

# THE HARPER RECORD 2008–2015



EDITED BY TERESA HEALY AND STUART TREW



# **THE HARPER RECORD 2008–2015**

TERESA HEALY AND STUART TREW (EDS.)

Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2015 (In Press)

Copies of this book are available for free download at [www.policyalternatives.ca](http://www.policyalternatives.ca).

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Cover illustration by Remie Geoffroi

ISBN 978-1-77125-239-3



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# Editors

**Teresa Healy** is Associate Professor and Chair of the sustainable development program at SIT Graduate Institute in Vermont. She earned her doctorate in political science from Carleton University and her work focuses on labour movements' struggles for equity and community-based sustainability in times of economic crisis. Teresa worked as a senior researcher at the Canadian Labour Congress and the Canadian Union of Public Employees. She is involved in an ongoing research project on economic restructuring and women in Northern Canada. She recently published an article on the Canada–European Union free trade agreement and is completing a participatory action research project with immigrant workers whose factory closed suddenly in Ontario. She is also a recording singer-songwriter. Teresa's book, *Gendered Struggles Against Globalization in Mexico*, was published by Ashgate in 2008. Her edited collection, *The Harper Record*, was published by the CCPA in 2008. Healy is also an adjunct research professor at the Institute for Political Economy at Carleton University and a research associate at the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

**Stuart Trew** edits the *CCPA Monitor*, a journal of social, political and environmental perspectives published six times annually by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. After graduating from Carleton University with a bachelor's degree in journalism and political science, Stuart worked briefly as a photojournalist and editor for a monthly magazine in Cairo. From 2002 to 2006, he was an editor and political columnist at the *Ottawa XPress*, a popular alt-weekly in Canada's capital. He spent the following eight years as a trade researcher and campaigner at the Council of Canadians, a grassroots activist organization, where he published reports, academic papers and news commentaries on Canadian trade policy. Recently, he co-authored chapters on Canada's free trade regime for the collection *Canada After Harper* (Lorimer, 2015) and *Work in a Warming World* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015). He is a co-editor of the CCPA's comprehensive assessment of the Canada–European Union free trade deal, *Making Sense of CETA* (September 2014).



# Preface

Bruce Campbell

THE CANADIAN CENTRE for Policy Alternatives has a long history of critically assessing the records of governments – from the Mulroney years, through prime ministers Chrétien and Martin, to the current Harper government. *The Harper Record* project, both in its first incarnation covering the 2006 to 2008 period and this present volume, continues that tradition.

*The Harper Record (2008–2015)* was a year in the making. Edited once again by the tenacious Teresa Healy, and joined this time by *CCPA Monitor* editor Stuart Trew, the book offers a critical assessment of this government’s policies, measured against a progressive yardstick of social, economic and environmental justice values that underpin all CCPA work.

Thirty-seven researchers and activists contributed to this volume – from universities, the human rights community, unions, environmentalists, and the CCPA’s network of research associates and staff. Their contributions are thoughtful, informed, well researched and well reasoned. They expand and deepen our understanding of the latest stage of the Harper government’s record, in particular how the government responded to the 2008 crisis and Great Recession.

The CCPA, along with other prominent civil society charitable organizations, has been singled out by the Canada Revenue Agency for a political activities super-audit, which has been open for two years. We are under no illusions that this is a routine accounting exercise. As Pearl Eliadis carefully documents in this volume, these audits are almost certainly politically motivated, targeting organizations that

have been critical of government policies. We are not aware of any conservative-oriented think-tanks that have been subjected to similar auditing.

The publication of this volume is an indication that the CCPA is not intimidated by the threat of retaliation by the Canada Revenue Agency. *The Harper Record 2008–2015* represents the continuation of our long-standing tradition of critical, evidence-based, values-explicit public policy analysis.

We are scrupulously non-partisan. We are equal opportunity critics, having challenged the policies of governments of all political stripes, both federally and provincially. Likewise, our work has influenced the policies of municipal, provincial and federal governments spanning the political spectrum.

While we are not an activist organization, our work provides the intellectual fuel for the advocacy work of civil society organizations. Perhaps most importantly it helps Canadians make choices about which policies matter most to them.

— *Bruce Campbell, Executive Director, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives*