

THE SOCIAL UNION FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT: HOLLOWING OUT THE STATE

Margot Young

On February 4, 1999 nine provincial governments (all but Québec) and the federal government signed a document titled "A Framework to Improve the Social Union for Canadians."¹ While the Agreement bears a three year renewal clause and is not rich in determinative provisions, its significance should not be under-estimated. It represents an important, albeit extra-constitutional, development in Canadian federalism. The Social Union Framework agreement captures the spirit of a number of key recent developments in the welfare state, formalising certain parameters of the current policy arena for social program reconsideration. It retains some resonance of post-war notions of Canadian social citizenship, but is also strongly threaded throughout with elements of the more recent neo-liberal rejection of the welfare state.

Four important factors shape the Agreement's larger political context. The first is the course of evolution of the Canadian welfare state, in particular, the current ascendancy of neo-liberalism as the orthodoxy of state restructuring. Advocacy of restricted state involvement in social and economic spheres is paired with an enhanced emphasis on individualism and the role of private structures — the market, community and family — in providing support services and distribution of resources previously delivered by the state. The result has been government retrenchment and the reduction of social program funding at both the federal and the provincial level.

The second feature, a practical instance of the shift in orthodoxy referred to above, is the recent set of unilateral and large cuts in federal contributions to

provincial programs. A critical single event has been the transformation of the 1966 Canada Assistance Plan² (CAP) (the last major federal conditional-grant program) and the 1977 Established Programs Financing into the 1995 Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST).³ This transformation has involved several important elements: unilateral and large cuts in cash transfers from the federal government to the provincial governments;⁴ abolition of the national standards attached to the Canada Assistance Plan;⁵ and the switch to block funding from shared-cost funding for provincial spending in social assistance and services. The result has been increased pressure on provincial budgets (with consequent political heat over provincial reductions in health and education spending),⁶ and the

² *Canada Assistance Plan Act*, R.S.C. 1985, c. C-1 [hereinafter CAP].

³ *Budget Implementation Act 1993* S.C. 1993 c. 17. This transformation has been termed "a fundamental watershed in the evolution of Canadian social assistance policy." Isabella Bakker and Janine Brodie, *The New Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST): The Implications for Women* (Ottawa: Status of Women Canada, 1995) at 1.

⁴ Paul Boether, "Is It Time To Reform Fiscal Transfers?" (November 1998) 19 *Policy Options* 53 at 53; from 1994-95 to 1998-99, the CHST was cut by 35 percent, from \$19.3 to \$12.5 billion.

⁵ CAP is well-remembered for its imposition of the following five conditions to provincial receipt of federal funding: provision of assistance to any person in need; provision of an amount consistent with a person's basic requirements; no imposition of a residency requirement as a condition of eligibility; establishment of an appeal procedure; and no work requirements. (CAP, *supra* note 2, s. 1, s. 6(2)(a)). Only the condition that provinces impose no residency requirement on social assistance applicants has been retained. For a discussion of the importance of these standards, see Shelagh Day and Gwen Brodsky, *Women and the Equality Deficit: The Impact of Restructuring Canada's Social Programs* (Ottawa: Status of Women Canada, 1998) at 14-17.

⁶ The result of such changes is that provincial governments now foot close to 85% of the funding for health, post-secondary education and social assistance; Monique Myrnes-Forget, "Canada's Social Union: Staking Out the Future of Federalism" (November 1998) 19 *Policy Options* 3 at 4.

¹ *A Framework to Improve the Social Union for Canadians — An Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Governments of the Provinces and Territories* (February 4, 1999). Online: Government of Canada, Publications and Forms, Resource Centre Publications and Links <http://socialunion.gc.ca/news/020499_e.html> (accessed 1 December 1999). The text of the Agreement is reproduced in this issue at page 133.

Social Union Framework Intergovernmental Relations And Social Policy In Canada

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