Brief Table of Contents

Chapter 1  The Game of Politics
            Concepts and Institutions  1

Chapter 2  The Context and Ideas of Government
            Cohesion, Division, and Identity  15

Chapter 3  The Constitutional Framework
            Rules for Government and the Political Game  51

Chapter 4  Contested Federalism
            The Division of Powers and Financial Resources  73

Chapter 5  Québec Nationalism and Aboriginal Peoples
            Equality and Justice  91

Chapter 6  The Executive
            Ceremony and Leadership  114

Chapter 7  Parliament
            The Public Arena of Politics  138

Chapter 8  Public Administration
            Democracy, Bureaucracy, and Public Policy  165

Chapter 9  The Administration of Justice and Human Rights
            Courts, Police, Prisons, Public Security, and Terrorism  181

Chapter 10 Parties and Interest Groups
            Teams in the Game  204

Chapter 11 Elections and Political Behaviour
            The Contests and the Messengers  231

Chapter 12 Canadian Foreign Policy
            Constraints, Opportunities, and Sacrifice  263

Chapter 13 Ethics in Canadian Government and Politics
            Honesty and Corruption  284

Endnotes 294

Further Reading 300

Glossary 303

Index 311
**Detailed Table of Contents**

| Preface ix |
| Acknowledgments xiii |

### 1 The Game of Politics

- **Learning Objectives** 1
- Games and Institutions 2
- States and Nations 3
- Politics, Power, and Institutions 5
- Law and Policy 7
- Types of Government: Democracy and Authoritarianism 7
- Democracy: Procedural and Substantive 8
- Canadian Democracy 10
- Issues Canadians Argue About 11
- Issues and Institutions 13
- Discussion Questions 14

### 2 The Context and Ideas of Government

- **Learning Objectives** 15
- Shared Fundamentals 16
- Geography 16
- Economy 17
- Demography 18
- What Unites Canadians? 19
- Political Culture 20
- Political Values and Beliefs 20
- Political Attitudes 22
- Shared Political Ideas, Customs, Traditions, Symbols, and Heroes 22
- What Divides Canadians? 24
- Political Ideas 24
- Identity and Ethnicity 29
- Age 30
- Class 30
- Region 35
- Gender 37
- Religion 41
- French-Speaking Canadians 42
- English-Speaking Canadians 43
- Visible Minorities 46
- Aboriginal Peoples 47
- Discussion Questions 50

### 3 The Constitutional Framework

- **Learning Objectives** 51
- Constitutional Principles 51
- Constitutional Laws and Conventions 52
- Individual and Collective Rights 52
- The Rule of Law 53
- Common Law and Statutory Law 53
- Key Institutional Arrangements 54
- Development of the Canadian Constitution 54
- British North America Act, 1867 55
- Other Constitutional Documents 56
- Interpreting the Constitution 56
- Constitutional Amendment 57
- Bringing the Constitution Home 59
- Québec and Constitutional Patriation 60
- The New Canadian Constitution 62
- Amendment Formulas 62
- Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms 64
- Did Canada Need a Charter? 64
- What Is in the Charter? 65
- The Meech Lake Accord and Langevin Amendment 67
- Post-Meech Efforts at Constitutional Change 68
- The Charlottetown Accord and the 1992 Constitutional Referendum 69
- Discussion Questions 72

### 4 Contested Federalism

- **Learning Objectives** 73
- The Division of Powers and Financial Resources 73
- The Concept of Federalism 73
- Origins of Canadian Federalism 75
- The Federal–Provincial Division of Powers 76
- Issues over the Division of Powers 77
- Shifting Patterns of Canadian Federalism 79
From 1867 to the Late 1950s 79
The 1960s to the Early 2000s 80
Money and Federalism 81
Key Concepts: Conditional Grants, Unconditional Grants, and Spending Power 82
Key Funding Mechanisms 83
Fiscal Arrangements in Flux 85
The New Systems during Contested Federalism 86
Key Issues: Health and Social Programs 87
Discussion Questions 90

5 Québec Nationalism and Aboriginal Peoples

Equality and Justice 91
Learning Objectives 91
Nationalism 92
Roots of Québec Nationalism: Early French–English Conflicts 93
Language Issues: Past and Present 94
Modern Nationalism in Québec 97
The Québec Referendum, 1980 97
Constitutional Patriation (1982) and Its Aftermath 98
The Québec Referendum, 1995 99
Federal Post-Referendum Response 100
Ottawa’s Questions and the Supreme Court’s Answers Concerning Unilateral Secession 101
Is the Constitution Merely a Red Herring? 102
Nationalism and Self-Determination 103
Québec’s Major Grievances 104
The Rights of Aboriginal Peoples 106
Land Claims and Other Land Issues 107
Issues over Resource Development on Disputed Aboriginal Lands 109
Self-Government 111
Equality and Justice 112
Discussion Questions 113

6 The Executive

Ceremony and Leadership 114
Learning Objectives 114
The Formal Executive 115
The Crown and Monarch 115
The Governor General and Lieutenant-Governors 115
The Political Executive 118
The Prime Minister 118
Canada’s Prime Ministers 119
The Prime Minister and Government 122
Cabinet and Ministry 122
Minority and Coalition Governments 128
Problems With Minority Governments 129
Central Agencies 130
The Prime Minister’s Office 130
The Privy Council Office 130
The Treasury Board 132
The Department of Finance 132
Political Executives: Canada and the United States Compared 133
Does The Prime Minister Have Too Much Power? 134
Assessing Prime Ministers: Greatness or Mediocrity 135
Discussion Questions 137

7 Parliament

The Public Arena of Politics 138
Learning Objectives 138
The Parliament of Canada 138
The Origins of Canada’s Parliament 139
The Functions of Canada’s Parliament 140
The Life Cycle of Parliament 140
The House of Commons 142
The Functions of the House of Commons 142
Members of Parliament 142
Rules of the House 143
Organization and Officers of the House of Commons 144
Daily Routine in the House of Commons 146
Committees in the House of Commons 148
Passing Legislation 149
Types of Bills 150
How Laws Are Passed 150
Parties in Parliament 153
Inside Parliamentary Parties 153
Relations among Parties in Parliament 154
The Senate 156
The Functions of the Senate 158
The Senators 159
Rules of the Senate 160
Organization and Officers of the Senate 160
Senate Reform 160
The Senate and the Supreme Court Reference Case, 2014 163
Discussion Questions 164
## Contents

### 8 Public Administration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democracy, Bureaucracy, and Policy</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Learning Objectives</strong></td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration, Bureaucracy, and Bureaucrats</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucracy and Democracy</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structures of Federal Bureaucracy</strong></td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Government Departments</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Agencies</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Servants and Policy-Making</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Public Service</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who Works in the Public Service?</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Budgets, Deficits, and Debts</strong></td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Control of the Bureaucracy</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary Committees</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitoring Agencies</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are More Reforms Needed?</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Discussion Questions</strong></td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9 The Administration of Justice and Human Rights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Courts, Police, Prisons, Public Security, and Terrorism</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Learning Objectives</strong></td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Legal System</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts as Arenas for Solving Disputes</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Organization of the Court System</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Changing Role of the Supreme Court: Positive or Negative?</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Impact of Charter Decisions on Human Rights: Positive or Negative?</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality and Legal Cases Since the Charter of Rights and Freedoms</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics and the Supreme Court</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Forces: Enforcers of Law and Government</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of Policing</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Prison System: Final Recourse</strong></td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of Prisons</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Liberties, Terrorism, and Security Policy</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism in Canada</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Communications Security Establishment</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Discussion Questions</strong></td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 10 Parties and Interest Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teams in the Game</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Learning Objectives</strong></td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parties and Party Systems</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parties and the Party System in Canada</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theories about the Party System</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Parties in Canada</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Liberal Party</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Conservative Party of Canada</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New Democratic Party</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bloc Québécois</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Green Party of Canada</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Organization</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Structure</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Membership</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Leaders</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Financing</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parties at Work</strong></td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Conventions</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Conventions and Leadership Reviews</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interest Groups and Movements in Canada</strong></td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Interest Groups</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest Groups and Lobbying</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targets of Interest Group Activity</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Discussion Questions</strong></td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 11 Elections and Political Behaviour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Contests and the Messengers</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Learning Objectives</strong></td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Elections in Canada</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Electoral System and its Rules</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When Are Elections Called?</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Are the Number of Seats and Constituency Boundaries Determined?</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who Can Run and Who Can Vote?</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Electoral Participants: Coaches, Players, and Referees</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Electoral Stages: From Dissolution to a New Government</strong></td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral Preparations and the Campaign</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Vote</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who Pays for Elections?</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Rules for the 2015 General Election</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluating Electoral Financing</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preface

The sixth edition of *Canadian Government and Politics in Transition* provides a concise, current analysis of the country’s most important political institutions, processes, and issues in the twenty-first century. The October 19, 2015, Liberal election victory was in large part due to a desire for change. While policy differences showed up to some degree in the party platforms, there was little objective evidence that voter choice was based on the detailed stances of parties and leaders. Justin Trudeau simply offered a clear, “sunny” alternative to Stephen Harper. Trudeau now has the opportunity to govern the country—a process quite different from campaigning in an election.

Textbook authors need to be scrupulously fair about the various parties and individuals in the political process and analyze political and state institutions with sophistication and without bias. They are not part of the process in the way journalists sometimes aspire to be. After all, democracy is a deliberative process and there are always conflicting viewpoints about people, process, and policy. When the political system is weak or broken, political scientists need to say so, and there is no doubt in our minds that many obstacles remain in the way of good governance in Canada.

In this book, we systematically describe and dissect the key elements of federal institutions, providing relevant history to help place them into context. We also address the major current issues and difficulties affecting Canadian governments today. Political and other leaders need fundamental grounding in the functioning of Canadian government, and this is best achieved at college and university, and certainly before citizens engage in the hurly-burly exercise of political action. Therefore, we provide novel analysis concerning:

- The October 19, 2015, general election and the victory of Justin Trudeau and his Liberal majority government
- The impact of three consecutive Conservative governments, especially the 2011 majority government of Stephen Harper, on Parliament, politics, and specific hot-button topics that make up the country’s business
- The foreign and defence policies of the country as well as the security measures put in place after the terrorist attacks on Canadian territory and in the United States, and their impact on civil liberties
- Political issues of particular interest to young people, such as youth unemployment, funding for colleges and universities, and other relevant topics
- Controversial issues such as when the Constitution makes necessary and significant change virtually impossible and how Parliament, when it cannot find ways to legislate, often leaves important ethical decisions for the courts to decide
- The lack of serious media activities such as in-depth investigations of difficult policy issues while relying on titillating sagas about Senate scandals and prime ministerial arrogance
This book is intended for courses at the university and college level, for Canadian studies courses in the United States and abroad, for the general reader, and possibly for advanced politics and government courses in schools. As such, it is to a large extent about understanding the basic elements of our political institutions and processes.

Underpinned by studies of the economic and social environment, as well as the Constitution, federalism, and nationalism, the text distinguishes between types of institutions. State institutions include the executive, bureaucracy, legislature, the courts, and judicial administration, including police and prisons; political institutions include political parties, interest groups, and elections. We have added a new chapter on foreign policy. The book concludes with a chapter on ethics in Canadian government, a current and ongoing issue in politics and government.

Our method in writing this book has been to provide the maximum amount of information on Canadian institutions in a brief and orderly fashion, summarizing vast amounts of information, data, and ideas under multiple headings to facilitate easy access to the material. In so doing, we have also attempted to capture the excitement, vitality, and importance of Canada’s political institutions and political leaders. The goals are to inform and to encourage critical thinking and active citizens.

As usual with our books, there is a degree of constructive criticism and balanced argumentation with an overall tone of optimism throughout. There are solid reasons to look optimistically to the future. Canada holds enviable relations among the world’s states. Unity continues to be an underlying issue, but does not define Canada. Canadians have moved on to confront other challenges of the twenty-first century. Vital decisions about economics and public security will be made within the present federal institutions of Canada—organizations that are unlikely to undergo fundamental change for many years—despite honeymoon expectations of vast improvements in the way that Canada should be governed.

NEW TO THE SIXTH EDITION

We have added chapters and made numerous updates to the sixth edition of the text:

- Chapter 1, “The Game of Politics,” focuses on the foundations of Canadian government and politics, but updates the current issues that Canadians argue and negotiate about.
- Chapter 2, “The Context and Ideas of Government,” offers a new section on political ideas in politics as well as increased coverage of the issues concerning demography, class, Aboriginal peoples, and women as part of the external context of politics in Canada. Newly available census data are used to update social and demographic trends.
- Chapter 3, “The Constitutional Framework,” continues to provide a concise overview of the current problems of constitutional developments in Canada and to include important new Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms cases.
- Chapter 4, “Contested Federalism,” updates the often divisive issues and developments in federal politics, including shifting patterns of economic well-being.
Chapter 5, “Québec Nationalism and Aboriginal Peoples,” assesses past and current events and ideas in the area of nationalism and Aboriginal affairs.

Chapter 6, “The Executive,” and Chapter 7, “Parliament,” have been totally reframed in light of the 2015 election of a Liberal majority government in Ottawa. The new institutions are analyzed.

Chapter 8, “Public Administration,” brings budgetary issues up to date, including recent Conservative budgets and Liberal proposals for change.

Chapter 9, “The Administration of Justice and Human Rights,” contains vital material on security policy, institutions, and civil liberties in light of the 9/11 aftermath and domestic terrorism in Canada.

Chapter 10, “Parties and Interest Groups,” and Chapter 11, “Elections and Political Behaviour,” have been completely revised to reflect changes in political parties, political leadership, new electoral rules, and the 2015 election, with analysis of how well the electoral system works and how it might be changed.

Chapter 12, “Canadian Foreign Policy,” outlines Canada’s foreign and defence challenges. It overviews all of Canada’s historical military expeditions, as well as contemporary policies in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria, and specific issues of political concern such as pipelines and Arctic sovereignty.

Chapter 13, “Ethics in Canadian Government and Politics,” succinctly studies issues related to ethics in government and politics and highlights the Senate abuse issues of the twenty-first century.

Throughout, this new edition of Canadian Government and Politics in Transition brings up to date the political events and research of recent years. These have been politically exciting times, with dramatic changes and policy evolution. The Conservatives have been reduced to Official Opposition status and the New Democratic Party has lost strength in Québec and Ontario. The 2015 general election reversed a decade of Conservative ascendancy in the country and ushered in a majority government under Justin Trudeau, son of former prime minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

PEDAGOGY

This textbook uses the following pedagogical aids to help students understand the material more easily and to reinforce concepts:

- Learning Objectives appear at the beginning of each chapter and list what students should accomplish after reading the material.
- Key Terms appear in boldface in the running text, with definitions located in the margins. The terms also appear, with corresponding page numbers, in the Glossary at the end of the book.
- Close-Up boxes provide topical issues and events for interest and discussion.
- Discussion Questions relevant to the topics discussed end each chapter; these questions will help students to test their knowledge of the material.
- Further Reading, found at the end of the book, provides a list of supplementary reading material.
- The Glossary, also at the end of the book, lists key terms with their respective definitions and first-reference page numbers.
SUPPLEMENT

The Test Item File for Canadian Government and Politics in Transition helps instructors to easily create and print quizzes, tests, and exams, as well as homework or practice handouts. It contains 40 questions per chapter, in Word format, in multiple-choice, fill-in-the-blank, short answer, and true/false formats, graded into three levels of difficulty (easy, moderate, and difficult), and is available for download from the password-protected section of Pearson Education Canada’s online catalogue. Navigate to your book’s catalogue page to access these supplements. See your local sales representative for details and access.
Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the following reviewers for their insightful and very helpful remarks: James Baker, Memorial College; Anne C. Charles, Conestoga College; Christian Leuprecht, Royal Military College of Canada; Eva St. Jean, Northern Lights College; Paul Whyte, North Island College; Nelson Wiseman, University of Toronto.

We are also indebted to Starla Strain for her sunny and loyal assistance as well as to excellent colleagues at both Carleton University and the University of Redlands for their interest and stimulation. Over many years, colleagues at both Oxford and Cambridge Universities have been another significant source of inspiration and friendship.

We are also grateful to our friends and colleagues at Pearson Education Canada who, once again, provided exactly the right mix of encouragement, expertise, and assistance. They include Matthew Christian, Claudine O’Donnell, Madhu Ranadive, Christine Langone, Pippa Kennard, Sarah Ellen Horsfall, Yasmita Hota, and Erica Mojzes. It has been a joy to work with professionals of such high calibre.

We dedicate this book to the many students—past, present, and future—whose perceptive questions about, and enthusiasm for, Canadian government and politics make teaching and research a worthwhile and satisfying vocation.

—Robert J. Jackson and Doreen Jackson

Carleton University, Ottawa
University of Redlands, California
February 2016