

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
POL 224Y; section L5101

Canada in Comparative Perspective
Fall/Winter 2012-2013

Professor: Rodney Haddow

Class time: Tuesday, 6-8 PM

Class location: AH 100

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

Office hours: Tuesday, 4:30-5:30; Thursday, 4:30-5:30 PM. I am also available by appointment.

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Course description: This course introduces students to the study of the comparative politics of developed democracies, with particular attention to the light that international comparisons can shed on Canadian government. A key assumption underlying the course design is that a good understanding of Canadian politics should start with a careful consideration of how Canada compares with other nations in the developed world. 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 comparative politics. It then addresses the relationship between the state and the other major parts of society, tracing the historical emergence of these patterns in recognizably contemporary forms in early modern Western Europe. Section [B] examines key institutions and processes of government in developed liberal democracies with particular attention to the Canadian case.

This course 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). Section [C] addresses these themes most directly, examining how political life both conditions and is shaped by its economic and societal setting, domestic and international. The focus is again on developed societies, with special attention to the Canadian case.

A common theme throughout the course is that politics and political economy vary substantially among nations, and are subject to noteworthy change over time. For capitalist democracies, this is true in spite of the fact that they share elective political institutions, a substantial private sector and more-or-less well-developed civil societies.

Students will find it quite valuable, for completing this course satisfactorily, to follow major political events in the best available mass media sources. An effective way of

doing this is to read one of the three non-tabloid daily newspapers that serve the Toronto area. 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*, and *The Financial Times* (of London) are available on-line, for a price, and provide excellent coverage. Many other worthy international news sources are still available free of charge.

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 4th or 5th week of the course. ***You are expected to attend all lectures and tutorials unless you have a compelling reason for not doing so.***

Texts:

Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012).

There is also a *course pack*.

Both texts are available at the U of T bookstore. Several readings are available on-line, as indicated below.

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 good 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.

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, contact me. If the question has to do with ***how you should go about preparing 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 your TA first.

Grades and grading: 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 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; <u>due on November 6th</u>)	15%
Fall term test (<u>on December 4th, in class</u>)	20%
Research essay (8-10 pages; <u>due on March 12th, 2013</u>)	25%
Final examination (<u>during April exam period</u>)	30%
Tutorial participation	10%

*Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to **Turnitin.com** for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the turnitin.com web site. If, as a student, you object to using turnitin.com, please see me to establish alternative arrangements for submission of your written assignments.*

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.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>. The essay assignment sheet will also provide more detail on these points.

All first term work must, according to University regulations, be submitted by December 5th. Second term work must be submitted by April 5th, 2013.

Accessibility Needs: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>

Autumn term lecture themes and readings:

1. **September 11th: Introduction** to course content and requirements

[A] Fundamental Concepts and Methods

2. **September 18th: What is a State? (1):** Three concepts of power, Max Weber & authority, legitimacy, sovereignty, violence, government & the state.
 Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter 1
 W. Phillips Shively, *Power and Choice*, 10th ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 2007), pp. 41-65 [Course pack]
3. **September 25th: 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.
 David Held, et al., *Global Transformations* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 32-49 [Course pack]
4. **October 2nd: State, Economy and Civil Society:** Capitalism, civil society, institutional differentiation, T.H. Marshall’s concepts of citizenship rights; the European state ‘model’.
 Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 67-95 [Course pack]
 Douglas North and Robert Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 132-156 [Course pack]
5. **October 9th: Political Culture and Identity:** What political culture is; comparisons; social capital; post-materialism and identity politics; feminism.
 Rais Khan and James McNivan, *An Introduction to Political Science*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Nelson, 1991), pp. 73-87 [Course pack]
 Ronald Inglehart, “Postmaterialist Politics”, in Roy Macridis and Bernard Brown, eds., *Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings*, 7th ed. (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1990), 257-266 [Course pack]

Robert Putnam, “The Strange Disappearance of Civic America,” *The American Prospect*, December 1995. [On-line reading] Follow these links from <http://www.prospect.org: articles>archive>articles by author>Robert Putnam>.

6. **October 16th: Canadian Political Culture:** What are its main features? How has it evolved? How ‘American’ is Canada’s political culture?
Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapters 2 and 4

[B] Institutions in Canada & Other Liberal Democracies

7. **October 23rd: Constitutional Principles (1):** Written and unwritten constitutions; Parliamentary and Presidential Government; federal and unitary states; the rule of law and judicial power.
W. Phillips Shively, *Power and Choice*, 10th ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 2007), pp. 311-322, 331-347 [Course pack]
8. **October 30th: Constitutional Principles (2):** Canada’s complex constitution, in light of its British and American antecedents.
Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter 5
9. **November 6th: The Courts and Civil Liberties:** Constitutional rights protection; the role of judiciaries; judicial ‘activism’; British, American and other international experience.
Theodore Lowi, et al., *American Government: Power and Purpose*, 8th ed. (New York: Norton, 2004), 114-155 [Course pack]
W. Ivor Jennings, *The British Constitution*, 5th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 195-211 [Course pack]
- November 13th: November Break; no class.**
10. **November 20th: The Canadian Charter of Rights:** Canadian civil liberties before the Charter; the Charter’s provisions and its interpretation; has the Charter reshaped Canadian identity?
Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter 6
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*, 6th ed. (Toronto: Thompson Nelson, 2009), pp. 90-103 [Course pack]
11. **November 27th: Executives and Bureaucracy:** The concentration of power in the UK, US and Canada; bureaucracy; accountability; government complexity and expertise; privatization and decline.

Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapters 8 and 9

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*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Thompson Nelson, 2004), pp. 186-220 [[Course pack](#)]

12. **December 4th: Fall term test (in class)**

Winter term lecture themes and readings:

13. **January 8th: Legislatures:** To what extent has executive dominance eroded the democratic functions of legislatures in advanced democracies, with particular attention to Canada?

Michael Atkinson and David Docherty, “Parliament and Political Success in Canada”, in M. Whittington & Glen Williams, eds., *Canadian Politics in the 21st Century*, 7th ed., (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2008), pp. 3-27 [[Course pack](#)]

14. **January 15th: Federalism in Comparative Perspective:** Definitions; comparisons; local government; globalization & multilevel governance.

Reeta Tremblay, et al., *Mapping the Political Landscape*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2007), 217-239 [[Course pack](#)]

15. **January 22nd: The Evolution of Canadian Federalism:** The evolution of Canadian federalism in the light of judicial review and intergovernmental relations; key mechanisms of executive federalism; current dilemmas.

Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter 7

16. **January 29th: Electoral Systems and Democratic Reform:** SMP, PR, etc.; the Cairns thesis; international examples: recent Canadian debates; direct democracy.

Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 324-340

Alan Cairns, “The Electoral System and the Party System in Canada, 1921-1965”, in R. Blair and J. McLeod, eds., *The Canadian Political Tradition* (Toronto: Nelson, 1993), 294-315 [[Course pack](#)]

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

17. **February 5th: Political Parties and Party Systems:** Types of parties & party systems; the social and economic context, and consequences, of party systems.

Daniele Caramini, “Party Systems”, in Caramani, ed., *Comparative Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 316-345 [[Course pack](#)]

18. **February 12th: Canada's Party System and its Evolution:** The evolution of the federal party system in Canada; its social setting and implications; provincial systems; is Canada anomalous?
 Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 295-324
 Anthony Sayers, "The End of Brokerage?" in M. Whittington & Glen Williams, eds., *Canadian Politics in the 21st Century*, 7th ed., (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2008), pp. 137-152 [[Course pack](#)]
- February 19th: Reading week; no class.**
19. **February 26th: Interest Groups and New Social Movements:** Interest groups; policy communities and networks; group adaptation; business's privileged position; social movements and new social movements; the Canadian setting.
 Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter 11
 Charles Lindblom, "The Market as Prison," *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 44, no. 2 (1982), pp. 324-336. [[On-line reading](#)] [[Access on-line from UTL, starting with journal title; then select JSTOR](#)]
20. **March 5th: Varieties of Political Economy in Liberal Democracies:** [a] 'strong' and 'weak' states; [b] corporatism and pluralism; a four-cell model; welfare states.
 Rodney Haddow, "States and Markets: Studying Political Economy in Political Science", in R. Dyck, ed., *Studying Politics*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Nelson, 2012), 78-99 [[Available on course web site](#)]
 Lane Kenworthy, *Egalitarian Capitalism* (New York: Russell Sage, 2004), pp. 1-10, 125-145 [[Course pack](#)]
21. **March 12th: Canada's Political Economy (1):** The origins of Canada's political economy in its international setting; the history of its production regime until the post-war years; emergence of the welfare state.
 Michael Atkinson and William Coleman, *The State, Business, and Industrial Change in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 32-76 [[Course pack](#)]
22. **March 19th: Canada's Political Economy (2):** Canada's contemporary economic and social institutions and policy arrangements in comparative perspective.
 Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter 3
 Rodney Haddow, "Federalism & Adjustment", in G. Skogstad and H. Bakvis, eds., *Canadian Federalism*, 3rd ed., (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), 223-240 [[Available on course web site](#)]

23. **March 26th: Globalization and Liberal Democracies:** What is globalization? Is it happening? What are the consequences for liberal democracies in general, and for Canada specifically?

David Held & Anthony McGrew, *Globalization/Anti-Globalization*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Polity, 2007), pages to be determined [Course pack]

Mark Brawley, "Globalization and Canada", in James Bickerton and Alain Gagnon, eds., *Canadian Politics*, 5th ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), pp. 323-338 [Course pack]

24. **April 2nd: Canada and the World:** How Canada's role in the international community has evolved, with particular attention to change since the 1980s. Are foreign relations a 'partisan' matter in Canada?

Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter 17