

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
POL 490/2102F TOPICS IN CANADIAN POLITICS
LEADERSHIP IN THE PROVINCES & TERRITORIES, FALL 2021**

Instructor: Professor S. Bashevkin

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Online delivery details: Full details on how to access various course components will be posted on the Quercus site for the course. Since this information may be updated from time to time, students are urged to regularly consult the Quercus Announcements page for POL490/2102H.

Synchronous class meeting time: Wednesdays 2 pm to 4 pm

Virtual office hours: Wednesdays 4 to 5 pm/Open door on Quercus

One-on-one zoom appointments: To arrange, kindly email Professor Bashevkin at sbashevkin@chass.utoronto.ca

Overview: This course has two main purposes: first, to examine critically the range of analytic, memoir and biographical material that is available about provincial and territorial leaders in Canada; and second, to contribute as contemporary researchers to the development of scholarship in this field. By assessing where the academic, journalistic and popular literatures in this area stand, the course aims to engage students in the creation of new knowledge and insight pertaining to sub-national leadership in Canada. Given a highly structured emphasis on seminar participation and cross-fertilization across student projects, no other research or writing assignments will be admitted as substitutes for the course requirements outlined below.

Course requirements: One two-hour seminar per week. Regular attendance and participation in the virtual classroom as well as frequent one-on-one virtual meetings with the course instructor are essential to fulfilling the course requirements. No make-up seminar sessions will be held for students who miss class and hence miss their seminar presentations or their opportunities for seminar participation. Students are expected to present two seminars during the term and to submit two short versions as well as one full version of the course paper. Writing assignment instructions follow this outline. Written assignments must be submitted online via Quercus as Word documents by 11:59 pm Toronto, Ontario time on the due date.

Background reading: Students are expected to have recent and extensive familiarity with Canadian history, which can be refreshed or deepened by reading one of the following texts:

Robert Bothwell, *The Penguin History of Canada* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2007).

Margaret Conrad, *A Concise History of Canada* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Desmond Morton, *A Short History of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2017).

H. V. Nelles, *A Little History of Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Seminar presentation schedule will be organized at the beginning of the term. Students are urged to prepare written comments on weekly readings as a basis for discussion, including when they are not scheduled to make a formal presentation. *Presentations of 12-14 minutes should focus on critical questions and integrative points linking the readings, not on descriptive summaries of texts.* Students are welcome to consult with Professor Bashevkin a few days in advance of their first presentation in order to ensure high quality content and an effective speaking style. Responsibility for presentations rests with students. Professor Bashevkin must be notified at least three hours before

the start of class if for any reason you will not be making your presentation on the given materials at a specified class. Given enrolment pressures for seminar courses, there is no guarantee that missed presentations will be rescheduled. All students will be required to make at least one seminar presentation on or before November 3 so the instructor can grade at least one significant piece of work before the drop deadline of November 8.

Class participation: Grade is based on quality of engagement in seminar discussions, not seminar attendance. Students are urged to prepare written comments on weekly readings as a basis for discussion, including when they are not scheduled to make a formal presentation. To ensure a high mark on the participation component of the course, ensure you regularly contribute perspectives to seminar discussion that demonstrate facility with course readings, including the ability to compare varied authors' perspectives. Students are urged to consult with Professor Bashevkin regularly to receive feedback on their class participation.

Camera use required: Credit for student participation and student seminar presentations requires use of a camera showing a full facial view of the speaker for the full period that the student is speaking.

Grading scheme: No tests or exams. Emphasis is placed on insightful reading that is communicated clearly via weekly seminar participation as well as strong research, writing and seminar presentation skills. Final mark is calculated as follows:

Class participation	15% (based on quality of on camera seminar engagement, not attendance)
Presentations	20% (two each @ 10% on camera)
Paper overview	15%, due 13 October
Short version paper	20%, due 3 November
Full version paper	30%, due 8 December

Late penalty for written work: A late penalty of 3 percentage points per day including Saturdays and Sundays will be assessed for the paper overview, short version and full version paper assignments. Only in rare circumstances will a full or partial waiver of the late penalty be considered, and waivers will only be considered on the basis of documentation submitted to Accessibility Services or your college registrar. Written assignments must be submitted online via Quercus as Word documents by 11:59 pm Toronto, Ontario time on the due date. The instructor assumes no responsibility for papers otherwise submitted.

Re-marking practices are consistent with standard policies of the Department of Political Science.

Writing assignments: Instructions follow this outline. Students are strongly urged to consult with the course instructor well in advance of the deadline for the overview of the course paper in order to select an appropriate topic and research strategy for the assignment. Note strictly enforced late penalty. Essays are organized in sequential order: Students must in all cases submit assignment #1 (overview of course essay) before assignment #2 (short version of course essay) which is in turn a prerequisite for the completion of assignment #3 (full version of course essay). Grading regulations are clearly delineated in the Faculty of Arts and Science calendar. Criteria used in the assessment of student papers are posted on the course Quercus site and include clarity of the writing and argumentation, organized sequencing of ideas, evidence of clear reasoning and support for core claims, facility with relevant sources, and ability to follow conventions of high quality writing. Students must respond directly to the questions using qualitative and/or quantitative evidence; no essay assignment for POL490/2102 involves writing a

rhetorical opinion piece or manifesto-style polemic. **Students are strongly urged to reserve an early appointment with a writing centre to ensure their work meets expectations in an upper-level course in political science at the University of Toronto.**

Back up your work: Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work, and to make hard copies of their essays before handing them in to the instructor. These should be retained until the marked assignments have been returned and the grades posted on ACORN.

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism, see the website of Writing at the University of Toronto: www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources

Textbook: Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019). Available at University of Toronto Bookstore and other outlets, including as e-book. Other course readings will be made available on the Quercus site for POL 490H/2102H.

COURSE SCHEDULE

15 September – Introduction to course syllabus, organization of seminar presentations

22 September – Themes in Canadian provincial and territorial leadership

Steve Paikin, *The Dark Side: The Personal Price of a Political Life* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2003), pp. 169-84.

Alex Marland, "Introduction: Executive Authority and Public Policy in Newfoundland and Labrador," in Alex Marland and Matthew Kirby, eds., *First Among Unequals: The Premier, Politics and Policy in Newfoundland and Labrador* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), chap. 1.

Sylvia Bashevkin, "Exploring Women's Leadership," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019), chap. 1.

29 September – Ontario

Steve Paikin, *Public Triumph, Private Tragedy: The Double Life of John P. Robarts* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2005), chap. 7.

Steve Paikin, *Bill Davis: Nation Builder, and Not So Bland After All* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016), chap. 17.

Bob Rae, *From Protest to Power: Personal Reflections on a Life in Politics* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2006), chap. 13.

Sylvia Bashevkin, "Activist Outsider Becomes Partisan Insider: Kathleen Wynne as Ontario Premier," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019), chap. 8.

6 October – Quebec

Conrad Black, *Render Unto Caesar: The Life and Legacy of Maurice Duplessis* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1998), chap. 8.

Graham Fraser, *René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois in Power* (2nd ed.; Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), chap. 17.

L. Ian MacDonald, *From Bourassa to Bourassa: Wilderness to Restoration* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), chap. 22.

Philippe Bernier Arcand, "Pauline Marois' Paradoxical Record as Quebec Premier," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019), chap. 7.

13 October – British Columbia ****Paper overviews due****

Geoff Meggs and Rod Mickleburgh, *The Art of the Impossible: Dave Barrett and the NDP in Power, 1972-1975* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2012), chap. 3.

Ujjal Dosanjh, *Journey after Midnight: India, Canada and the road beyond* (Vancouver: Figure 1, 2016), chap. 43.

J. R. Lacharite and Tracy Summerville, "Conclusion: Campbell's Legacy?" in J. R. Lacharite and Tracy Summerville, eds., *The Campbell Revolution? Power, Politics and Policy in British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 281-86.

Tracy Summerville, "Rita Johnston and Christy Clark as British Columbia Premiers," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019), chap. 9.

20 October – Alberta

David G. Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1985), chap. 11.

Don Martin, *King Ralph: The Political Life and Success of Ralph Klein* (Toronto: Key Porter, 2002), chap. 10.

Clark Banack, "Women and Politics in Alberta under Alison Redford," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019 forthcoming), chap. 10.

Melanee Thomas, "Governing as if Women Mattered: Rachel Notley as Alberta Premier," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019), chap. 11.

27 October – Newfoundland and Labrador

Richard Gwyn, *Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999), chap. 10.

Claire Hoy, *Clyde Wells: A Political Biography* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1992), chap. 9.

Drew Brown, Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant and Amanda Bittner, "In the Wake of Male Charisma: Kathy Dunderdale and the Status of Women in Newfoundland and Labrador Politics," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019), chap. 6.

3 November – New Brunswick ****short version of course papers due****

Richard Starr, *Richard Hatfield: The 17 Year Saga* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 1988), chap. 10.

Philip Lee, *Frank: The Life and Politics of Frank McKenna* (Fredericton: Goose Lane Publishing, 2001), chap. 8.

Joanna Everitt and Michael Camp, "One Is Not Like the Others: Allison Brewer's Leadership of the New Brunswick NDP," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Opening Doors Wider: Women's Political Engagement in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), chap. 8.

10 November – Fall break, no class meeting or office hour this week

17 November – Saskatchewan and Manitoba

Walter Stewart, *The Life and Political Times of Tommy Douglas* (Toronto: McArthur & Company, 2004), chap. 13.

Allan E. Blakeney, "Premiers and Cabinets in Saskatchewan: One Premier's View," in Howard A. Leeson, ed., *Saskatchewan Politics: Into the Twenty-First Century* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2001), 83-94. Note that Blakeney's legacy is assessed most recently in David McGrane et al., eds., *Back to Blakeney: Revitalizing the Democratic State* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2019).

Howard Pawley, *Keep True: A Life in Politics* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), chap. 9.

24 November – Leadership in Canada's Territories

Graham White, "Never in my Life did I do Anything Alone: Nellie Cournoyea as Premier of the Northwest Territories," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019 forthcoming), chap. 2.

Maura Forrest, "Pat Duncan, Yukon's Accidental Premier," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019), chap. 3.

Sheena Kennedy Dalseg, "Eva Aariak: Strong Nunavut Leader, Reluctant Politician," in Sylvia Bashevkin, ed., *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019), chap. 4.

1 December – Integrative seminar meeting with no additional assigned readings

Students presenting this week will address one (1) of the following questions:

- How is Marland's (2014) concept of premier-centred leadership (see readings for 23 Sept.) relevant beyond the jurisdiction and time frame he considers?
- What evidence shows ideological polarization matters more to political outcomes in some provinces than others?
- To what extent does gender figure in provincial and territorial leadership in Canada?
- What dimension of provincial and territorial leadership listed as a/b/c in the course essay assignment has been most fully explored in course readings? What dimension is least examined?

8 December **** full version of course papers due****

Drawing conclusions & presentation of student research papers

Essay Assignment Information

Note that norms of high-quality prose writing including the use of full sentences, paragraphs, and full source citations are expected in the overview, short version and full version essay assignments. **Close consultation with Professor Bashevkin on the choice of theory, testable proposition and empirical case is crucial to successful completion of all three essay assignments.**

1. Paper overview, due 13 October

Suggested length is 500 words in total (two typed, double-spaced pages)

In light of course readings, identify one theory and one testable proposition following from it concerning the impact of one premier since 1945 in one of Canada's provinces or territories. Explain why the theory you are considering is important, how your study constitutes an original contribution to research and how you plan to test your core proposition using empirical data. How will you access these data and what conclusions might you draw from the analysis?

Focus on one of the following themes: (a) the difference made by leader approaches to political executive or party leadership in a given jurisdiction; (b) the difference made by leader approaches to intergovernmental relations (i.e. with the Canadian federal government and other sub-national jurisdictions); or (c) leader impact on provincial or territorial social values or policy outcomes in a field of your choice.

2. Short version of course paper, due 3 November

Suggested length is 1000 to 1500 words in total (4 to 6 typed, double-spaced pages)

In light of comments received on your paper overview, develop the core of an original piece of empirical research that evaluates the impact of one decision-maker since 1945 in a single Canadian province or territory. Absent that individual or individuals, how would political history have likely unfolded?

Explain why the theory you are considering is important, how your study contributes to previous research and how your initial examination of the data either confirms or disconfirms your core proposition. What consequences do your findings hold for the study of leader influence in Canadian provincial and territorial politics?

3. Full version of course paper, due 8 December

Suggested length is 2500-3000 words in total (10 to 12 typed, double-spaced pages)

In light of comments received on your short version paper, clarify the main lines of your theory and core research proposition, refine your empirical data and discussion, and draw some key conclusions that are relevant to sub-national elites in Canada since 1945. Try to use course readings to help guide your own writing, argumentation and research toward a level of publishable quality.

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The grading rubric used to evaluate POL490/2102 student papers is presented on the course Quercus site.