

POLITICAL SCIENCE 2F03: POLITICS, POWER AND INFLUENCE IN CANADA Winter 2021

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Lecture: posted to A2L on Mondays

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Course Description

Canada is regularly identified as a democracy, yet only a little over half the population has bothered to vote in recent federal and Ontario elections. Canadians have a wide choice of political parties, interest groups and social movements to support, yet some argue that the playing field is highly uneven, and that a small number of vested interests wield disproportionate power in determining what the government does. Canadian politicians and opinion-leaders trumpet Canada's commitment to diversity, yet many Indigenous leaders and Quebec politicians continue to speak of national oppression, while others point to the under-representation of women and ethnic minorities in our political institutions, as well as the deteriorating labour market outcomes for recent immigrants and racialized groups. These disagreements in characterizing the Canadian political experience lead to central questions for this course:

- Who gets represented in Canadian politics, and through what means?

- Who is able to influence political decisions and public policy, and who is excluded?
- What are the lines of inclusion and exclusion in Canadian citizenship?

In terms of content, this course seeks to provide students with an introduction to questions of representation, citizenship and inequality in Canadian politics. In particular, it aims to provide students with a basic understanding of key institutions that mediate between state and society, such as political parties, social movements and interest groups, and of recent reflections on their relevance and effectiveness for challenging or sustaining inequality in Canada. Finally, the course also aims to provide students with an understanding of how national and cultural diversity and inequality have been related to conceptions of Canadian citizenship.

In terms of skills, the course aims to provide students with various opportunities to improve their ability to identify, extract, and summarize arguments found in the scholarly political science literature.

Course Objectives

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- Extract the core arguments from academic journal articles and books;
- Distinguish different representational vehicles (such as parties and interest groups), and explain the factors affecting their relative success in political competition;
- Explain the competing claims about how the Canadian political community should be defined, and evaluate those claims.

Required Materials and Texts

- Miriam Smith's book. *A Civil Society?*, 2nd Ed. (University of Toronto Press, 2017), is on sale at the Campus Store. It can also be purchased directly from University of Toronto Press. There is also a copy available through the library which one person can use at a time. The first edition can be used in a pinch, but please note that the chapter numbers do not align with the second edition.
- The books for the book review are also available at the bookstore or through the websites of their publishers. Most of them are also available as e-books from the library.
- The remaining readings are either available in electronic form through the library, on the course's Avenue to Learn page, or as hyperlinks in this outline.

Class Format

Each week's lectures will be posted on Avenue to Learn by Monday. Along with the lectures, the professor will ask between one and three questions to structure some of

the tutorial discussion. The questions on the final exam will be drawn from these questions, so it is worthwhile to sketch out notes on them. It is expected that students will have watched the lectures and completed the class readings by the time they attend their weekly tutorial, which will be held on Zoom starting the week of January 25.

Lectures and course readings are designed to be complementary. The lectures seek to synthesize the readings and provide additional context and argument, while the readings provide further illustration of points made in lectures.

Tutorials provide an opportunity for further discussion of course content, be it lectures or readings. They will also be used to develop skills in identifying and describing arguments found in academic articles. Avenue to Learn will be used largely for announcements and for making materials available. Students are expected to check it regularly.

Course Evaluation – Overview

1. Article Review Assignment (22%), due March 1
2. Book Review Assignment (33%), due April 6
3. Final Exam (35%)
4. Participation (10%)

Course Evaluation – Details

Article Review Assignment 1 (22%), due March 1

Students will read **one** of the articles listed below and produce a 5-7 page paper containing the following elements: (i) a brief introduction; (ii) a brief summary of the article's main argument or arguments; (iii) a discussion of how the article relates to the arguments and claims in course readings and course lectures; and (iv) a conclusion. The discussion (section iii) should pay particular attention to the institutions, processes and representational vehicles (such as social movements, parties or interest groups) through which policy change comes about, and the determinants of success and/or failure in the adoption certain policy initiatives.

Articles for the mid-term paper are available on-line through the library catalogue, with the exception of the Rayside, for which a link is provided below.

B. Timothy Heinmiller, "Advocacy Coalitions and the Alberta *Water Act*," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 46, no. 3 (2013) 525-547.

David Rayside, "[Sex Ed in Ontario: Religious Mobilization and Socio-Cultural Anxiety.](#)" Paper presented at the 2010 Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association, Concordia University, June 2010.

Mark P. Thomas, "For the people? Regulating employment standards in an era of Right-wing populism." *Studies in Political Economy*, vol. 101, no. 2 (2019) 135-154.

Angela V. Carter and Leah M. Fusco, "[Western Newfoundland's Anti-Fracking Campaign: Exploring the Rise of Unexpected Community Mobilization](#)." *Journal of Rural and Community Development*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2017) 98-120.

Book Review Assignment (33%), due April 6

Students will read **one** of the books listed below and produce a 10-12 page paper containing the following elements: (i) an introduction; (ii) a brief summary of the book's main argument or arguments (2 pages maximum); (iii) a critical discussion of one or several aspects of the book's argument (6-8 pages); (iv) a conclusion; (v) and a bibliography, following a standard bibliographic format. In terms of the critical discussion, it is expected that students will consider significant claims or positions taken by the author, particularly as they relate to the material studied in the course. For instance, does the author provide interesting illustrations or extensions of arguments made by others that we have read? Do they enable us to understand certain phenomena in a new or different manner? Are certain arguments problematic or faulty, given what else we have learned as part of the course?

Books for the book review:

Robert MacNeil. *Thirty Years of Failure: Understanding Canadian Climate Policy*. Halifax: Fernwood, 2019.

Megan Gaucher, *A Family Matter: Citizenship, Conjugal Relationships, and Canadian Immigration Policy*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018.

Francesca Scala, *Delivering Policy: The Contested Politics of Assisted Reproductive Technologies in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019.

Larry Savage and Charles Smith, *Unions in Court: Organized Labour and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017.

Final Exam (35%)

The final examination will be scheduled by the Registrar during the final examination period. The exam will draw on the questions that will be posted for discussion in tutorial.

Participation (10%)

Tutorials start the week of January 25 and run until the end of semester, with the exception of reading week. Students are expected to attend in order to discuss the material from the week's readings, focusing particularly on identifying the arguments contained within them. This grade will be a composite of attendance and respectful participation.

Students who are unable to attend and/or participate may choose to fulfill this attendance and participation requirement in one of the following ways. If they wish to be assessed in these alternative ways, they must inform the professor and their TA in writing (for instance by email) as soon as possible and no later than February 7th. After February 7th, changes cannot be made

Alternative 1: For students unable to attend: Provide written answers to two of the week's tutorial questions, for a total of approximately 500 words. These should be submitted to the appropriate assignment dropbox on Avenue by noon on Friday (i.e. questions for "Week 5-February 8" need to be submitted by noon on February 12). The grade will be based on the timely submission and content of these responses.

Alternative 2: For students unable to participate: After attending the tutorial, students should write a 250 word response to the discussion in the tutorial. For instance, what was a major point of discussion, and what would they have wanted to add or argue in that discussion? These responses should be submitted to the appropriate dropbox on Avenue within 24 hours of the end of the tutorial. The grade will be an aggregate of tutorial attendance and the assessment of these responses.

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (January 11)

Introduction to the Course

Week 2 (January 18)

January 18 – Thinking About Politics, Power, and Influence in Canada

Readings:

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society*, chapter 1

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society*, chapter 2 ("Historical Trajectories of Influence in Canadian Politics")

Week 3 (January 25)

January 25: Social movement-state interactions

Readings:

Clare Demerse and Nathan Lemphers, "The Environmental Movement in Canada: Current Challenges," in Debora L. VanNijnatten (ed.) *Canadian Environmental Policy and Politics* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2016), ch. 2.

Alexa DeGagne, "Pinkwashing Pride Parades: The Politics of Police in LGBTQ2S Spaces in Canada," in Fiona Macdonald and Alexandra Dobrowolsky (eds.) *Turbulent*

Times, Transformational Possibilities? (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 258-280.

Note: Tutorials start the week of January 25.

Week 4 (February 1)

February 1: Political Parties and Social Movements

Film:

[*The Right Candidate for Rosedale*](#), dir. Bonnie Sher Klein and Anne Henderson, National Film Board, 1979.

Readings:

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society?*, chapter 3 (“Arenas of Influence: Parliament, Parties and Elections.”)

Elise Maiolino, “Words *and* Deeds: Social Movement Actors’ Assessments of Allied Politicians,” in Angelia Wagner and Joanna Everitt (eds) *Gendered Mediation: Identity and Image Making in Canadian Politics* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019).

Week 5 (February 8)

February 8: Political Parties, Social Movements and Elections

Readings:

Thomas Collombat and Magali Picard, “Third Party Activism.” In Thierry Giasson and Alex Marland (eds.) *Inside the Campaign: Managing Elections in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2020), 185-195.

Mario Levesque, “Vulnerable Populations and the Permanent Campaign: Disability Organizations as Policy Entrepreneurs,” in Thierry Giasson, Alex Marland and Anna Esselment (eds) *Permanent Campaigning in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 278-297.

Reading Week, no class or tutorials week of February 15

Week 6 (February 22)

February 22: Interest Groups, Policy Communities: Who Wins, Who Loses

Film:

[*It Takes a Riot: Race, Rebellion, Reform*](#), dir. Simon Black, 2017.

Readings:

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society?*, chapter 4 (“Arenas of Influence: Bureaucracy and Policy Communities”)

George Hoberg and Jeffrey Phillips, “Playing Defence: Early Responses to Conflict Expansion in the Oil Sands Policy Subsystem,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* vol. 44, no. 3 (2011) 507-527.

Week 7 (March 1)

March 1: Interest Groups, Policy Communities: A Shifting Terrain?

Readings:

Nicole Goodman, “Private over Public: A Conservative Approach to Interest Advocacy,” in *The Blueprint: Conservative Parties and Their Impact on Canadian Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 78-100.

Anna Burrowes and Rachel Laforest, “Advocates Anonymous: A Study of Advocacy Coalitions in Ontario.” In Nick J. Mulé and Gloria C. DeSantis (eds.) *The Shifting Terrain: Non-Profit Advocacy in Canada* (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2017), 63-81.

Notes: **Midterm assignment due March 1**

Week 8 (March 8)

March 8: Citizen Consultation

Readings:

Rachel Laforest and Susan Phillips, “Citizen Engagement: Rewiring the Policy Process,” in Michael Orisini and Miriam Smith (eds.) *Critical Policy Studies* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 67-90.

Nancy Bouchard, “The Dark side of public participation: Participative processes that legitimize elected officials’ values.” *Canadian Public Administration* 59:4 (2016), 516-537.

Week 9 (March 15)

March 15: Legal Mobilization and Courts

Readings:

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society*, ch. 5 (“Arenas of Influence: Courts”)

Daniel Voth, “Her Majesty’s Justice Be Done: Métis Legal Mobilization and the Pitfalls to Indigenous Political Movement Building,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 49:2 (2016), 243-266.

Week 10 (March 22)

March 22: Multiculturalism and Ethnocultural Diversity

Readings:

Yasmeen Abu-Laban, “Rethinking Canadian Citizenship: The Politics of Social Exclusion in the Age of Security and Suppression,” in Leah F. Vosko, Valerie Preston and Robert Latham (eds.) *Liberating Temporariness? Migration, Work and Citizenship in an Age of Insecurity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014).

Keith Banting and Debra Thompson, “[The Puzzling Persistence of Racial Inequality in Canada](#).” In Juliet Hooker and Alvin B. Tillery Jr. (eds) *The Double Bind: The Politics of Racial and Class Inequalities in the Americas* (Washington: American Political Science Association, 2016), 101-122.

Week 11 (March 29)

March 29: Indigenous Peoples and the Canadian Political Order

Readings:

Hayden King, “Treaty Making and Breaking in Settler Colonial Canada,” in Janine Brodie (ed.) *Contemporary Inequalities and Social Justice in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 107-123.

Julie Tomiak, “Navigating the contradictions of the shadow state: the Assembly of First Nations, state funding, and scales of Indigenous resistance.” *Studies in Political Economy* 97:3 (2016) 217-233.

Week 12 (April 6)

April 6: Regional and National Pressures

Readings:

Clark Banack, “Ethnography and Political Opinion: Identity, Alienation and Anti-Establishmentarianism in Rural Alberta.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming.

Kenneth McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2019), ch.9.

Notes: **Final Paper due April 6**

Week 13 (April 12)

April 12: Conclusions and Review

Readings:

Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society?*, ch. 6 (“Conclusions”)

Judith Taylor, “No to Protests, Yes to Festivals: How the Creative Class Organizes in the Social Movement Society,” in Howard Ramos and Kathleen Rodgers (eds) *Protest and Politics: The Promise of Social Movement Societies* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015), 173-190.

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

Papers are to be submitted to the appropriate submissions folder on the course’s Avenue to Learn page by **11:59pm** on the due date.

Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

MARK	GRADE
90-100	A+
85-90	A
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	B
70-72	B-
67-69	C+
63-66	C
60-62	C-
57-59	D+
53-56	D
50-52	D-
0-49	F

Late Assignments

Four days grace will be given for late papers, in order to accommodate the common reasons for late submission, including those giving rise to the use of the MSAF. After four days, the assignments will be assessed a penalty of 2 percentage points per day, including each day of a weekend.

University Policies

Absences, Missed Work, Illness

McMaster Student Absence Form (MSAF): In the event of an absence for medical or other reasons, students should review and follow the Academic Regulation in the Undergraduate Calendar “Requests for Relief for Missed Academic Term Work”.

Courses with an On-Line Element

Some courses may use on-line elements (e.g. e-mail, Avenue to Learn (A2L), LearnLink, web pages, capa, Moodle, ThinkingCap, etc.). Students should be aware

that, when they access the electronic components of a course using these elements, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in a course that uses on-line elements will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Online Proctoring

Some courses may use online proctoring software for tests and exams. This software may require students to turn on their video camera, present identification, monitor and record their computer activities, and/or lock/restrict their browser or other applications/software during tests or exams. This software may be required to be installed before the test/exam begins.

Authenticity / Plagiarism Detection

Some courses may use a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. For courses using such software, students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via an online learning platform (e.g. A2L, etc.) using plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty.

Students who do not wish their work to be submitted through the plagiarism detection software must inform the Instructor before the assignment is due. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to the plagiarism detection software.

All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more details about McMaster's use of Turnitin.com please go to www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity.

Copyright and Recording

Students are advised that lectures, demonstrations, performances, and any other course material provided by an instructor include copyright protected works. The Copyright Act and copyright law protect every original literary, dramatic, musical and artistic work, **including lectures** by University instructors

The recording of lectures, tutorials, or other methods of instruction may occur during a course. Recording may be done by either the instructor for the purpose of authorized distribution, or by a student for the purpose of personal study. Students should be aware that their voice and/or image may be recorded by others during the class. Please speak with the instructor if this is a concern for you.

Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the [RISO](#) policy. Students should submit their request to their Faculty Office **normally within 10 working days** of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests.

Academic Integrity Statement

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity. **It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty.**

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](#), located at <https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures-guidelines/>

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- improper collaboration in group work.
- copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Conduct Expectations

As a McMaster student, you have the right to experience, and the responsibility to demonstrate, respectful and dignified interactions within all of our living, learning and working communities. These expectations are described in the [Code of Student Rights & Responsibilities](#) (the "Code"). All students share the responsibility of maintaining a positive environment for the academic and personal growth of all McMaster community members, **whether in person or online.**

It is essential that students be mindful of their interactions online, as the Code remains in effect in virtual learning environments. The Code applies to any interactions that adversely affect, disrupt, or interfere with reasonable participation in University activities. Student disruptions or behaviours that interfere with university functions on online platforms (e.g. use of Avenue 2 Learn, WebEx or Zoom for delivery), will be

taken very seriously and will be investigated. Outcomes may include restriction or removal of the involved students' access to these platforms

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities who require academic accommodation must contact [Student Accessibility Services](#) (SAS) at 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or sas@mcmaster.ca to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. For further information, consult McMaster University's [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#) policy.

Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Course Modification

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

Extreme Circumstances

The University reserves the right to change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances (e.g., severe weather, labour disruptions, etc.). Changes will be communicated through regular McMaster communication channels, such as McMaster Daily News, A2L and/or McMaster email.