

**PSCI 4107A**  
**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN CANADA**  
**Class: Monday, 11:35-2:25 LA 602**

**Instructor: Professor Jon H. Pammett**  
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**Office Hours: Monday, 9:30-11:00, 2:30-4:00**  
**Wednesday, 11:30-12:30**

This course examines the causes and consequences of individual participation in politics in Canada and elsewhere. It includes participation in political parties, groups, and movements, as well as electoral and protest participation. It examines social resources, attitudes, mobilization, generations, and gender, as these factors affect participation. It gives consideration to theoretical approaches to democracy, citizenship, representation, and social capital.

**Course arrangements and requirements**

**Essay: 50% of grade.** (expected length, 20 pages)

Topics to choose from:

- a) A paper involving data analysis of a selected topic in Canadian or comparative participation, using a dataset chosen in cooperation with the instructor.
- b) A comparison of Canada and a country chosen with the instructor, investigating the extent and types of electoral and/or nonelectoral participation and relevant factors affecting that participation.
- c) An in-depth analysis of a Canadian Royal (or other) Commission, part of whose mandate was to encourage public participation or consultation. The B & B commission, Status of Women commission, 2 Macdonald commissions, and the Aboriginal Peoples' commission have submissions available. Other commissions such as the Spicer commission; the Lortie commission; the Pepin-Robarts commission and the Romanow commission are more difficult to locate. The BC, Ontario, New Brunswick or PEI consultations on electoral reform are available on-line. **Students choosing this topic are particularly advised to get an early start and to consult the documents division of the library.**
- d) An examination of the impact of one or more factors on the rate or nature of participation, for example social resources, public attitudes, age and generations, gender, mobilization.
- e) An examination of participation in one or more political organizations, groups, or movements.

Essays are due on **December 3, 2007**. Late papers will be accepted on **December 7, 2007, before 4 pm**, with a penalty of one grade point (e.g. B paper receives B- grade). **Papers will not be accepted after that date.**

**Class assignments:** 6 short (2-3 page) ‘reaction/evaluation papers’, using items from 6 of the 11 weeks’ reading, to be handed in at the beginning of that class. Marks will be related to the amount of material covered, as well as the quality of analysis. You may include your own opinions of the reading. If more than 6 papers are handed in, the best 6 grades will be counted toward the final grade. **(5 marks times 6=30% of grade)**

**Class participation: (2 marks times 10 classes=20% of grade)** Participation is expected, especially when a short paper is being handed in. Marks will be assigned as: .5 for attendance only; 1 for some participation; 1.5 for good participation; 2 for exceptional.

R=book is on Library reserve (1 day) ®= Books on reserve for other courses. In some cases books not on reserve have multiple copies in the library.

**September 10**  
**Introduction.**

**September 17**

**Participation and Democracy/Citizenship** (a democratic deficit?)

- R Elisabeth Gidengil, Andre Blais, Neil Neviite, Richard Nadeau, *Citizens*
- R Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*
- Jane Mansbridge, *Beyond Adversary Democracy*
- Gabriel Almond & Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture*, ch 6-9, 15
- R C.B. MacPherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*
- Frances Abele, et al, *Talking with Canadians: Citizen Engagement and the Social Union*
- R Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy*
- Bruce E. Cain, et al, *Democracy Transformed ? Expanding Electoral Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies.*
- R Geraint Parry, ed., *Participation in Politics*, Part I The Idea of Political Participation
- R Joanna Everett & Brenda O’Neill, *Citizen Politics*, ch 14-17, 21-24.
- R Russell Dalton, *The Good Citizen*
- R Russell Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, Part One (4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> edition preferred)
- R Joergen Goul Andersen and Jens Hoff, *Democracy and Citizenship in Scandinavia*
- Elizabeth Theiss-Morse and John R. Hibbing, “Citizenship and Civic Engagement” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2005. Arthur Lupia & John Matsusaka, “Direct Democracy: New Approaches to Old Questions”, Michael Delli Carpini, Fay Cook and Lawrence Jacobs, “Public Deliberation, Discursive Participation and Citizen Engagement,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2004.
- R Lawrence LeDuc, *The Politics of Direct Democracy: Referendums in Global Perspective*
- Patrick Boyer, *Direct Democracy in Canada*
- Richard Johnston, et al, *The Challenge of Direct Democracy: the 1992 Canadian Referendum* ®

Henry Milner, *Civic Literacy: How Informed Citizens Make Democracy Work*.  
Henry Milner, ed., *Making Every Vote Count: Reassessing Canada's Electoral System* ®  
Henry Milner, ed., *Steps Toward Making Every Vote Count: Electoral System Reform in Canada and its Provinces*

### **September 24**

**Who Participates and Why?** (individual resources and attitudes as correlates of participation: measurement issues)

R William Mishler, *Political Participation in Canada*  
Allan Kornberg, Joel Smith and Harold Clarke, *Citizen Politicians--Canada*  
R Lester Milbrath, *Political Participation*  
Robert E. Lane, *Political Life: Why and How People Get Involved in Politics*  
R Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, *Political Participation in America*  
R Tianjian Shi, *Political Participation in Beijing*  
M. Kent Jennings, "Political Participation in the Chinese Countryside," *American Political Science Review* 91:2 (June 1997) 361-372  
R Guiseppe Di Palma, *Apathy and Participation: Mass Publics in Western Societies*  
R Sidney Verba, Kay Schlozman and Henry Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (see also by the same authors, "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation," *APSR* 89:2 (June 1995) 271-294

### **October 1**

**Mobilization and Participation** (an alternative model?)

R Sidney Verba, Norman Nie and Jae-On Kim, *Participation and Political Equality: a Seven Nation Comparison*  
R Steven Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation and Democracy in America*  
Robert Huckfeldt and John Sprague, *Citizens, Politics and Social Communication*  
Robert Huckfeldt and John Sprague, "Political Parties and Electoral Mobilization", *American Political Science Review* 86:1 (March 1992) 70-86  
Henry Brady, et al, "Prospecting for Participants: Rational Expectations and the Recruitment of Political Activists," *APSR* 93:1 (March 1999) 153-168  
Alan S. Gerber & Donald Green, "The Effects of Personal Canvassing, Telephone Calls and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout," *APSR* 94:3 (Sept 2000) 653-664. See also the Forum discussion in *APSR* 99:2 (May 2005)  
R Alan Gerber & Donald Green, *Get Out the Vote*.  
Green & Gerber, "The Science of Voter Mobilization," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Vol 601 September 2005)  
(See also references under February 15—political parties)

### **October 15**

**Voting and Nonvoting in Elections and Referendums**

IDEA, *Engaging the Electorate: Initiatives to Promote voter Turnout From Around the World* (includes voter turnout statistics 1945-2006)  
IDEA, *Voter Turnout in Western Europe*

Jon Pammett and Lawrence LeDuc, *Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections* (also available on [www.elections.ca](http://www.elections.ca))

Jon Pammett and Christopher Dornan, ed, *The Canadian General Election of 2006*, ch 12 (“Voter Turnout in 2006.”)

Elections Manitoba, *Low Voter Turnout: A Survey of Voters and Non-Voters*

Dominic Duval, “Recension des ecrits sur la participation electorale,” *Etudes electorales* Directeur General des elections du Quebec.

Andre Blais, et al, *Anatomy of a Liberal Victory*, ch 3.

Herman Bakvis, ed, *Voter Turnout in Canada*, RCERPF

R Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix, Part I*

R Martin Wattenberg, *Where Have all the Voters Gone?*

The Electoral Commission (U.K.) *An Audit of Political Engagement*

Harold D. Clarke, David Sanders, Marianne Stewart and Paul Whiteley, *Political Choice in Britain*, ch 7-9.

R Mark Franklin, *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies Since 1845*

R Andre Blais, *To Vote or Not to Vote: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*.

## **October 22**

### **Political Parties and Participation**

R William Cross, *Political Parties*

Mildred Schwartz, *Party Movements in the United States and Canada*

George Perlin, et al, *Party Democracy in Canada*, ch 6, 8-12, 15, 16. ®

William Cross, ed., *Political Parties, Representation and Electoral Democracy in Canada* ®

R. Kenneth Carty, William Cross and Lisa Young, *Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics*, ch 5, 6, 8. ®

R. Kenneth Carty and Munroe Eagles, *Politics is Local: National Politics at the Grassroots*

R. Kenneth Carty, et al, *Leaders and Parties in Canadian Politics* ®

Patrick Seyd and Paul Whiteley, *Labour’s Grass Roots*

Paul Whiteley, Patrick Seyd, and Jeremy Richardson, *True Blues: The Politics of Conservative Party Membership*

R Paul Whiteley and Patrick Seyd, *High-Intensity Participation: the Dynamics of Party Activism in Britain*, ch 1,2,3,8.

R Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix, Part II*

R Alan Ware, *Citizens, Parties and the State*, ch 5,6,8.

## **October 29**

### **Group and Social Movement Participation**

R Lisa Young and Joanna Everett, *Advocacy Groups*

R Miriam Smith, *A Civil Society? Collective Actors in Canadian Political Life*.

R Jeffrey Ayres, *Defying Conventional Wisdom: Political Movements and Popular Contention Against North American Free Trade*

R Janet Conway, *Identity, Place, Knowledge: social Movements Contesting Globalization*.

Catherine Eschle & Bice Manguashca, *Critical Theories, International Relations and the anti-globalization Movement: the politics of global resistance*  
 April Carter, *Direct Action and Democracy Today*  
 Claude Galipeau, "Political Parties, Interest Groups and New Social Movements",  
 in Alain Gagnon and Brian Tanguay, ed., *Canadian Parties in Transition*, ch 17.  
 Leslie Seidle, ed., *Interest Groups and Elections in Canada*, RCERPF  
 Kathy Megyery, ed., *Ethno-Cultural Groups and Visible Minorities in Canadian Politics*, RCERPF  
 S. D. Clark, et al, *Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Canada*  
 James A. Draper, ed., *Citizen Participation: Canada*  
 R Jan van Deth, *Private Groups and Public Life*  
 R Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*  
 R Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement*  
 R Mario Guigni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly, *How Social Movements Matter*  
 R Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768-2004*.

### **November 5**

#### **Age, Generations and Participation**

Pammett and LeDuc, *Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections*  
 IDEA, *Engaging the electorate*  
 Martin Wattenberg, *Is Voting for Young People?*  
 Kathy Megyery, ed., *Youth in Canadian Politics*, RCERPF  
 Alison Park, "The Generation Game" in *British Social Attitudes*, vol 17, ch 1. and  
 "Has Modern Politics disenchanting the Young?" in *British Social Attitudes*, vol  
 21, ch 2.  
 The Electoral Commission (U.K.) *Age of Electoral Majority*  
 Samuel Barnes and Max Kaase, *Political Action*, chapters 15 & 16  
 M. Kent Jennings, *The Political Character of Adolescence*, ch 5  
 M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *Generations and Politics: A Panel Study of Young Adults and their Parents*, ch 5  
 Richard H. Kimberlee, "Why Don't British Young People Vote at General Elections?" *Journal of Youth Studies* Vol 5, No 1, pp 85-98.

### **November 12**

#### **Gender and Participation**

Linda Trimble & Jane Arscott, *Still Counting: Women in Politics Across Canada*®  
 Jane Arscott and Linda Trimble, eds, *In the Presence of Women: Representation in Canadian Governments*, Part I®  
 Lisa Young, *Feminists and Party Politics*®  
 Sylvia Bashevkin, "Political Parties and the Representation of Women," in Alain Gagnon and Brian Tanguay, ed., *Canadian Parties in Transition*, ch 19  
 Sylvia Bashevkin, *Tales of Two Cities: Women and Municipal Restructuring in London and Toronto*

Janine Brodie, *Women and Politics in Canada*  
Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble, eds., *Women and Electoral Politics in Canada*, Parts I and II ®  
Kathy Megyeri, ed., *Women in Canadian Politics*, RCERPF  
The Electoral Commission (U.K.) *Gender and Political Participation*  
R Nancy Burns, Kay Schlozman and Sidney Verba, *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality and Political Participation*  
Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, *Rising Tide*  
R Joni Lovenduski, *Feminizing Politics*

### **November 19**

#### **Protest and Empowerment**

R David McNally, *Another World is Possible: Globalization and Anti-Capitalism*  
R Wim Van de Donk, *Cyberprotest : New Media, Citizens, and Social Movements*  
R. Martha McCaughey and Michael Ayers, *Cyberactivism: Online Activism in Theory and Practice*  
R Maria Kousis and Charles Tilley, *Economic and Political Contention in Comparative Perspective*  
R April Carter, *Direct Action and Democracy Today*  
R Michael Edwards and John Gaventa, *Global Citizen Action*  
R Tianjian Shi, *Political Participation in Beijing*, chapter 8  
R Russell Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, chapter 4  
Kenneth Keniston, *Young Radicals*  
Samuel Barnes and Max Kaase, *Political Action*, chapter 16

### **November 26**

#### **Social Capital and Postmaterialism**

John Field, *Social Capital*  
Sandra Franke, *Measurement of Social Capital* (online)  
R Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*  
R Susan Pharr and Robert Putnam, ed, *Disaffected Democracies*  
R Gabriel Budescu and Eric Uslaner, eds, *Social Capital and the Transition to Democracy*, ch 1,5,6,8,12,13.  
Henry Milner, *Civic Literacy:How Informed Citizens Make Democracy Work*.  
R Jan van Deth, *Private Groups and Public Life*  
R Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix*, Part III  
Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*  
Robert W. Jackman and Ross A. Miller, "Social Capital and Politics" in *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1998, 47-73  
Neil Nevitte, *The Decline of Deference* ®  
Ronald Inglehart, Neil Nevitte and Miguel Basanez, *The North American Trajectory*, ch 4.  
Ariel Armony, *The Dubious Link: Civic Engagement and Democratization*  
Diana C. Mutz, *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy*  
Bo Rothstein, *Social Traps and the Problem of Trust*

Ann Dale and Jenny Onyx, *A Dynamic Balance: Social Capital and Sustainable Community Development*  
Fiona Kay and Richard Johnston, *Social Capital, Diversity and the Welfare State*

### **December 3**

**New Methods of Participation** (deliberative polling ; the Internet; the Citizen Assembly; election observers)

Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy*

Jane J. Mansbridge, *Beyond Adversary Democracy*

John Burnheim, *Is Democracy Possible? The Alternative to Electoral Politics*

Ted Becker and Christa Slaton, *The Future of Teledemocracy*

James Fishkin and Peter Laslett, *Debating Deliberative Democracy*

James Fishkin, *Democracy and Deliberation*

James Fishkin, *The Voice of the People: Public Opinion and Democracy* ®

Richard Hollinger, *Video Democracy*

Michael R. Alvarez and Thad Hall, *Point Click and Vote: The Future of Internet Voting*

John Gastil, *By Popular Demand: Revitalizing Representative Democracy Through Deliberative Elections*

Rachel K. Gibson, Andrea Rommele, Stephen J. Ward, *Electronic democracy: Mobilization, organization and Participation via New ICTs*. Esp ch 1, 9.

Andrew Chadwick, *Internet Politics: Citizens, States and New Communications Technologies*

Electoral Commission (U.K.) *Delivering Democracy: The Future of Postal Voting*

Electoral Commission (U.K.) *2002 Electoral Pilot Schemes* (online)

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### **Academic Accommodations**

**For Students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 9<sup>th</sup>, 2007** for December examinations, and **March 14<sup>th</sup>, 2008** for April examinations.

**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance ([www.carleton.ca/equity](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make

an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

**Oral Examination:** At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Course Requirements:** Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Connect Email Accounts:** The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.