

Federalism in Canada  
POLI 4P14 / 5P14  
Fall 2017

Instructor: Tim Fowler  
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Office hrs: Monday, 2 - 4pm, or by appointment

Seminar: Mondays 10am - 1pm, TH 149  
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**INTRODUCTION**

Federalism is a fundamental tenet of politics in Canada. Upon shaping the Canadian Constitution, the Fathers of Confederation wanted Canada to be a strongly centralized state. However, Canada has developed into one of the world's most decentralized states, with its provinces - and even municipalities - exercising significant tax-raising and policy-making capacities. The goals of the course are to examine the historical and theoretical roots of Canadian federalism, as well as to develop an understanding of how federalism affects contemporary public policy debates in Canada.

This course will also cover many of the current debates and enduring challenges confronting Canadian federalism, including the question of Quebec's place in Canada, Aboriginal claims of self-governance, the increasing role of municipal government in federalism, and the changing nature of intergovernmental dynamics. In short, the course emphasizes contemporary issues and current trends in Canadian federalism.

Course Modification Statement: 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 their email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

**REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING SCHEME**

Seminar Participation	30%	Ongoing through the term
Seminar Leadership	15%	Selected in week one
Short Paper	15%	In class October 2 <sup>nd</sup> , late penalty 100%
Term Paper	30%	See Below
Reflection Papers (4P14)	10%	See Below
Literature Review (5P14)	10%	December 11 <sup>th</sup> , 4pm, late penalty 100%

Please note that a paper does not count as handed in until a physical copy has been submitted.

SEMINAR PARTICIPATION. The main component of this course is the weekly three hour seminar. Because the seminar is the most important part of the course, students are expected to show up every week prepared to discuss all the required readings. The participation mark is based on *both* participation and attendance to class: participation is required to receive a passing grade for the seminar participation component. Simply showing up, and saying nothing at all, will not earn a

passing grade for seminar participation.

The seminar participation mark will be based on the *quality* of the commentary provided by you. Students will be expected to respond critically to the readings and to link themes between the readings each week and between the weeks of the course. Students who show up to seminar, but who do not participate in seminar, can expect to receive a grade of 3/10, or lower, for that week's class.

Missing a seminar for a reason other than an illness (supported with documentation) or other bona fide emergency will have a detrimental effect on your seminar participation grade. An unofficial seminar grade will be given to the students during week six of the course.

The main component of this course is the weekly seminar, and a good portion of your marks come from seminar discussion and leadership. In order to foster a climate of discussion, the use of electronic devices - cell phones, tablets, laptop computers - is discouraged during seminars. In an ideal world, there should be no use of electronic devices during seminar. Students who insist on texting or using social media during seminars will lose participation points, and may be asked to leave.

A quality contribution to seminar involves reading all required materials, making thoughtful and relevant comments, being courteous to classmates and respectful of opposing viewpoints. Political science involves a good deal of discussion of opposing viewpoints. Students are reminded to be respectful of those with whom they disagree. That said, language and comments which are sexist, racist, homophobic, transphobic, speciesist, or which discriminates on the base of age or ability will not be tolerated.

It is the Student's responsibility to ensure they have signed the attendance sheet for each seminar they are present.

**SEMINAR LEADERSHIP.** Each week of the course, after the first, a student will lead the discussion. The seminar will start with a brief (15 minutes or less) presentation by the leader on the readings for that week. The presentation is a time for the leader to reflect critically on the articles - to discuss the strengths and weaknesses, link the articles together, etc. You could even discuss how the readings relate to your own academic interests, or how they may link into the research you are doing for the term paper. The leader ***should not*** summarize the readings during this time: come prepared to lead seminar assuming that all the other students have read the readings for the week.

The seminar leader should come prepared with questions designed to generate discussion. The questions should discuss the ideas, theories and case studies presented in the assigned readings. The seminar leader should also guide discussion and provide their own input throughout the seminar. It is expected that the leader guide discussion and have enough questions generated for the full length of the seminar.

If you must miss your presentation due to illness or a bona fide emergency, please endeavour to inform the course instructor as soon as possible on, or before, the day of your presentation.

A seminar leadership grade will be returned the week after the presentation.

During weeks where more than one student is leading discussion, please note that the short presentations are *separate*. The leaders should consult with each other to make sure they do not present on the same material. A separate mark will be assigned to each leader.

The SHORT PAPER is designed to introduce students to the foundations of Canadian Federalism. For the paper students should write a 4 to 5 page critical response to either the McRoberts or Russell reading (below). Critical, in this sense, does not mean “find fault with.” You should outline the main argument of readings, and assess the argument. You should discuss where this reading fits in to debates about federalism in a Canadian (and/or Comparative) perspective, what the most important elements of the article were, if there were any problematic elements, and discuss the contributions to the literature on federalism that these readings make. Please note that the bulk of the marks for this assignment will come from a critical engagement with the text - students who simply summarize the text should not expect a passing grade on the short paper assignment. The two articles are:

Peter Russell, “Can Canadians Be A Sovereign People?” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 24, 4 (1991), pp 691 - 709.

Kenneth McRoberts, “Canada and the Multinational State.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 34, 4 (2001), pp 683 - 713.

For the TERM PAPER students are expected to study one of the social problems presented in this course in depth. Students should write a **12 - 15 page (4P14) / 15 - 18 (5P14)** paper on a topic of their choice, related to Canadian federalism or federal-provincial relations. Topics should be approved in advance by the instructor. You may choose one of the weekly topics for your term paper topic - this may be a good place to start. The essay should be in the style of an argumentative research essay. The essay should have a clearly presented thesis, from which the argument flows naturally. The paper could explore many areas of the topic of your choice - the structure is up to you. You are expected to consult no less than **eight peer-reviewed academic sources (4P14) / ten peer-reviewed academic sources (5P14)** not including the assigned readings for this course. The essay mark will be based on the logic of your argument, the clarity of your writing, and the evidence you present to support your thesis.

Students will be given the opportunity to revise and resubmit their term papers after an initial round of comments and feedback have been given. The goal is for students to reflect on comments on the paper, and use these comments to write a stronger paper. Any paper handed in during class on **November 6<sup>th</sup>** will be returned to the student with a comment and a provisional grade on it no later than **November 20<sup>th</sup>**. Students will then have until **December 4<sup>th</sup>** to hand in a final copy of the paper. **No paper will be accepted after December 4<sup>th</sup>**, and if students choose not to make any revisions and resubmit their term paper, the provisional grade will become the final grade on December 4<sup>th</sup>.

Students may also hand in a draft of the paper between November 6<sup>th</sup> and November 20<sup>th</sup>. I

cannot guarantee those papers will be returned by November 20<sup>th</sup>, and they will be marked in the order they are submitted. If they are not returned on November 20<sup>th</sup>, I will contact you when they are marked.

Please note that submitting a draft paper is purely optional. Students may choose to submit a paper on December 4<sup>th</sup> without having first submitted a draft. In this case, the paper on December 4<sup>th</sup> will be marked as the final paper.

REFLECTION PAPERS are a component of 4P14 *only*. Students will be asked to submit four reflections based on the seminar readings for the week. These reflections will be **two pages** in length, and should cover the main arguments of the readings, how they integrate into the course and the topics of federalism, and how they contribute to your knowledge of federalism. Reflection papers will receive a mark out of 10, and your three best reflection papers will count towards your grade in the course. To ensure that students keep up with the readings, a reflection paper will be announced the day before a seminar on the topic you will be reflecting on, and will be due 48 hours after the seminar concludes. Late reflection papers will not be accepted.

5P14 students will be expected to conduct a LITERATURE REVIEW to answer the question “what is the current state of debate around Canadian Federalism?” The literature review should be **five - eight pages** in length, and should be a comprehensive review of the last five, or so, years on debates within Canadian political science around Federalism. As the point of the exercise is to provide a comprehensive review, there is no minimum number of sources - part of the mark will be based on if the review was comprehensive or not. A literature review of this style should not be an annotated bibliography, nor should it be a summary of works in the field. You should cover what the field agrees on, what the field disagrees on, and what the emerging and relevant debates and questions are.

### **MENTAL HEALTH SUPPORT SERVICES**

To make an appointment to see a counsellor for confidential personal counselling on campus:

- call 905-688-5550 extension 4750 during regular office hours (8:30 - 12:00, 1:00 - 4:30)
- or visit the Student Development Centre (ST400) during office hours
- or visit <https://brocku.ca/personal-counselling>

### **A NOTE ON ACCOMMODATION**

With respect to due dates for assignments and missing seminars, I am more than willing to grant extensions or excused absences, respectively, for illness, bereavement, bona fide emergencies, or other acceptable academic reasons, including registration with SDC. When you miss an assignment or seminar, please contact me as soon as possible - before hand, if possible. We will be able to work out an alternate arrangement. As part of Brock University’s commitment to a respectful work and learning environment, the University will make every reasonable effort to accommodate all members of the university community with disabilities. If you require academic accommodations related to a documented disability to participate in this course, you are encouraged to contact Student Accessibility Services in the Student Development Centre (4th floor Schmon Tower, ex. 3240). You are also encouraged to discuss any accommodations with the instructor well in advance of due dates and scheduled assessments.

### ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION DUE TO RELIGIOUS OBLIGATIONS

Brock University acknowledges the pluralistic nature of the undergraduate and graduate communities such that accommodations will be made for students who, by reason of religious obligation, must miss an examination, test, assignment deadline, laboratory or other compulsory academic event. Students requesting academic accommodation on the basis of religious obligation should make a formal, written request to their instructor for alternative dates and/or means of satisfying requirements well before the date in question.

### MEDICAL EXEMPTION POLICY

In the case of illness, please contact me as soon as you know that you will miss a seminar or deadline due to illness - you will also need a doctor's note. The University requires that a student be medically examined in Health Services, or by an off-campus physician prior to an absence due to medical reasons from an exam, lab, test, quiz, seminar, assignment, etc. The Medical Certificate can be found at: <http://www.brocku.ca/health-services/policies/exemption>

### ACADEMIC MISCONDUCT

Brock University takes academic misconduct very seriously. Academic misconduct includes plagiarism, which involves presenting the words and/or ideas of another person as if they were your own, and other forms of cheating, such as using crib notes during tests and exams, or fabricating data for a lab assignment.

Assignments which feature plagiarized material in whole or in part will automatically receive a grade of "0," and the Brock University procedures for addressing academic misconduct will be initiated by the instructor. **It is essential that students be aware that personal or academic circumstances (eg. spring graduation) will have absolutely no bearing on the lecturer's decision to pursue cases of plagiarism.**

It is imperative that students be familiar with Brock University's current Academic Regulations and University Policies, especially Section VII pertaining to academic misconduct.

The course will not use a computerized plagiarism detection system.

### ON WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

The following technical requirements exist for all written components of this course: 12 point font, one inch margins, and double spaced text. All written assignments **must** use a recognized academic citation style for their assignments - Chicago, APA, or MLA. If you use an 'in text' citation system, you **must** reference specific page numbers in your citations - an author / date citation is not sufficient. Students should also consult the appended "term paper guidelines" for some simple rules, that will be enforced come marking time, on how to write a proper term paper.

### **POLICY ON REMARKING**

After I have provided feedback on an assignment, students should wait 24 hours before contacting me with follow-up questions. However, they should wait no longer than seven days, so that any questions can be resolved quickly and without unnecessary problems. I have found that not many people read a course outline all the way through. As such, I am burying a bonus mark right here. Email me to tell me what your favourite dinosaur is by the end of the second week of classes, and I will give you a bonus mark in the course, as a reward for reading the syllabus.

### **NO EXTRA CREDIT**

The grade I report to the registrar is the grade you earn based on the items listed in the course syllabus. There will be no opportunity to make up extra credit in this course, there will be no alternative assignments offered for this course (except, of course, in the case of those assignments arranged through the SSWD centre), nor will there be ‘make-up’ assignments for missed seminars, missed papers, etc. Please keep in mind that “I need a higher grade to keep my scholarship” or “I need a higher grade to maintain my eligibility” or “I need a higher grade to get into my major” are not valid reasons for extra credit or make up assignments. Requests of this nature will simply be ignored. Please keep this in mind during the course. You will have ample opportunities to receive a very high grade in this course, assuming you avail yourself of all the resources present: attend lecture, do your readings, visit the office hours of the teaching team or send emails to us when you need help.

### **CONTACT PROTOCOL**

I have set aside weekly office hours to meet with students to discuss course material. These office hours are some of your best resources for consulting with the instruction team. If you cannot meet during the office hours, feel free to send an email to the appropriate person, but please keep the following simple rules for email etiquette in mind:

- Please indicate your full name and course code in the email. Many of us are on teaching teams for many different courses.
- Emails must be written in proper English. Students will be asked to revise, edit and re-send emails that do not meet minimum standards of grammatically correct English.
- Please allow for a minimum of 48 hours for turnaround on emails

### **INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY NOTICE**

All slides, presentations, handouts, tests, exams, and other course materials created by the instructor in this course are the intellectual property of the instructor. A student who publicly posts or sells an instructor’s work, without the instructor’s express consent, may be charged with misconduct under Brock’s Academic Integrity Policy and/or Code of Conduct, and may also face adverse legal consequences for infringement of intellectual property rights.

### **COURSE TEXTS**

Herman Bakvis & Grace Skogstad, eds. *Canadian Federalism, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2012).

## READING SCHEDULE

September 11<sup>th</sup> Introduction to Canadian Federalism

*While not required, these are suggested brush-ups if it's been a while since you've taken 2F12*

Bakvis & Skogstad 1, "Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness, and Legitimacy."

Garth Stevenson, "Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations" in Whittington & Williams (eds.) *Canadian Politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2008)

September 18<sup>th</sup> The Foundations of Canadian Federalism

Alan C Cairns, "The Governments and Societies of Canadian Federalism," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 10, 4 (1977), 695 - 725

Peter Russell, "Can Canadians Be A Sovereign People?" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 24, 4 (1991), pp 691 - 709.

Kenneth McRoberts, "Canada and the Multinational State." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 34, 4 (2001), pp 683 - 713.

September 19<sup>th</sup> Registration system closes

September 25<sup>th</sup> The Political Economy of Canadian Federalism

Bakvis & Skogstad 2, "The Political Economy of Regionalism & Federalism."

Janine Brodie, "The New Political Economy of Regions" in Wallace Clement, ed., *Understanding Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

*Suggested, especially if you are not familiar with Political Economy*

Gregory J Inwood, *Understanding Canadian Federalism* (Toronto: Pearson, 2013). Chapters 2 & 3.

October 2<sup>nd</sup> Federalism, The Courts, & The Charter

Bakvis & Skogstad 5, "The Courts, the Constitution, and Dispute Resolution."

Jeremy Clarke, "In the Case of Federalism v. the Charter: The Processes and Outcomes of a Federalist Dialogue", *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 36 (2007), 41-71.

October 9<sup>th</sup> Fall Break Week

October 16<sup>th</sup> Executive Federalism

Bakvis & Skogstad 4, "Parliamentary Canada and Intergovernmental Canada: Exploring the Tensions."

Bakvis & Skogstad 17, "Democratizing Executive Federalism: The Role of Non-Governmental Actors in Intergovernmental Agreements."

Christopher Alcantara "Ideas, Executive Federalism and Institutional Change: Explaining Territorial Inclusion in Canadian First Ministers' Conferences," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 46, 1 (March 2013).

October 23<sup>rd</sup> Fiscal Federalism

Bakvis & Skogstad 7, "Fiscal Federalism: Maintaining a Balance?"

Andre Lecours and Daniel Beland. "Federalism and fiscal policy: The politics of equalization in Canada" *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 40 No 4 (Fall 2010).

October 30<sup>th</sup> Social Policy

Bakvis & Skogstad 8, "The Three Federalism Revisited: Social Policy and Intergovernmental Decision-Making."

Jennifer Wallner, "Beyond National Standards: Reconciling Tension between Federalism and the Welfare State", *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 40 No. 4 (Fall 2010).

Peter Graefe, "State Restructuring, Social Assistance, and Canadian Intergovernmental Relations: Same Scales, New Tune," *Studies in Political Economy* 78 (January 2006).

November 6<sup>th</sup> Federalism & Canadian Health Care

Bakvis & Skogstad 9, "Health Care."

Peter Graefe & Andrew Bourns, "The Gradual Defederalization of Canadian Health Policy", *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 39 No. 1 (2009).

Heather Whiteside, "Canada's Health Care "Crisis": Accumulation by Dispossession and the Neoliberal Fix," *Studies in Political Economy* 84 (2009).

November 6<sup>th</sup> is the last day to withdraw without academic penalty

November 13<sup>th</sup> Canadian Immigration Policy & The Federation

Bakvis & Skogstad 14, "Remaking Immigration: Asymmetric Decentralization and Canadian Federalism."

Mireille Paquet, "Bureaucrats as Immigration Policy-Makers: The Case of Subnational Activism in Canada, 1990 - 2010," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies*, 41, no 11 (2005).



November 20<sup>th</sup>                    The Quebec Question  
Bakvis & Skogstad 3, “Quebec and the Canadian Federation.”

Guy Laforest, “What Canadian Federalism Means in Quebec”, in *Review of Constitutional Studies* 15 Iss 1, (2010).

November 27<sup>th</sup>                    First Nations & Aboriginal Self Government  
Bakvis & Skogstad 15, “Canadian Federalism and the Emerging Mosaic of Aboriginal Multilevel Governance.”

J.R. Miller, *Lethal Legacy*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd, 2004). Chapter 2, “According to Our Ancient Customs.”

December 4<sup>th</sup>                    Cities & The Urban Agenda  
Bakvis & Skogstad 16, “The Urban Agenda”

Enid Slack and Richard Bird, “Cities in Canadian Federalism.” *Policy Options* 29, 1 (2007), pp. 72-77. Available here: <http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/the-mood-ofcanada/cities-in-canadian-federalism/>

## TERM PAPER GUIDELINES

### Part A: Simple Rules

1. Don't wait until the last possible moment to begin working.
2. Decide the purpose of your paper. Is it to find something out, or to argue a point of view?
3. Make an outline of your paper before you begin research or writing.
4. Use enough sources and avoid relying too heavily on one source. A string of consecutive footnotes/endnotes all referring to the same source should be avoided.
5. When using internet sources, make sure they are reliable, and provide complete citations. Government web sites are excellent sources of information. Private ones should be used with caution, especially if their origin is unclear. "Wikipedia" should not be used.
6. Make sure that your paper has an introduction, a main body, and a conclusion. Use sub-headings to divide your paper into parts.
7. Don't pad your paper with lengthy direct quotes from your sources. Use direct quotes only when they are particularly memorable, eloquent, or important, and keep them short.
8. Pay attention to style, grammar and spelling. (See Part B for suggestions of what to avoid)
9. Number your pages with numerals centred at the top of the page. (Any word-processing program will do this) The title page should not be numbered.
10. Use a proper style for your references/footnotes/endnotes. There are two proper styles but use one of them consistently.
11. Type the titles of books or periodicals to which you refer in italics. (Underlining was used in the days of typewriters, most of which could not do italics, but italics look much better)
12. Before printing the paper, carefully read over what you have written, noting ways in which both style and substance could be improved. (Part B suggests some things to watch for) Then correct the paper, as required, and print the corrected version.
13. Staple your paper so that there is no danger of pages being lost. Don't rely on a paper clip. If you use a staple, make sure it is large enough to secure all of your pages.
14. Hand in your paper on time! Penalties for lateness will be imposed.

## Part B:How to Avoid Losing Marks for Poor English

1. Don't write long, incoherent sentences. Keep them short and succinct, with one main point.
2. Make sure that every sentence includes a subject (noun or pronoun) and a verb.
3. Don't insert a comma between the subject and the verb. Use two commas to enclose a group of words that could be removed without destroying the essential meaning of the sentence. Use one comma only to separate a distinct subordinate clause from the rest of the sentence.
4. Divide your paper into paragraphs of reasonable length. Begin a new paragraph when you introduce a new thought or theme. No paragraph should ever be as much as one page in length.
5. Don't use "however" as a conjunction to join two parts of a sentence. Use "but" as a conjunction.  
Correct usage: "The federalists expected to win easily but they only won by a few votes."  
Incorrect usage: "The federalists expected to win easily however they only won by a few votes."
6. Don't split infinitives by placing an adverb between the "to" and the "verb". Correct usage: "to secede unilaterally." Incorrect usage: "to unilaterally secede".
7. Don't use apostrophe s ('s) to form the plural of a noun or proper name. Plural nouns are formed by adding s to the noun with no punctuation. 's means a possessive relationship as in phrases like "Canada's future" or "women's rights".
8. Use the verb "to substitute" correctly. Correct usage: "The new textbook was substituted for the old one." Incorrect usage: "The old textbook was substituted with the new one."
9. Remember that the words "data" and "media" are plurals and take plural verbs. Correct usage: "The media are biased." Incorrect usage: "The media is biased."
10. Don't write "criteria" or "phenomena" (plural) when you mean "criterion" or "phenomenon"
11. Don't confuse "may have" with "might have". Use "may have" only if you aren't certain of the facts. Use "might have" for scenarios that you know did not happen. Correct usage: "Germany might have won the war if it had possessed nuclear weapons." Incorrect usage: "Germany may have won the war if it had possessed nuclear weapons."
12. Don't use "would have" in a clause beginning with "if." Correct usage: "If Kerry had won the election..." Incorrect usage: "If Kerry would have won the election..."
13. Don't write "lead" when you mean "led". Lead is a mineral. Led is the past tense of "to lead".
14. Don't use "amount" to designate a quantity that can be counted. Use "number." Correct usage: "The number of students has increased." Incorrect usage: "The amount of students has

increased.”

15. Commas, semicolons, colons and periods are all separate punctuation marks and each have their own separate uses. Learn the uses of these punctuation marks and use them correctly.

16. Use proper Canadian English spelling. Most word processors will default to American English - change to, and use, Canadian or British English.