

*****Syllabus is not to be distributed to non-students of the course or posted online by students of the course*****

POS4151 – Provincial and Municipal Politics in Ontario

Instructor: Ryan Kelpin

Contact: kelpinry@yorku.ca

Office Hours and Location: To be determined/SR612B

Description of Course

This course provides a comprehensive survey of contemporary politics revolving around municipal politics in Ontario and the governing relationship between both levels of government. Surveying different perspectives and analytical lenses, this course will provide a historical overview of the history of the political economy in Ontario as a whole and as it relates to local governance. Due to the limitations of the course, much of the readings that discuss the institutional arrangement between Ontario and its municipalities will focus on Toronto. This will also allow for more specific readings regarding austerity and neoliberalism as it exists in Toronto.

Readings will cover Canadian political science institutionalist readings of federalism, but critically analyze them through recent scholarship in Canadian political science and critical urban theory. Three key themes will be focused on through the duration of the course: *The Historical Implications of the Constitutional Relationship*; *Understanding Space and Scale*; *Neoliberal Urbanism and Austerity in Ontario*. The goal of the course is to give upper-year students the critical and analytical tools to interrogate governance in Ontario and its cities and understand the effects of capital and neoliberalism on the spatiality and materiality of politics at multiple scales.

Required Texts

Greg Albo and Bryan Evans, eds. (2019). *Divided Province: Ontario Politics in the Age of Neoliberalism*

available online and at the York University book-store

*All other readings will be accessible online and/or provided to students

Grade Breakdown

Participation – 20%

Presentation – 15%

Reflections on Readings/Themes (Two) – 20% (2x10)

Final Paper – (Proposal) 10% (Final Draft) 35%

Course Requirements

Participation: All students are expected to come to seminar having done the assigned readings and thought critically about the material that will be discussed. Students should be prepared to contribute to discussions through the use of well-thought-out questions, comments, and/or observations about assigned material and how it relates to the wider course or contemporary events. You will be graded on the *quality* of your class contributions, and not merely on the *quantity*.

Presentation: You will be expected to do one presentation at some point during the year reflecting on critically analyzing the assigned reading(s) from a given week. Presentations are not to be linear summaries of the readings, but are meant to showcase how you understand and relate that week's material to the wider implications of the material from the course and the actualization of politics in Ontario. This requires you to engage with the material deeply and effectively take a partial role in the leading of class discussion through providing discussion questions about aspects of the articles that you find important and interesting.

Reflections on Readings/Weekly Themes: You are required to submit **TWO** critical reflection papers (2-3 pages each, double spaced) throughout the duration of the course. You will have a choice of any weeks for both, but one must be on your presentation week (which you can also choose, spots permitting). These reflections require you to succinctly analyze what you thought was important from the assigned week's readings and its associated theme(s), as well as how it relates to critical understandings of concepts like "power" and "democracy".

*Reflections are due the night **BEFORE** class.

Major Research Essay

- 1. Proposal/Draft:** You are required to prepare a two-page draft of your initial claims, thesis, and associated research (bibliography) that you will be using to formulate your major research essay. This will be used to provide feedback on your approaches, theoretical analysis, and evidence that you aim to utilize, with the goal of helping you to improve or focus more on specifics within your layout.
- 2. Major Research Essay:** You will choose to write on a topic relating to course themes and material covered in the assigned readings. This will enable you to focus in on more depth and research more fully on an area of interest to you from within the course. The length of the essay is 12-15 pages and requires you to provide both deep analysis and showcase a critical understanding of how to utilize sources and evidence to compose research to bolster your claims.

Policies on Written Assignments

Late Reflection Papers: Will not be accepted or counted towards the requirement of three for the course.

Late Papers: All papers are due in (or before) seminar on the due dates indicated. Late papers will be penalized at the rate of 2% per day (including weekends). Extensions will be granted for medical or compassionate reasons only, in consultation with myself and pending appropriate documentation.

Submissions: All assignments are to be submitted via email (kelpinry@yorku.ca)

Academic Integrity: Please read the materials on academic dishonesty attached to this course outline. Violations are subject to severe penalties, which can easily be avoided by observing the basic rules of academic citation. All papers must be fully and properly referenced, and must include a bibliography (or “works cited” page). To ensure you are familiar with these rules, along with the guidelines attached to this course outline, please review Spark Academic Integrity Module at http://www.yorku.ca/spark/academic_integrity/index.html

LECTURE AND READING SCHEDULE

*******Reading list subject to possible (very) minor revisions*******

Week 1: Course Introduction

- Introduction the overall structure and goals of the course
- Volunteering for presentation dates

Week 2: Federalism and Its Origins

This week’s readings will explore the foundations of federalism and the institutional legacy that continues today in Ontario. This week will give students the tools to understand how Ontario’s governing institutions are designed and function in relation to the federal government and municipalities.

Readings:

Daniel Henstra, “Local Government and Politics in Ontario”, in Cheryl N. Collier and Jonathan Malloy, eds. (2016). *The Politics of Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Russell, Peter. *Constitutional Odyssey: Can Canadians Become a Sovereign People?* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. (**chapter selection not determined yet**)

Graham, K.A. and Phillips, S.D. “Who Does What” in Ontario: The process of provincial-municipal disentanglement. *Canadian Public Administration*, v. 41 (2) 1998: 175-209.

Robert Drummond, “New Bargains? Ontario and Federalism in the Neoliberal Period”, pp. 187-211 (*COURSE TEXT*)

Recommended: Cameron, David and Richard Simeon. “Ontario in Confederation: The Not-So Friendly Giant.” in *The Government and Politics of Ontario*. edited by Graham White. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997

Week 3: The Political Economy of Ontario

This week will provide the introduction to understanding Ontario and municipal politics through a political economy lens. **Politics** is the realm of power, government and citizenship; **economics** is the domain of well being, production, and markets. **Political economy** tries to transcend this duality. It links and integrates the two spheres into a single study: the study of how power and well being shape the development of society.

Readings:

Greg Albo, “Divided Province: Democracy and the Politics of State Restructuring in Ontario”, pp. 3-41 (*COURSE TEXT*)

Tammy Findlay, “Gendering State: Women and Public Policy in Ontario”, pp. 212-246 (*COURSE TEXT*)

Week 4: Who Counts? Institutional Power and Democracy in Ontario

This week will focus on developing understandings from the previous week, but through a lens that causes us to critically analyze how some of these institutional arrangements relate to power and democracy as they exist both within Ontario and its cities, but also in a relational governance aspect.

Readings:

Downey, Terrence J., and Robert J. Williams. “Provincial Agendas, Local Responses: The ‘Common Sense’ Restructuring of Ontario’s Municipal Governments.” *Canadian Public Administration*, 41 (2) 2008: 219-238

Fanelli, Carlo. “How public policy is constraining Ontario municipalities.” *Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives*. 2014

Allen, Kate. “OMB: Good for Developers, Bad for Cities?” *Toronto Star*, June 23, 2012. http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2012/06/23/omb_good_for_developers_bad_for_cities.html

Matlow, Josh and Kristyn Wong-Tam. “Urban Scrawl: Time to scrap the quasi-judicial, unelected and unaccountable Ontario Municipal Board.” *National Post*. April 10, 2014. <http://news.nationalpost.com/2014/04/10/ontario-municipal-board/>

Terry Maley, “The Democratic Imagination in Ontario and Participatory Budgeting”, pp. 493-521 (*COURSE TEXT*)

Week 5: Critiques of Creatures in the Province

This week will specifically analyze the theoretical underpinnings of the notion of the “creatures of the provision”, the constitutional arrangement that gives provinces full legislative power over the existence and structure of the entirety of municipalities and their governments.

Readings:

Magnusson, Warren. “Are Municipalities Creatures of the Provinces?” *Journal of Canadian Studies*. v. 39 (2) 2005: 5-29

Magnusson, Warren. “Protecting the Right of Local Self-Government,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 38 (4) 2005: 897-922

Levi, Ron and Mariana Valverde. “Freedom of the City: Canadian Cities and the Quest for Governmental Status.” *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*. 44 (3) 2006: 409-45

Jeffords, Shawn. “Toronto mayor, Ontario premier spar over public health cuts”. *National Post*. May 6, 2019. <https://nationalpost.com/pmnn/news-pmnn/canada-news-pmnn/toronto-mayor-ontario-premier-spar-over-public-health-cuts>

Morton, Ted. “Provinces demanded ‘notwithstanding’ powers for good reason. They should use them.” *National Post*. September 14, 2018. <https://nationalpost.com/opinion/ted-morton-provinces-demanded-notwithstanding-powers-for-good-reason-they-should-use-them>

Recommended: **Andrew, Caroline.** “The Shame of (Ignoring) The Cities. *Journal of Canadian Studies*. 35 (4) 2001: 100-110

Week 6: Neoliberalism in Ontario (Part 1: Mike Harris)

This is the first of two weeks providing a historic case study of the unfolding of neoliberalism in Ontario and Toronto from 1995 to today. The political and institutional legacy of Mike Harris and the Progressive Conservative Party is key to understanding the political economy of both Toronto and Ontario in contemporary times.

Readings:

Keil, Roger. “‘Common-Sense’ Neoliberalism: Progressive Conservative Urbanism in Toronto, Canada.” *Antipode*. 34 (3) 2002: 578-601

Esmonde, Jackie. “Criminalizing Poverty: The Criminal Law, Power and the Safe Streets Act.” *Journal of Law and Social Policy* (17) 2002: 63-86

Sancton, Andrew. “Amalgamations, Service Realignment, and Property Taxes: Did the Harris Government Have a Plan for Ontario’s Municipalities?” *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 23 (2000): 135-156

Recommended:

McClellan, Ross. “1460 Days of Destruction.” In *Alien Invasion: How the Harris Tories Mismanaged Ontario*. edited by Ruth Cohen. 91-111. Insomniac Press: Toronto, 2001

Week 7: Neoliberalism in Ontario (Part 2: The Liberals and Doug Ford)

Building on the previous week, we will explore the continuing unfolding of neoliberal policies and institutional restructuring under the McGuinty, Wynne, and Ford governments.

Readings:

Coulter, Kendra. "Deep neoliberal integration: The production of Third Way politics in Ontario." *Studies in Political Economy* 83.1 (2009): 191-208.

OR Coulter, Kendra. "Women, poverty policy, and the production of neoliberal politics in Ontario, Canada." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 30.1 (2009): 23-45.

Fanelli, Carlo, and Mark P. Thomas. "Austerity, competitiveness and neoliberalism redux: Ontario responds to the great recession." *Socialist Studies* 7.1/2 (2011).

Grace-Edward Galabuzi, "Unequal Futures: Race and Class Under Neoliberalism in Ontario", pp. 461-492 (*COURSE TEXT*)

Tracey Smith-Carrier and Andrew Lawlor. "Realising our (neoliberal) potential? A critical discourse analysis of the Poverty Reduction Strategy in Ontario, Canada". *Critical Social Policy* 37 (1) 2017: 105-127

Week 8: Austerity and Neoliberal Urbanism

This week will focus specifically on how to theoretically understand and situate municipal and urban neoliberalism in Toronto, within the political economy of Ontario.

Readings:

Brenner, Neil, and Nik Theodore. "Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism,'" *Antipode*, v. 34 (3) 2002: 349-379

Brenner, Neil, Jamie Peck, and Nik Theodore. "Variegated neoliberalization: geographies, modalities, pathways." *Global Networks*, 10 (2) 2010: 182-222

Carlo Fanelli, "Municipal Neoliberalism and the Ontario State", pp. 247-274 (*COURSE TEXT*)

Recommended:

Silver, Daniel., Taylor, Zack, and Fernando Calderon-Figueroa. "Populism in the City: the Case of Ford Nation". *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 2019

Week 9: The Creative City, The Entrepreneurial City, The Competitive City

Building on the previous week, we will specifically look both discursively and materially how Toronto has been reoriented by its local council, and Ontario government, towards notions of making the city "competitive" or "embracing creativity" to attract investment and development capital.

Readings:

"Creative Competitiveness", in **Julie Ann Boudreau, Roger Keil, Douglas Young.** (2009) *Changing Toronto: Governing Urban Neoliberalism:* 183-198

Kipfer, Stefan, and Roger Keil. "Toronto Inc? Planning the Competitive City in the New

Toronto." *Antipode*. 34 (2) 2002: 227–264

Rose, Nikolas. "Governing Cities, Governing Citizens," in *Rights to the City: Citizenship, Democracy, and Cities in a Global Age*, (ed) Engin Isin. London: Routledge, 1999

Catungal, J.P., and Leslie, D. "Placing Power in the Creative City: Governmentalities and Subjectivities in Liberty Village, Toronto." *Environment and Planning*, v. 41 (11) 2009: 2576-2594

Recommended:

Catungal, J.P., Leslie, D., and Hii, Y. "Geographies of Displacement in the Creative City: The Case of Liberty Village, Toronto." *Urban Studies*, v. 46 (5-6) 2009: 1095-1114

Leslie, Deborah, and Mia Hunt. "Securing the Neoliberal City: Discourses of Creativity and Priority Neighbourhoods in Toronto, Canada." *Urban Geography*, v. 34 (8) 2013: 1171-1192

Keil, Roger. "Toronto Alles Uber: Being Progressive in the age of progressive conservative urbanism." *Alternate Routes: A Journal of Critical Social Research* 28 (2017): 189-218.

Week 10: Gentrification and Housing

This week will utilize critical and political economy lenses to understand what has led to current (and past) issue of housing affordability, financialization of housing, and gentrification.

Readings:

Slater, Tom. "Gentrification of the City." In G. Bridge and S. Watson (eds), *The New Companion to the City*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2011: 571-585

Hulchanski, David. "The Three Cities Within Toronto: Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970-2005"

Hackworth, Jason and Abigail Moriah. "Neoliberalism, Contingency and Urban Policy: The Case of Social Housing in Ontario." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (30) 3 (2006): 515

August, Martine, and Alan Walks. "Gentrification, suburban decline, and the financialization of multi-family rental housing: The case of Toronto"

Gord Perks, The risks of the financialization of housing

<http://spacing.ca/toronto/2019/07/09/perks-the-risks-of-the-financialization-of-housing/>

Week 11: Settler-Colonialism and the City

It is crucial to understand how Ontario institutionally exists in relation to indigenous people, and conceptualizations of land and governance. It is doubly crucial to understand this relationship in Toronto due to the large urban population of indigenous peoples within the city.

Readings:

James Lawson, "Colonialism, Indigenous Structures, and the Ontario State", pp. 423-460
(*COURSE TEXT*)

Freeman, Victoria. “‘Toronto Has No History!’ Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, and Historical Memory in Canada’s Largest City.” *Urban History Review*, v. 38 (2) 2010: 21-35

Hoar, Aedan. “Beyond the Politics of Recognition: Settler Colonial Development and Urban Aboriginal Self-Determination in Toronto,” MA Thesis, Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, 2014. Stefan Kipfer (supervisor) (**selections from**)

Week 12

Field trip