

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
POL 103Y; section L0101

Canada in Comparative Perspective
Fall/Winter 2008-2009

Professor: Rodney Haddow

Class time: Tuesday, 9 AM to 11 AM

Class location: Isabel Bader Theatre 101

Professor's office location: 3119 Sydney Smith Hall; 100 St. George Street

Office hours: Monday, 3-4 PM; Tuesday, 12-2 PM

E-mail: r.haddow@utoronto.ca

Telephone: (416) 978-8710 (see 'Getting in touch with me' below; it's easier to e-mail!)

Course description: This course introduces students to the study of politics. Section [A] begins with an examination of concepts – such as the state, power, authority, legitimacy, sovereignty, nationalism, the nation-state, and democracy – that are essential for the study of government. It then addresses the relationship between the state and the other major parts (or 'sub-systems') of society, tracing the historical emergence of these patterns in recognizably contemporary forms in early modern Western Europe. The leading ideologies that infuse political life in democratic states are then reviewed, with attention to their substantial evolution over time, and their practical implications for the lives of citizens. Thereafter, the course examines government and politics comparatively, by exploring similarities and differences among countries. Where possible, Canada is given particular attention in these comparisons; a key assumption underlying the course design is that a good understanding of Canadian politics must start with a careful consideration of how Canada compares with other nations, especially in the developed world. Section [B] provides such a comparative review of key institutions and processes of government in developed liberal democracies. A more detailed, single-country examination of Canadian politics is provided in POL 214Y.

This section of POL 103 pays particular attention to the importance of political economy for an understanding of politics, i.e., to the relationship between the production and distribution of wealth on the one hand and the exercise of political power on the other. (But no formal knowledge of economics is required for, or provided in, the course). This focus becomes particularly important during the second term. In section [C] it is explored with particular attention to developed democracies, which organize their economies and welfare states in distinctive ways; these differences have important implications for the economic prospects and the levels of inequality and poverty in these nations. Section [D] examines the politics of less developed, or poorer, nations, in a political economy context, addressing the degree to which states in these countries are, or have the potential to become, democratic, and how these outcomes relate to their economic and other circumstances. These last two sections also inquire about the likely implications of globalization for developed and less developed nations respectively.

A common theme throughout the course is that politics and political economy vary substantially among nations, and are subject to noteworthy change over time. This is even true in the developed world, where liberal democracies are now the norm; despite this shared heritage, politics often works quite differently across these countries. Variety is, of course, even greater when one compares these nations with developing ones where liberal democracy is generally less secure, and where economic, social and cultural institutions may differ markedly from the pattern that typifies western societies.

Students will find it quite valuable, for completing this course satisfactorily, to follow major political events in the best available mass media sources. A reasonably effective way of doing this is to read one of the three non-tabloid daily newspapers that serve the Toronto area; the best non-print news coverage in Canada is provided by the CBC. There are now many web-based sources of interesting and sometimes (!) informed opinion about politics, including the web sites of leading international newspapers; for international news, *The New York Times*, available on-line, provides very good coverage.

Format: There will be a two hour lecture, once a week. Students will meet with their teaching assistant for an additional one hour tutorial roughly every other week during each term. Tutorials will not start until the 3rd or 4th week of the course. ***Attendance at lectures and tutorials is mandatory.***

Texts:

Eric Mintz, et al., *Politics, Power and the Common Good*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008). This text is available at the U of T bookstore.

There is also a ***course pack***. I will tell you how you can purchase it at the first class.

Readings: ***All readings listed directly under a lecture title are required.***

Getting in Touch with Me: I will keep at least two hours of office time each week during term (see above). You can drop by and see me then. If you cannot make it to the office at those times, phoning the office during office hours is a second-best option. Otherwise, ***the best way to get in touch with me is by e-mail***. I check this fairly regularly, and will respond as quickly as possible. Leaving phone messages when I am not in the office is not a good idea. It may be a while before a check these.

Once you have been assigned a teaching assistant, please try to abide by the following formula in deciding whether to e-mail me or your TA about a question related to the course: If the issue has to do with the ***course structure, rules and procedures, or about a substantive point discussed in lecture*** that you would like clarified, e-mail me. If the question has to do with ***how you should go about preparing for an assignment that the TA will be grading, or about the readings***, contact the TA first. Of course, you should feel free to contact me about these too, but I would prefer if you contacted the TA first.

If you wish to **appeal a grade** assigned by a TA, you will have to approach your TA first, with a 150-200 word written explanation of why you wish to have the grade reviewed. Only after this step has been completed, and the paper has been re-evaluated by the TA, will I be willing to consider the matter. I will only adjust an assigned grade if I feel that it is egregiously wrong – i.e., if the grade is off by 5% or more.

Grading Scheme:

Short paper (4-5 pages; due in class on November 11)	15%
Fall term test (in class, on December 2, 2008)	17%
Research essay (8-10 pages; due in class on March 10, 2009)	25%
Final examination (during April exam period)	33%
Tutorial participation	10%

Tutorial Participation: Tutorials are an important part of this course. Students are expected to attend them regularly and participate in tutorial discussions. The tutorials will help you complete your term essays and to prepare for examinations. They also provide a more intimate setting for discussing concepts and information covered in the lecture and in the course readings. Please note that 10% of the course grade is allocated to tutorial participation; it will be evaluated by the Teaching Assistant who conducts your tutorial. The grade will be calculated based on your record of attendance, and the quality and quantity of your participation. This assessment will reflect each student's preparation for tutorial meetings, her attentiveness to and involvement in tutorial discussions and the degree to which her involvement reflects a careful and perceptive understanding of the issues under discussion. Students are expected to account for all absences. If you do not attend tutorials, be prepared to receive a grade of zero for this component of the course.

Term Essays: Each term's essay assignment will be circulated early in the term; students will have at least six weeks to complete it. Please note that papers that are handed in late will be **penalized at the rate of 2% per week day** (Monday to Friday). Exceptions will only be made to this rule on justified medical grounds with **proper medical documentation**. **Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing their paper in. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned.**

Students should also be aware that plagiarism is considered to be a major academic offence, and that it will be penalized accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto's policy on plagiarism at <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>. The essay assignment sheet will also provide more detail on these points.

Please note that all first term work must, according to University regulations, be submitted by December 5th. Second term work must be submitted by April 9th.

Autumn term lecture themes and readings:

1. *September 9: Introduction* to course content and requirements

[A] Fundamental Concepts and Methods

2. *September 16: What is a State? (1)*: Three concepts of power, Max Weber & authority, legitimacy, sovereignty, violence, government & the state.
Mintz et al., chapters 1 & 2
3. *September 23: What is a State? (2)*: The scope of 'politics'; nations, the nation-state and nationalism. Is Canada a nation-state? Is it sovereign? Dimensions of globalization; its implications for the state.
Mintz et al., chapter 3
David Held, et al., *Global Transformations* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 32-49
4. *September 30: State, Economy and Civil Society*: Capitalism, civil society, institutional differentiation, T.H. Marshall's concepts of citizenship rights; the European state 'model':
Douglas North and Robert Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 132-156.
Anthony Rees, "T. H. Marshall and the Progress of Citizenship," in M. Balmer and Rees, eds., *Citizenship Today* (London: UCL Press, 1996), pp. 1-13, 18-19
5. *October 7: Varieties of Political Regime*: Regimes as configurations of state, economy and civil society; direct, liberal and representative democracy; social capital; forms of authoritarianism; totalitarianism.
Mintz et al., chapter 4; and chapter 19, pp. 450-461.
Robert Putnam, "The Strange Disappearance of Civic America," *The American Prospect*, December 1996; <http://www.prospect.org/> Follow the links: articles>archive>articles by author>Robert Putnam.
6. *October 14: Liberalism and its Critics (1)*: The concept of ideology; 'left' and 'right'; the origins of liberalism; classical liberalism, reform liberalism and neo-liberalism.
Mintz et al., chapter 5
Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 7-25, 33-36
Michael Oakeshott, *Rationalism in Politics* (London: Methuen, 1962), pp. 1-13, 20-30

7. **October 21: Liberalism and its Critics (2):** Challenges to liberalism: ‘Tory’ conservatism; neo-conservatism; democratic socialism and social democracy; the contemporary ideological landscape in democracies.
Mintz et al., chapters 6
John Roemer, “A Future for Socialism,” in Roemer, ed., *Equal Shares. Making Market Socialism Work* (London: Verso, 1996), pp. 7-22, 32-37
8. **October 28: Political Culture and Identity:** Post-materialism and identity politics; feminism; comparing Canadian and American political cultures.
Mintz et al., chapter 7
Paul Nesbitt-Larking, “Canadian Political Culture,” and Anthony Peacock, “Socialism and Nationalism,” in M. Charlton & P. Barker, eds., *Crosscurrents: Contemporary Political Issues*, 5th ed. (Toronto: Thompson Nelson, 2006), pp. 2-37
Jane Mansbridge, “Feminism and Democracy,” *The American Prospect*, March 1990; <http://www.prospect.org/> Follow the links: articles>archive>articles by author>Jane Mansbridge.

[B] Institutions in Canada & Other Liberal Democracies

9. **November 4: Constitutional Principles (1):** Written and unwritten constitutions; Parliamentary and Presidential Government; federal and unitary states; the rule of law and judicial power.
Mintz et al., chapters 15 & 16
10. **November 11: Constitutional Principles (2):** UK and US constitutions; Canada’s complex constitution.
W. Phillips Shively, *Power and Choice*, 10th ed., (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2007), pp. 311-322, 331-347.
11. **November 18: The Courts and Civil Liberties:** Constitutional rights protection; the role of judiciaries; judicial ‘activism’; British, American and Canadian experience.
Mintz et al., chapter 13
Robert Martin, “The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is Antidemocratic and Un-Canadian,” and Philip Bryden, “An Opposing Point of View,” in M. Charlton & P. Barker, eds., *Crosscurrents: Contemporary Political Issues*, 5th ed. (Toronto: Thompson Nelson, 2006), pp. 86-99
12. **November 25: Executives and Bureaucracy:** The concentration of power in the UK, US and Canada; bureaucracy; accountability; government complexity and expertise; privatization and decline.
Mintz et al., chapter 17
Donald Savoie, “*Primus*: There is No Longer any *Inter* or *Pares*,” and Paul Barker, “Limits on the Power of the Prime Minister,” in M. Charlton & P.

Barker, eds., *Crosscurrents: Contemporary Political Issues*, 5th ed. (Toronto: Thompson Nelson, 2006), pp. 180-213

13. **December 2: Term Test**

Winter term lecture themes and readings:

14. **January 6: Federal States and Federal Societies:** Definition of federalism; evolution of Canadian federalism; comparing federations; multilevel governance.
Mintz, et al., chapter 14
Garth Stevenson, "Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations," in M. Whittington & Glen Williams, eds., *Canadian Politics in the 21st Century*, 7th ed., (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2008), pp. 78-107.
15. **January 13: Electoral Systems and Democratic Reform:** SMP, PR, etc.; the Cairns thesis; international examples: recent Canadian debates; direct democracy.
Mintz, et al., chapter 10
Leslie Seidle, "The Canadian Electoral System and Proposals for its Reform," in A.B. Tanguay & A-G Gagnon, eds., *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Nelson, 1999), pp. 282-306.

[C] State & Political Economy in Canada and Other Liberal Democracies

16. **January 20: Political Parties and Party Systems:** Types of parties & party systems; Canadian party systems; is Canada anomalous?
Mintz, et al., chapter 9
Anthony Sayers, "The End of Brokerage? The Canadian Party System in the 21st Century," in M. Whittington & Glen Williams, eds., *Canadian Politics in the 21st Century*, 7th ed., (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2008), pp. 137-152.
17. **January 27: Interest Groups and New Social Movements:** Interest groups; policy communities and networks; group adaptation; business's privileged position; social movements and new social movements.
Mintz, et al., chapters 11 & 12
Charles Lindblom, "The Market as Prison," in T. Ferguson & J. Rogers, eds., *The Political Economy* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharp, 1984), pp. 3-11
18. **February 3: Varieties of Political Economy in Liberal Democracies:** [a] 'strong' and 'weak' states; [b] corporatism and pluralism; a four-cell model; welfare states.
Robert Gilpin, *Global Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 148-194
Lane Kenworthy, *Egalitarian Capitalism* (New York: Russell Sage, 2004), pp. 1-10, 125-145.

19. **February 10: Canada's Political Economy:** History and present context of Canadian economic life in a comparative perspective; the Canadian welfare state.
 Michael Howlett and M. Ramesh, *The Political Economy of Canada: An Introduction* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992), pp. 157-172, 189-206.
 John Myles, "How to Design a Liberal Welfare State: A Comparison of Canada and the United States," in E. Huber, ed., *Models of Capitalism: Lessons for Latin America* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), pp. 339-365
20. **February 24: Globalization and Liberal Democracies:** What is globalization? Is it happening? What are the consequences for liberal democracies?
 David Held & Anthony McGrew, *Globalization/Anti-Globalization* (Oxford: Polity, 2002), pp. 38-57
 Peter Urmetzer, *Globalization Unplugged* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 134-158

[D] State and Political Economy in Less Developed Countries

21. **March 3: Political Democracy and Economic Development in LDCs: What is the Relation?:** Definition of LDCs. Why are they poor? How democratic are they? Does growth foster democracy? How important is inequality?
 Mintz, et al., chapter 18 & 19
 Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 15-47
22. **March 10: Varieties 1: Post-Colonialism (Sub-Saharan Africa):** Colonialism; independence & state formation; transplanting western state forms; recent trajectories.
 Philip Curtin, "The European Conquest," in Curtin, et al., eds., *African History*, 2nd ed., (London: Longman, 1995), pp. 398-422
 Yohannes Woldemariam, "Democracy in Africa: Does it Have a Chance?" in H. Wiarda, ed., *Comparative Democracy and Democratization* (Fort Worth: Harcourt, 2002), pp. 144-161.
23. **March 17: Varieties 2: Post-Communism (Russia):** The Soviet command economy; performance and decline; the transition; Putin & beyond.
 Stephen Sestanovich, "Force, Money, and Pluralism," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 15, no. 3 (2004), pp. 32-42 [Access on-line from UTL]
 Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, "A Normal Country," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 83, no. 2 (2004), p. 20 ff. [Access on-line from UTL]
24. **March 24: Varieties 3: Developmental States (China):** Concept of a developmental state; success of Japan and the 4 'tigers'; imperial China; Chinese communism; the post-Mao era; a (future) superpower?

Wenran Jiang, "China's Quest for Modernization," in T. Bateman & R. Epp, ed., *Braving the New World*, 3rd ed., (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2004), pp. 276-284

Bruce Dickson, "Threats to Party Supremacy," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2003), pp. 27-35 [Access on-line from UTL]

An Chen, "The New Inequality," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2003), pp. 51-59 [Access on-line from UTL]

25. **March 31: Globalization and Less Developed Countries (1):** International institutions & LDCs; the 'Washington consensus'; debate about the consequences of globalization for the south.

Wayne Elwood, *The No-Nonsense Guide to Globalization* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2001), pp. 24-52

Thomas Carothers, "The Backlash against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 2 (2006), pp. 55-68 [Access on-line from UTL]

26. **April 7: Globalization and Less Developed Countries (2):** Different ways of measuring inequality; is inequality increasing? Implications for growth, democracy and globalization; military intervention and democracy.

Branko Milanovic, *Worlds Apart: Measuring International and Global Inequality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 7-11, 39-44, 85-93, 139-144