting involved in social media
  - a. Easy way to target ads
  - b. Cheaper and more effective than mass media
5. Allows people to cheaply and easily access information
6. Web 1.0 was used mainly as a tool for commerce and required some knowledge of coding
7. Web 2.0 made the internet accessible to the general public
  - a. Encourages user created content
  - b. Facilitates sociality
  - c. Platforms require participation, they get better the more they use it
  - d. Personalized news feeds exist
  - e. About interaction between parties

## Perspectives on Technology

1. Liberal progressivism
  - a. Individual freedom leads to innovation and then progress
  - b. Idea of maximum freedom, negative liberty
  - c. State shouldn't tell people what to do
  - d. People are progressive being to make the world better
  - e. Technology will save society - technological determinism
2. Critical perspectives
  - a. Technology is socially situated- not independent
  - b. Same technologies can be used in good and bad ways

- c. Technology is neutral, can be used for authoritarian or democratic purposes
- d. Authoritarian technology is often large scale
- e. Democratic technologies focus on human development and try to achieve common goals
- f. Some technologies tend towards one or the other, but most rely on how they are used

### Communicating Political Ideas

1. Social media promoters argue that there has been a positive social revolution
2. Thomas Friedman said that the internet made the world more equal
  - a. Easily available computers
  - b. Fiber optic cables
  - c. Software with easy coordination
  - d. Weastern states no longer drive
  - e. Anyone who can access the network can be an equal participant of it
3. Clay Shirky - social media can contribute to a strong civil society which is a requirement for a strong public sphere and democracy
  - a. People can coordinate public action
  - b. More important for the us to promote general internet freedom
  - c. Social media cannot do everything and not all ventures are successes
  - d. Social media in the long run leads to more democracy and freedom
4. Does social media just create hegemony
  - a. Another space of class domination
5. social media is primarily based on infotainment
6. There is a commercialization of social media
  - a. Profit off of user generated content
  - b. Commodity they sell is user information for microtargeting
7. Slacktivism
8. Revolution by social media is used to describe arab spring and the occupy movement
  - a. Crucial to initial uprising and the continuing protests
  - b. New way to spread information and organize events
  - c. There is no centralized leadership
  - d. Like an offline wikipedia - everyone works together to produce something
9. The role of social media may be overstated as personal connections are far more effective
10. Social media's use was more about people in the west retweeting and tweeting comments
11. Focusing on the role of social media neglects the underlying political positions that made it inevitable
12. Occupy wall street movement
  - a. Twitter was crucial
  - b. Adbusters emailed list to subscribers to encourage them to come to the protest
    - i. Capitalize on broad circulation of image and message
  - c. Made adbusters seem like the inventors of this movement

- d. Turning point was a pepper spray video and this helped the movement to gain additional traction
- e. Origins were more complex than adbusters tweet
- f. Original event did not attract the type of attention they were looking for
- g. 77% of them had used sites to spread information about occupy
- h. The physical occupation was the part that made this movement successful

### Social Media Sceptics

- 1. The kony video was a huge success
- 2. Popular in young people and celebrities
- 3. US senate sponsored a motion to remove him from the battle field and offered a reward to bring him to the ICC
- 4. Major drop in viewership after the peak
- 5. Campaign led to a surge in their revenues
  - a. Not share what they did with this revenue
- 6. Biggest criticism was that it was simplistic and flawed as there was no examination of the underlying causes of his power
- 7. Social media allows people to have their voices heard
- 8. Posts and responses on sights are often very uncivil
- 9. Interaction with people who only share the same views as us
- 10. Web 2.0 might favour broadcast over public engagement
- 11. Reduces complex relationships to flat relationships
- 12. Malcolm gladwell -social media produces limited relationships and superficial community. Only creates weak ties
  - a. Does not lead to high risk activism
  - b. Makes the existing order more efficient, does not change the status quo
- 13. Evgeny Morozov - slacktivism - activism actions that have a limited impact
  - a. They are too easy
  - b. Often the end rather than the beginning of a cause
- 14. People will join something they know nothing about because it is easy
- 15. Declining relationships of trust
- 16. Clicktivism comes at the expense of more conventional forms of activism
- 17. Problem that the idea of awareness raising is enough to solve a problem
  - a. Social media sites are good at raising awareness but not good at creating concrete actions
- 18. May be better to get fewer people who are more committed
- 19. Good for weak tie campaigns that don't require a sacrifice

### Week 7

### Heilbroner - The Politics of Capitalism

- 1. Capitalism is a political order where some people occupy the favoured position and other do not
- 2. Governing requires the state to lay down laws and regulation for the economy
- 3. Governments intrude on economic affairs and economic affairs intrude on the governing function
- 4. If the state does not meddle in economic affairs then it has more important things to do

5. In precapitalist societies there was no economy as all the actions of production and distribution occurred but they were not demarcated from larger social and political functions
6. The collapse of the roman empire saw a rise of the merchant class
7. The economic realm did not want to abandon its dependence on the political realm
8. Smith writes a polemic about the ritual of Europe to recognise the self governing capacities of the market. Rails against meddlesome officials, recognises that government has a indeo enable role to play in ensuring that the market can continue
9. The economy has a drive for accumulation
10. The state asserts a national identity and enlarges the nations power and glory
11. Capital cannot perform its tasks without support of the state
12. The government is dependent on the healthy condition of the nonoy
13. The economy relies on the support of the state
14. Capital normally holds the upper hand
15. The state still identifies with aristocratic views and interests
16. When national sovereignty is threatened capital comes to its aid
17. Businesses seek political advantages that diminishing the energy of a competitive system
18. Economic reach of capital is larger than political reach
19. Transnational organizations have formed a world economy
20. International trade organizations are not the same as transnational ones as transnational ones establish a network of production among many nations
21. Governments are increasingly unable to cope with the intrusion of the global economy into their territories
22. Degree of inclusion is growing while defensive capabilities of the state remain static
23. Enclosure of the commons brought disquiet
24. In response the government brought in repressive legislative and regulatory measures
25. 1930s meant the destruction of the partitioning of realms, the subordination of economy to the state and facism
26. Expansion of the role of the public realm new duty to strive for was full employment
27. Keynesian economics could not claim credit for the technological underpinnings of the boom
28. Success of keynesian economics did not continue indefinitely
29. The success of the welfare state was from the prosperity of the bargaining power in labour
30. They were able to unionize and participate in wage negotiations
31. High interest rates later became a depressing effect on the economy and a widely used instrument of national public policy
32. Inflation became the economic enemy
33. Keynesianism is supposed to be for regulating the economic system and regulating its political temper
34. Aim of its socialistic tendencies was to test the outer limits of livalal capitalism
35. The economy performs best when it is the least constrained by the government
36. Locke says that individuals have the right to one their labour and bodies

37. Capitalism is a social order that is the expression and embodiment of freedom
38. Democracy has only appeared in nations where capitalism is the mode of economic organization

### McBride - Neoliberalism and Canadian Policy

1. Since Keynesianism neoliberalism has become the dominant policy
2. Emerged after the 1970s when the post war boom was officially over
3. Commonly argued that the government was spending too much money and that they were financing it through government deficits
4. The third world had cheap pools of labour
5. Deregulation of the international monetary system with the termination of bretton woods led to instability and deindustrialization
6. Industrial heartlands were turned into rustbelt
7. Social welfare came to be seen as the creator of economic distortions
8. Social welfare provisions created a more secure, educated and healthy workforce
9. Bad jobs turned into good ones that boost economic growth
10. The decommodification of a person through the welfare state enhanced the bargaining power of labour
11. Argued that in global markets keynesian policy is ineffective
12. States efforts to regulate economic activity act as a barrier to economic success in the private sector
13. Neoliberalism think that
  - a. The state is too large
  - b. Deficits are unacceptable
  - c. The tax system is in need of reform
  - d. Spending priorities are in need of revision
14. Governments thought that expenditure restraints were the way to balance the budget
15. Canada was more aggressive in expenditure reduction than the OECD average
16. Personal bore the brunt of expenditure reductions
17. Forgone tax revenues were the main accuse of deficits
18. High interest rates
19. A lot of people are employed by the state
20. Employment by the state has regressed the most, provincial employment has declined less and municipal employment has grown
21. State ownership did not totally disappear and many functions were handed over to arms length agencies
22. In the 1990s they started to outsource service delivery to private firms
23. Introduced competitive bidding
24. Wanted to increase efficiency and reduce costs
25. Transfer delivery of services and profit making opportunities to the private sector
26. The mulroney government introduced incremental change
  - a. Transformed universal programs into selective programs
  - b. Tightened eligibility requirements
  - c. Imposed ceilings on program costs
  - d. Attempted to make programs self financing

- e. Clawbacks over a certain benefit level
- 27. Declining federal transfers to provinces but transfers had less conditions
- 28. Put the financial burden on the provinces
- 29. Created a patch work of programs
- 30. Levels of support for individuals declined
- 31. The later 1990s saw budget surpluses and attempts to restore some programs, but they stopped well short
- 32. Efforts to decentralize and privatize continued
- 33. Ownership of wealth has become more skewed
- 34. Deteriorating stock of jobs, jobs that are available have decreased security

### Introduction to Political Economy & Smith's Classical Liberalism

- 1. Subsistence production - people spend time to fulfil their basic needs
  - a. Must produce things that are needed
  - b. Historically most societies followed this method
- 2. Political economy - relationship between the state and the market
- 3. Three major forms of economic organisation
  - a. Traditional - until 1600, custom determines how you distribute goods, take care of extended family
  - b. Command - decisions are made by the state, price, how many
  - c. Market economy/capitalism - economy is to some extent free from politics and government
    - i. Companies exist outside the state and are free to make their own decisions
- 4. Three phases of the development of capitalism
  - a. 1650-1930 - classical liberalism
  - b. 1930-1970 - Keynesian welfare state
  - c. 1970- today - neoliberalism

### Classical liberalism

- 1. Negative liberty
- 2. Limited government so individuals have maximum freedom
- 3. As few laws and regulations as possible
- 4. Adam Smith - wrote wealth of nations
  - a. Invisible hand of the market - private vice = public benefit - individuals pursue their own self interest and the market means that they promote the greatest good for all
- 5. Don't need to think what is good for society or what is morally right, just do what is right for you
- 6. Before capitalism greed and self interest were regarded as vices
- 7. Think of only yourselves but make society better as a whole in doing so
- 8. Shift back to classical liberalism
- 9. Smith saw the role of the state as the night watchman state- extremely minimalist state, protect from foreign engagement, internal security, build and maintain public works
- 10. Limited role for the state in this society
- 11. The market economy is dependant on the invisible hand

12. Capitalism was good at innovating
13. Joseph Schumpeter - capitalism has a destructive character as the market is always improving
14. Piles of unwanted goods and workers are left behind

#### From the Keynesian Welfare State to Neoliberalism

1. Adam Smith's idea was dominant until the Keynesian welfare state
2. Keynesianism involved a shift from negative to positive
3. This occurred in all industrialized economies
4. Took full flight after WW2
5. Inspired from John Maynard Keynes - state has a necessary and positive role to play in society
  - a. Challenge of laissez faire economics
6. Argues that the market is fatally flawed and if left alone it falls into economic depression
7. Smith thought the market had booms and busts, but the market was able to correct itself
8. Keynes argued this was wrong as during economic downturn they are less likely to invest and they begin to lay off workers which creates an unemployment problem and people are no longer able to buy goods
  - a. Downward spiral in GDP
9. GDP Aggregate demand method = consumption + investment + government spending + (exports - imports)
  - a.  $C + I + G + (X - M)$
  - b. Keynes sees the solution lies in G or increasing government spending
  - c. Government needs to invest into private investors are confident enough to continue investing
  - d. This prevents an inescapable economic crisis
  - e. Continues employment
10. To increase G the government must either go into deficit or tax the wealthy
11. State is a stabilizing force that evens out the cyclical nature of the economy
12. Justified the development of extensive social programs
13. Two ways of influencing the economy
  - a. Monetary policy - raising and lowering interest rates
  - b. Fiscal policy - raising or spending money
14. Keynesianism expanded fiscal policy
15. Created the welfare state and the social safety net
16. Increase the power of workers (collective bargaining and unionization)
17. These programs reduced inequalities as they helped the poorest of the society
18. Safety net allows people to survive and contribute to the economy even if they lose their jobs

#### Shift from Keynesian to Neoliberalism

1. Shift from Keynesian fiscal policy to monetarism
2. Governments should fight inflation not employment
3. Deficit spending led to inflation
4. Shifted from demand management to supply side economics
  - a. Say's law - supply will create its own demand

- i. Encourage production and then let the invisible hand sort itself out
  - b. Tax cuts for the wealthy and businesses as they create jobs
  - c. Worst of all will be taken care of through trickle down economics
- 5. Social programs are inflationary and distortions of the market
- 6. Not always easy to change policy
- 7. Generally want to reduce government's role in the economy, when this is not possible they want to increase public private partnerships
- 8. Neoliberal policies
  - a. Want free trade
  - b. Increased tax cuts
  - c. Debt reduction
  - d. Deregulation
  - e. Decentralization
  - f. Individualization - universal to targeted policy
  - g. Subcontracting and public-private partnerships
  - h. Privatization

### The Politics of Privatization

- 1. Keynesianism large projects were justified as they created jobs
- 2. Neoliberals think that the government should stay out of it and promote privatization
- 3. Private companies are more interested in maximising profits than benefiting the population
- 4. Theory that private companies are more efficient
- 5. Selling public companies off decreases government spending and decreases governments economic risk
- 6. Selling of public assets give immediate injections of cash
- 7. Government however loses the profit that it would produce once it is up and running
- 8. The government is no longer able to control what the public company does
- 9. Neoliberals believe in austerity as governments cut spending

### Week 8

#### Tax isn't a four-letter word - Alex Himelfarb

- 1. Canadians have more benign views of taxes and have accepted taxes as a way of providing services and avoiding the worst of inequality
- 2. Neoliberalism thought the government should get out of the way of the market and this could be done through cutting taxes
- 3. Idea emerged that taxes are somehow separate from the goods and services that they buy
- 4. Constant assault on government waste erode public trust in the government
- 5. Mistrust of the government means that we are no longer in support of things that would serve our collective interests, and rather we go off on our own
- 6. As we cut taxes inequality rises
- 7. The rich believe that they are the job creators
- 8. Taxes are an investment in the future
- 9. We should ask the rich to pay more



### 21st century Canada is not 18th Century France - Mark Milke

1. Will Durant history and says that by the late 1700s serfdom had largely disappeared, but most French peasants were still subject to feudal dues
2. This would have faded over time
3. After demands from the lord, church and state they were left without half their earnings
4. Upper class was exempt from this
5. The richest in Canada pay a larger percentage of taxes than they should based on earnings
6. Inequality has barely budged
7. Growth in real income outpaced the explosive population
8. Market does the best when they had open road entrepreneurial ship, predictable government
9. Income As also provide the necessary revenues to continue to run the government

### Tax Me I'm Canadian - Mark Milke

1. Social justice activists today seem more interested in the buzzwords used
2. The tax and spend crowd assume that the large government is responsible for a community
3. Taxes started to be cut but the provincial government covered it
4. Canada has progressive taxes - pay more tax as you move up on the pay scale
5. Those who earn more also spend more tax as they buy more things
6. When governments focus on equality it often results in less wealth for everyone]Argentina once had a high GDP but they took under anti-wealth schemes and this resulted in low investment, fewer jobs, less competition for workers
7. Markets are unable to fix all problems
8. They can however guard against one entity having a full monopoly
9. Free markets allow for freedom, opportunity, creativity and ingenuity
10. Diminishing returns in terms of taxation
11. Intrusive governments imposed in the 1980s
12. Some people want to regulate societies to choke off wealth creation
13. Some provincial politicking can be unhelpful
14. Provinces need each other more than anyone can recall
15. People want no new sources oil or natural gas to be extracted anywhere ever

### Framing the New Inequality: The Politics of Income Redistribution in Canada - Keith Banting and John Myles

1. Canada struggles to define the new inequality and the social stresses it brings
2. Inequality frame confronts the conventional wisdom of the elites
3. Primacy of political parties in guiding policy development in Canada
4. Parties have turned away from conventional anti poverty ideas to a vaguely defined middle class
5. Dramatic increases in the earnings of the top 1 percent while the middle class remains stagnated

### Empirics of New Inequality

1. Lack of data on the current levels of inequality
2. Inequality began rising in the 1980s and then leveled off in the 2000s

3. Transfers and taxes offset the rise until 1994
4. After this there was a sharp rise in inequality as there were tax and social assistance cuts
5. Virtually all income gains in Canada have gone to the top 10 percent
6. The poverty rate is either stable or declining
7. Ideological change to the labour market as the middle is hollowed out

#### Contending Political Frames: Poverty and the New Inequality

1. Social problems do not start off fully formed, they are interpreted, defined and framed
2. In pluralist democracies the political energy to overturn conventional wisdom comes from electoral
3. Evolving anti poverty rhetoric
4. Inequality was closely identified with poverty and they were used interchangeably
5. Anti-poverty frame defines the population in need of redistribution as a statistical minority
  - a. Attribute being poor to their bad behavior (undeserving poor) or their misfortune, often attributed to structural causes (deserving poor)
6. Framing of redistributive policy in continental Europe was framed as a workers problem
  - a. Issue of how to integrate a modern industrial working class that supports socialist political movements
  - b. They provided a social insurance welfare
7. Social infrastructure in Canada is built to not only meet the needs of the poor but Canadians in general
8. In the late 1960s Canada rediscovered poverty
9. 1970s they launched the social security review which restructured social programs to direct them at the poor
  - a. Move away from universal to single integrated income tested benefits
10. Idea of a negative income tax/guaranteed income emerged
11. Embrace the metaphor of social inclusion and focus on groups that face multiple barriers to entry into the mainstream society
12. Primary indicator of exclusion was a long-term poverty rate
13. The rich are getting richer but the poor are not getting poorer
14. The success of the occult movement changed the narrative from a poverty story to an inequality story
15. The rise of the 1% is a benign phenomenon, a sign of an innovative economy
16. High levels of inequality can have negative impacts - slower economic growth, diminished equality of opportunity, declining responsiveness of democratic governments
17. 1% are few in number and employ skilled accountants to avoid tax
18. Image of the mass middle class emerged in the post war decades
19. Policy elites believe that capitalist ups and downs could be managed through a macroeconomic policy
20. Combination of globalization and post industrialism is destroying middle class jobs
21. Decline in the proportion of workers receiving middle class earnings as the proportions receding high and lower earning increased
22. Average real incomes have been stagnant
23. Relative earnings of younger adults and poorly educated have fallen in the past 30 years

24. Policy changes have weakened the redistributive impact of the tax and transfer system
25. Social policy is supposed to respond to the strains confronting the majority
26. Governments now content with slow economic growth and politically driven decline in government revenue
27. Raising taxes on the top third would generate more revenue than targeting the top 1%

#### Politics of a New Policy Frame

1. Politics is a three front war - battle of ideas, organized interests, and a battle of political parties
2. Inequality frame that opposes income redistribution runs counter to the embedded policy thinking and preferences of strongest organized interests in the country
3. The OECD during the 90s became enthusiastic about a social investment model where governments cut back passive programs to make markets more flexible and increase social investment and active labour market programs to invest in human capital rather than redistributing income
4. After WW2 there was an expectation that the war-related tax increases would be rolled back, but this did not happen
5. In the 1970s with the failure of Keynesianism the idea emerged that the tax system should be more concerned with equity and that capital gains should be taxed at lower rates, and that progressive taxes have disincentive effects, tax mix should shift to using income taxes to consumption taxes and fiscal elites became disillusioned with the idea to using tax incentives to achieve goals - all resulted in an increasingly complex tax system
6. Income taxes were introduced based on the ability to pay
  - a. Only for the highest income earners
  - b. They moved down the income scale but maintained their progressive character
7. Canada lacks the corporatist institutions that mean organizations are social partners and make labour market and social policy regulation
8. Influence of civil society advocates has weakened and union membership has declined
9. Bottom third of Canadians are less likely to turn out to vote or participate in other ways
10. Power has shifted from social policy departments to departments of finance and the prime minister office
11. Power has also shifted from the federal to the provincial level
12. Canada has always relied heavily on political parties
13. Coalition builder is executive federalism - process of intergovernmental negotiations among federal, provincial and territorial governments
14. Redistribution policy is especially sensitive to shifts in party politics
15. Canadian electoral politics have never been class based and they are less likely to vote along class lines
16. However there has been increased sorting as parties take firmer stances on the issue
17. If middle class voters align with the top they clamour for tax cuts
18. Left wing parties have been courting segments of the middle class including women, precarious workers, and salaried professionals
19. Introduced a series of child and family centered reforms
20. There is an emotional appeal of lower taxes and less spending
21. Risk aversion and a declining trust in government

22. Tax increases for high income earners seem politically sustainable
23. Parties focus on the middle class, not the poor, and did not adopt a war on poverty frame
24. Proposition that middle class voters would see their interests allied with those of higher income groups

### Conceptions of Equality

1. Economists do not see the market as a political being
2. Political economy sees the state as playing a role in the economy, but can play a larger or smaller role
  - a. Neither is better, societies choose them and what says something about their values

### Concepts of Equality

1. A continuum
2. Inequality of right/hierarchy - majority of resources are held by a minority of people
  - a. Believed for classical conservatism
  - b. Apartheid, segregation
  - c. Monarchies, dictatorships
3. Equality of right - everyone has an equal starting point in the eyes of the law
  - a. Classical and neoliberalism
  - b. Law is difference blind, but the state has no role in ensuring social or political equality
  - c. Meritocracy
  - d. The wealthy have earned their place
  - e. People don't actually start off in equal positions
  - f. Money and connections give more opportunities
4. Equality of opportunity - without assistance we can't expect the poor to achieve the same, poor have to work significantly harder
  - a. Work to ensure that everyone starts off at the same level
  - b. Keynesianism
  - c. Access to the tools that they need
  - d. Has measures to prevent discrimination
5. Equality of result - people have different abilities
  - a. Wrote about marx - from each according to its ability to each according to their need
  - b. Should be redistribution to eliminate or reduce classes
  - c. A social justice approach
  - d. Complete equality will never be obtained, but is a worthy aspiration

### Left-right Ideological Spectrum - Two Simplified Continuums

1. Socialists vary in supporting equality of result
2. Communists take result more seriously
3. All are opposed to laissez faire économique
4. Liberals believe that equality of result hurts meritocracy - those who work harder should get more

### Assessing Canadian Inequality

1. Is Keynesian welfare state of neoliberalism better

2. Keynesian welfare state period had a higher GDP
  - a. Post war reconstruction
  - b. Not clear that neoliberalism is better for economic growth
3. Measuring economic inequality - meaning quintiles, 1/5th
  - a. Largest income gains were made by the highest quintile
  - b. Gain comes at the expense of the middle quintiles
4. Shrinking middle class
  - a. No consensus on what the middle class is
  - b. One approach is income level - middle three quintiles
  - c. Band around the median income - 50% -150% the median income
    - i. Middle class has declined, while those above and below has shot up
  - d. Hollowing out effect
  - e. Status or occupation - mainly white collar workers, declining as work is increasingly precarious
  - f. Personal identification - what class people think they fall under
    - i. Less people are defining themselves as middle class
  - g. Define middle class in relation to the means of production - most people are working class as they do not own the method of production
    - i. Bourgeoisie are self employed, owners
5. GINI coefficient is a measure of income inequality
  - a. Ranges from 0-1
  - b. 1 - one person has everything
  - c. 0 - everyone is exactly equal
  - d. The tax system makes it slightly more equal
  - e. Even after tax has increased since 1980
  - f. Begins in particular after 1990
  - g. 1995 social programs began being slashed in Canada
  - h. Canada is a little better than the US but is worse than northern European countries
  - i. South Africa is the most unequal
6. The incomes in the top 10 and 1% rise during the neoliberal period
7. Concerns about CEO pay as it is increasing
8. The government can choose to pursue or not pursue higher taxation for the highest income earners
  - a. Tax on the richest have actually gone down as there are less tax brackets
  - b. Tax rates used to be 84% for millionaires
  - c. Does not take into account being paid in stocks, as stocks are taxed less

#### Progressive tax vs Regressive

1. Progressive is based on ability to pay
  - a. Example is income tax
2. Regressive - tax rate decreases as income increases
  - a. Harder on the poor than rich
  - b. Those with significant wealth are better at avoiding taxes
3. Flat taxes and fees

- a. The same for everyone
- b. Seem to be natural, but it takes up more of a poor person's income
- c. Examples are speeding tickets
- d. Follow the benefit principle rather than the ability to pay principle
- e. They are regressive in practice because they impose a larger burden on the poor

### Debating Inequality

- 1. Discussions of taxes and inequality go hand in hand
- 2. Wealth taxes are made to make people more equal
- 3. Lower gini coefficient countries have more progressive taxes

### Arguments against inequality

- 1. Moral to have roughly the same
- 2. People should all be able to live a decent life
- 3. What are people really going to do with so much more money
- 4. Do rich people actually work harder
- 5. Nobody can make money alone
- 6. wealthy people owe what they have to their community
- 7. Equality benefits the economic and social well being of the community
- 8. Social problems are associated with poverty
- 9. Health and social problems are worse in more unequal countries

### To much equality already

- 1. The poor are much better off than in the past
- 2. Absolute poverty has been decreased
- 3. Government should focus on the poor rather than equalization
- 4. The government should only address the worst problems
- 5. Puts forward an anti-poverty frame - consistent with pragmatic neoliberalism
- 6. Critics cataract inequality and neglect income mobility
- 7. Criminals don't report their income so there is not as much income inequality
- 8. Critics of inequality argue for policies that would be counterproductive
- 9. People should just pursue their own interests and let the invisible hand do its thing
- 10. The remedy for poverty is opportunity (trickle down economics)
- 11. When economies tank it is the poor that suffer the most
- 12. Attacks on wealth creation is unwise as it prevents investment
- 13. The overall tax load should reduce to that there is increased growth, development and innovation
- 14. When the economy grows it benefits everyone
- 15. The richest parts of society are already overtaxed and they are widely progressive

### Week 9

### Is precarious work really as bad for the economy as everyone says it is? - Peter Taylor

- 1. Canadians think that they are suffering from precarious employment
- 2. Idea of the precariat
- 3. Government has given part time workers higher wages and more rights
- 4. Idea that the government needs to shelter people from the gig economy
- 5. The majority of part time or temp work is a conscious choice
- 6. The share of part time employment hasn't changed since 1993

7. Precarious work is an issue for Canada's youngest workers
8. One of the best ways for young people to get their foot in the door is to have non-standard arrangements
9. Higher minimum wages have a negative impact on younger workers

### Precarious Employment

1. The economy is in a transition
2. Post world war there was an increasingly equitable distribution of income and more unions and government support
3. After this there was a spread of precarious employment
4. Prevalence of secure, full time employment with benefits is in decline
5. Increase in temporary, insecure, freelancing and gig jobs
6. Young workers are starting at a lower wage and often have to work as unpaid interns
7. Neighborhoods are becoming more polarized
8. Women are more likely to be in most precarious forms of employment
9. Radicalized workers have more unstable employment
10. Evictions, debt, and payday loans are on the rise
11. Insecurity delays household formation and the starting of families
12. Creates poorer mental and physical health
13. Even better paid workers in the knowledge sector get short-term contracts and freelance

### Standard Employment Relationship

1. Post war offering employment stability was a competitive advantage
2. Stability improved companies bottom lines as it would allow employees to be better consumers and buy more products
3. They offered pensions, health benefits, and job security
4. Unionization and the building of a welfare state began
5. Supports helped to mitigate market-based supports
6. Greater security meant greater community, volunteer and political participation
7. Beginning in the 1970s there were more dual income homes and a rise in less secure employment
8. Necessary to have a second wage earner
9. Women got more part-time, temporary and short-term employment that was not seen as a career
10. Opened to new markets and they had to compete with workers in other countries with different labour standard
11. Most services that used to be delivered by public sector workers were contracted out to non-profit organisations that had employment based on fixed-term contracts
12. EI would take the sting out of being unemployed and people would not be as motivated to go back to work
13. Even those who have permanent contracts still knew their situation could change rapidly

### How Many Workers are in Precarious Employment

1. Rose from 7% in 1996 to 11% in 2015
2. 1 in 10 workers in Canada
3. Often a disguised form of employment

4. A SER is a single employer that is full-time, ongoing and provides benefits as well as a wage or salary
5. They created a different way to measure who is in a SER and got different numbers

#### Employment relationships and Household well being

1. When people are in unstable employment they delay getting married and having a family
2. May live together to get benefits of marriage without finalizing it
3. Renting may be a better option
4. Increase tension in home as children cope with varying flows of unemployment
5. Women take more responsibility in managing the social effects including reassuring children and budgeting
6. Immigrants are often unable to take advantage of their advanced training
7. Find it more difficult to develop friendships at work
8. More likely to see their volunteer activities as a strategy to develop work contacts
9. Non-profit agencies compete for funding and contracts to run programs previously run by governments
  - a. This means their employees are also contract workers
10. The labour system is under resourced, complaint driven, and it does not protect many workers
11. The residency system means extended separation between parents and their families
12. Workers do not passively accept what is being offered and instead participate in political activism and unions

#### What is Precarious Work?

1. Good jobs have benefits, good pay, security, good conditions, good hours, fulfilling, room for advancement
2. Bad jobs are often called precarious work
3. Short term contract work is the new norm and these jobs are on the rise
4. People often work for one job, but are on short term contracts
5. Precarious work has existed for a long time and has taken different forms
  - a. During classical liberal phase - long hours, poor conditions, injuries, no additional compensation, fired on a whim
  - b. Led to worker struggle, 10 hrs act in the UK
  - c. Worker struggles led to agreements between the state and workers and the companies
  - d. Keyneian state created the SER - standard employment relationship, often unionised, male breadwinner model
6. Standardised work - ford - gave more money, less hours, led to more productivity, workers could buy cars
  - a. Formed a key pillar of the welfare state
7. PC 103 gave workers a better ability to negotiate, could stop unions from working on collective bargaining strikes while negotiating
  - a. Compromise so there are benefits to both
8. Still many excluded for the SER
  - a. Women, racialised, immigrants
9. SER is now less dominant



10. Neoliberalism saw a movement to NSERS (non-standard employment relations) - part time, contract, short term, self employment
11. Not all non-standard forms are precarious
12. Rise in precarious employment from 1976
13. precarious employment exists on an index, not every job is as precarious
  - a. Secure, stable, vulnerable, or precarious are the ratings used

### Perspectives on Precarious Work

1. After neoliberalization meant that companies pushed for better laws for employers
2. More things were automated or shipped overseas
3. Post-fordist or flexible production
4. Employers want as little employees as possible
5. Things are shipped out of house to be made
6. Reduced the bargaining power of lower skilled workers
7. Workers had to accept every job that was available
8. Creation of a global precariat
  - a. Floating, rudderless and angry
  - b. Prone to practicing populism and the extreme right or left
9. Precarity effects
  - a. Mental health
  - b. Economic equality
  - c. Household well being
  - d. Ability to care for children
  - e. Likelihood of experiencing discrimination
  - f. Less likely to vote
10. Could not be a problem
  - a. Most workers choose their type of work
  - b. Non-standard jobs are entry level, often students
  - c. Trying to cure with more rights and higher minimum wage will make companies less likely to hire
  - d. State is too rigid so the company cannot adapt
  - e. Employers want flexibility to move and fire bad workers, temp employees are lower, benefit package requires a longer commitment
  - f. Contract work and labour flexibility is better for companies
11. Neoliberals see it as flexibility not precarity
  - a. Allows them to shift their efforts to other jobs
  - b. Employers can move them around and respond to the market
  - c. Easier to fire so they can be less careful in hiring them
12. Possible responses
  - a. Neoliberalism - increase flexibility, reduce state control
    - i. No minimum wage
    - ii. Less Labour regulation
    - iii. Discourage unions
  - b. Keynesians and others
    - i. Support for unions

- ii. Income security such as EI
  - iii. Minimum wage
  - iv. Argue they shouldn't be able to opt out of union dues
- c. Scandinavian flexicurity model
  - i. Support for collective bargaining
  - ii. Strong social programs
  - iii. Upgrade skills of those in low wage work

### **Week 10**

#### **Milke - Why Europe is Wrong About Canada's Oil Sands \_Fraser Forum, Jan-Feb 2012\_**

1. Want to assign a higher carbon emissions value for Canadian oil
2. Could lead to trade tensions
3. Europe would import more from countries with poorer civil, political and economic rights
4. Calling them tar sands is incorrect as tar comes from distilling coal
5. Most of it is steamed out which is a smaller ecological footprint
6. The carbon cost of transporting oil should also be taken into account
7. Unconventional oil like Canada's is predicted to play a much larger role in the future
8. Europe is focusing on the environment over human rights
9. This distinction may be considered to be protectionism and prohibit other trade

#### **Nikiforuk - Tar Sands, Dirty Oil and the Future of a Continent \_2008\_ - Selections**

1. Canada's geodesity is provoking the US with bitumen
2. Northern Alberta is the last remaining oil field
3. Canada and Alberta do not have a plan for the tar sands and have surrendered to global demands
4. Bitumen is redefining the destiny of Canada and has influenced its foreign policy
5. It is the world's largest energy, capital and construction project
6. Canada will soon provide the US with 1/3 of its oil while relying on imports
7. The SPP has planned to create a North American pipeline system and this integration will produce a political integration
8. Now the cleanest oil has been used it now demands the mining of the dirtiest
9. Bitumen is the most water intensive oil project
10. Large tailing ponds and impounds of toxic waste
11. Tailing ponds leak into groundwater
12. To steam bitumen they burn natural gas
13. Canada uses fossil fuels to accelerate their extraction
14. Extraction will destroy large areas and diminish biodiversity
15. Oil hinders transparent program and fiscal accounting
16. Canada is failing to develop alternative energy supplies for Canada
17. Canada enriches a few companies, hollows out the economy, destroyed ecology, consumes natural gas supplies, and erodes sovereignty
18. Have become too tolerant of politics, should use wealth to be a part of the solution
19. Individuals need to make a change

#### **Chapter 2 - It Ain't Oil**

1. Canada is the only non-OPEC country with growing oil deliverability
2. Canada has the biggest oil sands

3. Some see referring to them as tar sands as greenie spea
4. It is a very dirty oil product
5. It has a tar-like viscosity
6. It contains more carbon than light crude
7. Very abrasive
8. Open pit mines are an environmental freak show
9. Other is gained by steaming or melting out of the ground
10. Costs 20 times more than conventional crude, sells for half the price
11. Has 63% greater volatility
12. Has to be diluted to be pumped through a pipeline

#### 12 steps to energy sanity

1. Admit magnitude and complexity of the crisis - transition from oil to retiring it in 2030
2. Slow down development and cap production - puts albertans in control
3. Establish national strategy - see it as an interim supply, end subsidies
4. Impose carbon tax with 100% dividend - return taxes to the public to encourage buying energy saving products
5. Challenge law of petropolitics
  - a. Mandate transparency and freedom of information
  - b. Separate corporate tax oil revenue from general revenue to build a national sovereign fund
  - c. Reassert accountability in tax regimes
6. Challenge continental energy integration - get energy autonomy instead
7. Relocalized food production
8. Abandon carbon capture and storage and make public investments instead
9. Orient planning to renewable energy
10. Pick lowest hanging fruit first - make a regulatory program
11. Don't wait for government
12. Renegotiate NAFTA to get more oil sovereignty

#### Nikiforuk - The Energy of Slaves, Oil and the New Servitude - Prologue

1. Petrostates claim they have better civilization but they have created energy slaves that are dependant on coal or oil
2. It is a matter of dominion
3. We are slave to petroleum and its masters

#### From the Economy to the Environment: Can the Two be Reconciled?

##### Documentary

1. Focus on Marilyn Waring
2. Former NZ MP
3. Author of *If Women Counted*
4. Point is that the system of national income counting is limited
  - a. Ignores the value of women

##### GDP

1. Growth - growth of the GDP
2. GDP measures all the economic activity that happens in a country
3. One way to measure is aggregate demand formula

- a. Increases in consumption, investment or government spending leads to growth
- 4. If any consumption creates gdp then it does not make a distinction between constructive and destructive environmental activities
- 5. Externalities0 a set of effects of transaction on a person not party to those transactions
  - a. Ex people suffer from health determinants from oil pollution
- 6. GDP is a calculating machine that does not acknowledge things that are not for monetary gain but that are good
- 7. There is a limit of GDP as a measure of societal welfare
  - a. No account of depletion of natural resource
  - b. Counts things like family breakdowns as economic boons
  - c. Ignores non-monetary transitions
  - d. Does not consider the distribution of income

#### Alternatives to GDP

- 1. Many alternatives
- 2. Best known is the HDI - looks at people and their capabilities
- 3. Inequality adjusted HDI
- 4. Some take into account resource depletion
- 5. Defenders of GDP argue that these indicators try to give indicators to things that are contested, how to measure what is a loss, no consensus on if inequality is bad
  - a. GDP is simple, clear, fairly accurate, does not make value judgements

#### Environmentalism

- 1. Relatively new thing
- 2. Can be traced to Rachel Carson's Silent Spring

#### Hardin's Tragedy of the Commons

- 1. Environment is not owned by anyone
- 2. It requires collective action
- 3. It cannot be solved by one actor as it is interconnected
- 4. This is difficult to achieve in a society based on the free market
- 5. Adam smith's idea of the invisible hand means individual gain, but this does not help the environment
- 6. If one person become an environmentalist there is no great improvement, but instead a capitalist would come along and use the additional resources that the environmentalist tried to preserve
  - a. This is the free rider problem
- 7. This is addressed as a form of market failure in typical economics and it is a zone where government involvement is necessary
- 8. Under laissez faire economics factory owners have no incentive to have environmental practices as they cost more
- 9. A non-solution is appealing to moral conscious as this is unlikely to convince all people
- 10. First solution is public coercion to use regulation, incentives and penalties to stop people from doing things and coordinate a response
- 11. Second solution is enclosures - privatize the commons so that owners are forced to bear the costs of degradation

- a. When enclosure is not possible people often support labeling of goods so that people are aware of their source, thus the market can supply what people want
- b. Idea that states should try to stay out

### Perspectives on the Environment and the Oil Sands

Two orientations towards environmental politics

1. Limits to growths
  - a. There is a finite world that can only support a finite population
  - b. Limit to carrying capacity
  - c. Not possible for everyone to consume the way north americans do right now
  - d. They support sustainable development - meet present needs without compromising the needs of future generations
  - e. Took off after the brundtland report
2. Promethean approach
  - a. We can overcome through innovation, or we are a long way off from meeting this limit
  - b. Liberal progressivism approach - individual freedoms turns into innovation and progress
  - c. Does Not deny global warming necessarily, but many do

Should oil sands be developed

1. Yes
  - a. Created GDP growth which allows for positive social programs
  - b. Lots of economic benefits to oil sands including government revenue and jobs
  - c. Oil sand technology improvements mean that it is now less destructive to the environment - in-situ method that uses steam and gravity to be less destructive
  - d. Oil sands are not as bad in well to wheels measure - canadian oil sands are only 6% worse than most oil in the US - consumption effects are the same no matter where the oil is from
  - e. Oil sands are better than other sources of energy as canada is freer and has a better human rights record
2. No
  - a. Strip mining and tailing ponds are clear environmental destruction
  - b. In-situ is still negative because there is lots of infrastructure needed and it needs other energy sources to extract
  - c. There are social problems, traffic issues, there is a transient problem, high poverty, high divorce rates
  - d. Profit motivated energy corporation's free ride as much as possible
  - e. There are lots of negative externalities
  - f. Concerns about energy addiction and consumerism

### Week 11

Talaga - Prologue, in *Seven Fallen Feathers* (2017)

1. Thunder bay has a white side and a red side
2. Rivers were once the highways of fur traders and the meeting places for indigenous people
3. Today they are dotted with industry

4. Colonials have constructed their important buildings of power and governance
5. The government can't decide what level of government is responsible for the reserve
6. It was there that Canadian nation-building began
7. Church sent missionaries to convert indigenous children
8. By the 20th century, the fur trade had dried up leaving indigenous people destitute and dependent on the goods they had been trading for
9. They were not schooled in western culture or did not fit into the dominant British society
10. Nuns created orphanages, they filled up quickly
11. The orphanage turned into a residential school
12. Some children went willingly, while others didn't
13. They were often forced to go by the RCMP
14. September 30th is now orange shirt day to commemorate the survivors

#### Maynard - On State Violence and Black Lives (in Policing Black Lives, 2017)

1. Disproportionate levels of state sanctioned violence and neglect of black people
2. Experience hostile treatment and heightened surveillance
3. State violence has remained uncriticized due to silence
4. Canadians assume it to exist but in another time or in the US
5. There is a lack of public data collected
6. Canada phases it as an american issues
7. Canada is imagined as a beacon of tolerance and diversity resting on the historical role as a safe haven during the slave trade
8. Black Canadians are disproportionately subject to arrests for violence, drugs, and prostitution related offences
9. Racial inequalities with respect to income, housing, child welfare, access to education, healthcare, and application of drug laws
10. Only 3% of the population but 1/3 of those killed by police
11. Incarcerated at 3x their population rate
12. Punished again by deportation
13. Overrepresented in state and fostercare
14. They are more likely to be expelled from highschools
15. After indigenous they are the poorest racial group
16. State is imagined to be a protector but it protects some at the expense of others
17. The violence the state commits is usually accomplished within the scope of Canadian law
18. State violence is not distributed equally
19. Anti-black racism can be traced back to the transatlantic slave trade

#### Race and Racial Subordination

1. Blackness was invested at the advent of the transatlantic slave trade as they tried to erase the hunger for years of contact between Europe and North Africa and justify the subordination of black people
2. Criminality, danger and deviance became assigned to blackness
3. They commit relatively similar levels of crimes but bear the burden of criminal stigma
4. Explicit hatred and hate crimes are no longer acceptable
5. Official equality means little when the state is perpetuating and neglecting to act in the face of racial subjugation, neglect and other forms of violence

6. Black people are presumed to be guilty in advance
7. Black and indigenous oppression is historically and currently connected
8. There is a relationship between the genocidal settlement project and the logistics of enslavement
9. Indigenous people are seen as being in the way and they want to destrputhemto get unfettered access to indigneous land
10. Want to eradicate indigenous people though assimilation or genocide
11. Blakc personhood is under attack as the slave is a useful commodity but the person underneath is imprisonable, punishable and murderable

#### In Defence of all Black Lives

1. All black people are not demonized equally or identically
2. There is a research forcus on young black heterosexual men
3. Black people are harassed and arrested because of their blackness. This affects who we see as deserving of state violence and protection
4. We risk ignoring the systems of black refusal, subversion, resistance and creativity that have flourished
5. We need to look at the subversive tactics of ordinary people and the spectacular feats

#### Hansen - Assimilation by Stealth, Why Canada's Multicultural Policy is Really a Repackaged Integration Policy (in The Multiculturalism Question, ocr)

1. When people immigrate we quietly assimilate them and turn them into polite, king modest and earnest people
2. Integration - process through which the income, earnings and educational achievements of migrants come to match the levels of the native born
3. Assimilation - assumption and attitudes of migrants about the norms of everyday life and their hopes come to match those of their co-citizens
4. Multiculturalism means that the migrants culture is not merely possibly tolerated but actively encouraged and fostered
5. At its heart is says that everyone's lifestyle and culture has equal validity and moral stature
6. Canada has devoted a very small amount of money to a multiculturalism project
  - a. Most of the money goes to language training
7. Most immigrant children attend public schools
8. Idea to extend school funding to all religious schools was very unpopular
9. Canadian immigration system focuses on getting them into work

#### Punitive Success of Multiculturalism

1. Multiculturalism is canada is consistently popular
2. Immigration is consistently popular
3. Immigrants naturalized in particularly high numbers
4. Immigrants are more economically successful in canada than in the US
5. They tend to concentrate in a few ontario ridings

#### Defining Multiculturalism

1. Multiculturalism can be thick or thin
2. Thick multiculturalism - migrants integrate through their own culture and their privilegate their own culture over national laws, customs and traditions

3. Thin multiculturalism - a right to one's culture insofar as the expression of this harms no one and is consistent with national laws and human rights culture
4. No liberal democracy attacks freedom of religion or association in principle
5. Non-democracies culturally homogenized and are constitutionally hostile to multiculturalism
6. Thin multiculturalism tends to have people privilege their ethnic category over other aspects of their identity creating a high degree of residential and personal segregation

#### Multiculturalists in Theory, Assimilationists in Practice

1. Discussions in Canada around what is reasonable accommodation
2. Canadians in general came down in favour of assimilationist positions

#### Effect of Multicultural policies on migrant integration

1. Canada's multicultural program play almost no role in the successes of immigration
2. Canada selects migrants with high educational levels who value education for their children

#### So what is all the fuss about

1. Federal government has an interest in exaggerating their impacts
2. The government sponsors research into it
3. Reports embellish the evidence
4. Canada get highly skilled migrants because of the points system
5. Canadian settlement policies encourage more political participation
6. Canada is obsessed with discovering the essence of who they are
7. Can no longer defined by social programs because we can no longer afford them and they were never as good as northern Europe
8. Canadian nationalists consistently endorse nationalism

#### Assessing Canadian Multiculturalism

1. Canada is a country mostly made up of immigrants
2. For the most of its history most came from Western Europe
3. Now, they come from all over the world
4. Expected the proportion of minority groups will grow
5. 22% of Canadians identify themselves as members of a visible minority group
6. Despite this growing diversity there is the question of if Canada is
  - a. Multicultural
  - b. bi or tri cultural - English, French, Indigenous
  - c. dominated by Anglophones (monocultural) - other cultures must conform to these
7. Ethnic diversity is highly concentrated in urban centers
8. Stats can predict they will grow to about 30% of the population
9. Question of does it matter if minorities are visible or not
10. Idea of race refers to physiological features with a biologically determined attribute
11. Nazis use of race theory led to the spread of the idea of racism
12. Contemporary definition - race is a classification based on outward or visible traits
13. Does the group decide to define themselves in some way or is this imposed on them
14. There can be positive reasons for identifying with a group
15. Problem is racialization - attributing meaning to real or created characteristics
16. Racialized groups do not choose the ways in which they are oppressed



17. Race can be problematic category when meaning are attached to these physical characteristics that are said to define this racial type
18. Visible minority is a less controversial term as it has less history
19. Other terms that can be used are ethnic or cultural group
20. Race refers to biological characteristics while culture or ethnicity refer to socially created and adopted ones
21. Concepts of culture and ethnicity are considered preferable as they reflect positive tendencies and inclusion, concept of race is associated with falsely being grouped according to biological notions of identity
22. People tend to define themselves by a common history or culture
23. Ideally groups are able to define how they are different, this is not imposed on them
24. How do we know when groups are choosing their identity vs when it is imposed on them
25. Residential schools tried to assimilate indigenous children
26. Some Asian groups faced discrimination such as head taxes as well
27. This discrimination continues today in slightly less obvious forms
28. Racial profiling plays a large role and it makes them criminals by the way that they are policed, this identity is imposed on them
29. Racialized Canadians face high levels of poverty
30. Covid-19 has disproportionately affected racialized groups and indigenous people because of the conditions that they live in, more crowded, cannot take a day off

### Perspectives on Canadian Multiculturalism

1. 1971 - Trudeau declared Canada would declare a multicultural policy
2. Canadian multiculturalism was part of a larger trend across the west
3. Many western states were forced to develop these
  - a. Increasing immigration and demographic diversity
  - b. Growing rights consciousness
  - c. Attention of the right to vote
4. Been constitutive and part of the Canadian identity in many ways
  - a. More of a sense that a person must accept some US values to be an American
  - b. Hansen reading says that more money is spent on assimilating than embracing many cultures
  - c. Supported by 2 sections of the charter
    - i. Prohibits discrimination
    - ii. Interpret based on multicultural heritage
    - iii. 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act - recognise and promote understanding that the government should recognise and promote multiculturalism and racial diversity and preserve right of people to preserve their culture
5. Hansen takes a critical view at official multiculturalism
  - a. Did not spend very much money
  - b. Much was spent on integrating them into Canadian society
  - c. Success of Canadian multiculturalism is mostly based on the integration of the immigration system

- d. Canada's approach is about assimilation, getting jobs, learning the language and fitting in
  - e. Thick and thin multiculturalism
  - f. Most liberal democracies have thin multiculturalism
  - g. Thick is where the majority culture is superior and actively fostered
  - h. Thick is a very radical approach
  - i. Which culture has the power to decide which cultures will be recognised and which won't be
    - i. Would have to be official and unofficial
  - j. Hansen does not advocate thick multiculturalism
6. Harper said that niqab comes from an anti-women culture
- a. This would privilege Canadian culture over minority cultures
  - b. Their culture is not being actively supported