PA 8201: Citizen-Oriented Governance in Canada
(A course elective in the MPPA Program)

Winter Session 2023
Wednesday 12:00-15:00
Kerr Hall South 134

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Overview

This course examines the role that citizens play in the structures and processes of democracy in Canada vis-a-vis other polities. Given the growing interest in promoting civic participation, it pays special attention to significant innovations in democratic governance. If done well, such democratic innovations can enhance political capabilities, the legitimacy of and trust in government decision-making processes, and policy solutions for communities they purport to serve. These objectives can help promote, in turn, active citizenship and democratic governance in Canada. Accordingly, this course seeks to provide a solid empirical, theoretical and practical understanding of:

1) the values, beliefs and interests of citizens, and how they vary, across groups and over time;
2) the challenges facing contemporary representative democracies;
3) the range of innovations that currently exist to enhance civic participation and democratic governance, their respective strengths and weaknesses, and how to design and implement them; and
4) the role of public servants, elected politicians, policy analysts, non-governmental organizations and community partners in promoting citizen-oriented governance through democratic innovations in Canada and other countries.

Communication

Many elements of this course will use Desire 2 Learn (D2L), an interactive website. Log on to the course website at my.torontomu.ca and follow the links. To access the site and receive emails from me, you must activate your TMU email account, as required by University policy. This will provide you with a "@torontomu.ca" email address, which is the only one that will be used to communicate with you. D2L will also be used to post additional course documents and announcements throughout the semester.

Course Requirements

Class participation (10%): due weekly
Class preparation (10%): due weekly
Book review (30%): due March 15
Case study presentations (20%): due March 22, March 29, April 5
Case study written report (30%): due April 12

All assignments should be submitted on their respective due dates. Any requested extensions must be negotiated in advance. Unexcused late assignments will be penalized at 5% per day.

Class participation: Each week, I will begin each class by presenting a brief overview of the set topic and readings. The remainder of the class will be devoted to a collective discussion of the material in smaller groups and the class as a whole.

All readings are mandatory for each week. They are all available on the course website in Desire 2 Learn/Brightspace (D2L).

Since this is a graduate-level course, it requires your active and informed participation. Being informed entails carefully reading the material before we meet. Being active means contributing to our discussion.

Your participation is worth 10% of your final grade. It will be assessed at two separate points in the term. The first will be shared with you before the class on March 1 and will be worth 5% of your final grade. The second point will include all classes after March 1 and will be worth 5% of your final grade.

Your weekly grades will be based on the following: attending classes regularly (you should miss no more than two classes in the course); demonstrating your grasp of the readings (e.g. stating and evaluating an author's main argument, comparing and contrasting the readings, linking the latter to the main concepts in the course and previous readings); and actively contributing to seminar discussions (engaging your classmates and any guest speakers).

In the event that you miss a class, please provide me with necessary medical documentation regarding your absence. Unfortunately, work-related absences cannot be considered as reasons to miss classes or assignments.

A note about cell phones and laptops: Please make sure that you turn off your cell phones before coming to class. Text messaging during class is disruptive for others. Use of laptops for any purpose other than note taking is too. Students using electronic devices inappropriately during class will be asked to leave.

Class preparation: To grasp the material we are reading and prepare adequately for our weekly discussions, you are required to upload a short post (200-300 words) by 5:00 p.m. each Tuesday.

Your posts can raise questions, or share comments and reflections, regarding the readings. They should be uploaded to the relevant Discussions section on the D2L portal (the Discussions section can be found under the Communication drop-down tab).

Your weekly posts are worth 10% of your final grade.

Book review:
Write a book review (roughly 2000 words, double-spaced, 12-point font) on one of the following books:

- Lenihan, Don. 2012. *Rescuing Policy–The Case for Public Engagement*. Public Policy Forum, Ottawa, Ontario. Available online: https://canada2020.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/rescuing_policy_ebook.pdf)
- Fuji-Johnson, Genevieve. 2015. *Democratic Illusion: Deliberative Democracy in Canadian Public Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Available on Amazon.ca as kindle or paperback or as an e-book through the TMU library, call #JL86 P64.J646 2015eb. Note: you will need to log-in using your TMU identification in order to access the ebook version.
- Moscrop, David. 2019. *Too Dumb for Democracy? Why We Make Bad Political Decisions and How We Can Make Better Ones*. New Brunswick: Goose Lane Editions. Available on

Amazon.ca as kindle or paperback. I have requested a copy be placed on reserve at the TMU library.
- Meslin, Dave. 2019. *Teardown: Rebuilding Democracy from the Ground Up*. Toronto: Penguin Canada. Available on Amazon.ca as kindle or paperback. I have requested a copy be placed on reserve at the TMU Library.

Your book review is worth 30% of your final grade.

Your review should provide a critical appraisal of the questions, premises and arguments that inform the book you have chosen. Remember, a critique does not mean a negative evaluation; it also involves explaining the conceptual foundations, theoretical reasoning and empirical basis of an argument. It is far easier to say what is missing in an argument than to demonstrate its strengths, explore its insights, or consider how these might be developed. Your book review will be evaluated according to the clarity, organization and comprehensiveness of your analysis. Reviews for newspapers (such as the *New York Times*), periodicals (such as the *New York Review of Books* and *Literary Review of Canada*) and magazines (such as *Policy Options*), and scholarly journals (such as the *International Review of Public Policy*), provide various models to consider: https://www.nytimes.com/section/books/review, https://www.nybooks.com/, https://reviewcanada.ca/, https://policyoptions.irpp.org/, https://journals.openedition.org/irpp/.

Case study presentations
You will be required to present a case study of a specific democratic innovation in class on either March 22, March 29 or April 5.

The objective of this assignment is for us to share and learn from each other about various innovations that seek to enhance civic engagement and democratic governance. It will also provide you with valuable feedback from your peers for your written assignment.

Your case study can examine any democratic innovation that interests you, either in Canada or another country, using the resources of www.participedia.net, the crowd-sourced platform of an international research network of scholars and practitioners. Once you have selected your case study from this database, post it onto the course website under Communications> Discussions> Participedia Case Studies.

Note: Before you select your case study, please read the following: Archon Fung and Mark E. Warren. 2011. "The Participation project: an introduction" *International Public Management Journal* 14(3): 341-362.

The Participedia case studies will be selected and assigned on a first come, first serve basis, i.e. when you have posted it onto D2L. You may want to consult with the thread before you make your selection to ensure that another classmate has not already chosen the case you have in mind.

The Participedia case studies vary in the amount of detail they contain, so before you choose, please ensure there is enough information posted on the website through a quick scan to complete this assignment successfully.

Your presentation should be 15-20 minutes long and include an overview of the case study you have selected and an initial response to the questions as posted on D2L for the written report. See the course website for additional details on this assignment. Go to Assignments -> "Participedia Presentation."

Presentation dates will be selected thematically so please notify me no later than March 8 what case study you have selected so that I can post all presentation dates on D2L shortly thereafter.

<u>Case study report</u>
Following your presentation, you will be required to submit a 12-15 page written report of your case study. Please use the following guidelines for assignments:

- title page (including title, name, student number, course number, instructor's name and date of submission);
- keep a copy of all work that is submitted (backup computer file or a photocopy of your submission);
- include properly formatted references, bibliographic sources, or works cited;
- submit it to turnitin.com through the link on the course website → Assignments;
- select whatever citation style you want but be consistent.

<u>Grading</u>

Grade	Description	% Range
A+	Exceptional, exceeds all expectations, with originality	90-100
A	Excellent, meets all expectations at a high level, with originality	85-89
A-	Excellent, meets all expectations at a high level	80-84

B+	Very good, meets all expectations	77–79
B	Satisfactory, meets most expectations, some improvement needed	73–76
B-	Marginal, needs major improvement	70–72
F	Fail	70

If you require academic consideration or accommodation during the semester, to avert any situation that would adversely affect your performance in the course, please inform me and seek the appropriate request at the earliest opportunity. The University policy sets out the nature and scope of considerations and accommodations available. The University policies may be found at: https://www.torontomu.ca/accommodations/manage/aas_vs_acr/

Schedule & Readings

Week 1 (January 18): Introduction
Introductory session on the main themes and specific topics of the course, and its structure and assignments. Class introductions and exploration of issues of particular interest to students.

Week 2 (January 25): Civic participation, public policy and democratic governance
What role do citizens traditionally play in modern representative democracies? What is the relationship between civic participation, democratic politics and public policy? What does 'citizen-oriented governance' mean? What challenges, deficits and risks do contemporary democracies face? What roles can public servants play to promote civic participation and democratic governance?

Readings:
- Warren, Mark E. 2014. "Citizen participation and democratic deficits: considerations from the perspective of democratic theory." In Joan DeBardeleben and Jon Pammett (eds.), *Activating the Citizen*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mettler, Suzanne and Joe Soss. 2004. "The consequences of public policy for democratic citizenship." *Perspectives on Politics*, 2(1) March: 55-73.
- Foa, Roberto Stefan and Yasha Mounk. 2016. "The democratic disconnect." *The Journal of Democracy*, 27(3): 5-17.
- Deibert, R. 2019. "The road to digital unfreedom: three painful truths about social media". *Journal of Democracy*, 30(1) January: 25-39.
- Nanos. 2022. "Rating the health of democracy in Canada." https://nanos.co/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/2022-2248-Globe-October-Populated-Report-Democracy-with-Tabs.pdf

Week 3 (February 1): Democratic innovations: concepts, typologies and questions
What is a democratic innovation? What kinds of innovations have democracies introduced in recent decades, their scope and intent, and how should we classify them? What are the advantages, disadvantages and trade-offs of specific democratic innovations?

Readings:
- Fung, Archon and Erik Olin Wright. 2001. "Deepening democracy: innovations in empowered participatory governance." *Politics & Society*, 29(1): 5–41.
- Pateman, Carol. 2012. "Participatory democracy revisited." *Perspectives on Politics*, 10(1) March: 7-19. https://www.donau-uni.ac.at/dam/jcr:9444542d-f90b-46f1-8e7e-7edf1ff6f0bc/Literatur_Seminar-2.pdf
- Elstub, Stephen and Oliver Escobar. 2019. "Defining and typologizing democratic innovations." In idem (eds), *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*. Edward Elgar, 11-31.

Week 4 (February 8): Electoral innovations–mobilizing and expanding the electorate

Voting in free and fair elections is the principal form of civic participation in modern representative democracies. Yet struggles to expand the franchise to all citizens took many decades. Aggregate electoral participation has declined in many established democracies in recent decades, especially at the subnational level. And disparities in turnout persist in many democracies, especially among the young. What explains the relative decline and persistent disparities in electoral participation? What are the implications of these secular trends? What remedies exist?

Readings:
- Przeworski, Adam. 2009. "Constraints and choices: electoral participation in historical perspective." *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(1): 4–30.
- Schäfer, Armin, Sigrid Roßteutscher & Simone Abendschön. 2020. "Rising start-up costs of voting: political inequality among first-time voters." *West European Politics*, 43(4): 819-844.
- The Samara Centre for Democracy. 2019. "You have our attention: youth political engagement in Canada." https://www.samaracanada.com/research/active-citizenship/you-have-our-attention
- Martin O'Neill. 2022. "Radical democratic inclusion: why we should lower the voting age to 12." *Royal Institute of Philosophy Supplement*, 91: 185-212.

Week 5 (February 15): Deliberative innovations–citizen assemblies

Deliberation is a key aspect of democracy. Yet most citizens have few opportunities, compared to our elected representatives, to exercise public reason. Moreover, many factors skew public debate, from partisan incentives and social polarization to the rise of social media. In this session we will evaluate the rationale, strengths and limits of creating mini publics, paying special attention to citizens' assemblies. Could mini-publics enhance civic participation, restore political trust and improve public policy? What kinds of decisions are best and least well served by such innovations?

Readings:
- Clodagh Harris. 2019. "Mini-publics: design choices and legitimacy." In *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*, op.cit., 45-59.
- Blais, André, R. Kenneth Carty, and Patrick Fournier. 2008. "Do citizens' assemblies make reasoned choices?" In Mark E. Warren and Hilary Pearse (eds), *Designing Deliberative Democracy: The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly*. Cambridge University Press, 127-144.
- Courant, D. 2021. "Citizens' assemblies for referendums and constitutional reforms." *Frontiers in Political Science*, Vol 2 (January): 1-20.

Winter Study Week: February 20-24–No Class

Week 6 (March 1): Co-governance innovations–participatory budgeting

Democracies entail collective self-rule. Yet elected representatives and public servants enjoy a large share of political authority, delegated by citizens, to make important policy decisions in our democracies. In this session we examine a striking innovation in democratic co-governance, participatory budgeting, which originated in Porto Alegre, Brazil in the 1990s and then spread to many regions in the world. What are aims, strengths and limits of participatory budgeting? What factors and conditions explain its relative successes and failures in different regions of the world? How could it be improved?

Note: Discussion of books from review assignment. For this session please bring the questions you have asked in your assignment with you to class and be prepared to raise them in our discussion.

Readings:
- Sintomer, Yves, Carsten Herzberg, Anja Röcke and Giovanni Allegretti. 2012. "Transnational models of citizen participation: the case of participatory budgeting." *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8(2), Article 9: http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol8/iss2/art9.
- Pinnington, Elizabeth, Josh Lerner and Daniel Schugurensky. 2009. "Participatory budgeting in North America: the case of Guelph, Canada." *Journal of Public Budgeting, Accounting & Financial Management*, 21(3): 455-484.
- Ganuza, Ernesto and Gianpaolo Baiocchi. 2019. "The long journey of participatory budgeting." In *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*, op.cit., 77-89.

Week 7 (March 8): Radical innovations–democracy by sortition
Citizens directly exercised popular sovereignty in ancient democracy: they ruled themselves. Moreover, they often held positions of authority and decision-making by lottery, a radical statement of political equality. What scope exists in our contemporary representative democracies for exercises in direct self-rule, such as popular referenda? Should we appoint citizens to positions with the power to legislate by sortition? What are the rationale, strengths and limits of such initiatives?

Readings:
- Jäske, Maija and Maija Setälä. 2019. "Referendums and citizens' initiatives." In *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*, op.cit., 90-104.
- Malleson, Tom. 2018. "Should democracy work through elections or sortition?" *Politics & Society,* 46(3): 401-417.
- Abizadeh, Arash. 2020. "Representation, bicameralism, political equality, and sortition: reconstituting the second chamber as a randomly selected assembly." *Perspectives on Politics*, 19(3): 791-806.

Week 8 (March 15): Digital innovations–recreating the virtual public sphere
The public sphere is a critical foundation of modern democracies. The digital revolution initially spurred hopes of empowering a greater range of citizens to communicate, participate and deliberate with greater freedom, improving public policy and enhancing governmental accountability. Yet it has simultaneously encouraged social polarization, the fragmentation of the public sphere and severe harms of mis-and dis-information. What are the opportunities and risks of digital innovations for democratic politics? How can we make them safe for democracy?

Readings:
- Gilman, Hollie Russon and Tiago Carneiro Peixoto. 2019. "Digital participation." In *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*, op.cit., 105-119.
- Fukuyama, F. 2021. "Making the internet safe for democracy". *Journal of Democracy*, 32(2) April: 37–44.
- 3rd Canadian Citizens' Assembly on Democratic Expression. 2022. "Canadian Citizens' Assembly on Democratic Expression: recommendations for reducing online harms and safeguarding human rights in Canada." Ottawa, Public Policy Forum.

Week 9 (March 22): Participedia case study presentations
Week 10 (March 29): Participedia case study presentations
Week 11 (April 5): Participedia case study presentations

Week 12 (April 12): Taking stock of citizen engagement, public policy and democratic innovation

Readings:

- Ryan, Matt. 2019. "Comparative approaches to the study of democratic innovation." In *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*, op.cit., 558-571.
- Smith, Graham. "Reflections on the theory and practice of democratic innovations." In *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*, op.cit., 572-583.
- Malli, Nisa. 2017. "Putting the 'public' in public servant." *Policy Options*: https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/june-2017/putting-the-public-in-public servant/.

Course Policies and University Regulations

Academic Misconduct

Toronto Metropolitan University takes academic integrity very seriously. This course will be administered in accordance with all relevant Regulations of the University. It is your responsibility to be familiar with them. Attention is particularly drawn to the "Student Code of Academic Conduct" and the "Student Code of Non-Academic Conduct" <https://www.torontomu.ca/academicintegrity/>. This course will be administered in accordance with all relevant Regulations of the University as well as the policies specific to this course.

Plagiarism is defined in the policy as "claiming the words, ideas, artistry, drawings, images or data of another person as if they were your own." There are many different types of plagiarism, including but not limited to:
- purchasing an essay;
- using work from a website, book, article, text without citation or with incorrect citation;
- making minor changes to an author's words or style and then presenting the material as your own;
- reusing work you have already submitted;
- omitting quotation marks;
- paraphrasing too close to the original work;
- working with another student but failing to credit that student on the final product; and
- having a third party re-write or edit your work.

The unauthorized use of intellectual property of others, including your professor, for distribution, sale, or profit is expressly prohibited. Intellectual property includes, but is not limited to: slides, lecture notes, presentation of materials used in and outside of class, course packs, exams and any materials posted on the course website.

If you have any questions or concerns, please ask. You should also familiarize yourself with the following: https://www.torontomu.ca/content/dam/academicintegrity/for-faculty/pdf/2019Policy60-PursuingaSuspicionofAcademicMisconduct.pdf)

Non-Academic Misconduct:

According to University policy, "students shall not behave in disruptive ways that obstruct the learning and teaching environment."

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https://www.torontomu.ca/senate/policies/pol61.pdf

Note**:** If you plan to use a portion of your work in this course for part of your Major Research Project, you are required to email both your MRP Supervisor and me to seek permission in order to avoid concerns related to academic misconduct. This is especially important because some MRP Supervisors and Second Readers utilize turnitin.com to assist with promoting academic integrity at the graduate level of study.

Turnitin.com Policy and Procedures:
Plagiarism is a serious offense and will be dealt with strictly in accordance with the *Student Code of Academic Conduct* of Toronto Metropolitan University and with the *Faculty of Arts Policy on Plagiarism*. Learning when to cite sources and how to cite them properly is extremely important.

All instructors reserve the right to interview students about the content of submitted work in order to ascertain whether their familiarity with the material is congruent with the content of a written assignment.

The instructor reserves the right to submit the electronic copy to scanning by various plagiarism-detection software packages.

For information on how to log on to Turnitin.com, see the D2L course website.

> By taking this course, students agree that all required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to *Turnitin.com* for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the *Turnitin.com* reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. Use of the *Turnitin.com* service is subject to the terms of use agreement posted on the *Turnitin.com* site (http://www.turnitin.com/).

> Conscientious Objectors:
> Students who do not, for whatever reason, wish to have their papers screened for textual similarity review by *turnitin.com* may instead submit with their assignment: a) an annotated bibliography; and b) copies of the cover page and first cited page of each reference source. If you wish to follow this procedure, you must inform the instructor at least two weeks prior to the assignment due date.

Appeals Procedure:

This course will follow the appeals procedure as indicated in Toronto Metropolitan University's Policy 168: Grade and Standing Appeals.