

Political Science 2F03 Politics, Power and Influence in Canada

Winter 2018. Tuesdays, Wednesdays, 9:30-10:20 (TSH-B105)

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Office Hour: Wednesday, 10:30-11:30, or by appointment

Canada is regularly identified as a democracy, yet only a little over half the population has bothered to vote in recent federal and Ontario elections. Canadians have a wide choice of political parties, interest groups and social movements to support, yet some argue that the playing field is highly uneven, and that a small number of vested interests wield disproportionate power in determining what the government does. Canadian politicians and opinion-leaders trumpet Canada's commitment to diversity, yet many Indigenous leaders and Quebec politicians continue to speak of national oppression, while others point to the under-representation of women and ethnic minorities in our political institutions, as well as the deteriorating labour market outcomes for recent immigrants and racialized groups. These disagreements in characterizing the Canadian political experience lead to central questions for this course:

- who gets represented in Canadian politics, and through what means?;
- who is able to influence political decisions and public policy, and who is excluded?;
- what are the lines of inclusion and exclusion in Canadian citizenship?

Objectives:

In terms of content, this course seeks to provide students with an introduction to questions of representation, citizenship and inequality in Canadian politics. In particular, it aims to provide students with a basic understanding of key institutions that mediate between state and society, such as political parties, social movements and interest groups, and of recent reflections on their relevance and effectiveness for challenging or sustaining inequality in Canada. Finally, the course also aims to provide students with an understanding of how national and cultural diversity and inequality have been related to conceptions of Canadian citizenship.

In terms of skills, the course aims to provide students with various opportunities to improve their ability to identify, extract, and summarize arguments found in the scholarly political science literature.

Evaluation:

Seminar Participation: 10%

Mid-term paper: 22%

Final Book Review: 33%

Final Exam: 35%

Participation

Tutorials start January 15 and run until the end of semester, with the exception of reading week. Students are expected to attend in order to discuss the material from the week's readings, focussing particularly on identifying the arguments contained within them. A tool will be provided (posted on Avenue to Learn) to assist in this task.

Mid-term Paper

Students will read **one** of the articles listed below and produce a 5-7 page paper containing the following elements: (i) a brief introduction; (ii) a brief summary of the article's main argument or arguments; (iii) a discussion of how the article relates to the themes and topics covered in the course; and (iv) a conclusion. The discussion (section iii) should pay particular attention to the institutions, processes and representational vehicles (such as social movements, parties or interest groups) through which policy change comes about, and the determinants of success and/or failure in the adoption certain policy initiatives.

Articles for the mid-term paper are available on-line through the library catalogue.

- Michael Goodyear and Cheryl Auger, "Regulating Women's Sexuality: Social Movements and Internal Exclusion," in Emily van der Meulen, Elya M. Durisin, and Victoria Love (eds.) *Selling Sex: Experience, Advocacy and Research on Sex Work in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013).
- Rianne Mahon, "Challenging National Regimes From Below: Toronto Child Care Politics," *Politics & Gender*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2007), 55-78.
- Clark Banack, "Understanding the Influence of Faith-Based Organizations on Education Policy in Alberta," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 48, no. 4 (2015) 933-959.
- David Pond, "Institutions, political economy, and land-use policy: greenbelt politics in Ontario," *Environmental Politics*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2009), 238-256.

The mid-term paper is due February 27, in class. Late submissions should be left in the drop-box outside the Political Science office (KTH-527).

Final Book Review

Students will read **one** of the books listed below and produce a 10-12 page paper containing the following elements: (i) an introduction; (ii) a brief summary of the book's main argument or arguments (2 pages maximum); (iii) a critical discussion of one or several aspects of the book's argument (6-8 pages); (iv) a conclusion; (v) and a bibliography, following a standard bibliographic format. In terms of the critical discussion, it is expected that students will consider significant claims or positions taken by the author, particularly as they relate to the material studied in the course. For instance, does the author provide interesting illustrations or extensions of arguments made by others that we have read? Do they enable us to understand certain phenomena in a new or different manner? Are certain arguments problematic or faulty, given what else we have learned as part of the course?

Books for the book review:

- Greg Poelzer and Ken S. Coates, *From Treaty Peoples to Treaty Nation: A Roadmap for All Canadians* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015)

- Larry Savage and Charles W. Smith, *Unions in Court: Organized Labour and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).
- B. Timothy Heinmiller, *Water Policy Reform in Southern Alberta: An Advocacy Coalition Approach* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).
- Genevieve Fuji Johnson, *Democratic Illusion: Deliberative Democracy in Canadian Public Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

The book review is to be submitted in class on March 28.

Final Exam

The final examination will be scheduled by the Registrar during the final examination period. It will cover material from the whole course, with slightly greater weight placed on topics covered after reading week.

Procedure for Late papers: Late papers must either be handed to the instructor or dropped into the assignment drop box outside the Political Science office (KTH-527) on the fifth floor of Kenneth Taylor Hall. E-mailed submissions will not be accepted. Four days grace will be given for late papers, after which they will be assessed a penalty of 3 percentage points per day, including each day of a weekend.

Papers will be graded based on the fulfilment of the requirements listed in this outline, the cogency and coherence of argument and the ability to marshal evidence. Grammatical and spelling mistakes, as well as poor organization, tend to sap the strength of arguments. Students are encouraged to use the services offered by the Student Success Centre (<http://studentsuccess.mcmaster.ca/academic-skills.html>) if they require help with their writing skills.

Course Materials

Miriam Smith's book, *A Civil Society?*, 2nd Ed. (University of Toronto Press, 2017), is on sale at the Campus Store. The remaining readings are either available in electronic form through the library or hyperlinks in this outline. The books for the book review are at the Campus Store, and several are on reserve at the library. There may not be enough copies of individual books for the book review at the store (depending on the popularity of the different books), so do not leave your choice to the last minute.

Course Procedure

Lectures and course readings are designed to be complementary. The lectures seek to synthesize the readings and provide additional context and argument, while the readings provide further illustration of points made in lectures. Tutorials provide an opportunity for further discussion of course content, be it lectures or readings. They will also be used to develop skills in identifying and describing arguments found in academic articles. Avenue to Learn will be used largely for announcements and for making materials available. Students are expected to check it regularly. In the event of a cancellation due to inclement weather, an audio or video-recording of some of the lecture material will be placed on Avenue by the end of the week.

Schedule of Topics and Readings

January 9, 10: Introduction: Thinking About Politics, Power and Influence in Canada

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society*, chapter 1 (“Power and Group Politics”)

January 16, 17: Social movement-State interactions

(*Tutorials/seminars start the week of January 15*)

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society*, chapter 2 (“Historical Trajectories of Influence in Canadian Politics”)

Clare Demerse and Nathan Lemphers, “The Environmental Movement in Canada: Current Challenges,” in Debora L. VanNijnatten (ed.) *Canadian Environmental Policy and Politics* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2016), ch. 2.

Ethel Tungohan, “The Transformative and Radical Feminism of Grassroots Migrant Women’s Movement(s) in Canada,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 50:2 (2017) 479-494.

Question to consider: Can social movements and community organizations interact with the state without being co-opted? Is being co-opted a bad thing?

January 23, 24, 30: Parties and Elections

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society?*, chapter 3 (“Arenas of Influence: Parliament, Parties and Elections.”)

William Cross, “The Importance of Local Party Activity in Understanding Canadian Politics: Winning from the Ground Up in the 2015 Federal Election,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 49:4 (2016), 601-620.

Grant Amyot, “The Waning of Political Parties” in Alain-G. Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (eds.) *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 4th ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 84-106.

William K. Carroll and R.S. Ratner, “The NDP Regime in British Columbia, 1991-2001: A Post-Mortem,” in William K. Carroll and R.S. Ratner (eds.) *Challenges and Perils: Social Democracy in Neoliberal Times* (Halifax: Fernwood, 2005), 105-136.

Questions to consider: How satisfied should we be with elections and party competition as the primary means of ensuring democratic decision-making, and confronting collective

challenges? Are parties becoming less effective in translating our preferences into policy?

January 31, February 6, 7, 13: Interest groups, Policy communities

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society?*, chapter 4 (“Arenas of Influence: Bureaucracy and Policy Communities”)

George Hoberg and Jeffrey Phillips, “Playing Defence: Early Responses to Conflict Expansion in the Oil Sands Policy Subsystem,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* vol. 44, no. 3 (2011) 507-527.

Nicole Goodman, “Private over Public: A Conservative Approach to Interest Advocacy,” in *The Blueprint: Conservative Parties and Their Impact on Canadian Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 78-100.

Anna Burrowes and Rachel Laforest, “Advocates Anonymous: A Study of Advocacy Coalitions in Ontario.” In Nick J. Mulé and Gloria C. DeSantis (eds.) *The Shifting Terrain: Non-Profit Advocacy in Canada* (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2017), 63-81.

Questions to consider: How democratic is interest group involvement in decision-making? Does it enable greater citizen participation or input, or does it supplant the democratic process by allowing unelected groups to make policy rather than representatives elected on specific mandates?

Can we say that business holds a “trump” that other interests do not hold? And if so, why?

February 14, 27: Citizen Consultation

Rachel Laforest and Susan Phillips, “Citizen Engagement: Rewiring the Policy Process,” in Michael Orisini and Miriam Smith (eds.) *Critical Policy Studies* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 67-90.

Ashlee Jollymore, Kiely McFarlane and Leila M. Harris, “Whose input counts? Evaluating the process and outcomes of public consultation through the BC Water Act Modernization.” *Critical Policy Studies* forthcoming
(<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2017.1282377>)

Question to consider: Can one ever really consult “ordinary citizens”, or is this usually a way of hiding interested parties behind the neutral title of “citizen”?

Reading Week, February 20, 21. No class or tutorial

****Mid-term paper, due in class February 27****

February 28, March 6: Courts

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society*, ch. 5 (“Arenas of Influence: Courts”)

Daniel Voth, “Her Majesty’s Justice Be Done: Métis Legal Mobilization and the Pitfalls to Indigenous Political Movement Building,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 49:2 (2016), 243-266.

Question to consider: Why does Miriam Smith argue that “engagement with law is a problematic and ambiguous project for disadvantaged groups”? (p. 146).

March 7, 13: Multiculturalism

Alexandra Dobrowolsky, “Bad versus Big Canada: State Imaginaries of Immigration and Citizenship.” *Studies in Political Economy* 98:2 (2017), 197-222.

Yasmeen Abu-Laban, “Rethinking Canadian Citizenship: The Politics of Social Exclusion in the Age of Security and Suppression,” in Leah F. Vosko, Valerie Preston and Robert Latham (eds.) *Liberating Temporariness? Migration, Work and Citizenship in an Age of Insecurity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014).

Question to consider: Some liberal thinkers like Janice Gross Stein have recently asked whether Canadian multiculturalism has gone too far in accommodating cultural practices at odds with European and North American values and norms. Looking at this week’s readings, is it instead possible to argue that Canada has not gone far enough in ensuring full citizenship to all Canadians?

March 14, 20: Indigenous Peoples and the Canadian Political Order

David R. Newhouse and Yale D. Bélanger. “Beyond the ‘Indian Problem’: Aboriginal Peoples and the Transformation of Canada,” in John C. Courtney and David E. Smith (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Canadian Politics* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Julie Tomiak, “Navigating the contradictions of the shadow state: the Assembly of First Nations, state funding, and scales of Indigenous resistance.” *Studies in Political Economy* 97:3 (2016) 217-233.

Question to consider: What kind of relationships can be struck between aboriginal peoples and the Canadian state that meet the standards of justice and legitimacy?

March 21, 27, 28 : Regional and National Pressures

André Lecours, “The Management of Nationalism in Canada and Spain,” in Luc Turgeon, Martin Papillon, Jennifer Wallner and Stephen White (eds.) *Comparing*

Canada: Methods and Perspectives on Canadian Politics (Vancouver: UBC Press 2014), 50-72.

Julie M. Simmons, “Ontario and Contemporary Intergovernmental Relations: Still a Responsible Partner in Confederation?” in Cheryl Collier and Jonathan Malloy (eds.) *The Politics of Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), ch. 8.

Éric Montpetit, Erick Lachapelle and Simon Kiss, “Does Canadian Federalism Amplify Policy Disagreements? Values, Regions and Policy Preferences.” *IRPP Study* no. 65, September 2017. <http://irpp.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/study-no65.pdf>

Questions to consider: Why do Canadians outside Quebec, who claim to embrace cultural diversity, have such a strong antipathy to recognizing national diversity

Is national unity a reasonable objective for Canada? If so, how might it be achieved? If not, what is a reasonable alternative objective?

****Final book review due in class, March 28****

April 3, 4: Conclusions and Review

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society?*, ch. 6 (“Conclusions”)

Judith Taylor, “No to Protests, Yes to Festivals: How the Creative Class Organizes in the Social Movement Society,” in Howard Ramos and Kathleen Rodgers (eds) *Protest and Politics: The Promise of Social Movement Societies* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015), 173-190.

Academic Integrity

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials earned are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity.

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour 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 the students’ responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty, please refer to the Academic Integrity Policy, located at <http://www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity>

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:^[1]1. Plagiarism, e.g.,

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

Course Modification Statement

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 his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

Students who require academic accommodation must contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or e-mail sas@mcmaster.ca. For further information, consult McMaster University's Policy for [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#).

Faculty of Social Sciences E-Mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that 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 becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Electronic Resources

In this course we will be using Avenue to Learn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.