

**Canadian Politics II: Society
Political Science 9532a
University of Western Ontario
Winter 2017**

Seminar: Wednesday 9:30-11:30, SSC 4105

Professor: Laura Stephenson

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Important Notice Re: Prerequisites/Antirequisites

You are responsible for ensuring that you have successfully completed all course prerequisites and that you have not taken an antirequisite course. Lack of prerequisites may not be used as a basis for appeal. If you are found to be ineligible for a course, you may be removed from it at any time and you will receive no adjustment to your fees. **This decision cannot be appealed.** If you find that you do not have the course requisites, it is in your best interest to drop the course well before the end of the add/drop period. Your prompt attention to this matter will not only help protect your academic record, but will ensure that spaces become available for students who require the course in question for graduation.

Course Description

This course concentrates on understanding governance in Canada from the perspective of the role that citizens play. We will survey some of the main ways that citizen preferences, opinions and ideas are transmitted to the government, either directly or indirectly. Topics will include theories of democratic governance, political culture, political participation, vote choice, political parties, pressure groups and social movements, and the media.

Learning Objectives

- By the end of this course, students will be able to communicate the many ways that citizens influence democracy in Canada.
- Students will demonstrate an understanding of how academic research is conducted on issues in Canadian politics.
- Students will have the opportunity to sharpen their analytic and argumentative skills, through classroom discussions and their summary analysis assignments.

Assignments

MA Students

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|---|-----|
| 1) Weekly Reading Summaries (weeks 2-12, due start of class) | 40% |
| 2) Participation (including active participation in discussion and presentation of reading summaries) | 20% |
| 3) Summary Analysis Paper (due April 5, start of class) | 40% |

PhD Students

- 1) Weekly Reading Summaries (weeks 2-12, due start of class) 30%
- 2) Participation (including active participation in discussion and presentation of reading summaries) 20%
- 3) Lead Seminar 10%
- 4) Analysis of Canadian Democracy Paper (due April 5, start of class) 40%

Weekly Reading Summaries

Students will be asked to write summary papers for each of weeks 2-12. The papers should be no less than 3 and no more than 5 double-spaced pages in length. In that space, students should provide comments on three aspects of the readings. First, what are two themes that arise from the readings? Some weeks the readings will be less obviously connected than others, and some thought should be given to how the readings contribute to the overall theme of the course (citizen input in politics). Second, what insights did you gain by doing the readings? These can be either new pieces of information you acquired or confirmation or comment on previously-known information. Third, provide 3 questions for discussion based on the readings.

Papers are due at the beginning of each class (9:30am) and students will be asked to provide a brief report on their paper each week. Late papers will not be accepted. In the case of absence, papers can be sent to the instructor by email *prior* to the start of class.

Lead Seminar

PhD students will be asked to lead discussion once during the term. Students will be graded on the extent to which they are able to bring out the key issues in the material and guide a stimulating discussion.

Summary Analysis Paper

MA students will produce a summary analysis paper at the end of the course. The purpose of the assignment is to provide students an opportunity to summarize what role they think citizens play in Canadian democracy. In addressing this issue, it is expected that students will draw upon what they have learned in the course as well as their own understanding of Canadian politics. The paper is expected to make use of course materials, rather than outside research (although outside research is not prohibited). More information about the assignment will be provided in class.

The papers should be no more than 20 double-spaced pages in length. The assignments will be graded on the quality and comprehensiveness of argumentation. The paper is due before noon on April 12 (by email).

Analysis of Canadian Democracy Paper

PhD students will produce a research paper that analyses the quality of Canadian democracy as their final course assignment. Students are expected to take a theory of democracy (either from week 2 or elsewhere) and use empirical evidence to analyze how

well Canada meets the standard. It is expected that outside research will be incorporated into the paper, as well as readings from the course.

The papers should be no less than 20 and no more than 30 double-spaced pages in length. The assignments will be graded on the quality and comprehensiveness of argumentation. The paper is due before noon on April 12 (by email).

Readings

All readings will be available online or from the instructor. There is no required text.

Topics and Readings

1) January 11: Introduction

2) January 18: Democratic Theory and Canadian Democracy

- a. David Held, *Models of Democracy* 3rd ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 2006, ch. 3.
- b. G. Bingham Powell, Jr. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2000, ch. 1.
- c. Russell J. Dalton, *Citizen Politics* 6th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press), 2014, ch. 2.
- d. Lawrence LeDuc, *The Politics of Direct Democracy* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview), 2003, ch. 1.
- e. Neil Nevitte and Stephen White, "Citizen Expectations and Democratic Performance: The Sources and Consequence of Democratic Deficits from the Bottom Up." In *Imperfect Democracies*, ed. Patti Tamara Lenard and Richard Simeon (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2012.
- f. R. Kenneth Carty, "Canadian Democracy: An Assessment and an Agenda." In *Auditing Canadian Democracy*, ed. William Cross (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2010.
- g. André Blais and Filip Kostelka, "How do Canadians rate the state of our democracy?" *Policy Options*, October 19, 2016.
<http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/october-2016/how-do-canadians-rate-the-state-of-our-democracy/>

3) January 25: Political Culture

- a. David J. Elkins and Richard E. B. Simeon, "A Cause in Search of Its Effect, or What Does Political Culture Explain?" *Comparative Politics* 11(2): 127-145, 1979. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/421752>
- b. Nelson Wiseman, *In Search of Canadian Political Culture* (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2007, ch. 1.
- c. Neil Nevitte, *The Decline of Deference* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview), 1996, ch. 3.
- d. Seymour Martin Lipset, *Continental Divide* (New York: Routledge), 1990, ch. 3.
- e. Ailsa Henderson, "Regional Political Cultures in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37(3): 595-615, 2004. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25165693>
- f. H. D. Forbes, "Hartz-Horowitz at Twenty: Nationalism, Toryism and Socialism in Canada and the United States." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 20(2): 287-315, 1987. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423900049453>
 - a. Gad Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation." *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 32(2): 143-171, 1966. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S031548900000058X>
 - b. Nelson Wiseman, "A Note on 'Hartz-Horowitz at Twenty': The Case of French Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 21(4): 795-806, 1988. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423900057450>

4) February 1: Participation

- a. André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte and Richard Nadeau, "Where does turnout decline come from?" *European Journal of Political Research* 43(2): 221-236, 2004. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2004.00152.x>
- b. Elisabeth Gidengil, André Blais, Neil Nevitte and Richard Nadeau, *Citizens* (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2004, ch. 5.
- c. Tracy Raney and Loleen Berdahl, "Birds of a Feather? Citizenship Norms, Group Identity, and Political Participation in Western Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42(1): 87-209, 2009. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423909090076>
- d. Paul Howe, *Citizens Adrift* (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2010, ch.10.
- e. Jon H. Pammett and Lawrence LeDuc, "Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections: A New Survey of Non-voters." *Elections Canada*, 2003. <http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=rec/part/tud&document=index&lang=e>
- f. André Blais, *To Vote or Not to Vote* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press), 2000, ch. 1.

5) February 8: Electoral Input – How Canadians (Should) Express their Opinions

- a. Alan C. Cairns, "The Electoral System and the Party System in Canada, 1921-1965." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1(1): 55-80, 1968. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423900035228>
- b. Law Commission of Canada, "Voting Counts: Electoral Reform for Canada." <http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/J31-61-2004E.pdf>. Conclusion and Recommendations, pp. 171-181.
- c. André Blais and Semra Sevi, "A students' proposal for electoral reform." *Policy Options*, November 30, 2016. <http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/novembre-2016/a-students-proposal-for-electoral-reform/>
- d. House of Commons, "Strengthening Democracy in Canada: Principles, Process and Public Engagement for Electoral Reform." (Report of the Special Committee on Electoral Reform), December 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/HOC/Committee/421/ERRE/Reports/RP8655791/421_ERRE_Rpt03_PDF/421_ERRE_Rpt03-e.pdf

6) February 15: Voting Models

- a. Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson, *Voting Behaviour in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2010, ch. 1.
- b. Fred Cutler, "The Simplest Shortcut of All: Sociodemographic Characteristics and Electoral Choice." *Journal of Politics* 64(2): 466-490, 2002. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2691857>
- c. Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row), 1957, ch. 14.
- d. Patrick Fournier, Fred Cutler, Stuart Soroka, Dietlind Stolle and Éric Bélanger, "Riding the Orange Wave: Leadership, Values, Issues, and the 2011 Canadian

Election.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 46(4): 863-897, 2013.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423913000875>

- e. Ronald D. Lambert and James E. Curtis, “Perceived Party Choice and Class Voting.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 26(2): 273-286, 1993.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S000842390000295X>

7) February 22: Reading Week - No class ☹

8) March 1: Other Considerations in Voting

- a. Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte, André Blais, Joanna Everitt and Patrick Fournier, *Dominance and Decline* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 2012, ch. 4.
- b. Cameron D. Anderson, “Economic Voting and Multilevel Governance: A Comparative Individual-Level Analysis.” *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 449-463, 2006. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2006.00194.x>
- c. Herman Bakvis and Laura G. Macpherson, “Quebec Block Voting and the Canadian Electoral System.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 28(4): 659-692, 1995. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S000842390001934X>
- d. Elisabeth Gidengil, André Blais, Richard Nadeau and Neil Nevitte, “Making Sense of Regional Voting in the 1997 Canadian Federal Election: Liberal and Reform Support Outside Quebec.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 32(2): 247-72, 1999. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423900010489>
- e. André Blais, “Why Is There So Little Strategic Voting in Canadian Plurality Rule Elections?” *Political Studies* 50(3): 445-454, 2002.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00378>
- f. Shaun Bowler and David J. Lanoue, “New Party Challenges and Partisan Change: The Effects of Party Competition on Party Loyalty,” *Political Behavior* 18(4): 327-343, 1996. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/586637>

9) March 8: Direct Democracy and Citizen Engagement

- a. Lawrence Leduc, “Opinion change and voting behaviour in referendums.” *European Journal of Political Research* 41(6): 711-32, 2002.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.00027>
- b. Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett, "Referendum Voting: Attitudes and Behaviour in the 1992 Constitutional Referendum." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 28(1): 3-33, 1995. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3232122>
- c. Harold D. Clarke and Allan Kornberg, “Choosing Canada?: The 1995 Quebec Sovereignty Referendum.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 29(4): 676-682, 1996. <https://doi.org/10.2307/420791>
- d. Arthur Lupia, "Shortcuts vs. Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California's Insurance Reform Elections." *American Political Science Review* 88(1): 63-76, 1994. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2944882>
- e. Matthew Mendelsohn and Fred Cutler, “The Effect of Referendums on Democratic Citizens: Information, Politicization, Efficacy and Tolerance.” *British Journal of Political Science* 30(4): 685-698, 2000.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/194291>

- f. Patrick Fournier, Hen van der Kolk, R. Kenneth Carty, André Blais and Jonathan Rose, *When Citizens Decide: Lessons from Citizens Assemblies on Electoral Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), chs. 1 and 9. (Feel free to read more of the book for greater detail.)

10) March 15: Political Parties

- a. Richard Johnston, André Blais, Henry E. Brady, and Jean Crête, *Letting the People Decide* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's), 1992, ch. 3.
- b. Richard Johnston, "Polarized Pluralism in the Canadian Party System." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 41(4): 815-834, 2008. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423908081110>
- c. William Cross, *Political Parties* (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2005, ch. 2.
- d. R. Kenneth Carty and William Cross, "Can Stratarchically Organized Parties be Democratic? The Canadian Case." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 16(2): 93-114, 2006. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13689880600715912>
- e. R. Kenneth Carty, "Has Brokerage Politics Ended? Canadian Politics in the New Century." In *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics*, ed. Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2013.
- f. Harold J. Jansen and Lisa Young, "Cartels, Syndicates, and Coalitions: Canada's Political Parties after the 2004 Reforms." In *Money, Politics and Democracy*, ed. Lisa Young and Harold J. Jansen (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2011.

11) March 22: Pressure Groups and Social Movements

- a. Lisa Young and Joanna Everitt, *Advocacy Groups* (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2004, ch. 2.
- b. Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society? Collective Actors in Canadian Political Life* (Peterborough: Broadview Press), 2005, ch. 2. (e-book in library)
- c. Eric Montpetit, "Are Interest Groups Useful or Harmful: Take Two." In *Canadian Politics* 6th ed., ed. James Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 2014. (e-book in library)
- d. Alexandra Dobrowlosky, "Of "Special Interest": Interest, Identity and Feminist Constitutional Activism in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 31(4): 707-45, 1998. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423900009616>
- e. John Constantelos, "Playing the Field: Federalism and the Politics of Venue Shopping in the United States and Canada." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 40 (3): 460-483, 2010. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/publius/pjq010>

12) March 29: Underrepresented Groups in Canada

- a. Lisa Young, "Slow to Change: Women in the House of Commons." In *Stalled*, ed. Linda Trimble, Jane Arscott and Manon Tremblay (Vancouver: UBC Press), 2013.
- b. Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant and Julie Croskill, "Gender Affinity Effects in Vote Choice in Westminster Systems: Assessing "Flexible" Voters in Canada." *Politics and Gender* 7(2): 223-250. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X11000079>

- c. Melanee Thomas and Marc André Bodet, "Sacrificial lambs, women candidates, and district competitiveness in Canada." *Electoral Studies* 32(1): 153-166, 2013. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2012.12.001>
- d. Karen Bird, "Patterns of substantive representation among visible minority MPs: evidence from Canada's House of Commons." In *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities*, ed. Karen Bird, Thomas Saalfeld and Andreas M. Wüst. (New York: Routledge), 2011, pp. 207-229.
- e. Kiera L. Ladner, "Aysaka'paykinit: Contesting the Rope Around the Nations' Neck." In *Group Politics and Social Movements in Canada*, ed. Miriam Smith (Peterborough: Broadview Press), 2008.
- f. Daniel Guérin, "Aboriginal Participation in Canadian Federal Elections: Trends and Implications." *Electoral Insight* 5(3), November 2003. http://www.elections.ca/res/eim/pdf/insight_2003_11_e.pdf

13) April 5: Media and Politics

- a. Richard Nadeau and Thierry Giasson, "Canada's Democratic Malaise: Are the Media to Blame?" In *Strengthening Canadian Democracy*, ed. Paul Howe, Richard Johnston and André Blais (Montreal: IRPP), 2005.
- b. Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant, *Gendered News* (Vancouver: UBC Press), ch. 5.
- c. Tamara A. Small, "What the Hashtag? A content analysis of Canadian politics on Twitter." *Information, Communication & Society* 14(6): 872-895, 2011. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2011.554572>
- d. April Lindgren, "Toronto-area Ethnic Newspapers and Canada's 2011 Federal Election: An Investigation of Content, Focus and Partisanship." *Canadian Political Science Association* 47(4): 667-696, 2014. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423914000912>
- e. Kelly Blidook, "Media, Public Opinion and Health Care in Canada: How the Media Affect 'The Way Things Are'." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 41(2): 355-374, 2008, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423908080426>
- f. Andrea Lawlor and Erin Crandall, 2011, "Understanding third-party advertising: An analysis of the 2004, 2006 and 2008 Canadian elections." *Canadian Public Administration* 54(4): 509-529. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-7121.2011.00190.x>