# POLITY

A COMPARATIVE INTRODUCTION

FOURTH EDITION



RONALD G. LANDES

#### Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Landes, Ronald 1945 – .
The Canadian polity, 4th ed.

ISBN 0-13-177395-X

1. Canada - Politics and government. I. Title.

JL65 1983.L36 1995 320,971 C94-931301-7

© 1995, 1991, 1987, 1983 Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., Scarborough, Ontario

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher.

Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey
Prentice-Hall International (UK) Limited, London
Prentice-Hall of Australia, Pty. Limited, Sydney
Prentice-Hall Hispanoamericana, S.A., Mexico City
Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi
Prentice-Hall of Japan, Inc., Tokyo
Simon & Schuster Asia Private Limited, Singapore
Editora Prentice-Hall do Brasil, Ltda., Rio de Janeiro

ISBN 0-13-177395-X

Acquisitions Editor: Patrick Ferrier Developmental Editor: Linda Gorman

Copy Editor: Jean Ferrier

Production Editor: Valerie Adams Cover and Interior Design: Alex Li Page Layout: Zofia Moczulak

1 2 3 4 5 99 98 97 96 95

Printed and bound in the United States.

Every reasonable effort has been made to obtain permissions for all articles and data used in this edition. If errors or omissions have occurred, they will be corrected in future editions provided written notification has been received by the publisher.

## PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

To the casual observer, the pace of Canadian politics might seem to be inexorably slow. However, to an author, the pace seems to resemble a downhill racer out of control. Even before the ink on the manuscript of one edition is dry, the revision process becomes necessary again. Thus, the fourth edition of *The Canadian Polity* seeks to make the coverage of recent political events as current as possible. Throughout, we have updated examples and have expanded the theoretical material. At the request of a number of users, more extensive recommended reading lists have been presented. Finally, quotations, tables, and cartoons have been included in each chapter to increase student interest, as well as to expand on and illustrate the material in the text.

The enthusiastic reception of the first three editions of *The Canadian Polity*, by both students and instructors, has been most gratifying. Many have taken the time and effort to offer suggestions for this new edition, and many of their ideas have been incorporated. In response to both reviewers' and users' suggestions, some restructuring of the text has been made in this edition. While the basic structure of the text remains in place, the following major changes have been made. Chapter 14 of the third edition has been deleted, with the material on the 1982 Constitution Act now incorporated into the chapters on the constitution (Chapter 3) and the judiciary (Chapter 7). Chapter 12 of the third edition has also been deleted, with the material on political socialization incorporated into the chapter on political culture (Chapter 8) and the discussion on voting behaviour added to the chapter on the electoral process (Chapter 9). In addition, the order of presentation of several of the chapters in Part Three has been altered.

The assumption of this textbook is that the study of the politics of one's own country should be an exciting experience, for politics and government determine not only our present condition, but our future survival. To that end we have sought to provide an interesting examination of how the Canadian political system operates. We begin with an overview of the nature of government and politics (Part One), proceed to a consideration of basic political institutions (Part Two), investigate political processes and political behaviour (Part Three), and conclude with an assessment of the workings of the Canadian polity (Part Four). In considering such topics, we seek to introduce the student to three main areas of investigation: first, the nature of political analysis; second, the fundamentals of Canadian government; and third, the study of comparative government. These three goals are intertwined throughout the text and should be borne in mind by students as they read the various chapters.

Several suggestions concerning the use of this text may be helpful before proceeding. Each chapter opens with one or more quotations which express that chapter's main theme. Upon completion of each unit, the student should return to these opening ideas and think about them. Second, at the end of each chapter

there is a list of recommended readings. These items include several of the most important classic works on each topic, along with more current publications. Except in a few cases, these works should be accessible in most university libraries and should prove intellectually rewarding for the beginning student. Finally, a footnote style different from what you may be used to is employed throughout the text. Instead of footnote numbers with references at the bottom of the page or at the end of the chapter or book, relevant bibliographical information is included in the body of the text itself. The first item refers to the author's last name, the second to the year of publication of the work cited, and the third to the page number, if the reference is to a particular passage. This format does not break the reader's train of thought, but allows him or her to see immediately whose work is being quoted. Full reference information for each item cited is contained in the bibliography at the end of the book. For major historical works, the original date of publication is given in the text, with both the original and later edition dates included in the bibliography.

Since each instructor probably has a particular way of structuring the introductory course, no order of chapters is likely to satisfy everyone. We have tried to make each chapter a self-contained unit, so that the instructor might rearrange the order in Parts Two and Three without seriously hampering the flow of analysis. Each chapter in Parts Two and Three begins with a brief introduction and consideration of basic concepts relating to the specific topic, applies these ideas to the Canadian, British, and American polities, and ends with a look at the key areas for comparing how the various political institutions and processes operate. A point-form summary and list of recommended readings is also provided for Chapters 1 through 12. This structure should allow the smooth incorporation of a discussion of any other countries of particular interest to an instructor through the use of lecture material.

The ideological bias of the author is that of a liberal-democrat. A variety of approaches are utilized throughout the text, including historical, institutional, and behavioural perspectives.

Any suggestions or comments concerning this text would be most appreciated by the author, especially those that might be incorporated into future editions. Please send your views to the Political Science Department, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, B3H 3C3.

Ronald G. Landes St. Mary's University, 1995

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

In writing any textbook, an author quickly realizes how much he depends on others. Over the years, numerous teachers, students, and researchers have contributed in their own way to *The Canadian Polity*. Their help is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

Others have also been essential in the development of the four editions of this work. Saint Mary's University aided in a number of ways, in particular, by granting a sabbatical leave in 1979-80, during which time this book began to take shape. For the first edition, Laurie Wheeler, political science secretary, managed to turn handwritten scrawls into a first-draft manuscript. The wizardry of Shirley Buckler and Sharon Whitefield on the word processor artfully transformed numerous revisions into a finished manuscript. For the second edition, Laurie Jonah typed the manuscript in its initial stages, while Cathy Lane handled the numerous revisions which produced a final product. Most of the work for the third edition was completed while on sabbatical leave during 1988-89. Once again, Cathy Lane handled the word processing task; to her much credit should be given. For the fourth edition, Angela Boutilier deserves special mention for her dedicated work. Several friends provided helpful comments and encouragement throughout the various editions; particular thanks are owed to Peter Dale and Don Naulls. Finally, I also wish to thank the following reviewers for their helpful and informed comments: Gerry Boychuck, Queen's University; Tom Chambers, Canadore College; William Christian, University of Guelph; Agar Adamson, Acadia University; Elizabeth Smythe, Concordia College; Enda Keeble, Saint Mary's University; and Martin Westmacott, University of Western Ontario.

Various individuals at Prentice Hall have been essential to the completion of this project. Along with Prentice Hall's then local representative, Don Blair, the late Frank Hintenberger signed the book in December of 1980. Cliff Newman and Marta Tomins guided the manuscript throughout its first two editions. For the third edition, particular thanks should be given to Pat Ferrier and his staff. The current edition owes much to the following people at Prentice Hall: Michael Bickerstaff, Linda Gorman, Valerie Adams, Jean Ferrier, and Theresa Thomas.

Finally, recognition must be given to my loving family, without whose cooperation this project would not have been possible. Somehow, my family has managed to endure all four editions of this book — and to them it is, once again, lovingly dedicated.

# **Brief Contents**

List of Tables and Figures xiii
Preface to the Fourth Edition xiv
Acknowledgments xvi

## PART ONE: THE NATURE OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Chapter 1: The Comparative Study of Canadian

Government 5

Chapter 2: Political Analysis: Concepts and Principles 35

## PART TWO: THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE CANADIAN POLITY

Chapter 3: The Constitution and Federalism 75

Chapter 4: The Executive Branch of Government 127

Chapter 5: The Bureaucracy 171

Chapter 6: The Legislative Branch of Government 201 Chapter 7: The Judicial Branch of Government 251

## PART THREE: POLITICAL PROCESSES AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR

Chapter 8: Political Culture and Political Socialization 293

Chapter 9: The Electoral Process: Recruitment, Elections,

Voting 333

Chapter 10: Electoral Systems 375 Chapter 11: Political Parties 415 Chapter 12: Interest Groups 473

## PART FOUR: EVALUATING THE CANADIAN POLITICAL EXPERIMENT

Chapter 13: The Canadian Polity: A Comparative Assessment 507

Constitution Act, 1982

Part 1: The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms 517

Bibliography 523 Name Index 541 Subject Index 551

# **Contents**

## PART ONE: THE NATURE OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Chapter 1: The Comparative Study of Canadian Government 5
The Nature of Government 7
The Ubiquitous Nature of Government 7
The Multiple Nature of Government 8
The Expansive Nature of Government 10
The Necessary Nature of Government 17
The Varied Nature of Government 19
A Comparative Perspective on Canadian Government 26
Summary 28
Recommended Readings 29
Chapter 2: Political Analysis: Concepts and Principles 35
The Nature of Politics 38
Development of the Political Sphere in Western Society 39
Normative versus Empirical Definitions of Politics 40
Ideological Definitions of Politics 42
Basic Concepts of Political Analysis 47
Power and Influence 47
Political Resources 49
Political Authority 51
Political Language 54
Basic Principles of Political Analysis 57
Principle One — Political Theory versus Political Practice 57
Principle Two — Political Custom and Convention 58
Principle Three — Time and Political Change 59
Principle Four — Legal versus Political Decisions 60
Principle Five — Political Structures and Political Functions 63
Comparative Political Analysis 63
Approaches to Political Analysis 64
Comparing Political Systems 65
Problems of Comparing Political Systems 66
Summary 67
Recommended Readings 68

## PART TWO: THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE CANADIAN POLITY

Chapter 3: The Constitution and Federalism 75	
Characteristics of Constitutional Government	76
Constitutional Elements 77	
The Canadian Constitution 79	
The Federal Division of Power 80	
Additions to the Initial Constitutional Structure	86
The War Measures Act 86	
The 1988 Emergencies Act 87	
The 1960 Bill of Rights 88	
The 1982 Constitution Act 90	
Failed Constitutional Reform Efforts 96	
The Meech Lake Accord 96	
The Charlottetown Accord 100	
The Evolving Constitutional Milieu 102	
The Causes of Constitutional Evolution 103	
Constitutional Amendment 1867–1982 104	
Operating the Federal System 106	
Financing Federalism 107	
British Constitutional Practice 109	
The American Constitutional Experience 112	2
Separation of Powers 113	
Checks and Balances 114	
Federalism 115	
Bill of Rights 117	
Comparing Constitutions 118	
Summary 119	
Recommended Readings 120	
Chapter 4: The Executive Branch of Government	127
The Nature and Growth of Executive Power	128
Parliamentary Executives 128	120
Presidential Executives 130	
Executive Branch Functions 131	
The Formal Executive in Canada 132	
Selecting the Formal Executive 133	
The Administrator of Canada 134	
The Privy Council 134	
Functions of the Formal Executive 135	
The Political Executive in Canada 139	
Bases of Prime Ministerial Preeminence 140	
The Prime Minister and the Cabinet 142	
Cabinet Composition 145	
Cabinet Organization 148	

The British Parliamentary Executive 155
The American Presidential Executive 159
Presidential Roles 160
The Vice-Presidency 163
Comparing Executives 164
,
Recommended Readings 167
Chapter 5: The Bureaucracy 171
The Nature of Bureaucracy 172
Bureaucratic Functions 173
Bureaucratic Characteristics 173
Questions for Analyzing Bureaucracies 174
Models of Decision-Making 175
The Rational-Actor Model 176
The Organizational-Politics Model 176
The Bureaucracy-Policy Nexus in Canada 178
The Process of Public Decision-Making: An Overview 179
Characteristics of Canadian Decision-Making 183
The British Bureaucracy: The Role of Whitehall 189
Ministerial-Departmental Relations 190
The Civil Service and Policy-Making 190
Policy-Making in the American Presidential System 191
The Impact of Political Culture 192
The Impact of Political Structure 192
The Policy Process — An Overview 193
The American Budgetary Process 195
Comparing Bureaucracies 195
+
Recommended Readings 197
Chapter 6: The Legislative Branch of Government 201
The Development of Legislatures 202
Parliamentary Sovereignty 203
Legislative Structure 205
Exercising Legislative Power: The Role of the Canadian House of
Commons 206
Structure of the House of Commons 207
The Speaker of the House 208
Party Organization 212
Committee Structure 213
The Passage of Legislation 215
Functions of the House of Commons 221
The Decline of Legislative Power: The Role of the Canadian
Senate 223
Structure of the Senate 223
The Selection Process 224
Functions of the Senate 226

Reforming the Senate 230	
The Legislature in Great Britain 232	
The House of Commons 232 The House of Lords 235	
The American Legislature 237	
Legislative Organization 237	
Legislative Procedures 241	
Legislative Functions 243	
Comparing Legislatures 244 Summary 245	
Recommended Readings 247	
Chapter 7: The Judicial Branch of Government 251	
The Nature of Judicial Power 252	
Judicial Independence 252	
Judicial Review 254	
Operating Principles 255	
The Canadian Judicial System 256	
Iudicial Structure 257	
Judicial Composition 258	
Judicial Operation 261	
Judicial Consequences 263	
Charter Politics 266	
The Court System in Britain 275	
The American Judiciary 277	
Judicial Structure 278	
Judicial Composition 278	
Judicial Operation 282	
Judicial Consequences 283	
Comparing Judiciaries 284	
Summary 285	
Recommended Readings 286	
Recommended Readings 200	
PART THREE: POLITICAL PROCESSES AND	
POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR	
Chapter 8: Political Culture and Political Socialization	293
Political Culture: Definition and Types 294	
Types of Political Culture 294	
The Canadian Political Culture 297	
Elitism 297	
Regionalism 299	
Dualism 303	
Continentalism 307	
Canada as a Consociational Democracy 309	

The Decline of Consociationalism

310

The British Political Culture 312
The American Political Culture 314
Comparing Political Cultures 317
The Political Socialization Process 318
Political Socialization in Canada 319
The British and American Patterns 323
Consequences of Political Socialization 324
Summary 325
Recommended Readings 326

#### Chapter 9: The Electoral Process: Recruitment, Elections, Voting 333

The Nature of the Electoral Process 334 338 Factors Influencing Voting Behaviour The Canadian Electoral Process 340 Political Recruitment in Canada 340 Canadian Elections 347 The Canadian Voter 352 355 The British Electoral Process 358 The British Voter The American Electoral Process 360 The American Voter 363 Comparing Electoral Processes 365 Summary 367 369 Recommended Readings

### Chapter 10: Electoral Systems 375

376 The Significance of Electoral Systems Types of Electoral Systems 378 District Magnitudes 379 379 Electoral Formula 383 **Drawing Electoral Boundaries** 384 The Canadian Electoral System Electoral Reform Proposals — The House of Commons 388 Electoral Reform Proposals — The Canadian Senate 390 **Drawing Electoral Boundaries** 391 Charter Politics 395 The British Electoral System **Electoral Reform Proposals** 398 399 Drawing Electoral Boundaries The American Electoral System 400 400 **Drawing Electoral Boundaries** The Electoral College **Electoral Reform Proposals** 407 Comparing Electoral Systems 407 Summary 410 Recommended Readings

The Nature of Political Parties 416 The Origin of Parties 416 Party Functions 417 Party Types 418 Party Systems 420 The Canadian Party System 423 Characteristics of Canadian Parties 423 Characteristics of the Party System 428 The Selection of National Party Leaders 434 Party Finance 442 Party Finance 447 Comparing Parties and Party Systems 449 British Political Parties 450 American Political Parties 457 Political Opposition and Party Futures 464 Parties and Political Opposition 464 Political Party Futures 465 Summary 466 Recommended Readings 467  Chapter 12: Interest Groups 473 The Nature of Interest Groups 475 Interest Group Functions 477 Methods of Influence 477 Explaining Interest Groups 475 Interest Groups Triumphant: The American Pattern The Pattern of American Interest Groups 482 Interest Groups in Canada 486 Explaining the Canadian Pattern 492 The Pattern of British Interests 493 Types of Groups 494 Corporatism in Britain 495 The Decline of Corporatism 497 Comparing Interest Groups 497 Summary 498 Recommended Readings 499	Chapter 11: Political Parties 415
Chapter 12: Interest Groups 473  The Nature of Interest Groups 474  Why Interest Groups? 475  Types of Interest Groups 475  Interest Group Functions 477  Methods of Influence 477  Explaining Interest Group Success 478  Interest Groups Triumphant: The American Pattern 480  The Pattern of American Interest Groups 482  Interest Groups Incarnate: An Explanation 485  Interest Groups in Canada 486  Explaining the Canadian Pattern 492  The Pattern of British Interests 493  Types of Groups 494  Corporatism in Britain 495  The Decline of Corporatism 497  Comparing Interest Groups 497  Summary 498	The Origin of Parties 416 Party Functions 417 Party Types 418 Party Systems 420 The Canadian Party System 423 Characteristics of Canadian Parties 423 Characteristics of the Party System 428 The Selection of National Party Leaders 434 Party Finance 442 Party Functions 447 Comparing Parties and Party Systems 449 British Political Parties 450 American Political Parties 457 Political Opposition and Party Futures 464 Parties and Political Opposition 464 Political Party Futures 465 Summary 466
The Nature of Interest Groups 474 Why Interest Groups? 475 Types of Interest Groups 475 Interest Group Functions 477 Methods of Influence 477 Explaining Interest Group Success 478 Interest Groups Triumphant: The American Pattern 480 The Pattern of American Interest Groups 482 Interest Groups Incarnate: An Explanation 485 Interest Groups in Canada 486 Explaining the Canadian Pattern 492 The Pattern of British Interests 493 Types of Groups 494 Corporatism in Britain 495 The Decline of Corporatism 497 Comparing Interest Groups 497 Summary 498	•
Why Interest Groups? 475 Types of Interest Groups 475 Interest Group Functions 477 Methods of Influence 477 Explaining Interest Group Success 478 Interest Groups Triumphant: The American Pattern 480 The Pattern of American Interest Groups 482 Interest Groups Incarnate: An Explanation 485 Interest Groups in Canada 486 Explaining the Canadian Pattern 492 The Pattern of British Interests 493 Types of Groups 494 Corporatism in Britain 495 The Decline of Corporatism 497 Comparing Interest Groups 497 Summary 498	Chapter 12: Interest Groups 473
The Pattern of American Interest Groups Interest Groups Incarnate: An Explanation Interest Groups in Canada 486 Explaining the Canadian Pattern 492 The Pattern of British Interests 493 Types of Groups 494 Corporatism in Britain 495 The Decline of Corporatism 497 Comparing Interest Groups 497 Summary 498	Why Interest Groups? 475 Types of Interest Groups 475 Interest Group Functions 477 Methods of Influence 477 Explaining Interest Group Success 478
	The Pattern of American Interest Groups Interest Groups Incarnate: An Explanation Interest Groups in Canada 486 Explaining the Canadian Pattern 492 The Pattern of British Interests 493 Types of Groups 494 Corporatism in Britain 495 The Decline of Corporatism 497 Comparing Interest Groups 497 Summary 498

## PART FOUR: EVALUATING THE CANADIAN POLITICAL EXPERIMENT

Chapter 13: The Canadian Polity: A Comparative Assessment 507

Comparing the Canadian, British, and American Political Systems 508

The Canadian Polity 508
The British Polity 509
The American Polity 510
Comparative Analysis 511

The Liberal-Democratic Nature of the Canadian Polity: Prospects for Reform 512

Constitution Act, 1982

Part 1: The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms 517

Bibliography 523

Name Index 541

Subject Index 551

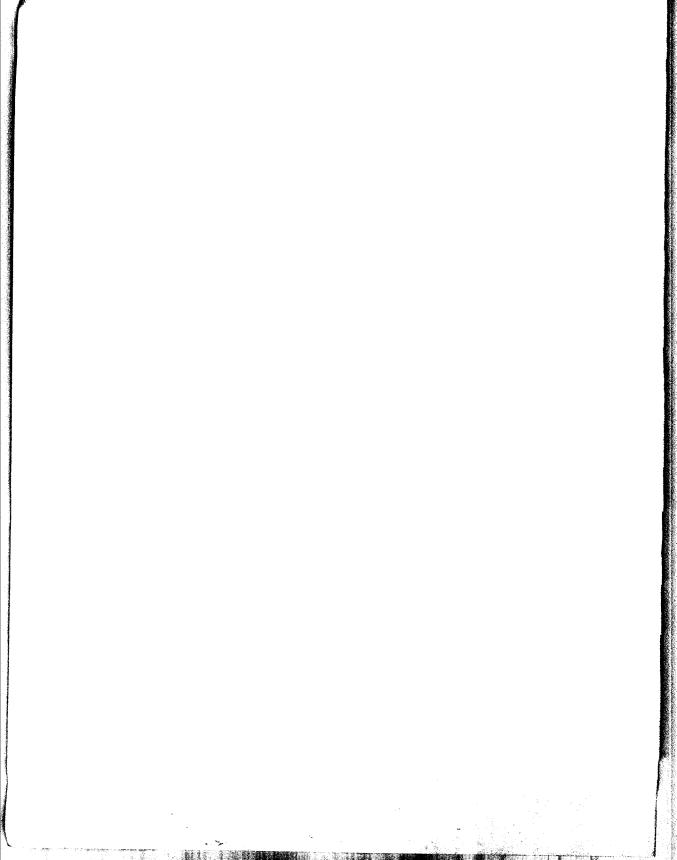
### LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1.1 Parliamentary and Presidential Governments 25
Table 1.2 A Combined Classification of Democratic Governments 20
Table 3.1 Basic Provisions of the 1982 Canada Act 91
Figure 3.1 Schematic Portrayal of Separate Institutions
Sharing Power 115
Figure 4.1 Canada's Executive Branch of Government 154
Table 7.1 The Canadian Supreme Court 1994 260
Table 7.2 The American Supreme Court 1994 281
Table 9.1 Canadian Election Results — 1988 and 1993 348
Table 9.2 Provincial Seats in the Canadian House of Commons 351
Table 10.1 Plurality Formula — Majority Victory 380
Table 10.2 Plurality Formula — Plurality Victory 380
Table 10.3 Canadian Election Results —
1979, 1980, 1984, 1988, 1993 385
Table 10.4 Alternative Electoral Systems: 1988 and 1993 (Seats) 389
Table 10.5 British Election Results — 1979, 1983, 1987, 1992 396
Table 10.6 Electoral College — Minimal Winning Coalition 403
Table 10.7 Electoral College — Creating Majorities 406
Table 11.1 Officially Registered Political Parties: Canadian Federal
Election 1993 421
Table 11.2 1993 Canadian Federal Election Results 431
Table 11.3 1990 Liberal Leadership Convention 441
Table 11.4 1993 Conservative Leadership Convention 442
Table 11.5 British Conservative Party Leadership
Selection — 1975 453
Table 11.6 British Conservative Party Leadership
Selection — 1990 453
Table 11.7 British Labour Party Leadership Selection — 1983 454
Table 11.8 British Labour Party Leadership Selection — 1993 455

PART

# The Nature of Government and Politics





The overall responsibility of power is to govern as reasonably as possible in the interest of the state and its citizens. A duty in that process is to keep well-informed, to heed information, to keep mind and judgment open and to resist the insidious spell of wooden-headedness. If the mind is open enough to perceive that a given policy is harming rather than serving self-interest, and self-confident enough to acknowledge it, and wise enough to reverse it, that is a summit in the art of government (Tuchman, 1984: 32).

Technology and civilization may be the necessary condition for human welfare; they are not a sufficient one. The missing element is the nature of the polity (Finer, 1983: 4).

To put it in simplest terms, politics defines what people want; government decides what they get. For democracy to work, government must respond to politics (Shogan, 1982: 5).