

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
POL2100Y Government and Politics of Canada
Spring Term 2018 Outline**

Instructors:

Spring/Professor Sylvia Bashevkin
Room E102 University College, Tel. 416-978-3289
sbashev@chass.utoronto.ca
Office hour: 1-2 pm Monday and by appointment

Fall/Professor Robert Schertzer
Room SS3130, Sidney Smith Hall
robert.schertzer@utoronto.ca
11-12 pm Wed and by appointment

10 January -- Parties and party systems

Short paper topics (select one) a. Is the literature on Canadian parties under-theorized? b. What are the major empirical weaknesses in research on Canadian parties and party systems?

Frank H. Underhill, "The Development of Canadian Political Parties" in Underhill, *In Search of Canadian Liberalism* (Toronto: U of T Press, 1961 [1935]).

Jean-François Godbout and Bjørn Høyland, 2013, "The Emergence of Parties in the Canadian House of Commons (1867-1908)," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 46:4 (October), 773-797.

Sylvia Bashevkin, "When do outsiders break in? Institutional circumstances of party leadership victories by women in Canada," *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 48:1 (February 2010), 72-90.

David Coletto, Harold J. Jansen and Lisa Young, "Stratarchical Party Organization and Party Finance in Canada," *CJPS* 44:1 (March 2011), 111-36.

Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner, "Parachuted into Parliament: Candidate Nomination, Appointed Candidates and Legislative Roles in Canada," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 21: 4 (November 2011), 431-52.

Richard Johnston, "Alignment, Realignment and Dealignment: The View From Above," *CJPS* 46:2 (June 2013), 245-71.

Kenneth Carty, "Has Brokerage Politics Ended? Canadian Parties in the New Century," in Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop, eds., *Parties, Elections and the Future of Canadian Politics* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chap. 1. **(available as e-book)**

Christopher Cochrane, *Left and Right: The Small World of Political Ideas* (Montreal and Kingston: MQUP, 2015), chap. 8.

Scott Pruyers, "Reconsidering Vertical Integration: An Examination of National Political Parties and their Counterparts in Ontario," *CJPS* 47:2 (June 2014), 237-58.

17 January -- Elections and political behaviour

Analytic paper due on 17 January. Full details on fall term course outline.

Short paper topics (select one) a. What gains could accrue from a deeper theoretical grounding of Canadian electoral research in the comparative literature? b. How significantly has Canadian empirical research in this field advanced since its beginnings?

John Meisel, "Working Papers in Canadian Politics," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Canadian Political Behaviour: Introductory Readings* (Toronto: Methuen, 1985), 60-8.

Peter Regenstreif, "The Diefenbaker Interlude," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Canadian Political Behaviour: Introductory Readings* (Toronto: Methuen, 1985), 68-78.

Mildred Schwartz, "Public Opinion and Canadian Identity," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Canadian Political Behaviour: Introductory Readings* (Toronto: Methuen, 1985), 78-86.

Richard Johnston, André Blais, Henry Brady, and Jean Crête. 1992. *Letting the People Decide*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, ch. 6, 8. **(available as e-book)**

Clarke, Harold, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. 1996. *Absent Mandate: Canadian Electoral Politics in an Era of Restructuring*. Toronto: Gage, ch. 2, 3, 6.

Elisabeth Gidengil, "Challenge and Change: Voting and Elections in Canada," John Courtney and David Smith, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Canadian Politics* (Toronto: OUP, 2010). **(available as e-book)**

Mike Medeiros and Alain Noël, "The Forgotten Side of Partisanship: Negative Party Identification in Four Anglo-American Democracies," *Comparative Political Studies* 47:7 (June 2014), 1022-1046.

Caruana, Nicholas J., R. Michael McGregor, and Laura B. Stephenson, "The Power of the Dark Side: Negative Partisanship and Political Behaviour in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 48:4 (December 2015), 771-789.

Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte, Andre Blais, Joanna Everitt and Patrick Fournier, *Dominance and Decline: Making Sense of Recent Canadian Elections* (Toronto: UTP, 2012), Intro., chaps. 1, 11. **(available as e-book)**

Paul Thomas, Peter John Loewen and Michael MacKenzie, "Fair Isn't Always Equal: Constituency Population and the Quality of Representation in Canada," *CJPS* 46 (2014), 273-93/

PART FOUR/INSTITUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONS

24 January – Evaluating the Canadian state

Short paper topics (select one) a. Is the phrase ‘the Canadian state’ analytically useful? b. Have empirical studies effectively probed longitudinal change in the structure and operation of the Canadian state?

Alan Cairns, “The Embedded State: State-Society Relations in Canada,” in Keith Banting, ed., *State and Society: Canada in Comparative Perspective* (Toronto: UTP/Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, 1986). [Reprinted in Douglas Williams, ed., *Reconfigurations: Canadian Citizenship and Constitutional Change; Selected Essays by Alan C. Cairns* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995), 31-61.] (review).

Donald J. Savoie, *Breaking the Bargain: Public Servants, Ministers and Parliament* (Toronto: UTP, 2003), chapters 1, 6, 7.

Grace Skogstad, “Who Governs? Who Should Govern? Political Authority and Legitimacy in Canada in the Twenty-first Century,” *CJPS* 36 (December 2003), 955-73.

Olena Hankivsky, “Gender Mainstreaming in Neoliberal Times: The Potential of ‘Deep Evaluation,’” in Marjorie Griffin Cohen and Jane Pulkingham, eds., *Public Policy for Women* (Toronto: UTP, 2009), ch. 4. **(available as e-book)**

Peter Aucoin, “New Political Governance in Westminster Systems: Impartial Public Administration and Management Performance at Risk,” *Governance* 25:2 (April 2012), 177-99.

David C.G. Brown, “Accountability in a collectivized environment: From Glassco to digital public administration,” *Canadian Public Administration* 56:1 (March 2013), 47-69.

Elisabeth Gidengil and Heather Bastedo, “Conclusion: Taking Stock of Canadian Democracy from the Ground Up,” in Gidengil and Bastedo, eds., *Canadian Democracy from the Ground Up* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 253-71. **(available as e-book)**

31 January – Federalism and multilevel governance

Short paper topics (select one) a. Is it fair to argue that despite its volume, the Canadian federalism literature is theoretically impoverished? b. What empirically important dimensions of this field are under-researched?

Samuel V. LaSelva, *The Moral Foundations of Canadian Federalism* (Montreal and Kingston: MQUP, 1996), chapters 1 and 10. **(available as e-book)**

Richard Simeon, *Political Science and Federalism: Seven Decades of Scholarly Engagement* (Kingston: Queen’s University Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 2002).

Andre Lecours and Daniel Beland, “Federalism and Fiscal Policy: The Politics of Equalization in Canada,” *Publius* 40:4 (January 2010), 569-96. **OR** Daniel Beland and Andre Lecours, “Ideas, Institutions and the Politics of Federalism and Territorial Redistribution” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 49(4) pp. 681-702 (2016).

Jill Vickers, "A Two-Way Street: Federalism and Women's Politics in Canada and the United States," *Publius* 40:3 (January 2010) 412-35.

Martin Papillon, "Canadian Federalism and the Emerging Mosaic of Aboriginal Multi-level Governance," in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad, eds., *Canadian Federalism* (3rd ed.; Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2012), ch. 15.

Julie Simmons, "Democratizing Executive Federalism: The Role of Non-Governmental Actors in Intergovernmental Agreements," in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad, eds., *Canadian Federalism* (3rd ed.; Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2012), ch. 17.

François Rocher and Patrick Fafard, "Is there a Political Culture of Federalism in Canada? Charting an Unexplored Territory," in Grace Skogstad, David Cameron, Martin Papillon and Keith Banting, eds., *The Global Promise of Federalism* (Toronto, UTP, 2013), 43-68.

Anna Lennox Esselment, "A Little Help from My Friends: The Partisan Factor and Intergovernmental Negotiations in Canada," *Publius* 43:4 (October 2013), 701-27.

Robert Schertzer, *The Judicial Role in a Diverse Federation* (University of Toronto Press, 2016). Chapter 1 (The "Problem" of National Minorities and the "Solution" of Federalism).

7 February -- Parliament and legislatures

Short paper topics (select one) a. Is it accurate to depict this literature as operating in a conceptual straitjacket? b. Has too much attention been directed toward issues of responsible government, and too little toward other important questions about Parliament?

David Docherty. *Mr. Smith Goes to Ottawa: Life in the House of Commons*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), ch. 1. (review)

David E. Smith, *The People's House of Commons: Theories of Democracy in Contention* (Toronto: UTP, 2007), chaps. 1, 7. (**available as e-book**)

Peter Russell, "Learning to Live with Minority Parliaments," in Peter Russell and Lorne Sossin, eds., *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (Toronto: UTP, 2009), chap. 10. (**available as e-book**)

Graham White, "The Coalition that Wasn't," in Peter Russell and Lorne Sossin, eds., *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (Toronto: UTP, 2009), chap. 11. (**available as e-book**)

Stuart Soroka, Erin Penner and Kelly Blidook, "Constituency Influence in Parliament," *CJPS* 42:3 (September 2009), 563-91.

Christopher Kam, *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), chapters 1, 3. (**available as e-book**)

Kelly Blidook, *Constituency Influence in Parliament: Countering the Centre*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), ch 1. (**available as e-book**)

Livianna Tossutti and Jane Hilderman, “Representing Canadians: Is the 41st Parliament Still a Vertical Mosaic?” in Elisabeth Gidengil and Heather Bastedo, eds., *Canadian Democracy from the Ground Up* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), ch. 8. **(available as e-book)**

14 February – Political executives

Short paper topics (select one) a. Are centralization of power arguments theoretically well grounded? b. What empirical directions has the literature on political executives ignored?

Sylvia Bashevkin, *Women on the Defensive: Living Through Conservative Times* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), Introduction, chap. 1.

Graham White, *Cabinets and First Ministers* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), chap. 5. **(available as e-book)**

Lesley Byrne, “Making a Difference When the Doors are Open: Women in the Ontario NDP Cabinet, 1990-95,” in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Opening Doors Wider: Women’s Political Engagement in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 93-107. (review)

Donald Savoie, *Power: Where Is It?* (Montreal and Kingston: MQUP, 2010), chaps. 6, 10. **(available as e-book)**

J.P. Lewis, “Elite Attitudes on the Centralization of Power in Canadian Political Executives: A Survey of Former Canadian Provincial and Federal Cabinet Ministers, 2000-2010,” *CJPS* 46:4 (December 2013), 799-820.

Jonathan Craft, “Appointed political staffs and the diversification of advisory sources: Theory and evidence from Canada,” *Policy and Society* 32:3 (2013), 211-23.

Manon Tremblay and Daniel Stockemer, “Women’s ministerial careers in cabinet, 1921-2010: A look at socio-economic demographic traits and career experiences,” *Canadian Public Administration* 56:4 (December 2013), 523-41.

21 February – Reading week, no class meeting.

28 February -- Constitutions and the judiciary

Short paper topics (select one) a. Is this literature characterized more by conceptual uniformity or variety? b. What empirical avenues in this field are not well tilled but worth pursuing?

Alan C. Cairns, “The Judicial Committee and its Critics,” *CJPS* 4:3 (1971), 301-45.

Michael Lusztiq, “Constitutional Paralysis: Why Canadian Constitutional Initiatives Are Doomed to Fail,” *CJPS* 27: 4 (December 1994), 747-71.

Supreme Court of Canada, *Reference re the Secession of Quebec*. [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217.

Stephen McBride: “Quiet Constitutionalism in Canada: The International Political Economy of Domestic Institutional Change,” *CJPS* 26:2 (June 2003), 251-73.

Peter Russell, *Constitutional Odyssey: Can Canadians Become a Sovereign People?* (3rd ed.; Toronto: UTP, 2004), chaps. 1, 11, 12. **(available as e-book)**

Ran Hirschl, *Towards Juristocracy: The Origins and Consequences of the New Constitutionalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), ch. 4.

Miriam Smith, “The Impact of the Charter: Untangling the Effects of Institutional Change,” *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 36 (2007), 17-40.

Lori Hausegger et al., “Does Patronage Matter? Connecting Influences on Judicial Appointments with Judicial Decision Making,” *CJPS* 46 (2013), 665-690.

Robert Schertzer, “Federal Arbiters as Facilitators: Towards and integrated federal and judicial theory for diverse states” *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 15(1) pp. 110-136. (2017).

PART FIVE/CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

7 March – Citizen engagement

Short paper topics (select one) a. Are the tools of mainstream political science analysis well suited to research in this area? b. Do patterns of participation during the 2015 federal election campaign call into question core preoccupations of this literature?

Mark Pickup, Anthony Sayers, Rainer Knopff, and Keith Archer. “Social capital and civic community in Alberta.” *CJPS* 37 (2004), 617–45.

Genevieve Fuji Johnson, “Deliberative Democratic Practices in Canada: An Analysis of Institutional Empowerment in Three Cases,” *CJPS* 42:3 (September 2009), 679-703. (review)

Paul Howe. *Citizens Adrift: The Democratic Disengagement of Young Canadians* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), chaps. 2, 8. (review)

Blayne Haggart, “Fair Copyright for Canada: Lessons for Online Social Movements from the First Canadian Facebook Uprising,” *CJPS* 46:4 (December 2013), 841-62.

Miriam Smith, “Identity and Opportunity: The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Movement,” in Miriam Smith, ed., *Group Politics and Social Movements in Canada* (2nd ed.; Toronto: UTP, 2014), chap. 8. **(available as e-book)**

Kathleen McNutt, “Public engagement in the Web 2.0 era: Social collaborative technologies in a public sector context,” *Canadian Public Administration* 57:1 (March 2014), 49-70.

Quinn Albaugh and Christopher Waddell, "Social Media and Political Inequality," in Elisabeth Gidengil and Heather Bastedo, eds., *Canadian Democracy from the Ground Up*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014, ch. 5. **(available as e-book)**

14 March -- Assessing public policy **Professor Ludovic Rheault to visit**

Short paper topics (select one) a. Can interests, institutions and ideas all be effectively considered in a single study of Canadian public policy? b. Have empirical scholars in this field responded adequately to the concerns raised by Simeon back in 1976?

Richard Simeon, "Studying Public Policy," *CJPS* 9:4 (December 1976), 548-80.

11

Richard Simeon, "Afterword: 'New' Directions in Canadian Policy Studies," in Laurent Dobuzinskis, Michael Howlett and David Laycock, eds., *Policy Analysis in Canada: The State of the Art* (Toronto: UTP, 1996), 375-81.

Sylvia Bashevkin, "Losing Common Ground: Feminists, Conservatives and Public Policy in Canada during the Mulroney Years," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 29:2 (June 1996), 211-42.

Grace Skogstad "Globalization and Public Policy: Situating Canadian Analyses," *CJPS* 33: 4 (December 2000), 805-28.

Michael Howlett, "Policy analytical capacity and evidence-based policy-making: Lessons from Canada," *Canadian Public Administration* 52:2 (June 2009), 153-76.

Jacqueline D. Krikorian, *International Trade Law and Domestic Policy* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), chap. 2. (review)

Katherine Boothe, "Ideas and the Limits of Program Expansion: The Failure of Nationwide Pharmacare in Canada since 1944", *CJPS* 46: 2 (June 2013), 419-453.

Ludovic Rheault, "Corporate Lobbying and Immigration Policies in Canada," *CJPS* 46:3 (September 2013), 691-722.

21 March – Urban politics

Short paper topics (select one) a. Are institutional approaches relevant to a constitutionally devalued layer of government in Canada? b. What empirical questions need to be prioritized in research on Canadian cities?

Warren Magnusson, "Are Municipalities Creatures of the Provinces?" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39:2 (Spring 2005), 5-29.

Sylvia Bashevkin, "Training a Spotlight on Urban Citizenship: The Case of Women in London and Toronto," in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29:1 (March 2005), 9-25. (review)

Louise Carbert, "Are Cities More Congenial? Tracking the Rural Deficit of Women in the House of Commons," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Opening Doors Wider: Women's Political Engagement in Canada* (Vancouver: UBCPress, 2009), chap. 5. **(available as e-book)**

Kristin Good, *Municipalities and Multiculturalism: The Politics of Immigration in Toronto and Vancouver* (Toronto: UTP, 2009), chapters 1, 2, 8. **(available as e-book)**

Zack Taylor and Gabriel Eidelman, "Canadian Political Science and the City: A Limited Engagement," *CJPS* 43:4 (December 2010), 961-81.

Carey Doberstein, "Metagovernance of urban governance networks in Canada: In pursuit of legitimacy and accountability," *Canadian Public Administration* 56:4 (December 2013), 584-609.

Rianne Mahon, "Cities and Child Care Policy in Canada: More than a Puppet on (Intergovernmental) Strings?" in Katherine A. H. Graham and Caroline Andrew, eds., *Canada in Cities: The Politics and Policy of Federal-Local Governance* (Montreal: MQUP, 2014), chap. 8. **(available as e-book)**

Frances Abele and Katherine A. H. Graham, "Federal Urban Aboriginal Policy," in Katherine A. H. Graham and Caroline Andrew, eds., *Canada in Cities: The Politics and Policy of Federal-Local Governance* (Montreal: MQUP, 2014), chap. 10. **(available as e-book)**

28 March – Media and politics

Short paper topics (select one) a. Is the literature on media and politics in Canada well-integrated conceptually with the rest of Canadian politics scholarship? b. Are the most popular methodologies used in the media and politics literature necessarily the most empirically promising?

April Lindgren, "Toronto-Area Ethnic Newspapers and Canada's 2011 Federal Election," *CJPS* 47:4 (2014), 667-96.

Alex Marland, "Political Photography, Journalism and Framing in the Digital Age: The Management of Visual Media by the Prime Minister of Canada," *International Journal of Press/Politics* 17:2 (2012), 214-33.

Brenda O'Neill, "The Media's Role in Shaping Canadian Civic and Political Engagement," *Canadian Political Science Review* 3:2 (June 2009), 105-27.

Tom Flanagan, "A Political Scientist in Public Affairs," in *The Public Intellectual in Canada*. Edited by Nelson Wiseman. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013, 125-149.

Sylvia Bashevkin, "Navigating gendered spaces: Women as public intellectuals," in Nelson Wiseman (ed.), *The Public Intellectual in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013, 109-24.

Harold Innis, "The Bias of Communication", in *The Bias of Communication (Second Edition)*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, 33-60.

Harold Innis, "Introduction", in *Empire and Communications*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007, 21-31.

Saunders, Doug. "Public Thought and the Crisis of Underpopulation," in *The Public Intellectual in Canada*. Edited by Nelson Wiseman. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013, 36-52.

4 April – no class meeting

Take home exam will be distributed electronically at 4 pm on 4 April for submission via email within 72 hours.