

POLI 427/CANS 406: The Politics of Social Policy in Canada (3 credits)

Fall 2021 (Section 001)

Instructor

Daniel Béland, Professor of Political Science and Director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada

Classroom: ENGMD 279

Class hours: Wednesdays and Friday at 2:35-3:55 pm [shorter lectures during weeks featuring at least one virtual guest speaker]

Office hours: Wednesdays from 4:30 to 6:00 pm

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Course Overview

This course explores the politics of social policy in Canada, with a specific focus on the evolution of different social policy instruments (i.e. programs) over time. More specifically, the course studies the politics of social policy change by comparing/contrasting reform dynamics across specific policy areas such as health care, pensions, family policies, and unemployment benefits. Such a comparative approach draws on the best available scholarship to make the students aware of important similarities and differences across policy areas within the Canadian welfare state. Because of the nature of Canada's political system, special attention is given to federalism and the relationship between Ottawa and the provinces in social policy reform. Overall, the course should 1) provide a broad, theoretically informed overview of the politics of Canadian social policy in comparative perspective and 2) allow students to understand social programs and the factors shaping their evolution over time.

Textbook (available at the McGill bookstore or, for the electronic copy, through University of Toronto Press: <https://utorontopress.com/ca/changing-politics-of-canadian-social-policy-second-edition-3>)

Rice, James J. and Michael J. Prince. 2013. *Changing Politics of Canadian Social Policy* (second edition) Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Other Readings

All the other readings are listed below, and they are available online through the McGill library system, MyCourses, or the URL provided at the end of the reference.

Course Requirements

There are three written assignments, all of which should be submitted on MyCourses by 11:59 pm ET on the due dates specified in bold in the course schedule provided below: 1) a take home

midterm (students have 7 days to answer the questions sent by the instructor); 2) a short paper (2500-3000 words excluding references) on one of the topics suggested by the instructor (double-spaced; Chicago style with in-text citations and reference list); 3) and a take-home final exam, for which questions will be posted on MyCourses exactly a week before the official exam date, to be announced later during the semester by the McGill exam office. All written assignments should be double-spaced and submitted electronically (instruction will be provided on MyCourses).

Attendance and participation are required: students must attend lectures and participate in class discussion regularly.

All the assignments should be double-spaced and formatted using Chicago Style with in-text citations (author/year system); the strict word counts provided above for the op-ed and the take home essay exclude the references. Please do not share your assignments with classmates ahead of submission. *These are individual assignments and university rules about cheating and plagiarism will be strictly enforced.*

Grade Distribution

Midterm: 25%

Short Paper: 30%

Final Exam: 40%

Attendance and participation: 5%

Extraordinary Circumstances

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

Copyright

All slides, video recordings, lecture notes, etc. remain the instructor's intellectual property. As such, you may use these only for your own learning (and research, with proper referencing/citation) ends. You are not permitted to disseminate or share these materials; doing so may violate the instructor's intellectual property rights and could be cause for disciplinary action.

Language of Submission

In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. This does not apply to courses in which acquiring proficiency in a language is one of the objectives. (Approved by Senate on 21 January 2009)

Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté (sauf dans le cas des cours dont l'un des objets est la maîtrise d'une langue).

Academic Integrity

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/ for more information). *L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par tricherie, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon le Code de conduite de l'étudiant et des procédures disciplinaires (pour de plus amples renseignements, veuillez consulter le site <http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity>).*

Course Schedule and Readings

Week 1 (01/09; 03/09): Capitalism and Welfare Regimes

Readings: Béland and Mahon, 2016: 1-42; Esping-Andersen, 1990: 9-34.

Week 2 (08/09; 10/09): Historical Legacies

Reading: Rice and Prince, 2013: 1-114.

Week 3 (15/09; 17/09): Retrenchment and Restructuring

Readings: Rice and Prince, 2013: 115-137; Pierson, 1996; Bashevkin, 2000; Béland, Prince and Weaver, 2021.

Week 4 (22/09; 24/09): Globalization, Diversity, and Racial Inequality

Virtual guest speaker: Debra Thompson; a recording of the talk is available on YouTube:

<https://youtu.be/gqt-4soVnSs>

Readings: Rice and Prince, 2013: 138-218; Banting and Thompson, 2021.

Week 5 (29/09; 01/10): Gender Relations and Civil Society

Reading: Rice and Prince, 2013: 219-320.

Week 6 (06/10; 08/10): Federalism, Social Policy, and Indigenous Peoples

Virtual guest speaker (MyCourses video): Ben Geboe

Readings: Banting, 2005; Béland and Weaver, 2019; Taylor, 2020; Papillon, 2019.

Week 7 (13/10; 15/10): Fall Break (No Lectures)

Week 8 (20/10; 22/10): Taxation, Fiscal Federalism, and Equalization Policy

Readings: Tilly 1985; Jacques, 2020; Béland, Lecours, Marchildon, Mou and Olfert, 2017: 1-52.

Week 9 (27/10; no lecture on 29/10): Housing and Homelessness

Virtual guest speaker (MyCourses video): Alison Smith

Podcast (URL to be distributed via email and MyCourses): Nick Falvo

Readings: Hulchanski, 2007; Doberstein and Smith, 2015; Young, 2019.

Week 10 (03/11; 05/11): Employment Insurance, Welfare Reform, and Poverty Reduction

Virtual guest speaker (MyCourses video): Charles Plante

Readings: Hale, 1998; Boychuk, 2015; Smith-Carrier and Mitchell, 2015; Plante, 2019.

Midterm due on 03/11

Week 11 (10/11; 12/11): Health Care

Virtual guest speaker (MyCourses video): Amélie Quesnel-Vallée

Readings: Maioni, 1997; Martin et al., 2018; Hacker, 2004; Gildiner, 2007.

Week 12 (17/11; 19/11): Federalism, Education, and Family Policy

Virtual guest speaker (MyCourses video): Jenn Wallner

Readings: Wallner and Marchildon, 2019; Mahon with Prince, 2019; Arsenault, Jacques and Maioni, 2018; van den Berg et al. 2017: 3-20; 146-174.

Week 13 (24/11; 26/11): Aging and Old-Age Pensions

Virtual guest speaker (MyCourses video): Patrik Marier

Readings: Marier and Van Pevenage, 2017; Employment and Social Development Canada. 2018; Béland and Myles, 2005.

Week 14 (01/12; 03/12): Social Policy Responses to COVID-19 and Review

Virtual guest speaker (Podcast to be shared online): Don Sheppard

Readings: Béland, Dinan, Rocco, and Waddan, 2021; Béland and Marier, 2020; Lightman and Baay, 2021.

Short paper due on 01/12

Take home final exam: the instructor will distribute the questions and detailed instructions via email and MyCourses one week (7 days) before the official exam date (TBA). The take home will be due at 11:59 ET on the official exam date (online submission through MyCourses).

Readings

Arsenault, Gabriel, Olivier Jacques, Antonia Maioni. 2018. "What makes Quebec such an outlier in Child Care?" *Policy Options*, April 24. URL: <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/april-2018/what-makes-quebec-such-an-outlier-on-child-care/>

Banting, Keith G. 2005. "Canada: Nation-Building in a Federal Welfare State" in Herbert Obinger, Stephan Leibfried and Frank G. Castles (eds.), *Federalism and the Welfare State: New World and European Experiences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 89-137. Electronic version of the book available on McGill library website; search for book title before downloading chapter.

Banting, Keith and Debra Thompson. 2021. "The Puzzling Persistence of Racial Inequality in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. doi:10.1017/S0008423921000585 Reading available on MyCourses.

Bashevkin, Sylvia. 2000. "Rethinking Retrenchment: North American Social Policy during the Early Clinton and Chrétien Years," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 33(1): 2000: 7-36. PDF available on MyCourses.

Béland, Daniel and Patrik Marier. 2020. "COVID-19 and Long-Term Care Policy for Older People in Canada," *Journal of Aging & Social Policy*, 32(4-5): 358-364. Reading available on MyCourses.

Béland, Daniel, Shannon Dinan, Philip Rocco, and Alex Waddan. 2021. "Social Policy Responses to COVID-19 in Canada and the United States: Explaining Policy Variations Between Two Liberal Welfare State Regimes," *Social Policy & Administration*, 55(2): 280-294. Reading available on MyCourses.

Béland, Daniel and Rianne Mahon. 2016. *An Advanced Introduction to Social Policy*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. PDF available on MyCourses.

Béland, Daniel and John Myles. 2005. "Stasis amidst Change: Canadian Pension Reform in an Age of Retrenchment." In Giuliano Bonoli and Toshimitsu Shinkawa (eds.), *Ageing and Pension Reform around the World*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing: 252-272. PDF available on MyCourses.

Béland, Daniel, Michael J. Prince, and R Kent Weaver. 2021. "From Retrenchment to Selective Social Policy Expansion: The Politics of Federal Cash Benefits in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming). PDF available on MyCourses.

Béland, Daniel and R. Kent Weaver. 2019. "Federalism and the Politics of the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans," *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy*, 35(1): 25-40. PDF available on MyCourses.

Boychuk, Gerard W. 2015. "Federal Policies, National Trends, and Provincial Systems: A Comparative Analysis of Recent Developments in Social Assistance in Canada, 1990-2013" in Daniel Béland and Pierre-Marc Daigneault (eds.), *Welfare Reform in Canada: Provincial Social Assistance in Comparative Perspective*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 35-52. Electronic version of the book available on McGill library website; search for book title before downloading chapter.

Doberstein, Carey and Alison Smith. 2015. "Housing first, but affordable housing last The Harper government and homelessness" in Teresa Healy and Stuart Trew (eds.), *The Harper Record 2008-2015*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. URL: https://www.policyalternatives.ca/Harper_Record_2008-2015/18-HarperRecord-Doberstein-Smith.pdf

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Assigned material available on MyCourses.

Employment and Social Development Canada. 2018. *Social isolation of seniors—Supplement to the social isolation and social innovation toolkit: A Focus on New Immigrant and Refugee Seniors in Canada* [only read pp. 2-19] URL: <https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/canada/employment-social-development/corporate/seniors/forum/social-isolation-immigrant-refugee/social-isolation-immigrant-refugee-seniors-EN.pdf>

Gildiner, Alina. "The Organization of Decision-making and the Dynamics of Policy Drift: A Canadian Health Sector Example," *Social Policy & Administration*, 41(5): 505-524. PDF available on MyCourses.

Hacker, Jacob S. 2004. "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 243-60. PDF available on MyCourses.

Hale, Geoffrey E. 1998. "Reforming Employment Insurance: Transcending the Politics of the Status Quo," *Canadian Public Policy*, 24(4): 429-451. PDF available on MyCourses.

Hulchanski, J. David. 2007. *Canada's Dual Housing Policy Assisting Owners, Neglecting Renters*. Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies (University of Toronto). URL: <http://www.urbancentre.utoronto.ca/pdfs/researchbulletins/CUCSRB38Hulchanski.pdf>

Jacques, Olivier. 2020. "Funding the state: Taxation in Canada from a comparative political economy perspective" in Elsbeth Heaman and David Tough (eds.). *Who Pays for Canada?* Montreal-Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press. PDF available on MyCourses.

Kneebone, Ronald and Katherine White. 2014. *The Rise and Fall of Social Assistance in Canada, 1969-2012*. Calgary: The School of Public Policy (University of Calgary). URL: <https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/kneebone-white-social-assistance.pdf>

Lightman, Naomi and Courtney Baay. 2021. "Will COVID-19 finally force us to address the devaluation of long-term care workers?" *Policy Options*, March 18. URL: <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/march-2021/will-covid-19-finally-force-us-to-address-the-devaluation-of-long-term-care-workers/>

Mahon, Rianne with Michael Prince. 2019. "From Family Allowances to the Struggle for Universal Childcare in Canada" in Daniel Béland, Gregory P. Marchildon, and Michael Prince (eds.), *Universality and Social Policy in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 83-102. PDF available on MyCourses.

Maioni, Antonia. 1997. "Parting at the Crossroads: The Development of Health Insurance in Canada and the United States, 1940-1965," *Comparative Politics*, 29(4): 411-431. Reading available on MyCourses.

Marier, Patrik and Isabelle Van Pevenage. 2017. "Three competing interpretations of policy problems: tame and wicked problems through the lenses of population aging," *Policy and Society*, 36(3): 430-445. Reading available on MyCourses.

Martin, Danielle, Ashley P Miller, Amélie Quesnel-Vallée, Nadine R Caron, Bilkis Vissandjée, and Gregory P Marchildon. 2018. "Canada's universal health-care system: achieving its potential," *The Lancet*, 391: 1718–1735. URL: <https://www.download.thelancet.com/action/showPdf?pii=S0140-6736%2818%2930181-8>

National Housing Strategy. 2018. *Canada's National Housing Strategy: A Place to Call Home*. 2018. Ottawa: Government of Canada. URL: <https://www.placetocallhome.ca/-/media/sf/project/placetocallhome/pdfs/canada-national-housing-strategy.pdf>

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

Pierson, Paul. 1996. "The New Politics of the Welfare State," *World Politics*, 48(2): 143-179. PDF available on MyCourses.

Plante, Charles. 2019. "Policy or window dressing? Exploring the impact of poverty reduction strategies on poverty among the Canadian provinces," *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy*, 35(1): 112-136. PDF available on MyCourses.

Rice, James J. and Michael J. Prince. 2013. *Changing Politics of Canadian Social Policy* (second edition) Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Smith-Carrier, Tracy and Jennifer Mitchell. "Immigrants on Social Assistance in Canada: Who Are They and Why Are They There?" in Daniel Béland and Pierre-Marc Daigneault (eds.), *Welfare Reform in Canada: Provincial Social Assistance in Comparative Perspective*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 305-322. Electronic version of the book available on McGill library website; search for book title before downloading chapter.

Taylor, John Leonard. 2020. "Indigenous Peoples and Government Policy in Canada," *Canadian Encyclopedia*. URL:

<https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/aboriginal-people-government-policy>

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. PDF available on MyCourses, pp. 169-191. URL:

<http://globalization.qwriting.qc.cuny.edu/files/2010/09/warmaking3.pdf>

van den Berg, Axel, Charles Plante, Hicham Raiq, Christine Proulx, and Sam Faustmann. 2017. *Combating Poverty: Quebec's Pursuit of a Distinctive Welfare State*. Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Wallner, Jennifer and Gregory P. Marchildon. "Elementary and Secondary Education: The First Universal Social Program in Canada" in Daniel Béland, Gregory P. Marchildon, and Michael Prince (eds.). 2019. *Universality and Social Policy in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 63-82. PDF available on MyCourses.

Wiseman, Michael and Martynas Yčas. 2008. "The Canadian Safety Net for the Elderly," *Social Security Bulletin*, 68(2): 53-67. URL: www.ssa.gov/policy/docs/ssb/v68n2/v68n2p53.pdf

Young, Margot. 2019. *Policy Brief: National Housing Strategy*. Ottawa: Broadbent Institute.

https://www.broadbentinstitute.ca/margotyoung/policy_brief_national_housing_strategy