

## **Political Interests, Political Identity, and Public Policy**

University of Toronto  
Department of Political Science  
Summer 2014

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2:00 — 4:00 PM  
Bahen Centre 1230

**Instructor:** Jerald Sabin

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**Office hours:** Tuesdays and Thursdays 1:00 to 2:00 PM or by appointment

### **PURPOSE OF THE COURSE**

What is the difference between a social movement and an interest group? Sex workers, gun control advocates, and transgender rights activists may capture newspaper headlines, but is social protest the most effective way to change a policy? Environmentalism is an international movement, but can environmentalists in one country really influence government decisions in another? Idle No More and the Assembly of First Nations both try to influence government policy, but which has been more successful and why? These are the sorts of questions we examine in this course by using the tools of political science to analyze social movements, interests groups, and government responses to them in Canada and the United States.

This course uses comparative and critical approaches to examine the relationship between and among organized interests, social movements, and the state in the formulation and implementation of public policy in Canada and the United States. The course aims to familiarize students with empirical and theoretical literatures exploring collective action, social movements, and policy responses by government. Through the use of seven contemporary cases, students will apply key concepts and theories to political action by societal actors and subsequent policy outcomes. Assignments are designed to provide students with theoretical and applied research skills, including policy analysis, media literacy, and persuasive writing.

### **READINGS AND DISCUSSION PIECES**

There are two required texts for this course. They are both available at the University of Toronto Bookstore (214 College St, Toronto, ON M5T 3A1) or at various online retailers.

- Staggenborg, Suzanne. 2011. *Social Movements*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada.
- Young, Lisa and Joanna Everitt. 2004. *Advocacy Groups*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

All other required and recommended readings are posted on Blackboard. *Discussion pieces* are designed to ground our lecture discussions in contemporary events. They are required for the course. Links to discussion pieces are included in the course outline and on Blackboard.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

In this course, you will be evaluated on the basis of a research policy brief, a research essay, and a final exam. The breakdown of your course grade is as follows:

Requirement	Due Date	Value
Research Policy Brief	May 29, 2014	20%
Research Essay Outline	June 3, 2014	5%
Research Essay	June 17, 2014	35%
Final Exam	Schedule during June exam period	40%

**Research Policy Brief (20%)** — You will write a mock four page (1000 words) policy research brief to the head of a national *Canadian interest group* (i.e. Assembly of First Nations, Sierra Club, Equal Voice Canada, Egale Canada, Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime, Canadian Taxpayers Federation) on a contemporary policy issue. The brief will identify the policy issue, provide competing arguments, assess current political opportunity structures, and recommend next steps. Citations are required. A detailed assignment sheet will be available early in the course.

**Research Policy Brief Outline (optional)** — You may submit a one page outline of your policy brief, including your selected organization, policy issue, and main arguments. Optional outlines can be submitted up to May 22, 2014.

**Research Essay (35%)** — You will write a 15 to 18 page (3750 - 4500 words) research paper on a *contemporary social movement* and its influence on the design and implementation of public policy. Papers may be written, with permission of the Instructor, on areas outside those covered by the course, such as the criminalization of HIV/AIDS, homelessness, anti-poverty strategies, or homeschooling. A detailed assignment sheet will be available early in the course.

**Research Essay Outline (5%)** — You will submit a three to four page outline of your research essay. It should include your topic, argument, theoretical framework, and an annotated bibliography of five sources. A detailed assignment sheet will be available early in the course.

**Final Exam (40%)** — To be scheduled during June exam period. The final exam will be cumulative, two-hour exam, and include short and long answer questions.

*Please note: As per University of Toronto rules, you will receive 20% of your final grade by June 9, 2014. All written work must be submitted by June 22, 2014.*

## COURSE POLICIES

### **Email Policy**

I will respond to emails within 48 hours during weekdays. I will only respond sporadically to emails sent on weekends. You should note the course code in the subject line of your email.

### **Assignment submission guidelines**

All written assignments must be submitted using Blackboard and Turn It In. Paper copies are not required. Your Blackboard submission will be the official submission. I will return papers to you with electronic comments. Word documents or PDFs are the only acceptable submission formats. Assignments are due by 11:59 p.m. on the due date. Please see late penalty for more information.

Grade appeals should be made to me, accompanied by a one-page (250 word) write-up outlining why the assignment grade should be appealed. Once appealed, the grade will be reconsidered and could go up or down.

### **Turn It In**

Both written assignments (i.e. policy research brief and term paper) must be submitted to Turn It In before a grade will be assigned. In lieu of TII, you may submit draft work (outline, early draft, corrected copy, etc.).

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

### **Late Penalties for Written Work**

Late policy briefs and research papers will be penalized two per cent per day (including weekends). You are strongly advised to back up your work electronically and in hard copy. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned. *Assignments cannot be submitted via email.* Please use Blackboard.

### **Extensions for Written Work**

Short extensions will be granted upon provision of an appropriate medical note or other documentation. Extensions cannot be granted beyond the end of term. Please speak with the Undergraduate Office in the Department of Political Science or your college registrar for more information.

### **Academic Integrity**

Students should read the University's "How not to Plagiarize" document, <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html> and are encouraged to speak with the Instructor if they are unsure of what constitutes plagiarism or academic dishonesty.

Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that the U of T degree that you earn will be valued as a true indication of your individual academic achievement, and will continue to receive the respect and recognition it deserves.

Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

*In papers and assignments:*

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including:
  - Working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work;
  - Having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing".
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

*On tests and exams:*

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else's answers.
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

*Misrepresentation:*

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

To remind you of these expectations, and help you avoid accidental offences, I will ask you to include an Academic Integrity Checklist with every assignment. If you do not include the statement, your work will not be graded.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the *Code*. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact me. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from me, or from other available campus resources. If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work, please speak to me or seek the advice of your college registrar.

### **Accessibility Services**

Students requiring assistance because of a disability should contact Accessibility Services (<http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca/>) as soon as possible.

## Writing Centre

You are strongly encouraged to take advantage of the assistance and support offered by the Writing Centres in Arts and Science (<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/arts-and-science>). Students are also encouraged to read Professor David Rayside's essay, "Essay Writing: A Personal View", for a brief guide on essay writing.

See [http://politics.utoronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/rayside\\_writing\\_guide.pdf](http://politics.utoronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/rayside_writing_guide.pdf).

## Grading Scheme

Grading in this course will be done using letters (A+, A, A-, etc.). See below for this course's grading scheme.

Percentage	Letter Grade	Grade Point Value	Grade Definition	
90-100	A+	4.0	Excellent	Strong evidence of original thinking; good organization; capacity to analyze and synthesize; superior grasp of subject matter with sound critical evaluations; evidence of extensive knowledge base.
85-89	A	4.0		
80-84	A-	3.7		
77-79	B+	3.3	Good	Evidence of grasp of subject matter, some evidence of critical capacity and analytic ability; reasonable understanding of relevant issues; evidence of familiarity with literature.
73-76	B	3.0		
70-72	B-	2.7		
67-69	C+	2.3	Adequate	Student who is profiting from his/her university experience; understanding of the subject matter; ability to develop solutions to simple problems in the material.
63-66	C	2.0		
60-62	C-	1.7		
57-59	D+	1.3	Marginal	Some evidence of familiarity with subject matter and some evidence that critical and analytic skills have been developed.
53-56	D	1.0		
50-52	D-	0.7		
0-49	F	0.0	Inadequate	Little evidence of even superficial understanding of subject matter; weakness in critical and analytic skills; with limited or irrelevant use of literature.

## AT A GLANCE

### Part I: Foundations

- Week 1** [May 13, 2014] Introduction — Collective Action in Canada and the United States
- Week 2** [May 15, 2014] Collective Action I: Historical Perspectives
- Week 3** [May 20, 2014] Collective Action II: Theories of Social Movements
- Week 4** [May 22, 2014] Theorizing Identity and Political Action
- Week 5** [May 27, 2014] Talking to Governments

### Part II: Cases

- Week 6** [May 29, 2014] The Trans Rights Movement (Guest Lecturer: Kyle Kirkup)  
**Policy Research Brief Due**
- Week 7** [June 3, 2014] The Indigenous Rights Movement — #IdleNoMore and Settler Politics  
**Essay Outline Due**
- Week 8** [June 5, 2014] The Gay and Lesbian Movement — "Family Values"
- Week 9** [June 10, 2014] The Environmental Movement — Pipelines
- Week 10** [June 12, 2014] The Women's Movement — Sex Work
- Week 11** [June 17, 2014] The Tea Party  
**Research Essay Due**
- Week 12** [June 19, 2014] Immigration — "No one is Illegal"

## OUTLINE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

### *Readings*

[BB]: Blackboard reading.

[R]: On reserve at Robarts.

### **Part I : Foundations**

#### **Week 1: Introduction**

##### *Required Readings:*

- Staggenborg, Suzanne. 2012. *Social Movements*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pages 1-12, "Introduction."
- Young, Lisa and Joanna Everitt. 2004. *Advocacy Groups*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Pages 3-24, "Advocacy Groups and Canadian Democracy", and "Perspectives on Advocacy Groups and Democracy."

#### **Week 2: Collective Action I — Historical Perspectives**

##### *Discussion Piece:*

- CBC Archives. 1967. "Yorkville: Hippie Haven", [14 minutes]. <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/society/youth/hippie-society-the-youth-rebellion/yorkville-hippie-haven.html>

##### *Required Readings:*

- Staggenborg. Pages 57-70, "The Protest Cycle of the 1960s."
- Smith, Miriam. 2005. *A Civil Society? Collective Actors in Canadian Political Life*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pages 47-80 [BB].

#### **Week 3: Collective Action II — Theoretical Perspectives**

##### *Discussion Piece:*

- CBC. 2014. "Nanos Number: Canada's middle class", *Power and Politics with Evan Solomon* (February 26), [7 minutes]. <http://www.cbc.ca/player/News/Politics/Power%20&%20Politics/ID/2439656565/>

##### *Required Readings:*

- Staggenborg. Pages 13-29, "Theories of Social Movement and Collective Action."
- Young and Everitt. Pages 25-66, "Who Participates in Advocacy Groups."
- Tarrow, Sydney. 2011. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Pages 16-36 [BB].

##### *Recommended Reading:*

- Smith, Miriam. 2005. *A Civil Society? Collective Actors in Canadian Political Life*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pages 19-45 [R].

## **Week 4: Theorizing Identity and Political Action**

### *Discussion Piece:*

- TVO. 2013. "Zack Taylor — A Trip to Ford Nation", *The Agenda with Steve Paikin* (November 14), [14 minutes]. <http://tvo.org/video/197209/zack-taylor-trip-ford-nation>

### *Required Readings:*

- Staggenborg. Pages 30-56, "Issues in the Study of Social Movements and Collective Action".
- Young and Everitt. Pages 67-86, "Which Interests and Identities Are Mobilized?"
- Eisenberg, Avigail and Will Kymlicka. (2011). "Bringing Institutions Back In: How Public Institutions Assess Identity." In Avigail Eisenberg and Will Kymlicka, *Identity Politics in the Public Realm*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Pages 1-30 [BB].

## **Week 5: Social Movements and Democracy**

### *Discussion Piece:*

- CBC Archives. 1995. "1995 Quebec Referendum campaign", *The National* (September 7), [15 minutes]. <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/politics/federal-politics/separation-anxiety-the-1995-quebec-referendum/a-tale-of-two-strategies.html>

### *Required Readings:*

- Young and Everitt. Pages 87-123, "Talking to Governments", and "Advocacy Group Involvement in Elections, Litigation, and Protests."
- Meyer, David S. and Suzanne Staggenborg. 1996. "Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity." *American Journal of Sociology*, 101(6): 1628-1660 [BB].

## **Part II: Cases**

## **Week 6: The Trans Rights Movement (Guest Lecturer: Kyle Kirkup — Trudeau Scholar, University of Toronto, Faculty of Law).**

### **\*\*Policy Research Brief Due\*\***

### *Discussion Pieces:*

- Birrell, Bella-Christina and Faith Phillips. 2011. *Surviving Prison in California: Advice by and for Transgender Women* [BB].
- Globe and Mail. 2014. "What Canada's legal system can do to respect transgender people" (February 28), [2 minutes]. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/video/video-what-canadas-legal-system-can-do-to-respect-transgendered-people/article17160223/?cmpid=rss1&click=dlvr.it>



*Required Readings:*

- Namaste, Viviane. 2011. "Sex Change, Social Change: Reflections on Identity and Institutions." *Sex Change, Social Change: Reflections on Identity, Institutions, and Imperialism* (second edition). Toronto: Women's Press. Pages 15-41 [BB].
- Spade, Dean. 2011. "What's Wrong with Rights?" *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law*. Brooklyn, NY: South End Press. Pages. 79-100 [BB].

## **Week 7: The Indigenous Rights Movement — #IdleNoMore and Settler Politics**

### **\*\*Essay Outline Due\*\***

*Discussion Pieces:*

- CBC. 2013. "Countdown to Friday: Explaining Idle No More." *The National* (January 7), [18 minutes]. <http://www.cbc.ca/player/News/TV+Shows/The+National/ID/2323881230/>
- Irlbacher-Fox, Stephanie. 2012. "#IdleNoMore: Settler Responsibility for Relationship." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society* (December 27). <http://decolonization.wordpress.com/2012/12/27/idlenomore-settler-responsibility-for-relationship/>

*Required Readings:*

- Staggenborg. Pages 71-93, "Aboriginal Protest." (Chapter by Howard Ramos).
- Sabin, Jerald. 2014. "Contested Colonialism: Responsible Government and Political Development in Yukon." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 47(2): ##-## [BB].
- Razack, Sherene. H. 2007. "When Place Becomes Race." In *Race and Racialization: Essential Readings*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press. Pages 74-82.

## **Week 8: The Gay and Lesbian Movement — "Family Values"**

*Discussion Pieces:*

- Stern, Mark Joseph. 2014. "This Beautiful Ad, Featuring a Gay Couple and Their Children, Is Stunningly Moving." *Slate* (March 11). [http://www.slate.com/blogs/outward/2014/03/11/gay\\_family\\_in\\_commercial\\_this\\_ad\\_with\\_gay\\_dads\\_is\\_intensely\\_moving.html](http://www.slate.com/blogs/outward/2014/03/11/gay_family_in_commercial_this_ad_with_gay_dads_is_intensely_moving.html) [Please watch embedded video]
- Lowder, J. Bryan. 2014. "Honey Maid Makes Art (and a Great Ad) Out of Hate." *Slate* (April 3). [http://www.slate.com/blogs/outward/2014/04/03/honey\\_maid\\_ad\\_responds\\_to\\_homophobia\\_with\\_love.html](http://www.slate.com/blogs/outward/2014/04/03/honey_maid_ad_responds_to_homophobia_with_love.html) [Please watch embedded video]
- *National Organization for Marriage*. "Same-sex Marriage? Answering the Toughest Questions." [http://nationformarriage.org/uploads/resources/667\\_Talking\\_Points\\_%255BJLG\\_FINAL%255D.pdf](http://nationformarriage.org/uploads/resources/667_Talking_Points_%255BJLG_FINAL%255D.pdf)

*Required Readings:*

- Staggenborg. Pages 116-136, "The Gay and Lesbian Movement."
- Fetner, Tina and Carrie B. Sanders. (2011). "The Pro-Family Movement in Canada and the United States: Institutional Histories and Barriers to Diffusion." *Faith, Politics, and Sexual Diversity in Canada and the United States*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Pages 87-100 [BB].
- Valverde, Mariana. 2012. "A New Entity in the History of Sexuality: The Respectable Same-Sex Couple." In *Queerly Canadian: An Introductory Reader in Sexuality Studies*, edited by Maureen Fitzgerald and Scott Rayer. Toronto: Women's Press. Pages 361-366 [BB].

*Recommended Reading:*

- Malloy, Jonathan. 2011. "Between America and Europe: Religion, Politics and Evangelicals in Canada." *Politics, Religion, & Ideology* 12(3): 317-333 [BB].

**Week 9: The Environmental Movement — Pipelines**

*Discussion Piece:*

- TVO. 2013. "A Pipeline Runs Through It", *The Agenda with Steve Paikin* (November 6), [25 minutes]. <http://tvo.org/video/196834/pipeline-runs-through-it>

*Required Readings:*

- Staggenborg. Pages 137-161, "The Environmental Movement."
- Hessing, Melody, Michael Howlett, and Tracy Summerville. 2005. "Agenda Setting: The Role of the Public in Resource and Environmental Policy Formation." *Canadian Natural Resource and Environmental Policy*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Pages 136-165 [BB].

**Week 10: Women's Movement — Sex Work**

*Discussion Pieces:*

- *Attorney General of Canada, et al. v. Terri Jean Bedford, et al.* FACTUMS:
  - Pivot Legal Society (Vancouver, British Columbia). [http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/factums-memoires/34788/FM090\\_Intervener\\_Pivot.pdf](http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/factums-memoires/34788/FM090_Intervener_Pivot.pdf)
  - The Women's Coalition for the Abolition of Prostitution (Various). [http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/factums-memoires/34788/FM075\\_Intervener\\_Coalition.pdf](http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/factums-memoires/34788/FM075_Intervener_Coalition.pdf)

*Required Readings:*

- Staggenborg. Pages 94-115, "The Women's Movement".
- Crago, Anna-Louise and Jenn Clamen. 2013. "Né dans le Redlight. The Sex Workers' Movement in Montreal." In *Selling Sex: Experience, Advocacy, and Research on Sex Work in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Pages 147-164 [BB].

## Week 11: The Tea Party

### **\*\*Research Essay Due\*\***

#### *Discussion Piece:*

- Ben McGrath. 2010. "The Movement: The Rise of Tea Party Activism." *The New Yorker* (February 1). [http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/02/01/100201fa\\_fact\\_mcgrath?currentPage=all](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/02/01/100201fa_fact_mcgrath?currentPage=all)

#### *Required Readings:*

- Williamson, Vanessa, Theda Skocpol and John Coggin. 2011. "The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism." *Perspectives on Politics* 9(10): 25-43 [BB].
- Parker, Christopher S. and Matt A. Barreto. 2013. "Toward a Theory of the Tea Party." *Change They Can't Believe In: The Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pages 20-65 [BB].

## Week 12: Immigration Reform — "No One is Illegal"

#### *Discussion Pieces:*

- Vargas, Jose Antonio. 2011. "My Life as an Undocumented Immigrant." *New York Times Magazine*. [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/26/magazine/my-life-as-an-undocumented-immigrant.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/26/magazine/my-life-as-an-undocumented-immigrant.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)

*Or*

- PRI. 2012. "456: Reap What You Sow: Alien Experiment." *This American Life* (January 27), [35 minutes]. <http://www.thisamericanlife.org/radio-archives/episode/456/reap-what-you-sow?act=1>

#### *Required Readings:*

- Tichenor, Daniel. 2002. "The Politics of Immigration Control: Understanding the Rise and Fall of Policy Regimes." *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Pages 16-45 [BB].
- Fragoso, Jorge R. 2013. "The Human Cost of Self-Deportation: How Attrition Through Enforcement Affects Immigrant Women and Children." *Wisconsin Journal of Law, Gender, & Society* 28(1): 70-103.