PSCI 461/661: Canadian National Politics

Fall, 2017 AL 210, Mondays 8:30am - 11:20am



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Office Location: Hagey Hall 340

Office Hours: Mondays 11:30am – 1pm. Or by appointment

Contact Policy or Header Notes: Please feel free to email me if you are missing a class due to health reasons or in case of emergency. You may also email me if you encounter a persistent problem that affects your work in this class. Please **refer to this syllabus** for questions regarding the course readings, course requirements and due dates. If you have questions concerning course material and discussions for a class you have missed, please: 1) ask a fellow student about what material you have missed; 2) consult the course LEARN webpage; and 3) visit my office hours for further clarifications.

Course Description: The state of democracy in Canada is a popular subject for students and scholars alike. Is our democracy stable? Deepening? Eroding? Why all this talk about a democratic deficit? What does that mean? This course aims to provide an in-depth analysis of different "issues" related to democracy in Canada. Through the readings and seminar discussions, the course will provide the student with a better understanding of democracy within Canada's parliamentary institutions. Topics of examination include, among others, a democratic deficit, prime-ministerial power, the role of the media, the

House of Commons, the Senate, the role of political parties and the Courts in policy making. Each of these institutions and/or practices will be studied with the following democratic audit benchmarks in mind: participation, inclusiveness, and responsiveness.

Pre-Requisites: PSCI 260; Level at least 4A.

Course Objectives:

By the end of this course, students should be much more familiar with Canadian political institutions and;

- Have a good sense of the criticisms leveled against these institutions and a more developed opinion of whether they are valid;
- Be better acquainted with the types of reforms proposed to improve the democratic nature of Canada's political institutions and the various challenges to implementation;
- Be knowledgeable about the historic and theoretical reasons for our institutional set up and critically assess the viability of future reforms to amend democratic gaps

Texts:

Aucoin, P., Jarvis, Mark D., & Turnbull, Lori. 2011. *Democratizing the Constitution: Reforming responsible government.* Toronto: Emond Montgomery. (Required)

The required text is available for purchase at the University of Waterloo bookstore.

Loat, Alison and Michael MacMillan. 2014. *Tragedy in the Commons: Former Members of Parliament Speak Out About Canada's Failing Democracy*. Toronto: Random House Canada. (Recommended)

The recommended text and other textbooks that will we read a chapter or two from are available on 3-hour reserve at the Dana Porter Library.

Readings that are accessible online through the UW library are indicated in the seminar schedule below.

Course Requirements, Expectations, and Standards:

Requirement	Grade Weight	Due Date
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Participation	20%	Ongoing

Presentations 25% 2 to 3 throughout term, student sign up

Critical Comment Papers 20% 3 handed in by students throughout the term

Research Essay 35% Last Class, Monday Dec. 4 2017

Participation: 20%

Participation grades are based on participation in each week's class discussion. It is expected that students will attend seminars having completed all of the required readings. Participation grades will reflect whether a student's contribution to class discussions demonstrates a familiarity with, and understanding of, these readings. While each student should participate frequently in discussions, the *quality* of the contribution is more important than quantity. Students are encouraged to come to class with prepared discussion questions to pose to the class.

- *Positively Evaluated*: Responding to others' remarks or questions in a serious and thoughtful manner; drawing together ideas to create new ones; showing respect and interest for other arguments and points of view; engaging others in pertinent and informed dialogue; curiosity in the origin of other points of view; wit and insight.
- Negatively Evaluated: The domination of class discussion by means of volume, tone, or sarcasm; 100% speaking or 100% listening with little attempt to balance both; refusal to acknowledge other points of view; not listening or appearing to listen; intemperate interruptions; uninformed or glib answers, including just general opinion; lack of weekly preparation.

Presentations: 25%

The course will be structured around student presentations. Each student will be responsible for making a 25-minute presentation on two or more of the assigned readings. Graduate students will be responsible for 3 or more presentations depending on class size. The purpose of the presentations is to facilitate a positive seminar discussion. To this end, students are expected to prepare presentations in the following manner:

- Select a topic from the following Schedule for your presentation by signing up via selfenrollment on Learn (under the tab "Connect" and then "Groups"). Two or three students will be the maximum allowed in a group, and you'll be expected to divide the readings assigned for that week among yourselves.
- Outline and critically evaluate the main arguments and ideas expressed in the reading. Summaries of the readings are not expected and will not be positively evaluated.

- Prepare 2 to 3 questions to pose to the class about the reading in order to facilitate discussion.
- Email discussion questions to the instructor who will post them on LEARN *at least three days before* our meeting (i.e. the Friday before) to help focus discussions.
- Feel free to integrate other information into your presentation (current data or stories, YouTube videos, podcasts, etc.) if it helps to connect and/or illustrate your arguments.

Students are expected to submit three comment papers throughout the term. Each paper

Critical Comment Papers: 20%

scheduled to present.

will be approximately four to five pages in length (1100-1400 words), printed, double-spaced, and handed in at the start of class in which the reading(s) in question are to be discussed (i.e. 8:30 am). Email submissions will not be accepted. Late penalties do not apply to these assignments, and no extensions will be granted.

Critical comment papers will examine two (or more) of the week's readings. The purpose of the comment paper is NOT to summarize the readings but instead to briefly discuss one or two major points addressed by the author(s), to identify important questions or issues raised by the author(s) and to allow students to include their own observations, questions, and critical analysis. Students may choose the seminars for which to submit their papers.

However, students may not submit a comment paper for the week in which they are

Research Essay: 35% TOPIC DUE: Monday November 6th, 2017; 1:00 pm

FINAL ESSAY DUE: Thursday Dec. 7th, 2017; 11:00 am

The term will culminate with students writing a thesis-driven (argumentative) research essay. Undergraduate students will write a 10 page paper. Graduate students will write 12-15 pages. Essays must be printed, double spaced and submitted into the Political Science Drop Box, 3rd Floor, Hagey Hall. Email submissions will not be accepted. Extensions will be granted for documented medical or compassionate reasons only. Extensions and email submissions will not be accepted for travel plans. All papers receiving an extension or handed in late (subject to a 5% late penalty per day) must be received by Thursday December 14th to receive a grade for this term.

You are free to formulate any topic that you see as relevant to the course. Students will submit a one page, printed, single spaced and bullet point outline with the following headings: 1) subject 2) thesis; and 3) evidence of initial research including sources. This outline will be handed into the instructor by November 6, 2017; either during class meeting or office hours. No emailed submissions will be accepted. The outline will be count toward the final grade of the research essay. Late outlines can be submitted for feedback only before November 20th, but will not count as completed or toward credit in the final grade of the essay. If a student wishes to change his or her topic, he or she must inform me of the intended change and approval must also be granted.

Late Policy:

Late research essays will receive a 5% penalty per day. No papers will be accepted after Thursday December 14, 2017.

Schedule:

Week 1: September 11 - Introduction to the Course

Reading 1: This op-ed by Professor Donald Savoie focuses on "governing from the centre" and articulates some of the key issues we'll be considering in this course: Article Reading http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/canadas-democratic-institutions-are-on-trial/article25954098/

Week 2: September 18 -Representative, Responsible Government

<u>Objectives</u>: J.S. Mill has argued that representative government is supposed to be better (or at least more democratic) than rule by one person, even if that person is morally quite good and has the best intentions. Canada is considered to be a successful liberal democracy. Our system combines *representative government* with *responsible government*, which is supposed to give even more power to the representatives elected by the people. But in the last few decades Canadians are less inclined to think our system is working. What are their attitudes towards Canada's democracy? And how "responsible" is our government to the members of parliament that we elect?

Reading 1: Leduc, Lawrence and Jon H. Pammett. 2014. "Attitudes toward Democratic Norms and Practices: Canada in Comparative Perspective." In Elisabeth Gidengil and Heather Bastedo (Eds.), *Canadian Democracy from the Ground Up: Perceptions and Performance*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 22-40.

Reading 2: Aucoin et. al. *Democratizing the constitution* – Chapters 1 - 3

Optional Reading: Geddes, J. (2017, Jun 01). The liberal lowlights. Maclean's p.19

Week 3: September 25 - Democratic Deficit: Is there Really a Deficit?

<u>Objectives</u>: There is a lot of discussion about the democratic deficit in Canada. This is similar to a fiscal deficit in the sense that, democratically (with either our institutions or the people within them) we are facing a shortfall of sorts. This week we want to analyze whether we think a democratic deficit exists, what a so-called deficit entails, and how to make our governance structures more legitimate if we find them wanting in this regard.

Reading 1: Grace Skogstad. 2003. "Who Governs? Who Should Govern? Political Authority and Legitimacy in Canada in the Twenty-First Century." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 36(5): 955-973 (available online at UW library).

Reading 2: Martin, P., Jr. 2002. "The Democratic Deficit", *IRPP Policy Options* p10-12. Available from Reading http://www.irpp.org/po/archive/dec02/martin.pdf

Reading 3: Caccia, C. 2004. "Democratic Deficit? What Democratic Deficit?", *IRPP Policy Options* p48-50. Available from Reading http://www.irpp.org/po/archive/may04/caccia.pdf

Reading 4: Tanguay, B. 2009. "Reforming Representative Democracy: Taming the 'Democratic Deficit'. In *Canadian Politics*, 5th Ed., James Bickerton & Alain-G. Gagnon (eds.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Week 4: October 2 - Prime Minister's Office

<u>Objectives</u>: The power of the Canadian prime minister is a key area of examination by political scientists. Is the person sitting at the apex of power the main player in creating (or perpetuating) a deficit in our democracy? We want to know how powerful our prime minister is compared to others in Westminster systems. We also want to get an idea of whether a change in behavior by the PM could drastically improve the relative strength of our institutions.

Reading 1: O'Malley, Eoin. 2007. "The Power of Prime Ministers: Results of an Expert Survey", *International Political Science Review* 28(1): 7-27 (available online from UW library).

Reading 2: Savoie, Donald.1999. "The Rise of Court Government in Canada", *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 32(4): 635-664 (available online from UW library).

Reading 3: Aucoin, et al. *Democratizing the constitution*. Chapter 4.

Reading 4: Loat, Alison and Michael MacMillan. 2014. *Tragedy in the Commons: Former Members of Parliament Speak Out About Canada's Failing Democracy*. Toronto: Random House Canada. Chapter 8 "Colluding in Their Servitude".

Week 5: October 9 - Thanksgiving - No Meeting

Week 6: October 16- The Media, Government, and Democracy

Objectives: We have improved access to media and media itself has changed drastically in the last 15 years. With traditional media and social media, the need to control political communication is an on-going challenge and imperative for governments of all stripes. We will consider the role of the media and party in power in encouraging a "permanent campaign" in Canada and whether, considering the perceived need of governments to control the message, Canadians are accessing a full and balanced reporting of the important issues of today. As citizens, are we no longer well-informed? What are the implications if we aren't?

Reading 1: Fletcher, Fred and Mary Lynn Young. 2012. "Political Communication in a Changing Media Environment." In *The Sage Handbook of Political Communication*. London and California: Sage Publication.

Reading 2: Marland, Alex. 2012. "Political Photography, Journalism, and Framing in the Digital Age: The Management of Visual Media by the Prime Minister of Canada." *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 17: 214-233 (available online through the UW library).

Reading 3: Paré, Daniel J. and Susan Delacort. 2014. "The Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery: Still Relevant or Relic of Another Time?" In Alex Marland, Thierry Giasson, and Tamara Small (eds.), *Political Communication in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 111-126.

Reading 4: Esselment, Anna. 2014. "The Governing Party and the Permanent Campaign." In Alex Marland, Thierry Giasson, and Tamara Small (eds.), *Political Communication in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 24-38.

Week 7: October 23 - Political Parties

<u>Objectives</u>: There are a few things we know about political parties. Canadians don't join them like they used to, they aren't trusted by the public, they are becoming more centrally controlled, and their traditional role in "brokering" the interests of the Canada's regions may be evolving. This week we will investigate the public images of parties, we will get an idea of what MPs think of their parties, and we'll examine the role of women in parties. What, if anything, can we do to increase participation in parties?

Reading 1: Carty, R. Kenneth. 2013. "Has Brokerage Politics Ended? Canadian Parties in the New Century." In *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics*, Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner (eds.). Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 10-23.

Reading 2: Loat, Alison and Michael MacMillan. 2014. *Tragedy in the Commons: Former Members of Parliament Speak Out About Canada's Failing Democracy*. Toronto: Random House Canada. Chapter 7 "Living in the Franchise".

Reading 3: Thomas, Melanee and Marc André Bodet. 2013. "Sacrificial Lambs, Women Candidates, and District Competitiveness in Canada". *Electoral Studies*, 32: 153-166.

Reading 4: Golder, Sona N., Laura B. Stephenson, Karine Van der Straeten, André Blais, Damien Bol, Philipp Harfst, Jean-François Laslier 2017. "Votes for Women: Electoral Systems and Support for Female Candidates." *Politics & Gender*, 13(1):107-131.

Week 8: October 30 - House of Commons

<u>Objectives</u>: Is Question Period a sort of kindergarten? The essence of responsible government is that the government serves at the pleasure of parliament and not the other way around. What has happened to the role of the MP? How might different parliamentary configurations (such as a minority government) strengthen the Commons? These readings will give us insight into the arguments made about the effectiveness (or not) of the people's House.

Reading 1: Smith, Jennifer. 1999. "Democracy and the Canadian House of Commons at the Millennium." *Canadian Public Administration*, 42(4): 398-421.

Reading 2: Forsey, Eugene. 1964. "The Problem of 'Minority' Government in Canada." *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 30(1): 1-11. Page 8 of 13

Reading 3: Loat, Alison and Michael MacMillan. 2014. *Tragedy in the Commons: Former Members of Parliament Speak Out About Canada's Failing Democracy*. Toronto: Random House Canada. Introduction pp.1-12 and Chapter 5 "Kindergarten on the Rideau", pp.115-134.

Reading 4 : Michael Chong's *Reform Act* (2015). Publication Reading http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&DocId=8058690

Reading 5: News Reading http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2015/06/22/michael-chongs-reform-act-passed-by-senate.html

Week 9: November 6 - Electoral Reform

<u>Objectives</u>: Electoral reform is a well-worn theme in combatting the democratic deficit. If we change the electoral system, the other institutions would reform themselves (positively) too. But is this the case? How could we go about reforming our system of electing representatives? What do you think of the reform options found in the articles this week? What might work? What won't work?

Reading 1: Samara Canada with Stewart Prest. 2016. "What we talk about when we talk about electoral reform." Reading http://www.samaracanada.com/samara-in-the-classroom/electoral-reform

Reading 2: Birch Sarah, Harold D. Clarke, and Paul Whiteley. 2015. "Should 16-Year-Olds Be Allowed to Vote in Westminster Elections? Public Opinion and Electoral Franchise Reform". *Parliamentary Affairs*, 68:291-313 (available online from the UW Library).

Reading 3: Aucoin et al. *Democratizing the constitution*. Chapters 5

Reading 4: Pilon, D. (2015, Summer). Electoral reform: Here's the evidence, Mr. Trudeau. *Inroads*, 51-60.

Reading 5: Milner, H. (2016, Winter). Electoral reform, the power of the PMO and Justin Trudeau. *Inroads*, 58-61

Reading 6 Look through recommendations: *Strengthening Democracy in Canada: Principles, Process and Public Engagement For Electoral Reform; Report of the Standing Committee on Electoral Reform;* Francis Scarpaleggia, Chair; December 2016 Reading

http://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/ERRE/report-3/page-ToC

Week 10: November 13 - Senate Reform

<u>Objectives</u>: Senate reform has been a hot topic of late. The Supreme Court reference has given Canadians and their Parliament some definitive answers about how to move ahead on this issue. But how necessary is reform? Is it the institution itself, the handful of people within the institution, or the power of the PM to appoint people to that body that is causing problems? What effect will the new "independent" Senators have on our parliamentary system?

Background Readings for Context:

- Government of Canada Reference to the Supreme Court on Senate Reform: Reading Reading http://www.democraticreform.gc.ca/eng/content/fact-sheet-reference-supreme-court-canada-senate-reform
- Supreme Court of Canada decision on the Senate Reference (read the first five or six pages which is essentially an executive summary of the Court's decision on the six questions posed by the government): Reading http://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/13614/index.do

Reading 1: Murray, Lowell. 2003. "Which Criticisms are Founded?" In *Protecting Canadian Democracy: The Senate You Never Knew*, Serge Joyal (ed.). Montreal& Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press (available online from UW Library).

Reading 2: Kent, Tom. 2009. 'Senate Reform as a Risk to Take, Urgently." In *The Democratic Dilemma*, Jennifer Smith (ed.). Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Reading 3: Archer, Robin. 2013. "From an Aristocratic Anachronism to a Democratic Dilemma: An Elected House of Lords and the Lessons from Australia." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 51(3): 267-282.

Reading 4: Justin Trudeau "releases" Liberal Senators: News <u>Reading http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/justin-trudeau-removes-senators-from-liberal-caucus-1.2515273</u>

Reading 5: Justin Trudeau's first appointments to the Senate: News <u>Reading http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-senate-whery-1.3497489</u>

Reading 6: John Paul Tasker, "Senate passes budget bill with no amendments as Parliament breaks for summer" Jun 22, 2017 <u>Reading http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/senate-backs-down-budget-bill-1.4173090</u>

Reading 7: Amy Minsky "Senate holding up Liberal budget bill is the Senate Justin Trudeau envisioned, he says" *Global News* June 18 2017 <u>Reading</u> http://globalnews.ca/news/3536349/justin-trudeau-senate-reforms-budget-bill/

Week 11: November 20 - The Courts and the Charter

<u>Objectives</u>: Which institution is best at protecting our rights and freedoms: the Parliament or the courts? This week we will examine the debate over the protection of rights, and whether it is possible to strike a balance between the often perceived active role of the court versus the legislative responsibilities of the House of Commons. When we take all that we know about our institutions thus far, should Canadians and non-Canadians alike be more or less reliant on the court with regard to rights protections within the Charter?

Reading 1: Morton, F.L. and Rainer Knopff. 2000. *The Charter Revolution and the Court Party*. Peterborough: Broadview Press. Introduction and Chapter 3.

Reading 2: The Honourable Madam Justice Beverley McLachlin. 1989. "The Charter of Rights and Freedoms: A Judicial Perspective." *UBC Law Review*, 23(3): 579-590.

Reading 3: Peter Hogg & Allison Thornton. 1997. "The Charter Dialogue between Courts and Legislatures (or Perhaps the Charter of Rights Isn't Such a Bad Thing After All)." *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, 35: 75-124 (available online from UW Library).

Optional Reading: Michael McCrossan &, Kiera L. Ladner "Eliminating Indigenous Jurisdictions: Federalism, the Supreme Court of Canada, and Territorial Rationalities of Power" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 49(3): 411-431.

Week 12: November 27 - Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations

<u>Objectives</u>: Canada is a federal country, constitutionally comprised of two levels of government, each independent of the other and responsible for their own areas of jurisdiction. Our federal structure is primarily the result of accommodating a colony with a different culture, language, and religion. When issues of national importance arise, the PM usually calls together the leaders of the provinces to sort out the best way forward. Are our mechanisms for dialogue among the leaders of the federation working? What is executive federalism? How did Harper view the proper role of the federal government in Canada? What are citizens' expectations of the federation? How has Prime Minister Trudeau's approach changed from the Conservative era?

Reading 1: Smiley, D. 1979. "An Outsider's Observations of Federal-Provincial Relations Among Consenting Adults". In *Confrontation and Collaboration*, Richard Simeon (ed.). Toronto: Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 105-113.

Reading 2: Cameron, David and Richard Simeon. 2000. "Intergovernmental Relations and Democratic Citizenship." In B. Guy Peters and Donald Savoie (Eds.), *Governance in the Twenty-first Century: Revitalizing The Public Service*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 58-118.

Reading 3: Fiona Macdonald, Karine Levasseur 2014. "Accountability insights from the devolution of Indigenous child welfare in Manitoba" *Canadian Public Administration*. 57:1 pp.97-117.

Reading 4: Peter Zimonjic, 'Trudeau lays out markers on health care, climate change and pipelines' *CBC News* Sep 21, 2016 <u>Reading http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-health-pipelines-climate-1.3773113</u>

Week 13: December 4 - General Thoughts on Reforming Canada's Institutions

<u>Objectives</u>: What are your thoughts about the democratic deficit in Canada? What have you learned this term that surprised you about options for reform? What other options are there for increasing the accounting of government to parliament? What about measures of direct democracy?

Reading 1: Loat, Alison and Michael MacMillan. 2014. *Tragedy in the Commons: Former Members of Parliament Speak Out About Canada's Failing Democracy*. Toronto: Random House Canada. Conclusion "Towards a Better Politics".

Reading 2: Dalton, Russell J., Susan Scarrow, and Bruce E. Cain. 2003. "New Forms of Democracy?" In *Democracy Transformed? Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Russell J. Dalton, Susan Scarrow, and Bruce E. Cain (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-20.

Reading 3: Aucoin et al. *Democratizing the constitution*. Chapter 6.

University Regulations:

Cross-listed course: Please note that a cross-listed course will count in all respective averages no matter under which rubric it has been taken. For example, a PHIL/PSCI cross-list will count in a Philosophy major average, even if the course was taken under the Political Science rubric.

Academic Integrity: In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.

Discipline: A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for his/her actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about "rules" for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline, Student Discipline http://uwaterloo.ca/secretariat/policies-procedures-guidelines/policy-71.

Grievance: A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4, Student Petitions http://uwaterloo.ca/secretariat/policies-procedures-guidelines/policy-70. In addition, consult Student Grievances http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/student-grievances-faculty-arts-processes for the Faculty of Arts' grievance processes.

Appeals: A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read Policy 72 - Student Appeals, Student Appeals http://www.sterloo.ca/secretariat/policies-procedures-guidelines/policy-72.

Academic Integrity website (Arts): Academic Integrity
http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html
Academic Integrity Office
http://uwaterloo.ca/academic-integrity/

Accommodation for Students with Disabilities: Note for students with disabilities:

The AccessAbility Services (AS) Office, located in Needles Hall, Room 1401, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the AS Office at the beginning of each academic term.