

POL382H1F — TOPICS IN CANADIAN POLITICS
FEDERALISM & INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN CANADA

Tuesdays & Thursdays: 12:00-2:00pm
Room: SS1070

Instructor: Adrienne Davidson | adrienne.davidson@utoronto.ca
Office Hours: (Room and time TBD) or by appointment

Course Description

This course aims to give students a deeper understanding and appreciation of how federalism and intergovernmental relations shape Canadian politics and the policy process. The course will address the historical and contemporary forces shaping the development of Canadian federalism, drawing comparisons to other federal systems where relevant. The term will be divided into three main sections: (1) the study of federal systems: Canadian federalism in comparative perspective; (2) Canada as a multinational federation, and the evolving place of national minorities (Quebec & Aboriginal peoples) in the federation; and (3) topics in intergovernmental relations. This last section will focus on specific policy areas including fiscal federalism, social policy, and environmental policy.

Course Objectives:

1. To give students a broader understanding of the historical and contemporary pressures on Canadian federalism, holding Canada in comparative perspective to the experiences of other federal systems;
2. To make students aware of the variety of theoretical and ideological perspectives on federalism, and to enable students to assess and address issues that can arise in federal systems; and
3. To provide students with an in-depth understanding of current issues in the contemporary operation of policy and intergovernmental relations in Canada.

Course Textbook and Readings:

One text has been ordered for the University of Toronto Bookstore, and has also been placed on Short Term Loan (Course Reserves) in Robarts Library. This text will form the basis for our study of Canadian federalism:

*Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.). 2012. *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy*, 3rd Edition; Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Blackboard

All other required course readings listed in the syllabus will be available on the Course Blackboard site. All information about additions or changes in course readings and assignments will be posted on the course website by the instructor, and will also be announced in class. All class handouts and other teaching aids will be made available on the Blackboard website.

Course Format:

There will be two hours of lecture and discussion held twice a week, for six weeks (12 classes).

Evaluation:

Assignment	Due Date	Weight
Reading Responses (Two)	Throughout Semester	10%
Research Paper Proposal & Annotated Bibliography	Class 6: May 26 th	15%
Midterm Test (in class)	Class 8: June 2 nd	35%
Research Paper	Class 12: June 16 th	40%

Assignments are to be handed in at the beginning of class on the date specified above. Late assignments will receive a 5% per day penalty, including weekends. Assignments will not be accepted after 7 days. Late papers are to be emailed to me, and I will provide a confirmation of receipt via email. Please keep a copy of work handed in until the marked copy is returned to you.

Extensions on term work will only be granted in exceptional circumstances beyond your control (i.e. documented illness, injury, death of a family member). This is a short course, which necessitates remaining on top of assignment deadlines. More information on extensions/missed exams due to circumstances beyond your control can be found here:
<http://artsci.utoronto.ca/current/petitions/common>

Reading Responses (10% - 5% \times 2)

Students will complete **two** 500-word reading reflections throughout the course of the semester.

- One reading response must address readings from the Federalism section of the course (Classes 2-7), while the other reading response must address readings from the Intergovernmental Relations section of the course (Classes 9-12).
- Responses must be handed in at the beginning of class on the day readings are assigned.
- Reading responses are short critical essays that address the core substance of the readings assigned. Responses should:
 - o Engage with **at least two** of the readings assigned in the class;
 - o Reflect a close reading of the works and present an argument;
 - o Contain specific examples drawn from the texts;
 - o Showcase that you have considered the strengths and shortcomings of the readings.

Paper Proposal & Annotated Bibliography (15%)

Research Proposal (5%)

Students will complete a brief research proposal (~750 words). The proposal should:

- Identify which research question from the assignment you will be tackling in your essay;
- Propose an argument that directly responds to the research question (clearly state a thesis);
- Provide an outline for the paper that identifies how you plan to defend the argument, including identifying the main points you plan to utilize to support your argument, and highlighting counter-arguments or other debates that complicate your thesis;
- Provide an abstract (at the start of the outline) that summarizes the argument and main points in 150-200 words.

Annotated Bibliography (10%)

- For the Annotated Bibliography: choose **four** of the sources you will be using to support your arguments in your research paper (~250 words per source);
- The annotated bibliography should, for each source:
 - o Identify the main argument of the paper;
 - o Identify how this paper will be used to support your research paper's main argument (or how it complicates / counters / nuances your thesis); and
 - o Reflect on the paper – any questions the paper raises, how it interacts with another paper within your bibliographic list, how it adds to the defense of your argument.
- Assignments must use Chicago or APSA style (instructions and guides to be posted to Blackboard).

Research Paper (40%)

Students will complete a research paper. It must have a clear argument (thesis statement) that responds directly to the chosen question. It is expected that you will do your paper outline, annotated bibliography, and research paper on the same topic. If you decide to change topics partway through, please discuss this with me as soon as possible.

The research paper should provide brief context of the specific topic/issue of interest, with the focus clearly on presenting an argument, defending that argument, and analyzing/refuting counterarguments.

- The paper should be ~3000 words (12 pages), not including notes and bibliography;
- You must utilize **at least** six sources (four of which were included in your annotated bibliography);
- Provide a cover page with the research question, your name, student number, and the word count of your paper;
- Use 11- or 12-point Times New Roman font, double spaced, with normal margins;
- Complete, proper, and consistent citation practices are required.
- Assignments must use Chicago or APSA style (instructions and guides to be posted to Blackboard).

Plagiarism:

Plagiarism—the representation of the work of others as your own—is a serious offence, and will be dealt with accordingly. Students should familiarize themselves with the definition and explanation of offences, penalties, and procedures related to plagiarism as outlined in the University's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>).

Accessibility:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility, and will make every attempt to provide reasonable and appropriate accommodations to persons who have disabilities. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or class materials, please contact Accessibility Services (<http://discover.utoronto.ca/students-with-a-disability>) and/or myself as soon as possible.

Class Schedule

Class 1 – Approaches to the Study of Federalism

Introduction: We will discuss the particulars of the course requirements, including the course objectives and course evaluations. The class will introduce federalism - its major forms, uses, and political dimensions. The class will also introduce an overview of approaches to the study of federalism.

Required Reading

Bednar, J. 2011. "The Political Science of Federalism," *Annual Review of Law and Society* 7: 269-288.

Watts, R. 1998. "Federalism, Federal Political Systems and Federations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 1(1): 117-137.

Recommended Reading

Erk, J. & Swenden, W. 2010. "The New Wave of Federalism Studies," in Erk, J. & Swenden, W. (eds.) *New Directions in Federalism Studies*, Routledge Press: 1-15.

Class 2 – The Development of Canadian Federalism

This class will explore the foundational elements of Canadian federalism, and will provide a broad overview of the evolution of federalism throughout Canada's history.

Required Reading

*Bakvis, H. & Skogstad, G. 2012. "Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness, and Legitimacy," in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.) *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy*, 3rd Edition; Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Rocher, F. & Smith, M. 2003. "The Four Dimensions of Canadian Federalism," in Rocher, F., and Smith, M. (eds.) *New Trends in Canadian Federalism*, 2nd Edition; University of Toronto Press: 21-44.

Recommended Reading

Cairns, A. 1979. "The Other Crisis of Canadian Federalism," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 22(2): 175-195.

Class 3 – The Case For and Against Decentralization in Canada

This class will explore one of the key debates of Canadian federalism: namely, the value of decentralization vs. centralization. It will explore examples of institutional change and discuss the political and policy implications of the two options.

Required Reading

Courchene, T. 2010. "Federalism, Decentralization, and Canadian Nation Building" in Ruth Hubbard and Gilles Paquet (eds.) *The Case for Decentralized Federalism*; University of Ottawa Press: 15-42.

DiGiacomo, G. 2010. "Ottawa's Deferential Approach to Intergovernmental Relations" in Gordon DiGiacomo and Maryantonett Flumian (eds.) *The Case for Centralized Federalism*; University of Ottawa Press: 18-72.

Rodden, J. 2004. "Comparative Federalism and Decentralization: On Meaning and Measurement," *Comparative Politics* 36(4): 481-500.

Recommended Reading

Erk, J. & Koning, E. 2010. "New Structuralism and Institutional Change: Federalism Between Centralization & Decentralization" *Comparative Political Studies* 43(3): 353 – 378.

Class 4 – The Case For and Against Asymmetry in Canada

This class will explore whether the presence of territorially concentrated national minorities necessitates a degree of asymmetry in power and resource distribution. What is the value (/what are the risks) to asymmetry of power?

Required Reading

Tarleton, C. 1965. "Symmetry and Asymmetry as Elements of Federalism: A Theoretical Speculation," *Journal of Politics* 27(4): 861-874.

McGarry, J. 2007. "Asymmetry in Federations, Federacies, and Unitary States," *Ethnopolitics* 6(1): 105-116.

Recommended Reading

Cameron, D. 2009. "The Paradox of Federalism: Some Practical Reflections," *Regional and Federal Studies* 19(2): 309-319.

Baier, G. & Bakvis, H. 2007. "Federalism & the Reform of Central Institutions: Dealing with Asymmetry and the Democratic Deficit," in Ian Peach (ed.) *Constructing Tomorrow's Federalism: New Perspectives on Canadian Governance*; University of Manitoba Press: 89-114.

Class 5 – Federalism as Conflict Management: Representing Minority Groups in Central Institutions

This class will explore how federalism approaches the problem of 'fit' between nations and states. It explores the malleability of the federal model in responding to intra-state minority nationalism.

Required Reading

Resnick, P. 2012. "Canada: A Territorial or Multinational Federation?" in Ferran Requejo and Miquel Caminal (eds.) *Federalism, Plurinationality, and Democratic Constitutionalism*; Routledge Press: 171-184.

Woods, E. 2012. "Beyond Multinational Federalism: Reflections of Nations and Nationalism in Canada," *Ethnicities* 12(3): 270-292.

Recommended Reading

Schertzer, R. 2008. "Recognition or Imposition? Federalism, National Minorities, and the Supreme Court of Canada," *Nations and Nationalism* 14(1): 105-126.

Wolff, S. 2009. "Complex Power Sharing and the Centrality of Territorial Self-Governance in Contemporary Conflict Settlements," *Ethnopolitics* 8(1): 27-45.

Class 6 – Federal Asymmetry in the Form of Quebec

This class will explore whether Quebec should be granted more/different powers than other provinces. If so, which powers and responsibilities? What are the implications of moving to this institutional norm?

Required Reading

*Cameron, D. 2012. "Quebec and the Canadian Federation," in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.) *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy*, 3rd Edition; Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Rocher, F. 2009. "The Quebec-Canada Dynamic or the Negation of the Ideal of Federalism," in Alain-G. Gagnon (ed.) *Contemporary Canadian Federalism*, University of Toronto Press: 81-131.

Recommended Reading

Trudeau, P. 1996. "Federalism, Nationalism, and Reason," in *Against the Current: Selected Writings 1939 – 1996*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart: 182-208.

Trudeau, P. 1996. "Quebec and the Constitutional Problem," in *Against the Current: Selected Writings 1939 – 1996*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart: 219-228.

Romney, P. 1999. "Provincial Equality, Special Status, and the Compact Theory of the Canadian Federation," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 32(1): 21-39.

Class 7 – Federal Asymmetry in the Form of Aboriginal Self-Government

This class will explore whether Aboriginal nations should be granted more/different powers for self-governance and self-government. If so, which powers and responsibilities? What are the implications of moving to this institutional norm?

Required Reading

*Papillon, M. 2012. "Canadian Federalism and the Emerging Mosaic of Aboriginal Multilevel Governance," in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.) *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy*, 3rd Edition; Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

King, T. 2012. "What Indians Want," in *An Inconvenient Indian*, Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd: 193-214.

Recommended Reading

Hanvelt, M., & Papillon, M. 2005. "Parallel or Embedded? Aboriginal Self-Government and the Changing Nature of Citizenship in Canada," in Gerald Kernerman and Philip Resnick (eds.) *Insiders and Outsiders: Alan Cairns and the Reshaping of Canadian Citizenship*. Vancouver UBC Press: 242-256.

Class 8 – Midterm Test & Introduction to Intergovernmental Relations in Canada

I Hour: Midterm Test (12:10 – 1:10PM)

Required Reading

*Banting, K. 2012. "The Three Federalisms Revisited: Social Policy and Intergovernmental Decision-Making," in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.) *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy*, 3rd Edition; Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Harrison, K. 2006. "Provincial Interdependence: Concept and Theories," in Kathryn Harrison, (ed.) *Racing to the Bottom? Provincial Interdependence in the Canadian Federation*; Vancouver: UBC Press: 1-23.

Class 9 – Intergovernmental Relations & Economic Policy

This class will introduce the foundations of intergovernmental relations and policy formation in Canada. It will explore Canadian economic policy and fiscal federalism.

Required Reading

*Brown, D. 2012. "Fiscal Federalism: Maintaining a Balance?" in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.) *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy*, 3rd Edition; Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Rodden, J. 2006. "Promise and Peril: Intellectual History," in *Hamilton's Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 75–118.

Recommended Reading

*Skogstad, G. 2012. "International Trade Policy and the Evolution of Canadian Federalism" in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.) *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy*, 3rd Edition; Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Class 10 – Intergovernmental Relations & Social Policy (Health)

The class will explore the history of health care policy in Canada, and how federalism and intergovernmental relations has shaped policy change.

Required Reading

*Maioni, A. 2012. "Health Care," in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.) *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy*, 3rd Edition; Oxford University Press.

Tuohy, C.H.. 2013. "Health Care After Universality: Canada in Comparative Perspective," in Keith Banting and John Myles (eds.) *Inequality and the Fading of Redistributive Politics*; Vancouver: UBC Press: 285- 311.

Recommended Reading

Rocher, F. & Smith, M. 2002. "Federalism and Health Care: The Impact of Political-Institutional Dynamics on the Canadian Health Care System," Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada, Discussion Paper No. 18.

Class 11 – Intergovernmental Relations & Social Policy (Education)

The class will explore policy action and intergovernmental relations as it relates to education policy (including early-childhood education and post-secondary education) by assessing the institutional factors that affect policy change.

Required Reading

*Friendly, M., & White, L. 2012. "'No-lateralism': Paradoxes in Early Childhood Education and Care Policy in the Canadian Federation," in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.) *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy*, 3rd Edition; Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Brennan, D., & Mahon, R. 2011. "State Structures and the Politics of Child Care," *Politics & Gender*, 7(2): 286-293.

Recommended Reading

Cameron, D.M. 2005. "Collaborative Federalism and Postsecondary Education: Be Careful What You Wish For," in Charles M. Beach, Robin Boadway and R. Marvin McInnis (eds.) *Higher Education in Canada*; Queen's University John Deutsch Institute: Kingston: 205-228.

Class 12 – Intergovernmental Relations & Environmental Policy

The class will explore provincial and national policy action (/inaction) on climate change by assessing the institutional factors that affect policy change.

Required Reading

*Winfield, M., & Macdonald, D. 2012. "Federalism and Canadian Climate Change Policy," in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.) *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy*, 3rd Edition; Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Harrison, Kathryn. 2013. "Federalism and Climate Change Innovation: A Critical Reassessment," *Canadian Public Policy* 39: S95-S108.

Recommended Reading

*Bakvis, H., & Skogstad, G. 2012. "Conclusion: Taking Stock of Canadian Federalism," in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.) *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy*, 3rd Edition; Don Mills: Oxford University Press.