University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
Fall 2021

POL 2100: Issues and Foundations in Canadian Government

PhD Core Course

Syllabus

Class Time:
Wednesdays 12pm to 3pm
Class Location:
SS 3130 / Online (links via Quercus)

Instructors: Alison Smith and Robert Schertzer
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Office Hours: By appointment.

Course Description

This course relies on close readings of leading scholarship to prepare students to assess and carry out research in Canadian political science. By the end of the semester, students are expected to understand the leading debates and approaches in the field, and be able to rigorously evaluate their own and other scholars' research. As such, the core course serves an essential preparation to the major field examination (MFE) in Canadian politics. The course is divided into two sections: 1) Identity and Politics, and 2) Governance and Institutions.

Format

The format of core courses consists of three-hour seminars inviting a continued involvement of PhD students in a critical discussion of weekly readings. At the beginning of the semester, students will be assigned the task of leading the discussion for two specific weeks. The course also features two workshops on reading and writing academic research, one scheduled early in the semester on reading, and a second in the middle of the semester on writing.

Readings

Core courses feature a heavy load in terms of reading requirements, and students will need to plan sufficient time outside of class for preparing adequately. To facilitate organization, each week is associated with **required readings** that students are expected to have done before the seminar. The workload for a typical week consists of one book plus two articles or chapters. The **recommended (MFE) readings** represent seminal books or articles on the same topic that students are expected to gain familiarity with at the time of writing the MFE in Canadian politics.

Assessment

The quality of seminars depends on contributions from everybody. The seminar lead for each week will open the class with a 15-minute presentation. It is expected that they will share a one-page list of discussion questions on the readings and topic the night before class. All students are expected to have completed the required readings, and to be able to provide insightful comments during class discussion.

Students will also produce a term paper on a topic of their choosing, and will present their papers to the class.

The final exam will be a timed, take-home exam designed to serve as a useful practice for the MFE.

- Participation 10%
- Seminar Leads (2 x 10%) 20%
- Paper Presentation 10% (in week 8)
- Paper (15 pages) 30% (due week 10)
- Take Home-Exam 30% (during December exam period)

Abbreviations

UTP: University of Toronto Press
MQUP: McGill-Queen's University Press
CUP: Cambridge University Press
OUP: Oxford University Press
CJPS: Canadian Journal of Political Science

Schedule

Week 1. Studying Canadian Politics

September 15

Course Introduction, Reading Workshop

- *Note: we will be reading Thompson (2008) together, in class, as part of this exercise; but if you would like to read the article in advance, please feel free to do so.*

Recommended readings:

- Thompson, Debra. 2008. "Is Race Political?" *CJPS* 41(3): 525-547.
- Vipond, Rob. 2008. "Introduction: The Comparative Turn in Canadian Political Science". In Linda White, Richard Simeon, Robert Vipond and Jennifer Wallner. Eds. *The Comparative Turn in Canadian Political Science*: pp. 3-17.
- Tolley, Erin. 2017. "Into the Mainstream or Still at the Margins? 50 Years of Gender Research in the CPSA" *CJPS* 50(1)
- Smith, Miriam. 2009. "Diversity and Canadian Political Development" *CJPS* 42(4): 831-854.
- Michelle L. Dion and Laura B. Stephenson. 2017. "Planning for the Future: Methodology Training in Canadian Universities." *CJPS* 50(1): 281-294.
- Ladner, Kiera. 2017. "Taking the Field: 50 Years of Politics in the CJPS" *CJPS* 50(1): 163-179.
- Lucas, Jack and Robert Vipond. 2017. "Back to the Future: Historical Political Science and the Promise of Canadian Political Development" *CJPS* 50(1)

PART A: IDENTITY AND POLITICS

Week 2. Identity and Canadian Politics

September 22

Required readings:

- Coulthard, Glen Sean. 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. (pp. 1-24).
- Rocher, François. 2009. "The Quebec-Canada Dynamic or the Negation of the Ideal of Federalism." In *Contemporary Canadian Federalism: Foundations, Traditions, Institutions*, ed. Alain-G. Gagnon. Toronto: UTP, p. 81-130.
- Cowie, Chadwick. 2021. "Quebec Sovereignty and Indigenous Nationhoods: Critiquing The Quebec Secessionist Movement from an 'Indigenous' Lens". *Journal of Australian, Canadian and Aotearoa New Zealand studies*.

- Lecours, André. 2000. “Theorizing Cultural Identities: Historical institutionalism as a Challenge to the Institutionalists” *CJPS* 33(3): 499-522.

MFE readings:

- Asch, Michael, John Borrows and James Tully. 2018. *Resurgence and Reconciliation*. Toronto: UTP (chapters by Asch, Tully, and Regan)
- Russell, Peter H. 2017. *Canada’s Odyssey: A Country Based on Incomplete Conquests.* Toronto: UTP.
- Porter, John. 1965. *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada.* Toronto: UTP. (Ch. 1)
- Cairns, Alan. 1995. “The Embedded State: State-Society Relations in Canada,” in Keith Banting, ed., *State and Society: Canada in Comparative Perspective.* Toronto: UTP.
- Bannerji, Himani. 2000. *The Dark Side of the Nation.* Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press. (Ch 4.)
- Smith, Miriam. 2018 [2005]. *A Civil Society? Collective Actors in Canadian Political Life* (2nd Edition). Toronto: UTP.
- LaSelva, Samuel. 1996. *The Moral Foundations of Canadian Federalism: Paradoxes, Achievements, and Tragedies of Nationhood.* Montreal: MQUP.
- Banting, Keith and Kymlicka, Will. 2013. “Is There Really a Retreat from Multiculturalism Policies? New Evidence from the Multiculturalism Policy Index” *Comparative European Politics* 11(5): 577–598.
- Kymlicka, Will. 2008. “Marketing Canadian Pluralism in the International Arena.” In *The comparative turn in Canadian political science*, eds. Linda White et al. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Schertzer, Robert. 2016. “Quebec Justices as Quebec Representatives: National Minority Representation and the Supreme Court of Canada’s Federalism Jurisprudence” *Publius* 46(4): 539–567.
- Nadasdy, P. 2017. *Sovereignty's Entailments: First Nation State Formation in the Yukon.* Toronto: UTP.

Week 3. Federalism and the Provinces

September 29

Required readings:

- Wallner, Jennifer. 2014. *Learning to School: Federalism and Public Schooling in Canada.* Toronto: UTP.
- Schertzer, Robert, Andrew McDougall and Grace Skogstad. 2018. “Multilateral Collaboration in Canadian Intergovernmental Relations: The Role of Procedural and Reciprocal Norms” *Publius* 48(4).
- Ladner, Kiera. 2003. “Treaty Federalism: An Indigenous Vision of Canadian Federalisms” in M. Smith and F. Rocher. Eds. *New Trends in Canadian Federalism*. Second edition. Peterborough: Broadview.

MFE readings:

- Vickers, Jill. 2010. “A Two-Way Street: Federalism and Women’s Politics in Canada and the United States” *Publius* 40(3)
- Cochrane, Christopher and Perrella, Andrea. 2012. “Regions, Regionalism and Regional Differences in Canada: Mapping Economic Opinions,” *CJPS* 45(4).
- Bakvis, Herman and Skogstad, Grace. Eds. 2020. *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy.* Toronto: OUP.
- Paquet, Mireille. 2014. “The Federalization of Immigration and Integration in Canada” *CJPS* 47(3)
- Broschek, Jorg. 2010. “Federalism and Political Change: Canada and Germany in Historical-Institutionalist Perspective” *CJPS* 43(1)
- Simeon, Richard. 2006 [1973]. *Federal-Provincial Diplomacy: The Making of Recent Policy in Canada*. Toronto: UTP.
- McRoberts, Kenneth. 1997. *Misconceiving Canada: The Struggle for National Unity.* Toronto: OUP. (particularly 137-75)
- David Cameron and Richard Simeon. 2002. “Intergovernmental relations in Canada: The emergence of collaborative federalism” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 32(2): 49-71.
- Rocher, François. and Smith, Miriam. 2003. “The Four Dimensions of Canadian Federalism” in *New Trends in Canadian Federalism*, Rocher, F and Smith M, Eds., Peterborough: Broadview.
- Papillon, Martin. 2012. “Adapting Federalism: Indigenous Multilevel Governance in Canada and the United States” *Publius* 42(2): 289-312.
- Lecours, André. 2010. “Federalism and Fiscal Policy: The Politics of Equalization in Canada” *Pubius: The Journal of Federalism* 40(4): 569-596.
- Smith, Jennifer. 2011. “Federalism.” In Cross, W., Ed., *Auditing Canadian Democracy*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Henderson, Ailsa. 2004. “Regional Political Cultures in Canada,” *CJPS* 37(3).

Week 4. Indigenous Peoples and the Politics of Recognition

October 6

Required readings:

- Irlbacher-Fox, Stephanie. 2009. *Finding Dahshaa: Self-Government, Social Suffering and Aboriginal Policy in Canad*a. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Voth, Daniel. 2020. “Descendants of the Original Lords of the Soil”: Indignation, Disobedience, and Women Who Jig on Sundays. *Native American and Indigenous Studies*. 7(2): 87-113.
- Ferris, Shawna, Kiera Ladner, Danielle Allard, and Micheline Hughes. 2018. “Commemoration and Decolonization in the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women Database.” *Public* 29(57): 96-106.

MFE readings:

- Voth, Daniel. 2018. “The Choices We Make and the World They Create.” *University of Toronto Law Journal*. 68(3): 1-47.
- Kuokkanen, Rauna. 2019. *Restructuring Relations: Indigenous Self-Determination, Governance, and Gender*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ladner, Kiera. 2009. “Take 35: Reconciling Constitutional Orders” in Annis May Timpson (ed) *First Nations, First Thoughts*. Vancouver: UBC Press

- Abele, Frances. and Prince, Michael J. 2006. "Four Pathways to Aboriginal Self-Government in Canada" *American Review of Canadian Studies* 36:4.
- Cairns, Alan. 2000. *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* Vancouver: UBC Press. (Ch. 4).
- Alcantara, Chris and Jennifer Nelles. 2016. *A Quiet Evolution*. Toronto: UTP.
- Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake, Renaldo Walcott and Glen Coulthard. 2018. "Idle No More and Black Lives Matter: An Exchange" *Studies in Social Justice* 12(1).

Week 5. Cities and Urban Politics

October 13

Required:

- Good, Kristin. 2009. *Municipalities and Multiculturalism: The Politics of Immigration in Toronto and Vancouver*. Toronto: UTP.
- Leo, Christopher. 2006. "Deep Federalism: Respecting Community Difference in National Policy." *CJPS* 39(3): 481-506.
- Lucas, Jack and Alison Smith. 2020. "Multilevel Policy from the Municipal Perspective: A pan-Canadian survey." *Canadian Public Administration*. 62(2): 270-293

MFE readings:

- Taylor, Zachary. 2019. *Shaping the Metropolis*. Montreal and Kingston: MQUP.
- Horak, Martin, and Robert Young, eds. 2012. *Sites of Governance: Multilevel Governance and Policy Making in Canada's Big Cities*. Montreal: MQUP.
- Smith, Alison, and Zachary Spicer. 2016. "The Local Autonomy of Canada's Largest Cities." *Urban Affairs Review* 40(2): 147-182.
- Philips and Orsini. 2002. *Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes*. Ontario: CPRN.

Week 6. Gender, Race, and Intersectionality

October 20

Required readings:

- Tolley, Erin. 2015. *Framed: Media and the Coverage of Race in Canadian Politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Nath, Nisha. 2011. "Defining Narratives in Identity in Canadian Political Science: Accounting for the Absence of Race." *CJPS* 44(1): 161-193.
- Ladner, Kiera. 2009. "Gendering Decolonization, Decolonizing Gender" *Australian Indigenous Law Review* 13(1): 62-78.

MFE readings:

- Thompson, Debra. 2016. *The Schematic State: Race, Transnationalism, and the Politics of the Census*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bashevkin, Sylvia. 2019. *Doing Politics Differently?* Toronto: UTP.
- Shachar, A. *Multicultural Jurisdictions: Cultural Differences and Women's Rights* (New York: CUP) (Ch. 2).
- Bashevkin, Sylvia. 1993. *Toeing the Lines: Women and Party Politics in English Canada*. New York: OUP.
- Green, J. 2001. "Canaries in the Mines of Citizenship: Indian Women in Canada" *CJPS* 34(4).
- Paterson, S. 2010. "What's the problem with gender-based analysis? Gender mainstreaming policy and practice in Canada" *Canadian Public Administration* 53(3).
- Taylor, Charles, and Amy Guttman. 1994. *Multiculturalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1-74.
- Smith, M. 2008. *Political Institutions and Lesbian and Gay Rights in the United States and Canada* (New York: Routledge)

PART B: GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONS

Week 7. Responsible Government

October 27

Writing Workshop

- *Note: for this workshop, students will be asked to come with a short, one/two-page outline of their proposed paper topic/argument/points.*

Required readings:

- Peter Aucoin, Lori Turnbull and Mark Jarvis. 2011. *Democratizing the Constitution: Reforming Responsible Government*. Toronto: Emond Montgomery.
- Sutherland, Sharon. 1991. "Responsible Government and Ministerial Responsibility: Every Reform Is Its Own Problem." *CJPS* 24(1): 91-120.
- Savoie, Donald. 1999. *Governing From the Centre: The Concentration of Power in Canadian Politics.* Toronto: UTP. (Introduction and Ch. 3)

MFE readings:

- Linda Trimble, Jane Arscott and Manon Tremblay. Eds. 2013. Stalled: The Representation of Women in Canadian Governments. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Graham White. 2005. Cabinets and First Ministers. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Alex Marland, J. P. Lewis and Tom Flanagan. 2016. *Governance in the Age of Digital Media and Branding*. Governance 30(1): 125-141.
- Lindquist, Evert A. and Chris Eichmaum. 2016. "Remaking Government in Canada: Dares, Resilience, and Civility in Westminster Systems." *Governance* 29(4): 553-571.

Week 8. Paper Presentations

November 3 – paper presentations

Reading Week

November 10

Week 9. Parliament

November 17

Required readings:

- Godbout, Jean-François. 2020. *Lost on Division: Party Unity in the Canadian Parliament*. Toronto: UTP.
- Soroka, Stuart, Erin Penner, and Kelly Blidook. 2009. "Constituency Influence in Parliament." *CJPS* 42(3): 563-591.

MFE readings:

- Docherty, David. 2011. Legislatures. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Kam, Christopher. 2009. *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics*. New York: CUP.
- Smith, David E. 2007. The People's House of Commons: Theories and Democracy in Contention. Toronto: UTP.
- Smith, David E. 2003. *The Canadian Senate in a Bicameral Perspective.* Toronto: UTP.
- Franks, C.E.S, 1987. *The Parliament of Canada*. Toronto: UTP.
- Rheault, Ludovic. 2013. "Corporate Lobbying and Immigration Policies in Canada," *CJPS* 46(3): 691-722.
- Blidook, Kelly. 2010. "Exploring the Role of "Legislators" in Canada: Do Members of Parliament Influence Policy?" Journal of Legislative Studies 16 (1): 32-56.
- Bird, Karen. 2010. "Patterns of Substantive Representation Among Visible Minority MPs: Evidence from Canada's House of Commons." In Bird, K., T. Saalfeld and A.M. Wüst, Eds., The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities. New York: Routledge, pp. 207-229.
- Tremblay, Manon. "Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament." Canadian Journal of Political Science 31:3 (1998): 435-65.
- Docherty, David. 2002. The Canadian Senate: Chamber of Sober Reflection or Loony Cousin Best Not Talked About. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 8(3): 27-48.

Week 10. The Welfare State and Social Policy

November 24

Term Paper Due

Required readings:

- Smith, Alison. Forthcoming. *Multiple Barriers: The Multilevel Governance of Homelessness in Canada*. University of Toronto Press. Chapters 1-3.
- Wallner, Jennifer. 2010. "Beyond National Standards" *Publius* 40(4): 646-671.
- Rianne Mahon. 2007. "Challenging National Regimes from Below" *Politics and Gender*. 3.
- Banting, Keith and Debra Thompson. 2021. "The Puzzling Persistence of Racial Inequality in Canada". *Canadian Journal of Political Science*

MFE readings:

- Rianne Mahon. 2008. "Varieties of Liberalism: Canadian Social Policy from the 'Golden Age' to the Present," *Social Policy & Administration* 42:4, 342-361.
- Carolyn Tuohy. Accidental logics: The dynamics of change in the health care arena in the United States, Britain, and Canada. Oxford: OUP, 1999.
- Rice, James and Michael Prince. *The Changing Politics of Canadian Social Policy*. Toronto: UTP. 2013
- Boychuk, Gerard. *National Health Insurance and the Roots of Difference*. Washington: GUP. 2008.
- Banting and Myles. *Inequality and the Fading of Redistributive Politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Banting, K and Kymlicka, W. (eds.) 2006. *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and Redistribution in Contemporary Democracies.* (Oxford: OUP). (Introduction and Ch. 1).
- Zuberi, Dan. *Differences that Matter: Social policy and the working poor in the US and Canada*. Ithica: Cornell University Press 2006
- Jenson, Jane. 2010. "Continuities and Change in the Design of Canada's Social Architecture." In J.C. Courtney and Smith, D.E., Eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Canadian Politics.* Toronto: OUP: 417-433.
- Richard Johnston, Keith Banting, Will Kymlicka and Stuart Soroka. 2010. "National Identity and Support for the Welfare State" *CJPS* 43(2): 349-377.
- White, Linda. 2012. "Must We All be Paradigmatic? Social Investment Policies and Liberal Welfare States" *CJPS* 45(3): 657-683.
- Rodney Haddow. 2015. *Comparing Ontario and Quebec: Political Economy and Public Policy at the Turn of the Millennium*. Toronto: UTP.
- Lars Oberg. 2018. *The Age of Increasing Inequality: The Astonishing Rise of Canada's 1%*. Toronto: James Lorimer.

Week 11. Courts, Judicial Review, and the Charter

December 1

Required readings:

- Ran Hirschl. 2004. Towards Juristocracy: The origins and consequences of the new constitutionalism. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (Ch. 4)
- Knopff, Rainer and Morton, Ted. 2000. *The Charter Revolution and the Court Party.* Peterborough: Broadview. (Chs 2-3)

- Hogg, P. and Bushell. A. 1997. “The Charter Dialogue Between Courts and Legislatures (Or Perhaps the *Charter Of Rights* Isn’t Such a Bad Thing).” *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 35(1).
- Smith, Miriam. 2005. “Social Movements and Judicial Empowerment: Courts, Public Policy, and Lesbian and Gay Organizing in Canada” *Politics and Society* 33(2): 327-353.

MFE readings:

- Voth, Daniel. 2016. “Her Majesty’s Justice Be Done” *CJPS.* 49(2).
- Schertzer, R. 2017. “Federal Arbiters as Facilitators: Towards an integrated federal and judicial theory for diverse states” *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 15(1)
- Borrows, John. 2016. *Freedom and Indigenous Constitutionalism. Toronto: UTP.* (Ch. 1-3)
- Borrows, J. 2010. *Canada’s Indigenous Constitution* (Toronto: UTP).
- Schertzer, R. 2016. *The Judicial Role in a Diverse Federation: Lessons from the Supreme Court of Canada* (Toronto: UTP)
- Kelly, J. 2001. “Reconciling Rights and Federalism during Review of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms: The Supreme Court of Canada and the Centralization thesis, 1982 to 1999.” *CJPS* 34(2)
- Cairns, A. 1971. “The Judicial Committee and its Critics” *CJPS* 4(3)
- Radmilovic, V. 2010. “Strategic Legitimacy Cultivation at the Supreme Court of Canada: Quebec Secession Reference and Beyond” *CJPS* 43(4)
- Songer, D., Johnson, S., Ostberg, C. and Wetstein, M. 2012. *Law, Ideology and Collegiality: Judicial Behaviour in the Supreme Court of Canada* (Kingston: MQUP) (Chs 5 and 7).
- Smith, J. 1983. “The Origins of Judicial Review in Canada” *CJPS* 16(1).
- Macfarlane, E. 2013. *Governing from the Bench: The Supreme Court of Canada and the Judicial Role* (Vancouver: UBC Press) (particularly 15-38).
- Baier, G. 2006. *Courts and Federalism: Judicial Doctrine in the United States, Australia and Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press)
- Krikorian, J. 2012. *International Trade Law and Domestic Policy* (Vancouver: UBC Press) (Ch. 2).
- Kelly, J. 2005. *Governing with the Charter: Legislative and judicial activism and framers’ intent* (Vancouver: UBC Press).
- Hiebert. J. 2002. *Charter conflicts: What is Parliament’s Role*? (Montreal: MQUP)
- McCormick, P. 2015*. The End of the Charter Revolution: Looking Back from the New Normal* (Toronto: UTP)

Week 12. Elections and Party Systems

December 8

Required readings:

- LeDuc, Larry, and John Pammett. 2016. *Dynasties and Interludes: Past and Present in Canadian Electoral Politics.* 2nd Edition. Toronto: Dundurn.
- Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte, Andre Blais, Joanna Everitt and Patrick Fournier. 2012. *Dominance and Decline: Making Sense of Recent Canadian Elections*. Toronto: UTP. (Ch. 2)

- Tolley, Erin. 2011. “Do Women ‘Do Better’ in Municipal Politics? Electoral Representation Across Three Levels of Government.” *CJPS* 44(3): 573-594.

MFE readings:

- Richard Johnston. 2017. *The Canadian Party System: An Analytic History.* Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Cairns, Alan. 1968. “The Electoral and the Party System in Canada, 1921-1965.” *CJPS* 1(1): 55-80.
- Anderson, Cameron D. and Laura B. Stephenson, Eds. 2010. *Voting Behaviour in Canada.* Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Merolla, Jennifer L., and Laura B. Stephenson. 2007. “Strategic Voting in Canada: A Cross-Time Analysis.” *Electoral Studies* 26(2): 235-246.
- Cochrane, Christopher. 2010. “Left-Right Ideology and Canadian Politics.” *CJPS.* 43(3): 583-605.
- Blais, André. 2000. *To Vote or Not to Vote? The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory.* Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Gidengil, Elisabeth. 1992. “Canada Votes: A Quarter Century of Canadian National Election Studies.” *CJPS* 25(2): 219-248.
- Soroka, Stuart. 2002. *Agenda-Setting Dynamics in Canada.* Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Alex Marland, Thierry Giasson and Tamara Small, Eds. 2014. *Political Communication in Canada: Meet the Press and Tweet the Rest*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- William P. Cross, Jonathan Malloy, Tamara A. Small, and Laura B. Stephenson. 2015. *Fighting for Votes: Parties, the Media and Voters in an Ontario Election*. Vancouver: UBC Press.