

## **LABOUR STUDIES 3L03: LABOUR POLICY AND ADVOCACY**

SPRING 2018

Day and Time of Classes: M & W, 6-9pm

Class Location: LRW 1056

Instructor: Holly Gibbs

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Office Hours: Mondays 4:30 to 6

Office Location: KTH718

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

Governments in Canada at all levels make political choices that shape our employment conditions and labour market outcomes in the form of public policies. In different contexts, the state responds to the struggles and demands of intersectional labour, the interests and organization of capital, as well as shifts in the economy and technology with profound and various social and political consequences for working people. In this course, students will examine and evaluate these public policies that shape our diverse social experiences of work, highlighting organized labour's ideas and strategies to influence these policies, and considering the state's role in the balance of power in between labour and capital in workplaces and society.

In our course, we will specifically examine employment, labour market, and labour relations policies in Canada, with a focus on recent changes and politics in Ontario, and in the context of globalization. In each of our policy discussions, students will also learn about the diverse contemporary labour organizations and movements advocating for particular policies that regulate various working arrangements and labour market opportunities. Students will gain skills in policy analysis and critical thinking as well as practical knowledge in the regulation, conditions, and politics of work and labour markets - and doing so near the moment in which they are preparing to make the transition themselves from student into (their next stage of) the labour market.

Student engagement in our class discussions is a critical component of effective learning and as such, classes will normally be divided between a lecture component and seminar component. Students will engage in a process of understanding the ways in which the political and social relations of work aren't happening "out there" as distant objects of social science study, but instead are processes in which their own ideas, experiences and opportunities are dynamically involved.

## TEXT/COURSEWARE:

There is no text or courseware to purchase for this class. All course reading materials will be provided via e-resources pdfs/links on Avenue, course reserves at the library, or via publicly accessible websites.

Exploring further readings and media sources is encouraged; On Avenue, under each week's topic, you will find additional sources to those in this outline, including relevant news articles, social organizations' reports, documentaries to inspire further learning and analysis of issues involved in our course themes. We will use some of these contemporary issue/interest readings as a part of our discussions.

Examples of other useful sources for policy analysis, supplementary reading, and research:

- Labour/Le Travail
- Relations industrielles/Industrial Relations
- Studies in Political Economy: A Socialist Review
- Just Labour
- Capital & Class
- Global Labour Journal
- Work, Employment and Society
- Gender, Work and Organization
- Canadian Public Policy
- Canadian Journal of Political Science
- Canadian Review of Social Policy
- Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives
- Fraser Institute
- Conference Board of Canada
- Maytree Foundation
- Policy Options
- Mowat Centre for Public Policy
- Left/Labour/Unions: Ontario Federation of Labour, Canadian Labour Congress, Unifor, CUPE, SEIU, OPSEU, United Steelworkers, Canadian Federation of Students, Harvesting Freedom, The Urban Workers Project, Canadian Intern Association, Ontario Coalition for Better Childcare, Worker's Action Centre
- Right/Employers/Business: Canadian Council of Chief Executives, The Business Council of Canada; Canadian Federation of Independent Businesses; Canadian Tax Payers Association; Canadian Sectoral Councils; Keep Ontario Working; Ontario Chamber of Commerce

## EVALUATION BREAKDOWN

- Inclass Midterm Test (20%): Wed May 16th
- Policy Research Paper (35%): Due Th. June 7<sup>th</sup> before midnight to Assignments Dropbox on Avenue (Guidelines to be distributed, late penalty 5% per day including weekends)
- In class Final Exam (30%): Wednesday June 13<sup>th</sup>
- Class Participation/Preparation: 15% (See Rubric)

## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This course addresses three University Undergraduate Degree Level Expectations. First, it involves students in an in-depth understanding of the foremost issues and interpretations relating to the content and analysis of labour policy and politics in the Canadian Context. Second, the analytical frameworks to which students are exposed in this course will enable them to critically evaluate research and scholarship in the broad field of the public policy and political economy of work, highlighting theoretical and empirical analysis of the relationships between labour, capital, and the state. Third, the student evaluation components for this course are designed to help develop core competencies in effective research, peer collaboration and problem solving, and communication in both oral and written forms.

## SCHEDULE/READINGS/DUE DATES

### WEEK 1:

Monday, April 30<sup>th</sup>: Introduction to Course

*No Readings, please prepare for class by accessing a copy of the course outline*

### THEME 1: FOUNDATIONS IN THE STUDY OF LABOUR POLICY

Wednesday, May 2<sup>nd</sup>: "Our Dictionary":

Concepts and Foundations in the Study of the State, Labour, and Work in Canada

#### *Readings*

- Murray Knuttila (2017). The Matters of the State Still Matter: Political Power and Social Problems. W. Antony, J. Antony, & L. Samuelson (eds). *Power and Resistance: Critical Thinking about Canadian Social Issues*. Halifax: Fernwood.
- J. Stanford and L. Vosko (2004) *Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income*. Introduction: only pgs 1 to 15. Montreal&Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.

### WEEK 2:

Monday May 7<sup>th</sup>:

Political Landscape of Labour Policy and Advocacy I: Organized Labour and Policymaking, Political Institutions, and Political Parties

#### Readings:

- C. Yates and A. Coles (2014) Party On or Party's Over? Organized Labour and Canadian Politics. in Miriam Smith (ed.) *Group Politics and Social Movements in Canada, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.* (pp 32-52) Toronto: Broadview Press.
- L. Savage and N. Ruhloff-Queirugal (2017) Organized Labour, Campaign Finance, and the Politics of Strategic Voting in Ontario, 80 *Labour/Le Travail*.

Wednesday May 9<sup>th</sup>

Political Landscape of Labour Policy and Advocacy: I

Transformations in Canadian Political Economy, Work, and Class Politics

*Readings:*

- J. Peters (2012) Free Markets and the Decline of Unions and Good Jobs in *Boom, Bust, and Crisis: Labour, Corporate Power and Politics in Canada*, p 16-54. Halifax: Fernwood.
- S. McBride and H. Whiteside (2011) "Austerity for Whom?" *Socialist Studies/Estudios Socialistes* 7 (1/2), p 42 -64.

See also:

- S. McBride (2010) *Paradigm Shift: Globalization and the Canadian State*, 2nd edition. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.
- \*W. McKeen and A. Porter. (2003) "Politics and Transformation: Welfare State Restructuring in Canada". in W. Clement and L. Vosko, eds. *Changing Canada: Political Economy as Transformation*. Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Carlo Fanelli and Chris Hurl "Janus-Faced Austerity: Strengthening the Canadian Competitive State"  
<http://www.alternateroutes.ca/index.php/ar/article/viewFile/14416/12900>

WEEK 3:

Monday May 13<sup>th</sup>

Political Landscape of Labour Policy and Advocacy III: Globalization, North American Free Trade, and International Labour Policy

- L. Campa (1999) NAFTA's Labour Side Agreement 5 years on: Progress and Prospects for the NAALC *Canadian Labour and Employment Law Journal*, pp 1-30.
- S. Hamelin (2017) A New Scale of Activism: Canadian Unions and the North American Free Trade Agreement (1992 -1999), 80 *Labour/Le Travail*.

See also:

- S. McBride:  
[https://www.academia.edu/8564909/Globalization\\_the\\_Restructuring\\_of\\_Labour\\_Markets\\_and\\_Policy\\_Convergence](https://www.academia.edu/8564909/Globalization_the_Restructuring_of_Labour_Markets_and_Policy_Convergence)
- Grace Skogstad, (Dec. 2000) "Globalization and Public Policy: Situating Canadian Analyses", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*.
- Crowe and Albo (2005) "Neoliberalism, The NAFTA, and the State of North American Labour Movements" *Just Labour*:  
<http://www.justlabour.yorku.ca/volume67/pdfs/02%20Albo%20Press.pdf>
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On NAFTA Renegotiation and Interests:

- *UNIFOR Position Statement on the Renegotiation of the NAFTA* (July 2017): [http://www.unifor.org/sites/default/files/attachments/uniforstatement\\_nafta\\_final\\_formatte\\_d2.pdf](http://www.unifor.org/sites/default/files/attachments/uniforstatement_nafta_final_formatte_d2.pdf)
- *The Business Council of Canada NAFTA Negotiation Submission* (June 2017) <http://thebusinesscouncil.ca/publications/nafta-negotiations-submission/>
- <http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/august-2017/nafta-2-0-workforce-future/>

Wednesday May 15<sup>th</sup>:  
INCLASS MIDTERM EXAM

THEME 2: LABOUR POLICY CASE STUDIES

WEEK 4:

Monday May 21<sup>st</sup>: NO CLASS, VICTORIA DAY

Wednesday May 23<sup>rd</sup>:  
The Context and Politics of Bill 148 I: Employment Standards and Wages

Readings

- M. Thomas (2009) *Regulating Flexibility: The Political Economy of Employment Standards* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press), Chapter 3.
- L. Vosko and M. Thomas “Confronting the Employment Standards Enforcement Gap: Exploring the Potential for Union Engagement with Employment Law in Ontario, Canada in *Journal of Industrial Relations* 56(5):631-652 · October 2014
- Read this document over two classes May 23<sup>rd</sup> and May 28<sup>th</sup> with a focus on the main topic for that class: Workers Action Centre (2016) *Building Decent Jobs from the Ground Up. Responding to the Changing Workplaces Review.*
- [http://workersactioncentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Building-Decent-Jobs-from-the-Ground-Up\\_eng.pdf](http://workersactioncentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Building-Decent-Jobs-from-the-Ground-Up_eng.pdf)

See also:

- W. Lewchuk (2016) “The Precarity Penalty: How Insecure Employment Disadvantages Workers and Their Families” *Alternate Routes: A Journal of Critical Social Research* 71 <http://www.alternateroutes.ca/index.php/ar/article/view/22394/18176>

Ontario ESA politics: on Precarious Work and \$15 minimum wage

- OFL “Make it Fair” Submission (2017), p 10-15.
- OCC Letter to Kathleen Wynne <http://www.occ.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/CWR-Letter-May-2017.pdf>
- Changing Workplaces Review Summary Report (2017) “Recommendations on Employment Standards” <https://www.ontario.ca/page/changing-workplaces-review-summary-report#section-5>
- Business Coalition: Keep Ontario Working

WEEK 5:

Monday May 28<sup>th</sup>

The Context and Politics of Bill 148: Labour Relations and the Certification of Unions

- Ellen Russel and Mathieu Dufour (2016) “Why the rising tide doesn’t lift all boats: wages and bargaining power in neoliberal Canada” *Studies in Political Economy: A Socialist Review* v 97(1).
- [B. Dijkema \(June 2017\) How Ontario’s Labour Law Changes will affect Unions. \*Policy Options\*.](#)

See also Ontario LRA politics:

- [OFL “Make it Fair” pgs 3-10](#)
- [APMA’s Submission on Bill 148](#)
- [Changing Workplaces Review Summary Report \(2017\) “Recommendations on Labour Relations”](#)
- C. Gonick et al. 1996. *Labour Gains, Labour Pains: 50 years of PC1003*, Socialist Studies 10 (Halifax: Fernwood, Winnipeg: Society for Socialist Studies)

Wednesday May 30<sup>th</sup>

Readings

The Context, Struggles and Regulation of Unemployment: Employment Insurance & Workforce Development

Readings

- [K. Jones \(2016\) “Preparing Adult Workers for the Artificial Intelligence Revolution” \*Policy Options\*](#)
- S. McBride and Sorin Mitrea (2017) “Internalizing Neoliberalism and Austerity” *The Austerity State*, S. McBride and B. Evans, Eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press)
- Stephen McBride (2000) “Policy From What? Neoliberal and Human Capital Foundations of Recent Labour Market Policy” in Burke, Moore, Shields (eds) *Restructuring and Resistance: Canadian Public Policy in an Age of Global Capitalism*. Halifax: Fernwood.
- [Good Jobs for All \(2016\) EI REFORMS SUBMISSION](#)

See also:

- [A. Bromwell \(2011\) "Training Policy for the 21st Century" Mowat Centre](#)
- [D. Wood \(2017\) "75 Year Decline: How Governments Appropriated Employment Insurance from Canadian Workers and Employers and Why this matters" Mowat Centre](#)
- P. Evans (2011) "Lone Mothers, Workfare and Precarious Employment: Time for a Canadian Basic Income?" *International Social Security Review* 62(1)
- CBC report on Innovation and Training in 2017 Federal Budget  
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/liberal-trudeau-morneau-budget-2017-1.4034793>
- NFB Film: For Man must work or the End of Work

WEEK 6:

Monday June 4<sup>th</sup>

The Context and Politics of Gendered Relations of Work:

Pay Equity, Employment Equity, Parental Leave, Child Care Policy

- J. Newman and L. White (2012). Challenging Market Rules and Balancing Work and Family Life. In *Women, Politics, and Public Policy*. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press), 214-239.
- McKay, L., Mathieu, S., & Doucet, A. (2016). Parental-leave rich and parental-leave poor? In/Equality in Canadian Labour-Market based Leave Policies. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 58(4), 1-20.
- Worker's Action Centre Submission on Pay Transparency, Bill 3:  
<http://workersactioncentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/WAC-PCLS-submission-Bill-3.pdf>

See Also:

- <http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/march-2018/pay-equity-laws-alone-wont-close-the-gap/>
- [McKay and Doucet \(2014\) "Canada's two parental leave regimes: An argument for dedicated leave time for fathers"](#)
- The Motherload, CBC Doczone

Wednesday June 6<sup>th</sup> (\*Research Paper Due JUNE 7<sup>TH</sup> by 11:59pm\*)

The Context and Politics of Racialized Relations, Citizenship, and Work:

Discrimination, Employment Equity, Immigration Policy, Temporary Foreign Worker Programs

- Susan Barrass and John Shields (2017) Immigration in the Age of Austerity: Morality, the Welfare State, and the Shaping of the Ideal Migrant. B Evans and S McBride Austerity the Lived Experience (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), p 195-221.
- M. Thomas (2010) Labour Migration and Temporary Work: Canada's Foreign Worker Programs in the New Economy. In Interrogating the New Economy M. Thomas and N. Pupo, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press)
- [Reitz, et al \(2017\) "Applying for a job in Canada with an Asian Name" Policy Options](#)

See also:

- Ontario's new Anti-Racism Directorate: <https://www.ontario.ca/page/september-2016-mandate-letter-anti-racism-directorate>
- G-E. Galabuzzi (2004) Racializing the Division of Labour: Neoliberal Restructuring and the Economic Segregation of Canada's Racialized Groups in J. Stanford and L. Vosko, (eds.) *Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income*. Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 175-204
- Judy Fudge (2011) "Global Care Chains, Employment Agencies, and the Conundrum of Jurisdiction: Decent Work for Domestic Workers in Canada" *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 23 (1)
- Film: El Contrato (2003), National Film Board
- Alan G. Green and David Green. (2004) The Goals of Canada's Immigration Policy: A Historical Perspective, *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 13(1) 102-39
- Jason Foster (2014) "Making Temporary Permanent"  
[http://www.justlabour.yorku.ca/volume19/pdfs/02\\_foster\\_press.pdf](http://www.justlabour.yorku.ca/volume19/pdfs/02_foster_press.pdf)
- Migrant Dreams (2016), National Film Board
- <https://tvo.org/article/current-affairs/shared-values/how-a-1992-report-on-racism-in-ontario-highlights-current-problems>
- Bakan and Kobayashi on the Struggle and Backlash for Ontario's Employment Equity policy: <https://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2005/Bakan.pdf>



WEEK 7

Monday June 11th

Next Gen: Post-Secondary Education Policy as Labour Policy for Youth

Readings

- [Ken Coates and Bill Morrison \(2012\) "The Uses and Abuses of the University" \*The Walrus\*](#)
- C. Fanelli and Bryan Evans. Editor's Introduction: Capitalism in the Classroom. The Commodification of Education  
&  
Jeff Noonan and M. Coral: The Tyranny of Work: Employability and the Neoliberal Assault on Education.

Both of the above readings are found in C. Fanelli and B. Evans, eds. 2015. Neoliberalism and The Degradation of Education, AlternateRoutes: <http://www.alternateroutes.ca/index.php/ar/article/view/22338/18128>

See also:

- S.Geobley 2013. The Young and the Jobless. CCPA. [https://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/Ontario%20Office/2013/09/Young\\_and\\_jobless\\_final3.pdf](https://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/Ontario%20Office/2013/09/Young_and_jobless_final3.pdf)
- [Jamie Brownlee \(Jan. 2016\) "The role of governments in corporatizing Canadian universities", \*Academic Matters\*](#)
- [I. Docherty \(2017\) "Precarious Work and the passage to Adulthood" \*Policy Options\*](#)
- [M. Kwong \(2014\) "Unpaid Internships won't ease young job seekers suffering" \*CBC\*](#)
- See work from Andrew Langille's [www.youthandwork.ca](http://www.youthandwork.ca) , including <http://www.youthandwork.ca/2014/04/the-school-to-wage-theft-pipeline.html>
- CBC DocZone: Generation Jobless.

Wednesday June 13<sup>th</sup>:

IN CLASS FINAL EXAM

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**ACADEMIC DISHONESTY:** <http://www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity/students/index.html>

Academic dishonesty consists of misrepresentation by deception or by other fraudulent means and can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university.

It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various kinds of academic dishonesty please refer to the Academic Integrity Policy, specifically Appendix 3, located at <http://www.mcmaster.ca/policy/Students-AcademicStudies/AcademicIntegrity.pdf>

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

1. Plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
2. Improper collaboration in group work.
3. Copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

#### **DEPARTMENTAL/UNIVERSITY POLICIES:**

Labour Studies staff does not date-stamp assignments, nor do they monitor the submission or return of student papers. All papers should be submitted/returned in-class, in tutorials or during Professor/TA office hours. Instructors who utilize Avenue to Learn will provide instructions on that preference.

**Absence Reporting:** <http://www.mcmaster.ca/msaf/> On-line self-reporting tool – illness lasting **less than 3 days**. Can only be used once per term. Instructors are not allowed to accept medical notes! These must be submitted to your Faculty office. In the event of an absence for medical or other reasons, students should review and follow the Academic Regulation in the Undergraduate Calendar “Requests for Relief for Missed Academic Term Work”. Please also communicate with the course instructor.

**Code of conduct:** <http://studentaffairs.mcmaster.ca>

“McMaster University is a community dedicated to furthering learning, intellectual inquiry, the dissemination of knowledge and personal and professional development. Membership in this community implies acceptance of the principle of mutual respect for the rights, responsibilities, dignity and well-being of others and a readiness to support an environment conducive to the intellectual and personal growth of all who study work and live within it.”

**Computer use** in the classroom is intended to facilitate learning in that particular lecture or tutorial. At the discretion of the instructor, students using a computer for any other purpose may be required to turn the computer off for the remainder of the lecture or tutorial.

**Course Modifications:** The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check their McMaster email AND Avenue to Learn (if used by instructor) regularly during the term to note any changes.

**E-Mail Communication Policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences:** all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own **McMaster University e-mail account**. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor/TA receives a communication from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion. **Please always include student name, ID, course # and TA name in messages.**

**Evaluations (Online):** <http://evals.mcmaster.ca>, and log in via MACID.

These help faculty and the School of Labour Studies to meet our goal of continually improving teaching effectiveness. All students in the course are invited and encouraged to complete the evaluation.

**Student Accessibility Services:** <http://sas.mcmaster.ca/>      **MUSC-B107 905-525-9140 x28652**

*NOTE: Disclosure of disability-related information is personal and confidential.*

Student Accessibility Services offers various supports for students with disabilities. We work with full time and part time students. SAS provides or assists students with their academic and disability-related needs, including: Learning Strategies, Assistive Technologies, Test & Exam Administration, Note-Taking Programs, and Classroom Accommodations. \*Please inform the instructor if there are disability needs that are not being met.

**McMaster University Policy on Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities & McMaster University Anti-Discrimination Policy**

- <http://www.mcmaster.ca/policy/Students-AcademicStudies/AcademicAccommodation-StudentsWithDisabilities.pdf>

**Student Success Centre:** <http://studentsuccess.mcmaster.ca/>

**GH-110 905-525-9140 x24254**

Some services include: student orientation, academic skills, volunteerism, educational planning, employment and career transition. Writing Support:

<http://studentsuccess.mcmaster.ca/students/academic-skills/writing-support-services.html>

**Student Wellness Centre:** <http://wellness.mcmaster.ca/>      **MUSC-B101 905-525-9140 x27700**

Provides services in: Personal and Psychological Counselling, Mental Health Support, Medical and Health Services

**CLASS PARTICIPATION RUBRIC (15%)**

| <b>GRADE /15</b>                | <b>ATTENDANCE (5%)</b> | <b>DISCUSSION (5%)</b>  | <b>PREPARATION (5%)</b>   |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|---|---|
| A to A+<br>(12-15)<br>EXCELLENT | Always                 | Leads Discussion; Offers Original Analysis and comments, always has ideas on themes; takes care not to dominate; not afraid to ask questions when something is puzzling | Clearly has done readings and prepared for the topic; intelligently uses this understanding in the discussion |
| B to A-<br>(11-12)<br>VERY GOOD | Almost Always          | Thoughtful comments; willing and able to contributor; willing to take a stab at articulating the theme; asks questions  | Has done most of the preparation; provides competent analysis of the issue when prompted                      |
| C+ to B<br>(10-11)<br>GOOD      | Frequent               | Has basic grasp of key concepts; arguments are sporadic and at times incomplete or poorly supported; unwilling to ask questions   | Displays familiarity with the issues but tends not to analyze them or to relate them to course material       |
| D-C<br>(7.5-10)<br>FAIR         | Occasional             | Remarks marred by misunderstandings of key concepts; often digresses in unhelpful ways; sporadic  | Actual knowledge of material is outweighed by improvised comments and remarks                                 |
| F<br>(0-7.5)<br>POOR            | Rare                   | Rarely speaks; parrots text or comments of others   | Little to no apparent familiarity with topic and material   |