

PSCI 4607A
Politics of North America
8:35-11:25 Tuesdays

Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Laura Macdonald
Office: C669 Loeb Building
Office Hours: Tuesdays 11:30 – 12:30; Wednesdays 12:30-2:30 p.m.
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Course Description: Canada, the United States and Mexico have always had a complex relationship, shaped both by their past patterns of interaction and by their domestic politics. In 1994, the three countries entered into a trade agreement that helped to accelerate and formalize continental economic integration. More recently, the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States brought the security dimension of the continental relationship to the fore of a continent whose governance patterns continue to change.

This course is designed to help students understand the nature of politics in North America through a consideration of theoretical, historical and contemporary debates, and to encourage the analysis of the causes and consequences of closer ties between the three countries. Themes related to security, migration, and border control will be particularly emphasized, reflecting the nature of North American politics in the post-9/11 period.

Course Objectives:

- To analyse the historical relationship between Canada, the United States and Mexico;
- To evaluate the economic, political and social impact of regional integration within the three countries;
- To analyse the interrelationship between security, migration, and borders in North America;
- To consider future directions in economic and political relations among the three countries.

Format: This is a seminar class. Each class will begin with a brief overview of the week's themes and issues by the instructor. Students will be required to present and lead class discussions based on the required readings. **All students are expected to complete the required readings before class and to participate in class discussions.**

Course Materials: Course materials are available online through the Carleton library website, through the reserve desk at the library, or on the course WebCT site. Please advise the instructor immediately if you encounter difficulties in obtaining the course materials. Two books have been ordered for purchase and are available at Octopus Bookstore (116 Third Avenue - in the Glebe, by Bank Street). They are:

Laura Macdonald and Jeffrey Ayres, eds., *North America in Question: Regional Integration in an Era of Economic Turbulence*. University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Monica Gattinger and Geoffrey Hale, eds. *Borders and Bridges: Canada's Policy Relations in North America*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Evaluation: Students will be evaluated on the following basis:

Class participation and attendance:	15%
Group Presentation	15%
Critical Review (due in class October 2 nd):	30%
Take Home Exam (due on Web CT December 19 th):	40%

Critical Review: 30%

Students will write a critical review of the assigned readings for one of the weeks following October 2nd. The paper *cannot* be based upon the readings for the week you are doing your presentation. The review should be 6-7 pages in length. Due: October 2, 2011 (as per early feedback guidelines, this assignment will be returned by October 16th).

Group Presentation 15%

Students will participate in group presentations based on one week's assigned readings. Students should come to the second class with their first and second choices for presentation weeks. The first presentation will be on October 23rd. See course outline for other presentation dates.

Take-Home Exam 40%

Students will write a take home examination based on the course material. The exam will be distributed in class during the last class. **Due: December 19th.**

Attendance & Participation 15%

Students will be evaluated on the basis of their active, informed and thoughtful oral participation in class discussions. Attendance will be taken; **late arrivals will not receive full credit for participation.**

Late Policy

Assignments are due on the dates specified in the course outline. **Late papers will be subject to a penalty of 2% a day not including weekends.** Assignments will not be accepted two weeks after the due date. No retroactive extensions will be permitted. Do not ask for an extension on the due date of the assignment. Exceptions will be made only in those cases of special circumstances, (e.g. illness, bereavement) and where the student has verifiable documentation.

***Policies on Assignments:**

All assignments in this course (with the exception of the single-space annotation) must be 12 pt font, double-spaced and have standard one-inch margins. They should be free of spelling and

grammatical errors. They must include appropriate citations and bibliography. Assignments that do not have any citations from academic sources will be returned to the student ungraded.

CLASS SCHEDULE

Week 1 September 11 - Introduction

Question: What is North America?

Introductions

Overview of course themes

Review of course outline and requirements

The Debate on North American integration:

Video 1: *The U.S. And Us*, 2008 (268262)

Video 2: Robert Pastor, "The Idea of North

America" <http://portalfornorthamerica.org/multimedia/the-idea-of-north-america>

Week 2 - September 18 – Regions and Regionalism

Questions: How are regions formed? Is North America a region? How useful is the European Union experience for understanding North American integration? What type of theoretical tools are useful for understanding the distinct process of regionalization occurring in North America?

Required:

Ayres and Macdonald, "Introduction: North America in Question," pp. 3-32.

Randall Germain, "Global Economic Crisis and Regionalism in North America: Region-ness in Question?", in Ayres and Macdonald, pp. 33-52.

Ann Capling and Kim Richard Nossal (2009), "The contradictions of regionalism in North America", *Review of International Studies* 35, 147-67.

Bjorn Hettne (2003), "Global Market versus the New Regionalism," in David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., *The Global Transformations Reader*, 2nd ed., Cambridge: Polity, pp. 359-69.

Week 3 – September 25 - Different National Trajectories: Canada, the United States, and Mexico

Questions: What defines North America? Does it have a common legacy? What are the critical events in the three countries' histories? How do the political institutions of the three countries differ? Do they have any commonalities? Is there any convergence in their political institutions?

Required:

Geoffrey Hale and Stephen Blank, "North American Economic Integration and Comparative Responses to Globalization – Overview," in *Borders and Bridges*.

G. Poitras, *Inventing North America: Canada, Mexico and the United States*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001, pp. 19-36.

J.N. McDougall, *Drifting Together: The Political Economy of Canada-U.S. Integration*, Chapter 2 – "Canada-US Relations at the Turn of the Century".

Kevin V. Mulcahy, "Identity, Independence, and Imperialism: The Case of Canadian-American Cultural Relations," in *Borders and Bridges*.

Week 4 – October 2 - Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Questions: Why did the Canadian government choose to pursue a free trade agreement with the United States in the mid-1980s? What crucial events preceded this decision? What actors were involved? What theoretical and ideological assumptions was the decision based on and who were its opponents? What was the economic and political impact of the FTA?

CRITICAL REVIEW DUE IN CLASS TODAY

Video: "Global Exchange: Free Trade and Protectionism" (265940) 34 minutes

Required:

J.N. McDougall (2006), *Drifting Together: The Political Economy of Canada-U.S. Integration*, Chapter 2 – "Canada-US Relations at the Turn of the Century," pp. 53-74, and Chapter 10 - "Canada-US Relations in the Twenty-First Century: The Emergence of North American Politics," pp. 299-320.

Michael Hart, *A Trading Nation*, Chapter 13, "Full Circle: The New Reciprocity," pp. 367-397.

Stephen Clarkson (2002), *Uncle Sam and Us: Globalization, Neoconservatism, and the Canadian State*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press and Washington D.C., Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 3-34.

Week 5 – October 9 – Evaluating NAFTA

Why did Mexico choose to pursue a free trade agreement with the United States (and Canada)? Why did the U.S. (and Canada) agree? What crucial events preceded this decision? What actors were involved? What assumptions was the decision based on and who were its opponents? What type of institutions were established under NAFTA?

Required:

Stephen Blank, "The North American Free Trade Agreement and North America, available at: http://portalfornorthamerica.org/sites/files/Blank-NAFTA%20Case%20Study_0.pdf

Stephanie R. Golob (2003). "Beyond the Policy Frontier: Canada, Mexico, and the Ideological Origins of NAFTA." *World Politics* 55:3, pp. 361-398.

Michael Hart (2004), "A New Accommodation with the United States: The Trade and Economic Dimension," *The Art of the State*, Vol. II no. 2, at http://www.irpp.org/books/archive/AOTS2/folio_2.pdf.

Stephen Clarkson, "Continental Governance, Post-Crisis: Where is North America Going?" in Ayres and Macdonald, pp. 85-110.

Week 6 – October 16– The SPP and Beyond

Questions: What forces were pushing for "deeper integration" after NAFTA and why? What is the SPP? Why was it implemented and why did it take the shape it did? What factors led to its demise?

Required:

Stephanie R. Golob, "Three Strikes and You're Out? The Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP) and the Future of North American Integration," available at: http://portalfornorthamerica.org/sites/files/PNA_Teaching_Module_Golob-SPP_0.pdf

Brian Bow, "Immovable Object or Unstoppable Force? Economic Crisis and the Social Construction of North America," in Ayres and Macdonald, pp. 53-84.

Anderson, Greg and Christopher Sands (2007). "Negotiating North America: The Security and Prosperity Partnership," *Hudson Institute White Paper*, Fall, available from <http://www.hudson.org/files/publications/Hudson%20Negotiating%20North%20America%20FINAL.pdf>.

Week 7 – October 23– Democratic Deficits, Contention, and Social Exclusion**Group 1 presents this week**

Questions: What criticisms have been raised about the social impact of NAFTA and North American integration? What actors are involved and why? What are their main concerns? How valid are these concerns?

Required:

Jeffrey Ayres and Laura Macdonald – "Democratic Deficits: the Role of Civil Society" – Jeffrey Ayres and Laura Macdonald, in Ayres and Macdonald, pp. 334-360.

Joe Bandy, "Paradoxes of Transnational Civil Societies under Neoliberalism: The Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras." *Social Problems*, 51:3. 410-431.

Jonathan Graubart (2010), "The Legalization of Transnational Political Opportunity Structures: Mobilization of NAFTA's Labor Citizen Petitions for Domestic Political Gain," in Jeffrey Ayres and Laura Macdonald, eds., *Contentious Politics in North America: National Protest and Transnational Collaboration under Continental Integration*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 177-194.

Rosalba Icaza, "(Re)Thinking the 'New' North America through Women's Citizenship Struggles in Mexico," in Ayres and Macdonald, pp. 309-333.

Teresa Healy, "North American Community from Above and Below: Working-Class Perspectives on Economic Integration and Crisis," pp 145-170.

Week 8 –October 30 - Migration in the North American Region

Group 2 presents this week

Questions: What are the trends in migration in North America? How do the immigration policies of the three North American states differ? What are the causes of high levels of Mexico-U.S. migration? Does Canada present a better model than U.S. policies? Why are levels of concern so high in the United States about Mexican migrants?

Required:

Christina Gabriel, "Continental Dissonance? The Politics of Migration in North America," in Ayres and Macdonald, pp. 219-248.

Wayne A. Cornelius (2005), "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration: Lessons from the United States, 1993-2004," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 775-794.

Tamara M. Woroby (2010), "Canadian Migration Policy in a North American Framework: Perspectives and Prospects," in Monica Gattinger and Geoffrey Hale, *Borders and Bridges: Canada's Policy Relations in North America* Don Mills: Oxford University Press, pp. 214-30.

Patricia Fernández-Kelly and Douglas S. Massey (2007). "Borders for Whom? The Role of NAFTA in Mexico-U.S. Migration." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 2007 610:1. 98-118.

Week 9 – November 6 – Security, Borders and Border Control

Speaker: Tony Hahn , CBSA (TBC)

Group 3 presents this week

Questions: How have borders changed in the North American region over time? How did border control policy change in North America after 9/11? What actors are involved? Do current policies adequately address current threats? What criticisms exist of current border control policies? What is the scope for security cooperation within North America?

Required:

Emily Gilbert, "Borders and Security in North America," in Ayres and Macdonald, pp. 196-218.

Jason Ackleson, 2009, "From 'Thin' to 'Thick' (And Back Again?): The Politics and Policies of the Contemporary U.S.-Canada Border," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 336-351.

Geoffrey Hale and Christina Marcotte, "Border Security, Trade, and Travel Facilitation," in *Borders and Bridges*.

Bernard J. Brister, "The same yet different: The evolution of the post-9/11 Canada-United States Security Relationship," in *Borders and Bridges*.

Week 10 – November 13 – Environment and Energy

Group 4 presents this week

Questions: How are environmental and energy issues currently addressed within NAFTA? What other measures have been adopted since NAFTA was implemented? How do the positions of the three states of the region differ on these issues? What potential exists for future conflict and cooperation?

Video: "The Fight over the Keystone Pipeline," *Power and Politics*, October 12, 2011.

Required:

Debra Vannijnatten and Jeffrey Craik, "Energy and the Environment – Prospects for New Forms of Continental Governance," in Ayres and Macdonald, pp. 171-195.

Monica Gattinger "Canada's Energy Policy Relations in North America: Toward Harmonization and supranational approaches?" in *Borders and Bridges*.

D. Rick Van Schoik, John Kirton, and Jenilee Guebert, "Natural Boundaries and National Borders: Barriers to Progress and Bridges to Collaboration in North American Transborder Environmental Governance," in *Borders and Bridges*.

Isidro Morales, "The Energy Factor in Mexico-US Relations," Access at: <http://bakerinstitute.org/publications/EF-pub-MoralesFactor-04292011.pdf>

Week 11 – November 20 – Mexico in North America

Group 5 presents this week

Questions: What has been the impact of NAFTA in Mexico? What strategy has the Mexican government adopted in promoting its objectives? Why did Mexico benefit less than expected? What are the main areas of concern? What reforms are required? What are the implications of the current security crisis in Mexico for North American relations?

Required:

Jorge Cadena-Roa, “The Mexican Political-Security Crisis: Implications for the North American Community,” in Ayres and Macdonald, pp. 111-144.

Eduardo Zepeda, Timothy Wise and Kevin Gallagher (2009), *Rethinking Trade Policy for Development: Lessons from Mexico Under NAFTA*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (December), accessed at http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/nafta_trade_development.pdf

Carol Wise (2007). “Great Expectations: Mexico’s Short-lived Convergence under NAFTA”. CIGI Working Paper No. 15 (January). Available at: <http://www.cigionline.org/publications/2007/1/great-expectations-mexicos-short-lived-convergence-under-nafta>.

Isidro Morales (2008), “The rise and demise of Mexico’s ‘NAFTA-plus Approach’: the scope and limits of a North American agenda coming from the South,” in Isidro Morales, *Post-NAFTA North America: Reshaping the Economic and Political Governance of a Changing Region*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 122-44.

Week 12 – November 27 - Future of the North American Region

Group 6 presents this week

Questions: Does North America still exist? Does it have a future? What proposals exist for moving beyond the current institutional structure of North American integration?

Required:

Stephanie Golob, “*Plus Ça Change: Dual Bilateralism and the Demise of Trilateralism*,” in Ayres and Macdonald, pp. 249-276.

Janine Brodie, “Conclusion” Will America Survive?” in Ayres and Macdonald, pp. 361-390.

Robert Pastor (July/August 2008), “The Future of North America: Replacing a Bad Neighbor Policy.” *Foreign Affairs* 87:4, pp. 84-143.

Jeffrey Ayres and Laura Macdonald, "A Community of Fate? Nonpolarity and North American Security Interdependence," *Canadian Foreign Policy*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 92-105

MORE DETAILS ABOUT COURSE ASSIGNMENTS AND REQUIREMENTS

A. Critical Review:

Length: 6-7 pages

Due: October 2nd, 2012 in class

This paper will provide a critical review of the readings assigned for one week of this class (weeks 5 to 12). The review should not just summarize each of the readings in term but provide a critical assessment of the subject to be discussed that week, drawing on the assigned readings for that week. The review should include an analysis and assessment of the articles as well as your own argument. You should discuss the competing theoretical assumptions of the authors, the use of evidence, and your overall evaluation of the topic.

B. Group Presentation

Worth: 15%

Dates of Presentations and group memberships will be arranged during the second class. The first presentation will be on October 23rd. See course outline for other presentation dates.

Beginning in Class 3, groups will be given some time in class to organize their group presentation and divide up responsibility among group members.

The group will be evaluated based on: success in covering diverse aspects of the issue under discussion; research; communication skills, and success in stimulating class participation in discussion. Your grade for this assignment will be based on a combination of three factors: grade for individual presentation; group mark, and group members' evaluation of their fellow group members (you will be asked to submit a grade for each of your fellow group members based on their contribution to the group effort, this evaluation will be confidential). I encourage you to be creative in designing a dynamic group presentation – you may want to consider using a debate format, powerpoints, multimedia, and/or handouts. Speakers should not just read their presentations but present material in an interesting fashion with lots of eye contact! But you should also ensure that you provide a thorough analysis of the issues under discussion.

Written Summary:

Each group member is also required to submit a two-page summary (double-spaced) of your oral presentation. This summary is due in the same class as your presentation. There is no separate grade for this requirement. Late submissions will be penalized.

C. Take Home Exam

Due Date: December 20th.

Worth: 40%

Take Home Exam: On the last day of class, the instructor will distribute a take home exam, which will consist of two or three essay questions. The exams will require students to draw upon required reading material, and other supplementary class materials. The exams will be due by 11:59 pm on December 20, 2012 and must be submitted through Web CT. Take-home exams should **NOT** be handed in at the political science drop box.

Purpose: The purpose of the exam is to evaluate your understanding of the course material and your capacity for critical analysis.

Marking: The paper will be marked on three criteria:

- Comprehensive coverage of course material with references to assigned readings (you may refer to other material if you wish but this is not required);
- Clear and coherent writing style
- Presentation of a clear argument supported by evidence

D. Seminar Attendance and Participation

Worth: 15%

This class runs as a seminar based discussion. Students should come to class having completed the required reading in advance. Your active and thoughtful participation is important to the learning process. Attendance counts in the assessment of participation and attendance will be taken in each class. Seminar assessment will be based on the following broad guidelines.

Grades:

A +

Attendance – Always

Completed all the readings and is well prepared for class

Draws connections between readings and course themes

Offers excellent assessment on individual readings

Provides original ideas on weekly topic

Generates topical class discussion

Always has insights on topic but is careful not to dominate discussion

Asks relevant and topical questions

A/A-

Attendance – Perfect or near-perfect

Completed all the readings and is prepared for class

Draws links between readings and course themes

Offers very good assessments on individual readings and is a frequent participant

Generates topical class discussion

Asks relevant and topical questions

B+

Attendance – Near-perfect

Completed all the readings and is prepared for class

Offers useful observations of weekly reading

Regular participant in weekly discussions

B/B-

Attendance – Regular

Completed most of the readings

Good understandings of the theme of the required readings but may not always draw links between them

Regular participant in discussion

C

Attendance – Regular (or erratic)

Has completed some of the required readings

Does not actively participate in class discussion (or participation may not always reference weekly topic and/or substantive themes of reading)

Oral contributions are sometimes off topic

D (or less)

Both attendance and participation erratic

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. 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 assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by (*November 9th, 2012 for December examinations and March 8th, 2013 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).

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 University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

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.

Grading: Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Grades: Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

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.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.