

**Cooperation in a time of conflict:  
Exploring the growth of all-party groups in Canada**

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**Abstract**

All-party Caucuses and Parliamentary Friendship Groups (together known as all-party groups or APGs) are informal parliamentary bodies that are formed by backbench politicians from all parties who share an interest in a policy field or relations with a given country. Examples at the Canadian Parliament include the all-party caucuses on Aerospace, Genocide Prevention, and Palliative Care, and the friendship groups for Azerbaijan, Brazil, and India. While such groups have existed in Canada for decades, their numbers have grown sharply in recent years, rising from fewer than 50 in 2003 to nearly 100 at present. Drawing on interviews with over 40 parliamentarians, lobbyists, and journalists, this paper explores what factors are behind this growth. Ultimately it finds that the increase has largely resulted from a convergence of interests between backbench MPs and lobbyists. For MPs, APGs not only provide a tool for engaging with constituents, but also a path to influence and prestige for those who have been passed over for formal promotion. At the same time, APGs offer lobbyists a way to raise an issue's profile, disseminate information, and possibly to secure policy change. In this way, the creation of APGs has become a modular strategy that has been transferred between lobbyists and MPs working in different policy fields.

# 1 Introduction

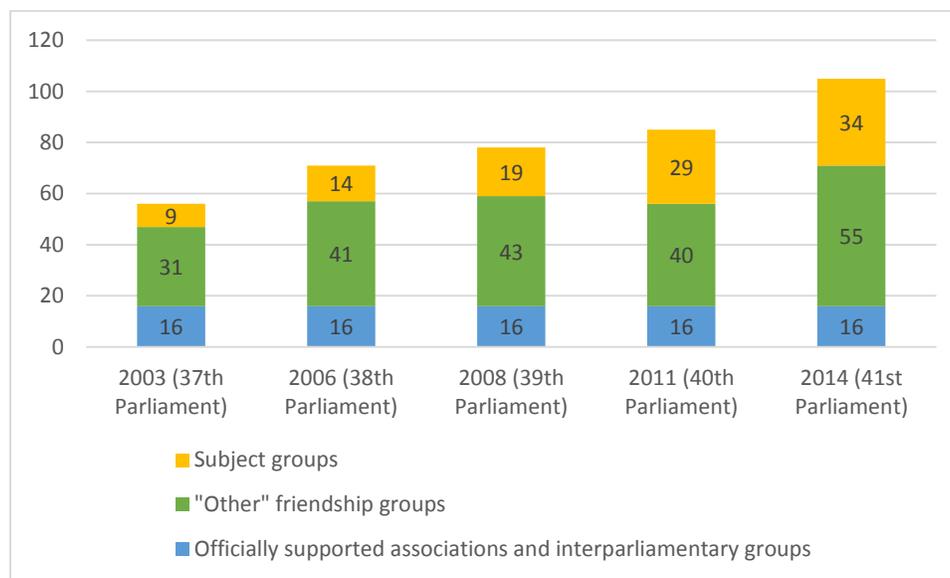
In November 2011, the *Parliamentary Committee on Palliative and Compassionate Care (PCPCC)* at the Canadian House of Commons released its inaugural report (PCPCC 2011). The group, which operated outside of the official system of parliamentary committees, was founded by MPs from all parties who voluntarily came together to investigate the issues of palliative care, suicide prevention, elder abuse, and care for persons with disabilities. The report, which ran to 190 pages, was based on 24 consultations held across the country and was financed through contributions from the office budgets of the 50 MPs who took part. Its recommendations were welcomed by both the Canadian Council of Catholic Bishops (2011) and medical organizations such as the Canadian Cancer Society (2011), suggesting that it was well-balanced and well researched. In his parliamentary statement introducing the document Joe Comartin, the NDP House Leader and *PCPCC* co-founder, noted that the report “demonstrates that parliamentarians of all political stripes can work co-operatively for vulnerable Canadians” (Comartin, 2011).

The *PCPCC* is an example of what will be referred to here as an all-party group (APG). APGs are distinct from other types of parliamentary organizations in that they are non-partisan and have no place in the formal system of parliamentary decision making. Instead, they are formed voluntarily by “members coming together on a basis of shared interests or backgrounds, independent of party” (Norton, 2008: 240). Such groups fall into two broad categories: inter-country groups that focus on relations with other countries or international organizations, and subject groups those that focus on particular policy issues. While Canada has long been home to a few dozen inter-country APGs, until recently it never had more than a handful of subject groups. However, as shown in Chart I, the past decade has seen a large spike in APG activity, with at least 29 new subject groups being founded since 2004 as well as 24 new inter-country ones. Together, this increase has more than doubled the number of APGs in operation to over 100. In addition, there are even more groups that were formed during this period but are no longer in operation.

This spike in APG activity surprising for three reasons. First and most practically is that this period of APG growth has occurred in parallel with a steady increase in tensions between the majority parties and a corresponding decline in the level of civility in the House of Commons.

Such conflict was especially evident during a number of extraordinary events, such as the 2008 prorogation crisis or the non-confidence votes that led to the 2006 and 2011 elections. However, the decline in comity is also evident in a number of longer developments that have led to a growing air of hostility in Parliament. These include the development of a government handbook on how to disrupt the functioning of parliamentary committees (Bryden 2007) and the increasing use of MPs' speaking opportunities for partisan attacks (Blidook and Byrne 2013). This environment would not appear conducive to the mass expansion of cross-party collaboration.

**Chart 1 - Number of all-party groups at the Canadian Parliament, 2003 – 2014**



Second, the growth of APGs is inconsistent with existing theories about the behaviour of elected representatives. Rational choice theory holds that a politician's primary goal is to secure re-election (Mayhew, 1974). Given that most voters cast their ballots based on evaluations of the party and its leader (Blais et al. 2003), rational politicians would appear better served by achieving policy or legislative victories for their own party rather than collaborating with those from other political groupings.

Finally, most scholarship on the Westminster parliamentary system argues that a sharp division between government and opposition parties must be maintained in order to ensure the smooth functioning of the conventions of responsible government on which the system is based. This clear divide is seen to maximize accountability by making the government fully responsible for all policy choices and also by giving the opposition a strong incentive to highlight instances of

failure or mismanagement by the governing party (Aucoin et al., 2004). Yet the growing presence of APGs suggests that parliamentary outcomes may actually be improved when inter-party conflict is at least partially replaced with non-partisan cooperation.

This paper explores what factors have driven the growth of APGs in Canada in recent years. It begins with a brief discussion of the characteristics of APGs, and then explores why the main theory that has been developed to account for the growth of APGs at the United States Congress cannot be directly extended to Canada. This discussion is followed by an overview of the system of APG regulation in Canada and then by a review of the limited Canadian literature on APGs. The paper then presents the results of the research, first detailing the activities undertaken by Canadian APGs, and then examining the factors that lead to group formation and those that drive participation by parliamentarians. The final section examines then examines the factors that have been driving APG creation in Canada in recent years.

Ultimately the paper finds that the increase has largely resulted from a convergence of interests between backbench MPs and lobbyists. For MPs, APGs not only provide a tool for engaging with constituents and influencing policy, but also a path to influence, prestige, and feelings of relevance for those who have been passed over for formal promotion. At the same time, APGs offer lobbyists a way to raise an issue's profile, disseminate information, and possible to secure policy change. In this way, the creation of APGs has become a modular strategy that has been transferred between lobbyists and MPs working in different policy fields.

## **2 What are APGs?**

Many of the inter-country APGs can be seen as a subset of the broader phenomenon of parliamentary diplomacy. They typically involve parliamentarians trying to build stronger diplomatic ties by meeting with officials or politicians from other countries, conducting official visits, or attending international meetings. However, inter-country APGs can also have domestic political implications since they often build links with diaspora communities who maintain an interest in their countries of origin. In contrast, subject groups work to shape government action within a given policy field. As such, they tend to focus primarily on facilitating the exchange of information amongst parliamentarians and building stronger ties with relevant stakeholders in the private sector or civil society. Like the *PCPCC*, some subject groups may also conduct their own

committee-style inquiries, lobby the government for policy or legislative change, and will even introduce their own private member's legislation.

Although APGs are not part of the formal parliamentary system, they can have varying degrees of institutionalization. Most have designated officers, such as chairs and vice-chairs, and many have written constitutions. The majority of APGs are also supported by outside lobbyists, such as business associations, charities, embassies, or other stakeholders, who will often provide a group's secretariat and may also cover expenses, such as refreshments at meetings, the cost of publishing of reports, or international travel. In many cases, lobbyists actually drive the initial creation of an APG by finding parliamentarians from all parties who are willing to take part.

Some jurisdictions, such as the UK and Scotland, have developed detailed regulations governing the operation of APGs. These include rules on how much cross-party support is required for a group to be considered as "all-party," as well as those for the disclosure of external financial support. In the UK in 2012, over 300 groups reported external financial support that together totaled over £1.8m (Ball and Beleaga 2012).

### **3 Existing theories regarding APG growth**

The APGs at the US Congress have been the subject of considerable investigation. Such research has largely been conducted using a rational choice approach which assumes that legislators primarily will engage in those activities that contribute to the achievement of their goals and particularly to the task of securing re-election. As such, they tend to provide largely functionalist accounts for APG formation and activities. In this vein, researchers have found that APGs provide legislators with the opportunity to exchange information (Ainsworth and Akins 1997; Ringe and Victor 2013) shape the legislative agenda (Hammond et al., 1985) and to serve as policy entrepreneurs (Burgin, 2003).

Hammond's 1998 book on congressional caucuses is the most comprehensive work that has yet been written on APGs in a single jurisdiction. In it she identifies several factors affecting members' involvement in APGs, for instance finding that participation declined with years served, and that ideological conservatism also reduced membership. However, Hammond's major contribution comes from her work to explain APG formation and why their numbers have

increased so sharply in recent years. She begins by examining why existing theories for explaining congressional organization – especially those regarding the role and influence of formal committees – cannot account for APG formation given their informal nature and lack of direct connection to the legislative outcomes. Consequently, Hammond contends that any explanation must examine not only (1) the *objectives* of congressional representatives, but also (2) the *structure* of Congress itself and (3) the *external context*. These factors will be addressed in reverse order.

With regard to the context, Hammond stresses that the demands placed on congressmen and women have increased in recent decades as they deal with the growing complexity of policy issues, more contacts from constituents, higher rates of interest group mobilization, and a greater array of research studies. However, this rising pressure has not led to significant changes in the formal structure of Congress. Instead, Hammond argues that the inclusive and fluid structure of the institution has enabled informal adaptations. She describes Congress as “an organization of equals whose collegial decision making... is manifested in a general absence of hierarchy and integrative mechanisms” (1998: 16). What authority structure there is lacks strong inducements or sanctions to shape members’ behaviour. Furthermore, “Congressional norms favour inclusion in group processes” (1998: 16). All told, this collegiality and absence of hierarchy is seen to produce more “organizational fluidity” than is the norm in many other bodies. It also creates challenges for congressional leaders who must integrate actions within the legislature in order to produce coherent outcomes.

Lastly, Hammond sees involvement in caucuses as contributing to all three of the goals that Fenno identified for members of congress: re-election, policy change, and influence in the institution (1998: 15). For re-election, Hammond reports that just joining a caucus without being actively involved can benefit representatives since “it sends a message to constituents that the member shares their concerns” (1998: 79). She further found that those from more marginal electoral districts had slightly higher more involvement in APGs than members with a greater vote share. APGs were also seen to be helpful for pursuing policy goals, with Hammond noting that: “Members formed caucuses... when deficiencies in the formal committee and party systems made achievement of individual goals difficult” (1998: 16). In terms of influence within the institution, Hammond stressed that involvement in APGs allowed members of congress to have

an impact on policy at an earlier point in their careers than would be possible through the formal system, where positions are allocated by seniority. In addition, APG involvement provided representatives with opportunities to improve their chances for future promotion by developing leadership skills and building relationships with their colleagues. As could be expected, Hammond found that APG involvement was higher among newer members who were excluded from formal leadership positions and were hoping to achieve future advancement.

Several of the factors identified in Hammond's explanation of APG growth in the US can certainly apply elsewhere. Canadian MPs have the same desire for re-election and promotion, and also face a similar context of growing policy complexity and increasing citizen demands. However, Hammond's account rests on characteristics of Congress, namely inclusiveness, the absence of hierarchy, and the need for bipartisan cooperation, that appear to be absent in Westminster systems like Canada. On this point, Ringe and Victor's observations on the lesser need for APGs at Westminster itself can be seen to apply to the Canadian Parliament as well:

there is much less need for political coordination in Westminster than in some other legislatures, given the primacy of single-party cabinets, the dominance of the legislative majority party, a pronounced government-opposition dynamic, and high levels of party discipline. In this system, political coordination in [APGs] – such as agenda setting, the establishment of policy consensus, and coalition building – will be less meaningful and consequential than in legislatures where cross-party cooperation is imperative and policy coalitions are fluid and must be continually renegotiated (2013, 21).

Yet as is described below, some APGs in Canada do appear to play a policy coordination role, suggesting that APGs may in some cases emerge whether a legislature fosters inclusivity or not.

In addition, Hammond's fails to take account of several other factors that can drive APG growth. Most notably, she does not examine the role played by the external organizations who provide funding and logistical support for APG activities, and may also pressure politicians to become involved (Ringe and Victor 2013). The rising number of APGs indicates that more organizations are willing to bear such costs, which suggests that they must receive some reward from their participation. Moreover, Hammond's account of the factors that motivate politicians' participation in APGs is highly instrumental and discounts the possibility that involvement may occur for more intrinsic reasons. These potential factors are explored in the analysis below.

## 4 Regulation and parliamentary support of APGs in Canada

In comparison to the UK, the system for regulating APGs in Canada is far less comprehensive. The International and Interparliamentary Affairs Directorate (IIAD) of the Canadian Parliament provides full financial and administrative support, including travel costs and access to parliamentary researchers, for a small number of inter-country APGs that it refers to as “Parliamentary Associations.” Decisions on which groups receive this designation are made by the Joint Interparliamentary Council (JIC), a body composed of both MPs and Senators that was created in 1995 specifically to manage support to inter-parliamentary groups. Since 2003, the JIC’s official criteria have stipulated new associations wishing to gain recognition must have at least 50 members from both the House and Senate who represent at least three of the recognized parties in Parliament. Moreover, any new APG must not overlap with an existing group, and “must represent the relationships between countries or groups of countries, or regions of the world, and not simply causes.” Thus far, 12 inter-country APGs have been approved as Associations: Canada’s delegations to the *Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)*, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA)*, *NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NATO-PA)*, *ParlAmericas*, and *Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie (APF)*; regional associations for Africa and Europe<sup>1</sup>; and five bilateral associations that promote parliamentary exchanges with major world powers (China, France, Japan, the UK and the US) (Canada. Parliament 2011). The last new association to be approved by JIC was the *Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association* in 2003.

In addition to associations, the JIC has also established a secondary tier of support for what it refers to as “Interparliamentary Groups.” Inter-country APGs in this category receive some administrative support from IIAD, which maintains their membership lists, collects dues, and assists at their annual general meetings. However, no financial support is offered for regular meetings or travel. As is described further below, this means that such groups must rely on contributions from their memberships or external organizations. As with associations, the JIC stipulates that interparliamentary groups must have participation from both Houses and at least

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<sup>1</sup> The Canada-Europe Parliamentary Association manages Canada’s participation as an observer at the Parliamentary Assemblies of the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

three parties, but need only 20 members to qualify. Groups also must have stable finances, a constitution conforming to JIC's model, and be aimed at improving relations with entities recognized by Government of Canada. Importantly, this last stipulation blocks the *Canada-Taiwan* and *Canada-Palestine Friendship Groups* from this category. Despite the existence of a number of inter-country APGs that appear to meet the criteria (for instance, the *Canada-Korea Friendship Group* has operated continuously since the early 1980s), thus far only ones to achieve interparliamentary group status are those for Germany, Ireland, Israel, and Italy.

In addition to meeting the requirements set out above, the APGs recognized as associations and interparliamentary groups are also subject to significant public disclosure requirements, with the IIAD website regularly publishing lists of their members and executive officers, as well as copies of their constitutions and the dates of their annual general meetings. Given that their travel and meetings are publicly funded, the 12 associations must also table reports in Parliament after each activity they undertake. These documents are made available on the IIAD website.

All other inter-country APGs, including those for major Canadian trading partners like India and Mexico, operate independently from Parliament and are not subject to any regulations regarding the composition of their membership, the conduct of their affairs, or the disclosure of their activities. The IIAD website does contain a list of these unapproved APGs, which it refers to as "Other Interparliamentary Groups" (OIGs). However, inclusion on the list is voluntary and the only detail recorded is the identity of the group's chair (Canada. Parliament 2013). Nevertheless, even this voluntary registry of OIGs is more thorough than the complete absence of any record keeping that exists for the vast majority of Canada's subject APGs. Although some subject groups that deal with international issues, such *Canadian Parliamentarians for Global Action* or the *Save Darfur Parliamentary Coalition*, are included on the OIG list, there is no registry for those that deal with domestic issues. In fact, the only somewhat complete list of domestically focused subject APGs is maintained by government relations news website "Parliament Now," which is only accessible by subscription (Parliament Now 2013).

The differing levels of regulation and support for different types of Canadian APGs are summarized in Table 1. As can be seen, the vast majority of groups (89 out of 105) face no rules regarding the distribution of their membership across party lines or between the two Houses.

They also have no requirement to disclose their membership, activities, or even their existence. This situation makes it quite difficult to identify which parliamentarians are involved in APG activities, or even to say how many groups are in operation at any given time. In particular, there have been instances where a parliamentarian or a lobby group claims to have created a new APG, but no supporting documentation can be found. A perfect example is the “Refreshments Canada Caucus,” which was reportedly established in 2004 by Refreshments Canada, an industry association for the soft drink industry (O’Malley 2004). However, no reference to the caucus was ever made in parliamentary debates and no details could be located by web search. A full list of the inter-country groups found during this research can be located in Appendix I, while a list of subject groups is included in Appendix II.

**Table 1 –Regulation and parliamentary support for Canadian APGs by group type**

Type	# of groups	Rules for composition	Registration	Disclosure	Admin support	Operating costs
<i>Inter-country APGs</i>						
<i>Parliamentary associations</i>	12	Yes	Compulsory	Membership + activities	Yes	Yes
<i>Interparl. Groups</i>	4	Yes	Compulsory	Membership	Yes	No
<i>Other interparl. groups (OIGs)</i>	55	No	Voluntary	Chair	No	No
Subject APGs	34	No	None	None	No	No

As with groups in the UK, all Canadian APGs except for those funded by IIAD must rely either on contributions from members or from external organizations for their operating costs.

However, in the absence of any requirements for disclosure, the only record of external support is found in the “Public Statement of Sponsored Travel by Members” that MPs must make with the Parliamentary Conflict of Interest and Ethics Commissioner if they accept funding for travel from an outside group. External support provided for any other cause, such as operating a group’s secretariat, research services, or refreshments at meetings, is not accounted for.

Therefore, while a small number of officially recognized and supported inter-country APGs are highly integrated into the operation of Parliament, overall the system of APGs in Canada is much less institutionalized than in the United Kingdom or Scotland. In particular, there is no way to be

sure whether an APG is truly operating on an all-party basis, which parliamentarians are taking part in its activities, and the extent to which its operations are free of external influence.

## 5 Existing literature

There has been remarkably little academic study of APGs at the Canadian Parliament. Indeed, as Thomas writes “all-party caucuses” are one of the “components of the parliamentary party structures that have not been carefully studied” (2001: 222). The first piece of research appears to be Levy’s (1974) study of the six parliamentary associations that were operating in the 1970s. While accepting their limitations, he notes the “quasi-diplomatic” role that such groups play and benefits that MPs receive from exchanging ideas and information with their counterparts in other jurisdictions. He also highlights the associations’ commitment to cross-party participation and prominent role given to backbenchers over the executive. However, Levy stresses the difficulty that parliamentary associations face in choosing participants for inter-parliamentary conferences. On the one hand, association leaders have found that effectiveness of the Canada’s participation in such conferences is reduced by the regular turnover of delegates. As such, they have argued for a greater continuity between delegations so that MPs can develop expertise. On the other, most associations have far more members than can be accommodated in a single delegation, creating pressure for regular rotation. The party whips, who have the final say on whether parliamentarians can be travel, also often viewed international trips as a reward to be bestowed on those loyally follow the party line.

A report from the Parliamentary Centre (2003) some 30 years later suggests that little progress has been made in resolving this tension. Specifically, it found that the turnover in the delegations sent to international meetings was still too rapid to allow legislators to develop expertise in parliamentary diplomacy. While the executive of each association can suggest which members should take part, the final decision remains with the whips. As such, the report recommended that delegation members should be appointed for the duration of a Parliament, as is done in the UK. It also argued that a limit should be placed on the number of groups to which a parliamentarian can belong in order to reduce the demand for delegation places.

While these studies have noted the challenges faced by Canada’s funded associations, a review of the *Canada-Taiwan Parliamentary Friendship Group* by Hulme (2010) found that friendship

groups can be effective ways for foreign governments to shape Canadian policy. In particular, he traces the government of Taiwan's efforts court Canadian parliamentarians in order to secure greater international recognition and stronger relations with the government of Canada.

For subject APGs, the first academic interest appears to have been in Thomas' (1985) study of party caucuses for the Royal Commission on Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada. Thomas had noted the existence of all-party caucuses in the UK and hypothesized that they could be a tool for improving the representation of regional interests.<sup>2</sup> However, when he raised the idea with MPs in his interviews, most were skeptical: "They felt that partisanship was too entrenched an aspect of Parliament's operation to be put aside, even temporarily, in order to pursue a co-operative approach. In their view, the party leadership would not accept all-party regional caucuses because they would diminish the partisan spirit, which would then have to be restored by the next election" (1985, 129).

On a more practical level, the *Parliamentary Steel Caucus* was featured as a successful case of parliamentary diplomacy in the Parliamentary Centre report mentioned above. The report described the Caucus' interactions with its American counterpart, the Congressional Steel Caucus, and highlighted its success in convincing American lawmakers not to impose duties on Canadian Steel (Parliamentary Centre 2003). The Chair of the *Parliamentary Steel Caucus* was also the only non-American invited to testify at the US International Trade Commission hearings into steel imports (Parliamentary Centre 2003).

More recently, several academics have criticized the operation of the *Canadian Parliamentary Committee Against Anti-Semitism (CPCAA)*. The APG was founded in 2009 to conduct an inquiry into the state of anti-Semitism in Canada and to recommend a new approach to combat the issue. Notably, the group's creation was explicitly inspired by a similar inquiry undertaken by the All-Party Parliamentary Group against Anti-Semitism in the UK. It also followed the 2009 London Conference of the Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combatting Anti-Semitism (ICCA) which was attended by ten Canadian MPs (Cotler 2009). The *CPCAA* held a series of

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas noted that while "Only two of the 150 such committees have an explicit regional focus... certain functional committees examine issues of greater importance to particular parts of Britain."

hearings between 2009 and 2010 and received over 200 written submissions. The final report was issued in 2011 (CPCCA 2011).

In the only peer-reviewed article to specifically examine a Canadian subject APG, Cairns and Ferguson (2011) employ a Gramscian approach to critique the structure and activities of the *CPCAA*. They begin by highlighting the *CPCAA*'s lack democratic legitimacy, stressing that:

Although it mimics familiar liberal-democratic forms, the CPCCA is neither an official public inquiry nor a Royal Commission. It is not a parliamentary committee: despite being composed of 21 sitting Members of Parliament, the CPCCA was not struck by Canada's House of Commons or Senate, nor is it responsible to either chamber of Parliament. The source of the coalition's funding is unclear, as is its process of selecting witnesses (2011, 416).

While applying to the *CPCAA*, the self-selecting nature of APGs and the lack of disclosure requirements mean that the same charges could be levelled at nearly every other Canadian APG. Importantly, the authors argue that this lack of legitimacy extends to the broader ICCA, which they note is an "ad hoc body without jurisdiction over the peoples of any state" (2011, 416). Cairns and Ferguson conclude that the *CPCAA* was part of a broader international project to reframe the discourse of human rights in order to deligitimize criticism of Israel by branding it as anti-Semitic. Similar conclusions are also reached by Abu-Laban and Bakan (2012).

## **6 Group activities**

### **6.1 Information exchange**

#### **6.1.1 Meetings**

Canadian APGs undertake a wide range of activities, the most basic of which is the exchange of information. Given the intense pressure on parliamentarians' time, most APGs meet only a few times per year. Some may even go over a year without a formal meeting. Unless specifically focused on group administration, these meetings will typically feature presentations from the outside lobbyists and stakeholders who support an APG to inform parliamentarians on a given topic. Such meetings are seldom publicized beyond parliamentarians and those stakeholders already in contact with an APG, making it difficult for other outside bodies or members of the public to become involved. Moreover, even when meetings are publicized, they typically take

place within the parliamentary precinct, meaning that a prior RSVP is required for security reasons. As such, even APGs that do advertise their events are still able to control who attends.

Some groups make a point of meeting in private so as to foster a more open discussion and to allow for a greater exchange of ideas. For instance, Green Party leader Elizabeth May described the *All-Party Climate Change Caucus* as a “safe space” for parliamentarians to raise their questions (De Souza 2013). Such an approach reflects the fact that many parliamentarians find it difficult to be fully open around members of other parties. As one MP who was interviewed noted, some parliamentarians may be reluctant to ask a question in an APG meeting for fear of exposing a gap in their knowledge of a subject. Secrecy can also be important for APGs on controversial topics. Members of the *Parliamentary Pro-Life Caucus* have agreed not to disclose which parliamentarians attend their meetings.

The vast majority of those interviewed noted that many parliamentarians will come for only part of a meeting as their schedule allows. APGs therefore try to hold their events at a convenient time and location (preferably in the Centre Block) so that parliamentarians could quickly attend between other commitments. Many respondents also stressed the need for APGs to offer food or refreshments was so that parliamentarians could attend during a meal break. It also increases the chances that some parliamentarians who are coming only for the food will be exposed to the information presented. This need to provide food substantially increase the cost of events, and thereby raises the importance of having an external partner to cover those expenses. However, the food provided can itself be incorporated into the message for the event, with both the *All-Party Oceans Caucus* and the *International Conservation Caucus* making a point of offering sustainably-sourced seafood at their events. At least one APG, the *Health Research Caucus*, has also adopted a lower cost tactic to deal with parliamentarians’ time constraints. In place of holding defined meetings it uses a “kiosk” format whereby displays on new pieces of health research are set up in a meeting room for a period of several hours, allowing parliamentarians to drop in and review the information as their schedule permits.

### 6.1.2 *Travel and delegations*

Although they hold some meetings in Canada, the primary method of information exchange for the five fully funded bilateral associations (i.e. *China, France, Japan, US, UK*) is through travel

to their partner countries and the receipt of incoming parliamentary delegations. These associations generally alternate travel with the parliamentarians from the partner country on an annual or biannual basis. The visits are used to discuss matters of common concern and to meet with government officials, business leaders, or other stakeholders who are interested in the bilateral relationship. In addition to exchanges with their congressional counterparts, the *Canada-United States Inter-parliamentary Group* also engages with legislators at the state level through the Council of States Governments and the National Governors' Association. The two parliamentary funded regional APGs (*Africa* and *Europe*) also engage in regular international travel, and will often visit several countries on each trip.

For the five funded APGs that manage Canada's participation in interparliamentary associations, their primary activity is to attend those bodies' regular meetings and assemblies. As such, they do not receive incoming delegations unless Canada is hosting an international meeting, as happened when Canada hosted the 127<sup>th</sup> Assembly of the *IPU* in Quebec in 2012. The one exception is the *Commonwealth Parliamentary Association*, which holds an annual regional conference of the organization's 14 Canadian chapters – namely those of the federal parliament and each province and territory. This unique gathering is the only regular meeting of federal and provincial legislators (Levy 1985).

Without parliamentary support, all other inter-country groups can only engage in travel if their members pay for it themselves or if they receive external support. The external funding available varies greatly by association. At one extreme are the *Canada-Israel* and *Canada-Taiwan* Friendship groups, whose members have ready access to support from advocacy groups and the partner country governments (Hulme 2010; Thompson 2014). Indeed, an analysis of the registry of sponsored travel found that between 2005 and 2013 there were 116 MPs who accepted travel to Israel alone, with a combined cost of over \$1 million paid by lobby groups (Thompson 2014). One interview respondent noted APGs for less wealthy countries will often reach an arrangement whereby their in-country costs will be covered if the parliamentarians pay for their own flights.

Subject APGs may also participate in travel for information gathering and exchange. As mentioned above, the members of the *Parliamentary Steel Caucus* have been to Washington for meetings with their Congressional counterparts. However, in 2007 *Steel Caucus* members also

visited steel manufacturing facilities in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (Martin 2007). The trip gave them an opportunity to see new manufacturing technologies and to meet with both the factory management and workers. Similarly, in 2013 the *Aerospace Caucus* visited the industry hubs located in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg (Cash 2013; Hamilton-McCharles 2013).

### 6.1.3 *Email lists*

As well as information sharing via meetings, some APGs will also maintain email lists for distributing information regarding a particular topic. A prime example is the *All-Party Parliamentary Group for the Prevention of Genocide and Other Crimes Against Humanity (APPPGPGOAH)*, which circulates a weekly briefing on situations of concern around the world. APGs also serve as conduits for the distribution of information from external partners.

## 6.2 **Networking and symbolic activities**

Another major function played by APGs is to facilitate networking between those who are interested in the same subject. For funded inter-country groups this networking takes place primarily during travel to other jurisdictions. Several of those interviewed highlighted that the international contacts made during travel had been useful in the pursuit of their duties. However, many also stressed that one of the primary benefits of such travel was to give Canadian parliamentarians an opportunity to meet each other. Indeed one Senator stressed that international travel is one of the few methods for connections to be forged both across party lines and between the two houses of Parliament.

Among unfunded inter-country APGs, this networking typically takes place at social events (dinners, lunches, receptions, etc.) hosted by the diplomatic staff from the partner country. While not always the case, such events are often held to coincide with the partner country's national holiday or the arrival of a visiting delegation of parliamentarians or government officials. These events therefore also serve a symbolic function to show the strength of Canada's ties with the partner country, and also with its diaspora in Canada. As discussed further below, such events can also provide an opportunity for lobbying by corporations based in the partner country. A case in point are the "Taste of Belgium" events put on jointly by the *Canada-Belgium Parliamentary Friendship Group* and Labatt Breweries, which is owned by Belgian firm Anheuser-Busch InBev (Embassy Newspaper 2013, 2014).

The events put on by subject APGs also provide an opportunity for networking, and can also have a symbolic aspect as well. Subject APGs will often have events to mark symbolic days, such as the World AIDS Day breakfast held each year by the *HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis Caucus* (Interagency Coalition on AIDS and Development 2014). Similarly, in 2012 the *Anti-Poverty Caucus* hosted a discussion panel to mark the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty (Sanchez and Leilani 2012), while in 2014 the *APPPGPGOCAH* hosted an event to commemorate the Rwandan Genocide. Parliamentarians will also use members' statements in order to mark symbolic related to both inter-country and subject APGs.

Notably, many APGs in Canada limit themselves to information sharing and symbolic activities and do not pursue direct policy advocacy, or pursue it only on narrow issues of common agreement. As highlighted by Ringe and Victor (2013) in their study of APGs at the US Congress, this decision reflects the fact that while parliamentarians may agree on the importance of a problem and the need to address it, they may not necessarily agree on the policy tools to achieve that change. For instance, a parliamentarian involved in the anti-poverty caucus noted that some members had resisted adopting a caucus stance on the poverty alleviation ideas presented by a speaker.

## **6.3 Policy and legislative advocacy**

### **6.3.1 *Inquiries and reports***

While they remain exceptional, a small number of subject APGs also begun holding their own inquiries into given policy issues. As noted above, between both the *CPCCA* and the *PCPCC* conducted a series of hearings and issued reports on the subjects of anti-Semitism and palliative care, respectively. However, both of these inquiries were preceded by a report into the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that was put together by the *APPPGPGOCAH* in 2009. To prepare the document, the Group held a series events with experts and stakeholders and also conducted a field visit to the DRC with the Parliamentary Network for the World Bank. The final report made 10 recommendations on how to improve Canada's response to the situation (*APPPGPGOCAH* 2009). Despite this relatively flurry of reports from subject groups, no APG appears to have launched an inquiry since the 2011 election.

As noted above, the officially supported inter-country groups are required to table reports after any international travel. While the bulk of the reports are consumed by descriptions of the activities undertaken, they may also make some gentle recommendations for future action by the government of Canada. For instance, the report of the *Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association* trip to Madagascar includes four “considerations” that it “encourages” the government to look at:

- The Government of Canada to consider increasing its support and presence in Madagascar.
- The Government of Canada to engage with the Government of Madagascar and the international community with a view to reversing the decline in human development indicators prompted by years of political instability.
- The Government of Canada and Canadian parliamentarians to consider ways in which they can work with their counterparts in Madagascar to strengthen that country’s parliamentary and democratic institutions.
- The Government of Canada and Canadian businesses to increase engagement with the Government of Madagascar and others in the promotion of socially responsible corporate practices in Madagascar (2014, 21).

Unofficial parliamentary friendship groups may also prepare reports after international travel, but these documents can only be tabled in Parliament with the unanimous consent of the House. This limitation contributed to a conflict in 2009 after NDP MP Libby Davies referenced a report by a “parliamentary delegation” to Israel and the Palestinian Territories she said had been “presented” (Davies 2009a). She also went on to criticize the Conservative government’s response to the conflict in the Middle East. In response, James Lunney, Chair of the *Canada-Israel Interparliamentary Group*, raised a point of order with the Speaker arguing that the report had actually been prepared by parliamentarians traveling with the *Canada-Palestine Parliamentary Friendship Group*, not a formal parliamentary delegation (Lunney 2009). Moreover, he could find no record of the report being tabled. In response, Ms. Davies argued that she had deliberately chosen her words as she had “presented” the report to the members of the *Canada-Palestine Group* (Davies 2009b). The conflict over the report reflected the low number of Conservative parliamentarians who are involved in the *Canada-Palestine Group* (Adeba 2007).

### 6.3.2 *Resolutions and letters*

Conducting inquiries and producing reports requires a considerable amount of resources. As such, many APGs will simply pass resolutions or draft letters to ministers calling for government

action. One such case was when the *All-Party Sugar Caucus* passed a unanimous resolution calling for the government to use the provisions of NAFTA to take stronger action in challenging tariffs imposed on Canadian sugar by the United States (Wayne 1996). Similarly, during a turbulent period for the steel industry in 2005, the *Steel Caucus* wrote to Industry Minister David Emerson to launch a review of the Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act in the hopes of giving greater priority to wages owed to workers (Francoli 2005).

### 6.3.3 *Legislative motions and bills*

Rather than just making recommendations for government action, a number of caucuses have used the system of private member's business to introduce their own motions or legislation. Some of the measures brought forward are very symbolic, such as a motion supported by the *Canada-Portugal Parliamentary Friendship Group* to have June 10<sup>th</sup>, Portugal's national holiday, designated as "Canada-Portugal Day." It went on to be unanimously adopted by the House of Commons (Chow 2010). Similarly, the *All-Party Outdoors Caucus* supported a bill by Conservative MP Rick Norlock to have the third Saturday in September designated as "National Hunting, Trapping and Fishing Heritage Day" (Norlock 2014).

Others can be much more assertive. In 1995, Liberal MP Paul Zed, Chair of the *All-Party Sugar Caucus*, introduced Bill C-311, "An Act to require the Minister for International Trade to retaliate against import restrictions introduced by the United States of America on Canadian refined sugar and sugar-containing products." As the name suggests, the Bill would have required the government to retaliate against the tariffs imposed by the US. More recently, the *PCPCC* used the private members' system to attempt to implement the findings of its report on palliative care and suicide prevention. In 2011 one of the Group's Co-Chairs, Conservative MP Harold Albrecht, introduced Bill C-300 which required the federal government to consult with stakeholders and develop a federal framework for suicide prevention within four years of its passage. In 2013 another member, NDP MP Charlie Angus, put forward motion M-456 which called on the government to establish a "Pan-Canadian Palliative and End-of-life Care Strategy." Both initiatives passed with nearly unanimous support (D'Amato 2012; O'Malley 2014).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The Bloc Quebecois opposed both initiatives on the grounds that they intruded on provincial jurisdiction.

In addition to introducing their own private member's measures, APGs may also take positions or brief members on those bills put forward by the government or other MPs. In fact, the *Parliamentary Caucus on Intellectual Property, Anti-Counterfeiting and Anti-Piracy* was largely created to foster discussions on intellectual property reform in advance of new government legislation on the subject (Doyle 2008; Geist 2008). While it did not endorse the measure, the *HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis Caucus* also held a briefing for parliamentarians on a private members' bill that would have made it easier to export generic versions of patented medications for use in developing countries. In contrast, the *All-Party Women's Caucus* issued a press release opposing M-312, a private members' motion introduced by MP Stephen Woodworth that called for the creation of an all-party committee to examine the question of when human life begins. The motion was seen as an attempt to re-open the abortion debate, and the Women's Caucus opposed it on the grounds that "We firmly believe in a woman's right to choose whether or not to go through with a pregnancy. It is a fundamental and non-negotiable right" (Bennett 2012).

#### 6.3.4 *Diplomatic advocacy*

Importantly, the advocacy conducted by APGs is not limited to changing the policies of the government of Canada. APGs frequently attempt to shape the views of foreign governments and parliamentarians. Perhaps the most prominent instance of this activity is the work conducted by the *Canada-United States Inter-parliamentary Group*. Over the years Group members have lobbied their Congressional colleagues on topics including mad cow disease (Easter 2004), softwood lumber (Bagnell 2001), country of origin labelling (Easter 2009), and ballast rules for Great Lakes shipping (Zajac 2014). Likewise, members of the *Canada-Europe Parliamentary Association* have raised issues such as the seal hunt and the Canada-EU Trade Agreement with their counterparts at the Parliamentary Assembly for the Council of Europe. Inter-country APGs may also raise more sensitive subjects such as the respect for human rights within a country.

However, diplomatic advocacy can also be conducted by some subject groups as well. One of the first acts of the *Parliamentary Border Caucus* was to meet with the US Ambassador to Canada (United States Embassy in Ottawa 2005). The *Parliamentary Steel Caucus* and the *Sugar Caucus* also went to Washington to lobby against trade restrictions for their respective industries.

## 7 Group formation

Despite being informal groups, creating an APG can consume a considerable amount of time and resources, especially given the limited staff and financing available to most parliamentarians.

The establishment of a new APGs is therefore often shaped by the convergence of a number of different factors. For instance, a new group may be formed by parliamentarians who are concerned by the emergence of a new policy issue, receive pressure from external sources, and believe that the existing institutional structure cannot adequately respond to it.

### 7.1 Emergence of a policy issue

In keeping with the literature from the United States (Hammond 1998), a number of Canadian APGs were formed in response to the sudden emergence of particular policy issues. A perfect example is the *All-Party Sugar Caucus*, which was founded in 1994 to combat American tariffs on Canadian sugar exports (Canadian Sugar Institute 2012). In the same vein, the *All-Party Shipbuilding Caucus* was launched after the federal government began to explore options for the construction of Canada's next generation of naval, coast guard, and arctic patrol vessels. The group was composed primarily of MPs representing constituencies with shipyards and lobbied for the development of a national shipbuilding program. The creation of the *APPPGPGOCAH* was also in part driven by the emergence of the crisis in the Darfur.

Inter-country APGs can also be established as a country rises in global importance. This can be seen with the creation of the officially supported *Canada-China Legislative Association* in 1998, as well as the establishment of the *Canada-India Parliamentary Group* in 2004 and the *Canada-Dubai Parliamentary Association* in 2012. A Senate report on how to respond to the growing economic importance of China, India and Russia recommending transitioning the APGs for the latter two countries to fully supported associations (Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade 2010). After the fall of communism, a series of friendship groups were also set up with newly independent the countries such as Armenia, Croatia, Ukraine, and the Baltic states.

The eruption of a new issue can also breathe new life into APGs that had become dormant. The *All-Party Women's Caucus* met only infrequently during 41<sup>st</sup> Parliament (Ryckewaert 2014).

However, it became more active after allegations of sexual harassment emerged against two Liberal MPs in November 2014. Caucus members met with the Speaker of the House to discuss how to create a new system for dealing with such complaints and also arranged a forum with a professor who researched the problem of workplace harassment (Aiello 2014; Ryckewaert 2015).

## 7.2 Failure of policy response

In addition to the emergence of a new policy issue, APGs may also be established if there is a sense that existing institutions are not being adequately within the existing institutional structure (Hammond 1998). A case in point is the *Parliamentary Committee on Palliative and Compassionate Care* (PCPCC). It emerged when a group of MPs became concerned that Parliament was not sufficiently addressing the shortage of palliative care and suicide prevention services in Canada, with the result that suicide and demand for assisted suicide were both rising. They formed the PCPCC in order to conduct a detailed study on the issues in a way that they felt would not possible for the Standing Committee on Health, which had a full agenda and would likely not focus on such a specific topic.

A more dramatic case of an APG being used to overcome an institutional failure can be found in the *Trent Severn Caucus*. As its name implies, the caucus focuses on the Trent Severn Waterway, a canal system that connects Lake Ontario with Lake Huron via the Trent River and Lake Simcoe. While the canal locks are federally managed, the system's operation is affected by a raft of provincial policies pertaining to water quality and conservation (Panel on the Future of the Trent-Severn Waterway 2008). This jurisdictional gap was highlighted in a report on the Waterway, prompting the four federal MPs and four members of the Ontario Legislature whose constituencies are along the waterway to establish the caucus in hopes of encouraging greater cooperation (Devolin 2008). Given that the federal ridings were all held by Conservative MPs, the cross-party nature of the caucus came solely from the Liberal MPP who took part. This was also the only instance of a joint federal-provincial caucus found in this research.

## 7.3 External pressure

Studies on APGs at both the US Congress and the European Parliament have repeatedly found that pressure from external organizations is a major force behind the establishment of new

groups (Hammond 1998; Ringe and Victor 2013). Many Canadian APGs form at least in part as a result of pressure from an outside lobby group, civil society body, or embassy. External actors seeking to create an APG often begin by finding a parliamentarian to champion their cause, usually one who has a clear connection to the topic based on the characteristics of their constituency or their past experience. Lobbyists seeking to set up an APG may also approach the central party organizations to ask if they could recommend one their parliamentarians who might be interested in participating. In either case, the champion parliamentarians will then invite their colleagues to an initial group meeting.

A number of lobbyists and stakeholder groups present their role in APG formation as that of assistance and facilitation. For instance, a blog post by World Wildlife Fund Canada noted that it “hosted a reception on Parliament Hill in Ottawa to help launch the All Party Oceans Caucus” (Dumbrille 2012). Similar language was used in a press release by the National Association of Friendship Centres, which stated that it was hosting “a reception to officially launch the Friendship Centres All-Party Caucus” (2009, np).

Others, however, are not as shy about publicizing their role in the creation of new APGs at the Canadian Parliament. On the subject side, organizations were found to have specifically listed the establishment of an APG as one of their government relations activities (Lachance 2004; Lowi-Young 2008). This included a lobbyist for the Alzheimer’s society of Canada, who stated the goal of “the creation of an All Party Caucus on Dementia encourgaging [sic] individual communication with members of parliament” (Lowi-Young 2008). Organizations may also take credit for the creation of a caucus on their websites or in internal communications. For example, the website of Research Canada, an industry association of private companies and public institutions engaged in health research, states that “In 2009, Research Canada established a Health Research Caucus of parliamentarians from all political parties” (Research Canada 2011). While somewhat less assertive, a press release by the Canadian Federation of Independent Business marking the launch of the *Entrepreneur Caucus* noted that the “CFIB recommended the creation of an Entrepreneur Caucus and was pleased to receive support for the idea from Conservatives, New Democrats and Liberals” (2013, np).

A number of diplomats have been quite candid about the fact that they worked with MPs to encourage the creation of inter-country APGs. The chargé d'affaires at the Serbian embassy in Ottawa stated that she had worked for several months to build connections with parliamentarians before launching that country's first friendship group in 2014 (Duggal 2014). Similar networking was also required by the Ambassador for Bosnia and Herzegovina prior to the launch of its friendship group in 2011 (Duggal 2013a). The Romanian Ambassador also noted that she had pushed for the re-establishment of that country's friendship group in 2011 (Campbell 2012).

## 7.4 Inter-parliamentary networks

A substantial number of APGs have also been formed as Canadian chapters of international organizations of parliamentarians. Besides the Canadian sections of the IPU, CPA, ParlAmericas, and the APF, these include the *Canadian Parliamentary Coalition for Combatting Anti-Semitism*, the *Canadian Association of Parliamentarians for Population and Development*, *Parliamentarians for Global Action*, and *Canadian Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament*, as well as the now defunct *Canadian Friendship Group of Parliamentarians for UNESCO*.

Such interparliamentary networks tend to form following an international conference on a particular topic. As discussed above, the CPCAA was formed following the London conference of the Interparliamentary Coalition for Combatting Anti-Semitism in 2009. In the same fashion, the various parliamentary groups on population and development are dedicated to implementing the Programme of Action produced at the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development. Moreover, these groups often continue to host international conferences over time, giving parliamentarians an opportunity to meet and exchange ideas.

# 8 Motivations for participation

## 8.1 Personal interest

Many parliamentarians' become involved in those APGs that reflect their personal interests. A clear instance of this trend was when Conservative MP Gary Breitkreuz, a hunter and passionate opponent of the gun registry, started the *Parliamentary Outdoors Caucus* in order to promote "Angling, hunting, trapping and shooting sports" (Breitkreuz 2006). Personal interests are also a

driving factor behind APGs that deal with matters of personal conscience. Examples include *Pro-Life Caucus* as well as *Parliamentary Committee for Palliative and Compassionate Care*, which was founded by MPs who believed that the provision of enhanced palliative care services would help to reduce demand for euthanasia.

In addition, personal interests are evident among those parliamentarians who join groups that relate to their previous professional experience. Liberal MP Kirsty Duncan, a former climate change scientist, pushed for the creation of the *All-Party Climate Change Caucus* (De Souza 2011). Likewise, the main instigator behind the *APPPGPGOCAH* was Liberal Senator Romeo Dallaire, who had commanded the UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda during that country's genocide. Conservative Senator Raynell Andreychuk, a former Canadian ambassador to Kenya, also helped to establish the *Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association*.

Many Parliamentarians also become involved in inter-country groups that reflect their personal heritage. NDP MP Peter Stoffer, who was born in the Netherlands, conducted the initial organizing for the *Canada-Netherlands Parliamentary Friendship Group*. Similarly, the friendship groups for India and Romania were also founded by parliamentarians originally from those countries.<sup>4</sup> NDP MP Rathika Sitsabaiesan, who is the first person of Tamil origin to be elected to the Canadian Parliament, has also established the *Canada-Tamil Parliamentary Friendship Group*, which appears to be the first APG established for an ethnic group.

## 8.2 Constituency connections

In keeping with the findings of research from other jurisdictions (e.g. Hammond 1998; Ringe and Victor 2013; Singh 1996), many Canadian MPs take part in APGs in order to respond to the concerns and interests of their constituents. Constituency dynamics are highly visible in industry caucuses, such as those for *Steel*, *Sugar*, and *Shipbuilding* industries, all of which were founded by MPs whose ridings were home to those activities. However, constituency concerns can also lead parliamentarians to create groups focused on non-economic issues as well. Peace River, the riding represented by Conservative MP Chris Warkentin, is home to three Aboriginal Friendship

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<sup>4</sup> The Canada-India Group was founded by in 2004 by Conservative MP Gurmant Grewal; the Canada-Romania Group was reestablished in 2011 by Conservative MP Corneliu Chisu.

Centres (organizations that provide services to urban aboriginals). As such, it was not surprising that Warkentin would become the founding Co-Chair of the *Friendship Centres All-Party Caucus*. Along the same lines, the *Parliamentary Border Caucus* was founded by Conservative MP Russ Heibert, whose riding of South Surrey – White Rock – Cloverdale includes one of the country's busiest border crossings.

Constituency factors can also motivate MPs' involvement in inter-country APGs as well. A case in point is the *Canada-Portugal Parliamentary Friendship Group*, which was refounded after several years of inactivity by Andrew Cash, the NDP MP for the Little Portugal neighbourhood of Toronto. For a number of years the *Canada-Greece Parliamentary Friendship Group* was chaired by Liberal MP Raymond Folco, who represented a Montreal riding with a sizeable Greek population (Muisse 2011). Conservative MP Rod Bruinooge, whose Winnipeg constituency is home to a large Filipino community, has similarly chaired the *Canada-Philippines Parliamentary Group* (Raphael 2009). Other Winnipeg MPs are also heavily involved.

Notably, the geographic distribution of an industry across constituencies may affect whether a caucus is formed on an all-party or intra-party basis. One respondent argued that the decision to form an intra-party Conservative Wine Caucus reflected the fact that the vast majority of constituencies with wineries were represented by Conservative MPs. A similar dynamic may also be behind the intra-party Conservative Grains and Oilseeds Caucus.

### 8.3 Parliamentary responsibilities

Parliamentarians will often become involved in those APGs that relate to their parliamentary duties, such as committee assignments. For instance, members of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (SCFAIT) tend to be very active in inter-country APGs. Likewise, those on the Standing Committee on National Defence are frequently members of the *Canada-NATO Parliamentary Association*.

A curious difference between Canada and the UK is that Shadow Cabinet members, and particularly those from the NDP, often hold leadership positions in APGs that directly relate to their policy responsibilities. Examples include Paul Dewar, the party's Foreign Affairs Critic, serving as Chair of the *APPPGPGOAH*, Aboriginal Affairs Critic Jean Crowder serving as the

co-chair of the *Friendship Centres All-Party Caucus*, and Fin Donnelly, the NDP Deputy Critic for Fisheries and Oceans, serving as co-chair of the *Oceans Caucus*. This trend also extends to inter-country groups with Brian Masse, the NDP Critic for the Canada-US border, serving as Vice-Chair of the *Canada-US Inter-parliamentary Group*. Moreover, a respondent indicated that in at least one case the NDP central leadership deliberately chose to put forward a critic for a senior leadership position after the party was approached for suggestions regarding APG members by an outside lobby group.

## 9 Explanations for growth

### 9.1 Rising policy complexity

As with groups at the US Congress (Hammond 1998), the creation of APGs in Canada is being fuelled in part by the growing complexity of policy questions faced by parliamentarians. Most notably, many of the subject APGs established have been created for issues that cut across policy areas, like palliative care, climate change, services for urban aboriginals, and poverty reduction. As discussed above, such issues can often fall between the jurisdiction of several parliamentary committees or even different levels of government, making it challenging for parliamentarians to mount a coherent response using the existing infrastructure. APGs therefore offer a way for interested parliamentarians to attempt to influence the policy process in a more holistic fashion that works around these divides.

In keeping with Ringe and Victor's (2013) findings on APGs in the United States and at the European Parliament, Canadian APGs also help to provide parliamentarians with the information that they need to engage with complex policy issues. A number of parliamentarians noted attending APG meetings to hear presentations without becoming overly involved. APGs also allowed parliamentarians to consult with a wider range of stakeholders and outside groups than would be possible through the traditional parliamentary structures.

### 9.2 Electoral incentives and constituent expectations

As well as growing policy complexity, MPs are also increasingly faced with a more educated and less deferential electorate which expects them to be visibly engaged on policy issues not only during election campaigns but between them as well (Nevitte 1996). As with politicians in the

United States (Hammond 1998; Singh 1996), the parliamentarians interviewed noted that joining an APG is a very low-cost way to signal to their constituents that they are engaged with an issue. Those interviewed indicated that joining inter-country APGs is especially useful for connecting with the rising number of immigrant voters, helping to fuel the growth those groups. In particular, MPs will often mention their engagement with different APGs in their public biographies. The parliamentary webpage also now indicates which of the officially supported inter-country groups each MP belongs to.

In addition to signalling, MPs also need to generate content that presents them as representing their communities and having an impact on the actions. Involvement in both types of APGs can provide an effective way for MPs to appear active on a given subject, and parliamentarians frequently mention APG activities in their constituency communications, such as newsletters and websites. For instance, NDP MP Paul Dewar used his website to highlight his efforts to drive the creation of an *All-Party Arts Caucus* (Dewar 2009). Likewise the webpage of Conservative MP Garry Breitkreuz contains an extensive section regarding his work as founder and Chair of the *All-Party Outdoors Caucus* dating back to 2006 (Breitkreuz 2015). Many MPs also have columns in their local papers that give them an opportunity to promote their work with APGs. A case in point is Conservative MP Barry Devolin, who used his regular column to announce the creation of the *Trent-Severn Caucus* (Devolin 2008).

However, while producing content for websites and newsletters is useful, direct media coverage can be even more valuable to MPs since it provides something not otherwise available.

Organizing or participating in APG events can attract such attention from the community press, such as the articles on Liberal MP Frank Valeriote's work on the report prepared by the *PCPCC* (Shuttleworth 2011), or Conservative MP Gord Brown's involvement in the *Canada-United States Inter-Parliamentary Group's* efforts to change American rules on shipping ballast (Zajac 2014). Some very small newspapers and online media outlets will even directly reprint the press releases regarding APGs issued by MPs' offices (e.g. Aspin 2013; Hemond 2013).

In keeping with the growing importance of signalling to immigrant communities, MPs' activities through APGs can also receive coverage through media outlets for different ethnic groups. An instance of this trend can be found in the coverage that Liberal MP Lui Temelkovski, Chair of

the *Canada-Philippines Parliamentary Friendship Group*, received when he unveiled the first Tagalog translation of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Filipino Journal 2007). The creation of the *Parliamentary Friends of the Falun Gong* was similarly reported in the Epoch Times, a news organization associated with the Falun Gong movement (Chan 2009). The report particularly emphasized the work of the Group's new chair, NDP MP Bill Siksay.

Involvement with APGs can also provide parliamentarians with a reason hold events with their constituents. A number of the parliamentarians involved with the *PCPCC* noted that they held “town hall” consultations on palliative care with the civil society groups in their communities. MP Chris Charlton, the NDP Co-Chair for the *Anti-Poverty Caucus*, similarly hosted a consultation in her riding on the state of poverty in Hamilton. In a more ambitious initiative, Conservative MP Jay Aspin used his role as *Aerospace Caucus* chair to hold a two day forum in his constituency on the challenges faced by the local aerospace industry in North Bay, Ontario (Hamilton-McCharles 2013).

Several MPs also noted that they set out to found an APG in response to concerns from their constituents. NDP MP Paul Dewar describes how he was inspired to found the *Arts Caucus* after meeting with representatives from a theatre company in his constituency (Dewar 2010). In the same way, the idea for the *Eating Disorders Caucus* developed after MP Mark Adler hosted an event at Parliament with an eating disorder charity based in his constituency (“MP Mark Adler to Form All Party Caucus on Eating Disorders” 2012). Through such initiatives, APGs offer a new way for MPs represent and relate to their constituents.

### 9.3 Policy influence and advocacy

In line with Hammond's findings from the US, a further reason for the growth of APGs in Canada is that they have proven to be useful tools for policy influence and advocacy. However, while Hammond focused only on the policy utility of APGs for politicians, this research has found that they are valued by lobbyists as well. Lobbyists have used Canadian APGs as a vehicle for pursuing their policy goals for over 30 years. In 1986 a lead story in the *Montreal Gazette* detailed how the government of South Korea had used the *Canada-Korea Parliamentary Association* in order to influence parliamentarians (Diebel 1985). It described how MPs were flown to Korea and treated “like visiting heads of state” with “choice dinner and entertainment”

in addition to being given “posh” luncheons in Ottawa. The connections made through the Association then helped Hyundai Canada to convince the Mulroney government not to impose tariffs on automotive imports from Korea. The changes were expected to save Hyundai roughly \$120 million in duties.

As discussed above, travel remains a primary activity for inter-country APGs. For funded inter-country groups, such as the *Canada-United States Inter-parliamentary Group*, the travel costs are provided by Parliament itself, largely precluding such attempts at influence. However, MPs may still accept sponsored travel to those countries with unfunded friendship associations. While there are dozens of parliamentarians who accept such travel, a focus on one, Conservative MP Patrick Brown, can help to show the extent of the relationships may form. Brown was elected Chair of the *Canada-India Parliamentary Association* in 2007. Since online reports were made available in 2009, he has declared over \$12,500 in sponsored travel for trips to India (Office of the Conflict of Interest and Ethics Commissioner 2014). These journeys have been paid for by Canada-India Foundation, Canadian Friends of Gujarat, the Government of Gujarat, and the Gujarat Business Association. Notably, the disclosed costs typically do not include food and transportation in the country, meaning the benefit received may be greater than stated.

It is not known to what extent Mr. Brown raised the issues discussed on these trips with his parliamentary colleagues. However, in a 2008 op-ed Mr. Brown urged the Canadian government to pursue an economic co-operation agreement with India, facilitate travel for Indian tourists, and increase partnerships between Indian and Canadian universities. More significantly, he also called for Canada to “move beyond our knee-jerk reaction to India as a nuclear power... towards signing a comprehensive nuclear co-operation agreement to help ensure clean energy can be delivered to 1/6 of the world's population” (Brown 2008). Whether or not as a result of Mr. Brown’s efforts, in 2009 Canada and India announced a joint study on the possibilities for a comprehensive economic agreement, with formal negotiations beginning the following year (Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development Canada 2014). In 2010, Canada and India also negotiated an agreement on nuclear cooperation (Curry 2010).

Mr. Brown also showed his dedication to India, and particularly to the state of Gujarat, in 2009 when he went “to meet and support” Narendra Modi, Gujarat’s Chief Minister, despite being

“instructed by Foreign Affairs not go” (Gujaratis for Patrick 2015). Mr. Modi, who is now Prime Minister of India, was facing legal action pertaining to allegations that he had failed to take sufficient action to stop anti-Muslim riots. Brown has since remained in close touch with Modi, and even “arranged for Canada to co-sponsor” trade conferences that Modi organized in 2011 and 2013 (Gujaratis for Patrick 2015). However, the relationship has not been solely one-sided. In addition to the travel mentioned above, in 2011 Modi gave Brown honorary citizenship in Gujarat. Most recently, a group of Gujarati Canadians calling themselves “Gujaratis for Patrick” has formed to help Brown with attempt to win the leadership race for the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party (Gujaratis for Patrick 2015). Observers note that such connections with the Indian diaspora community “could be a big advantage” for his campaign (Radwanski 2014).

Moreover, in addition to his work on India, Brown has also declared \$2,000 in travel support from the Dutch government for travel with the Canada-Netherlands Friendship Group, and \$2,400 from the Canada-Vietnam Association for a trip in his role as Chair of Canada-Vietnam Friendship Group. While Mr. Brown may be an extreme case, the fact he is just one of many MPs to accept sponsored travel – a total of 109 sponsored trips were taken by MPs in 2013 alone – suggests that lobbying via inter-country APGs remains alive and well, and is now being employed by a more diverse range of countries than in past (Smith 2014).

However, the idea of lobbying through APGs has not only spread amongst the Ottawa diplomatic and diaspora communities, but also among the domestic government relations industry. A perfect illustration of this trend is a 2005 guide book on lobbying the Canadian Parliament that includes a profile of the *Parliamentary Steel Caucus* and highlights how it was an effective tool for educating MPs on the challenges facing the steel industry and serving as a “bridgehead for dealing with the standing committees” (McInnes 2005, 23). The book also notes that the nonpartisan nature of the caucus was the key to its success. More recently, the trade publication *Lobby Monitor* published a profile on the benefits of APGs, noting that they are inexpensive and can help lobbyists to “leverage” their broader government relations messages (Mazereeuw 2012).

Several of the domestic lobbyists interviewed reported turning to APGs because they had difficulty gaining access to cabinet ministers. Their hope was to develop parliamentary “champions” who could take their messages forward to cabinet members and other officials. As

one lobbyist noted in a feature article on APGs in Canada, “An MP can go places you can’t” (Mazereeuw 2012). Moreover, caucuses can help external lobbyists to secure a place in formal parliamentary proceedings. For instance, in 2012 members of the *Juvenile Diabetes Caucus* arranged for young diabetes patients who were in Ottawa as part of a “lobby day” for the Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation to also appear at the House of Commons Standing Committee on Health (Burgess 2012).

In contrast to typical perceptions regarding the ability of majority governments to easily pursue their agendas, those interviewed argued that policy change was easier if all parties agreed. As one lobbyist put it:

Well, part of what changes public policy is when you have enough legislators whether it’s among all parties, or the governing party, that agree that the change is needed. Could you achieve your goals without it? Maybe, probably. Not always though. So it certainly doesn’t hurt to have a group of MPs who understand what you’re trying to do, and why you are trying to do it and by when you’re trying to get it done... In a minority government, you’ve got to convince at least two parties that’s good policy. In a majority government, it’s less critical to have opposition support, but it never hurts. The government would prefer to have opposition support for a number of things.

Similarly, a long-serving MP described working through an industry caucus to assure the government that the opposition parties would not object if a tax break for one portion of an industry was extended to all actors. Another senior government relations professional also stressed that the potential for changes in government meant that it was only good practice to maintain relationships with parliamentarians from all parties – a task that could be efficiently conducted with APGs.

For their part, parliamentarians noted that APGs allowed them to build policy coalitions outside of the traditional restrictions of party discipline. Several also said that they were increasingly using APGs for such policy activity given the growing levels of partisan conflict within the formal committee system. Importantly, this is not to say APGs are not politically neutral. Indeed, they are almost always aimed at changing government policy or discussing how it could be improved. However, the APG format enables parliamentarians to pursue these changes in a less partisan way. One MP described the arrangement this way:

So all party caucuses are always to the opposition parties' advantage because it gives us an opportunity to talk to the government in a way that we would not ordinarily be able to do. And it often gives external organizations a mechanism to get to the government in a way that they couldn't ordinarily do, in a less confrontational, less partisan approach. So the objective underlying this, whether people will acknowledge it or not, is to influence government policy. But that is always an unacknowledged objective, because they [government MPs] would not join these caucuses if it was explicitly stated objective.

As could be expected from this description, APGs tend to be frequented by parliamentarians on the government benches who find themselves offside of their party's official position on a policy issue. A case in point would be Conservative MP Michael Chong, who is Co-Chair of the *Climate Change Caucus*, and has made statements urging for greater government action on the subject (Maloney 2014).

#### **9.4 Backbench career fulfilment and personal enjoyment**

In addition to their practical capacity to influence policy and to help parliamentarians to connect with their constituents, the growth of APGs has also been fuelled by the fact that they help parliamentarians to obtain subjective feelings of importance and relevance. Parliamentarians are all too familiar with the public perception that they have little influence on policy outcomes. In this context, APGs can help to provide a sense of purpose that may otherwise be lacking.

Several parliamentarians noted that foreign countries are very generous to those involved with inter-country APGs. As one put it, "they appreciate us, they send this Christmas gifts, they take us on trips. It makes us feel important, instead of the piece of shit we usually feel up here." In addition to material benefits, just being involved with an association can be intrinsically rewarding to parliamentarians. A profile of the *Canada-Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Parliamentary Friendship Group* described the impact involvement had on two of the group's co-chairs:

[NDP MP Tyrone] Benskin recalled the memorable moment when he told his parents he had become the co-chair of the Canada-CARICOM Parliamentary Friendship Group... for the Jeanne-Le Ber, Que. MP it was significant.

"They know about all the other stuff...but I think this one was probably closer to the heart that their son is in there and speaking for their home country and raising the profile," said Mr. Benskin, whose parents are from Barbados...

[Conservative Senator Don] Meredith had similar thoughts running through his head. The two teamed up to give the group a push.

“I’m indeed proud of this accomplishment and proud of the fact that I’m able as an African-Canadian and as a Jamaican-Canadian to contribute to the development of the region in any way that I can” (Duggal 2013b).

Such intrinsic motivation can also occur in subject groups. When asked if APG members use the information they receive at group meetings to influence their own parties, one MP stressed that it was important to try whether such impact was visible or not:

I wouldn’t diminish anyone that attends these caucuses by saying that they just come and listen and don’t do anything with it [the information]... But the leadership in each of their parties, of course, would prevail and so they do it if they can. It’s the proverbial myth of Sisyphus. You know, we’ve got to keep pushing the rock up the hill, and when it rolls back down you just get it and push it back up again. You’ve got to keep the momentum going.

Some parliamentarians also indicated that they became involved with APGs in part to find a creative output after realizing that they were unlikely to be promoted to cabinet. One respondent was particularly blunt in his assessment of his chances for promotion: “A white male, aged [in his 60s] with cabinet aspirations? That’s a huge oxymoron right there. From an area that already has a cabinet minister, geographically?” In a different vein, a junior MP who had not received a meaningful committee assignment noted that he had become involved with APGs in the hopes of networking and making connections with politicians and stakeholders. Notably, both of these accounts are theoretically important given that existing research has found that a lack of policy influence is one of the factors that has led to a high rate of voluntary turnover among backbench Canadian MPs (Kerby and Blidook 2011). Involvement in APGs may therefore help to provide an alternative career structure that could prevent such voluntary exits.

Finally, the role played by the desire for personal enjoyment cannot be ruled out. Several of those interviewed for their involvement in subject APGs derisively described the foreign travel undertaken by parliamentarians in inter-country APGs as “junkets.” While not doubting that inter-country APGs can produce concrete results, it is nonetheless true that parliamentarians who take part in inter-country groups do benefit from international travel to interesting places in the world. While finding also noting the benefit of such travel, one parliamentarian was open about their approach: “You pick the country that you want to go to and you join that club. And you get

yourself on the executive, so you plan to the tours. And you negotiate with the ambassador, or the trade rep, or the counsel or whoever is the number two as to where you want to go.”

## 9.5 Demonstration effects and repertoires of action

The creation of APGs in Canada has long been driven by the example of successful APGs in other jurisdictions. Table 2 shows the four Canadian APGs that were found to have whose creation was found to have been inspired by a similar group in another jurisdiction. As mentioned above, the first industry group to form at the Canadian Parliament, the *All-Party Steel Caucus*, was explicitly modelled after the Congressional Steel Caucus and has maintained contact with that body over time. Similarly, the leaders of the Parliamentary Outdoors Caucus have exchanged correspondence with their counterparts in the Congressional Sportsmen’s Caucus. Such connections can even be maintained across the Atlantic, with the Canadian *APPPGPGOCAH* recently signing a the memorandum of understanding on cooperation with the UK’s *All-Party Parliamentary Group for the Prevention of Genocide* (The Aegis Trust 2014).

**Table 2 – List of Canadian APGs that were inspired by APGs**

<b>Canadian APG</b>	<b>International model</b>
All-Party Steel Caucus	Congressional Steel Caucus
Parliamentary Outdoors Caucus	Congressional Sportsmen’s Caucus
APPPGPGOCAH	UK APPG for the Prevention of Genocide
All-Party Oceans Caucus	Congressional Oceans Caucus

The APGs founded as Canadian chapters of international parliamentary networks, such as *CPCCA* and *Parliamentarians for Global Action*, can also be seen to have been driven by demonstration effects. Moreover, it should be noted that there are several other APGs at the Canadian Parliament that are very similar to groups in other countries. These include the *Arts Caucus*, the *International Conservation Caucus*, and the *Juvenile Diabetes Caucus*, all of which have counterpart organizations at the US Congress. However, no direct evidence confirming a link was found in during the research.

In addition to international connections, demonstration effects can also be at work domestically, with parliamentarians who are active in an existing caucus often going on to establish others on other policy fields that may be wholly unconnected. For example, Conservative MP Jay Aspin,

who was Vice-Chair of the *Aerospace Caucus*, went on to found the *Cleantech Caucus* to promote that industry as well. Another such APG entrepreneur is NDP MP Peter Stoffer, who in addition to driving the creation of the *Canada-Netherlands Parliamentary Group* also was the founding Chair for the *Shipbuilding* and *Golf* caucuses. Similar demonstration effects are also evident among diplomats and lobbyists as discussed in the section on policy influence above.

This adoption of APG creation as a modular strategy for pursuing action across a range of policy fields points to a substantial change in attitudes towards the use of such bodies at the Canadian Parliament. A quote can be helpful to illustrate this point. In 1995, Liberal MP Paul Zed appeared before the Subcommittee on Private Member's Business to explain why the bill that he had introduced on behalf of the *Sugar Caucus* should be eligible for debate. In response to questioning from Reform Party MP Randy White, Mr. Zed defended not only the bill, but the Caucus itself:

Let's not sugar coat it; he doesn't like the bill. To be candid, I'm not sure he appreciates or even likes the initiative of the sugar caucus itself, because it's *not necessarily within our tradition of Canadian parliamentary democracy to have caucuses that bridge party lines*. I think, Mr. Chairman, that's a fair statement. The only other example in this House is a steel caucus.

So we are attempting, in my view, to show, to the Canadian public at least, that there are a number of members of Parliament from different regions, from different provinces, representing different political parties, who regularly have focused on a very specific problem: the Canadian sugar industry (Zed 1995, emphasis added).

While they are still not as numerous as in the UK or US, the proliferation of APGs in Canada indicates that they are no longer viewed as an exception to Canada's parliamentary tradition. Instead, forming and participating in APGs is now part of the accepted repertoire of action for backbench members and lobbyists who wish to take action on a policy issue. Moreover, the founding of an APG has in many ways become an end in itself, with the very act of creation allowing both lobbyists and parliamentarians to demonstrate to their respective constituencies that they are taking action on a subject.

## 10 Conclusion

The rise of APGs in Canada cannot be attributed to a single factor. As with the Hammond's findings from the United States, Canadian APGs have grown because they help MPs to connect with their constituents and to achieve policy goals in an environment of growing policy complexity. However, this research also demonstrates APG growth has also been strongly shaped by pressure and funding from diplomats and lobbyists who see such groups as an effective way to advance their government relations objectives. It also reveals that the benefits that parliamentarians receive from participation are not limited the achievement of more tangible goals like electoral success, but also extend to subjective benefits such as feelings of importance and relevance. Moreover, parliamentarians and lobbyists have both been inspired to create APGs by the success of similar groups in other jurisdictions as well as the early groups that formed in Canada. As such, APG growth is now being fuelled not only by the possibility for goal achievement among parliamentarians and lobbyists, but also because APGs have joined private members' bills and members' statements as part of the standard set of tools with which to pursue an issue at Parliament. Therefore, more APGs are likely to form in future simply because doing so has become a way for politicians and lobbyists to demonstrate that an issue is being taken seriously at Parliament.

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### Appendix I: List of All-Party Inter-country Groups at the Canadian Parliament

Country/Region	Full Name	Type	Founded	Dissolved	Refounded
Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)	Canadian Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)	Association - Multilateral	1905		
Commonwealth	Canadian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA)	Association - Multilateral	1911		
NATO	Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association (NATO PA)	Association - Multilateral	1955		
United States	Canada-United States Inter-Parliamentary Group	Association - Bilateral	1959		
France	Canada-France Interparliamentary Association	Association - Bilateral	1965		
Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie	Canadian Branch of the Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie (APF)	Association - Multilateral	1967		
Europe	Canada-Europe Parliamentary Association	Association - Multilateral	1980		
Germany	Canada-Germany Interparliamentary Group	Inter-parliamentary group	1981		
Israel	Canada-Israel Interparliamentary Group	Inter-parliamentary group	1981		
Italy	Canada-Italy Interparliamentary Group	Inter-parliamentary group	1981		
Japan	Canada-Japan Inter-Parliamentary Group	Association - Bilateral	1981		
Korea	Canada-Korea Interparliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 1982		
Taiwan	Canada-Taiwan Friendship Group	Friendship group	1982		
Ireland	Canada-Ireland Interparliamentary Group	Inter-parliamentary group	1988		
China	Canada-China Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 1989	In 1998 replaced by Canada-China Legislative Association	
Tibet	Parliamentary Friends of Tibet	Friendship group	1990		
Armenia	Canada-Armenia Friendship Group	Friendship group	1991		
Baltic States	Canada-Baltic States Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 1991	2008	

<b>Country/Region</b>	<b>Full Name</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Founded</b>	<b>Dissolved</b>	<b>Refounded</b>
Cyprus	Canada-Cyprus Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 1992		
Croatia/Bosnia-Herzegovina	Canada-Croatia/Bosnia-Herzegovina Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 1994	2003	
Cuba	Canada-Cuba Interparliamentary Group	Friendship group	1994		
Ukraine	Canada-Ukraine Friendship Group	Friendship group	1994		
Chile	Canada-Chile Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 1996	2008	2013
Mexico	Canada-Mexico Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 1996		
Turkey	Canada-Turkey Friendship Group	Friendship group	1996		
Algeria	Canada-Algeria Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 1998		
China Legislative Association	Canada-China Legislative Association	Association - Bilateral	1998		
Lebanon	Canada-Lebanon Friendship Group	Friendship group	1998		
Russia	Canada-Russia Parliamentary Group	Friendship group	1998		
United Kingdom	Canada-United Kingdom Inter-Parliamentary Association	Association - Bilateral	1998		
Hong Kong	Canada-Hong Kong Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2000		
Hungary	Canada-Hungary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2000		
ParlAmericas	Canadian Section of ParlAmericas	Association - Multilateral	2001		
Palestine	Canada-Palestine Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2002		2007
Africa	Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association	Association - Multilateral	2003		
Argentina	Canada-Argentina Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003		
Australia-New Zealand	Canada-Australia-New Zealand Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003		
Belgium	Canada-Belgium Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003	2008	2012
Brazil	Canada-Brazil Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003	2011	
Greece	Canada-Greece Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003		
Malta	Canada-Malta Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003	2008	

<b>Country/Region</b>	<b>Full Name</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Founded</b>	<b>Dissolved</b>	<b>Refounded</b>
Mongolia	Canada-Mongolia Interparliamentary Group	Friendship group	2003		
Morocco	Canada-Morocco Parliamentary Group	Friendship group	At least 2003		
Pakistan	Canada-Pakistan Friendship Group	Friendship group	2003		
Poland	Canada-Poland Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003		
Portugal	Canada-Portugal Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003	2008	2013
Romania	Canada-Romania Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003	2008	2011
Slovenia	Canada-Slovenia Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003		
Sri Lanka	Canada-Sri Lanka Friendship Group	Friendship group	2003	2011	2013
Sweden	Canada-Sweden Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003	2008	
Syria	Canada-Syria Parliamentary Group	Friendship group	At least 2003	2008	
Tunisia	Canada-Tunisia Interparliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2003	2008	
India	Canada-India Parliamentary Association	Friendship group	At least 2005		
Afghanistan	Canada-Afghanistan Parliamentary Group	Friendship group	At least 2006	2011	
ASEAN	Canada-ASEAN Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2006	2008	
Azerbaijan	Canada-Azerbaijan Friendship Group	Friendship group	2006		
Burma	Parliamentary Friends of Burma	Friendship group	2006		
CARICOM	Canada-CARICOM Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2006		
Croatia	Canada-Croatia Friendship Group	Friendship group	At least 2006		
Libya	Canada-Libya Parliamentary Group	Friendship group	At least 2006		
Philippines	Canada-Philippines Interparliamentary Group	Friendship group	2006		
Vietnam	Canada-Vietnam Parliamentary Association	Friendship group	At least 2006		
Iraq	Canada-Iraq Friendship Group	Friendship group	2007		
Bangladesh	Canada-Bangladesh Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2008		

<b>Country/Region</b>	<b>Full Name</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Founded</b>	<b>Dissolved</b>	<b>Refounded</b>
Canada Arab World	Canada Arab World Parliamentary Association	Friendship group	2008		
Jordan	Canada-Jordan Friendship Group	Friendship group	2008		
Nordic	Canada-Nordic Parliamentary Group	Friendship group	2008	2011	
Falun Gong	Parliamentary Friends of Falun Gong	Subject	2009		
Indonesia	Canada-Indonesia Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2009		
Malaria	All-Party Parliamentary Caucus on Ending Malaria	Subject	2009		
Haiti	Canada-Haiti Parliamentary Group	Friendship group	2010	2011	
Kazakhstan	Canada-Kazakhstan Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2010		
Malaysia	Canada-Malaysia Friendship Group	Friendship group	2010		
Netherlands	Canada-Netherlands Friendship Group	Friendship group	2010		
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Canada-Bosnia and Herzegovina Friendship Group	Friendship group	2011		
Holy See	Canada-Holy See Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2011		
Scotland	Canada-Scotland Friendship Group	Friendship group	2011		
Thailand	Canada-Thailand Parliamentary Association	Friendship group	2011		
Brunei	Canada-Brunei Friendship Group	Friendship group	2012		
Dubai	Canada-Dubai Parliamentary Association	Friendship group	2012		
Moldova	Canada-Moldova Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2012		
Nordic-Baltic	Canada-Nordic-Baltic Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2012		
Uzbekistan	Canada-Uzbekistan Friendship Group	Friendship group	2012		
Georgia	Canada-Georgia Inter-parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2013		
Macedonia	Canada-Macedonia Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2013		
Peru	Canada-Peru Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2013		
Saudi Arabia	Canada-Saudi Arabia Parliamentary Friendship Group	Friendship group	2014		

## Appendix II: List of All-Party Subject Groups at the Canadian Parliament

Issue	Name	Founded	Status	Primary partner organizations
Soviet Jewry	Canadian Parliamentary Friendship Group for Soviet Jewry	Early 1980s	No activity since 1993 election	
Global peace and security	Canadian Parliamentarians for Global Action	Mid 1980s	Active	
Steel industry	All-Party Steel Caucus	Mid 1980s	Active	Canadian Steel Producers Association
Restaurant and food services industry	All-Party Canadian Restaurant & Food Services Caucus	1990s	No activity since 2011 election	Restaurants Canada
Syrian Jewry	Canadian Parliamentary Friendship Group for Syrian Jewry	1991	No activity since 1993 election	
Confectionary industry	Confectionary Caucus	1994	No activity since 2001 election	Confectionery Manufacturers Association of Canada
Sugar industry	All-Party National Sugar Caucus	1994	No activity since 2008 election	Canadian Sugar Institute
Sexual exploitation of children and youth	Committee against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Youth	1996	Active	
Reproductive health	Canadian Association of Parliamentarians for Population and Development	1997	Active	Action Canada for Sexual Health and Rights
Abortion	Parliamentary Pro-Life Caucus	1998	Active	Campaign Life Coalition
UNESCO	Friendship Group of Parliamentarians for UNESCO	1998	No activity since 2008 election	Canadian Commission for UNESCO
Nuclear disarmament	Parliamentarians for Nuclear Disarmament	2004	Active	Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention
Sport and physical activity	All-Party Sport and Physical Activity Caucus	2004	No activity since 2006 election	Sport Matters
Darfur conflict	Save Darfur Parliamentary Coalition	2005	No activity since 2008 election	
United States border	Parliamentary Border Caucus	2005	Active	
Genocide and other crimes against humanity	All-Party Parliamentary Group for the Prevention of Genocide	2006	Active	Aegis Trust; Montreal Institute for Genocide Studies (MIGS)

<b>Issue</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Founded</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Primary partner organizations</b>
	and other Crimes Against Humanity			
Juvenile diabetes	Juvenile Diabetes Caucus	2006	Active	Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation
Outdoor recreation	Parliamentary Outdoors caucus	2006	Active	Canadian Sportfishing Industry Association
Rail industry	All-Party Rail Caucus	2006	Active	Canadian Railways Association
Intellectual property reform and anti-counterfeiting	Parliamentary Caucus on Intellectual Property, Anti-Counterfeiting and Anti-Piracy	2007	No activity since 2008 election	
Interfaith understanding	All-Party Interfaith Parliamentary Friendship Group	2007	Active	
International conservation	All-Party International Conservation Caucus	2007	Active	International Conservation Forum
Tourism industry	All-Party Tourism Caucus	2007	Active	Tourism Industry Association of Canada
Shipbuilding industry	All-Party Shipbuilding Caucus	2008	Dissolved in 2010 with release of National Shipbuilding Strategy	
Trent-Severn Waterway	Trent Severn Caucus	2008	Active	
Aboriginal Friendship Centres	Friendship Centres All-Party Caucus	2009	Active	National Association of Friendship Centres
Aerospace industry	All-Party Aerospace Caucus	2009	Active	Aerospace Industries Association of Canada
Anti-Semitism	Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Anti-Semitism	2009	No activity since publishing report in 2011	Undisclosed external sponsors
Arts industry	All-Party Parliamentary Arts Caucus	2009	Active	
Dementia	All-Party Caucus on Dementia	2009	No activity since 2011 election	Alzheimer's Society of Canada
Falun Gong	Parliamentary Friends of Falun Gong	2009	Active	
Forestry industry	All-Party Forestry Caucus	2009	No activity since 2011 election	
Health research	Health Research Caucus	2009	Active	Research Canada

<b>Issue</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Founded</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Primary partner organizations</b>
Malaria	All-Party Parliamentary Caucus on Ending Malaria	2009	Active	Malaria No More Canada
BRIC Trade Development Caucus	BRIC Trade Development Caucus	2010	No activity since 2011 election	
HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis	HIV/AIDS & TB Parliamentary Caucus	2010	Active	Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network; Interagency Coalition on AIDS and Development; Canadian Treatment Action Council
Palliative care and suicide prevention	Parliamentary Committee on Palliative and Compassionate Care	2010	Active	Received financial assistance from Canadian Cancer Society
Climate change	All-Party Caucus on Climate Change	2011	Active	
Golf industry	Parliamentary Golf Caucus	2011	Active	National Allied Golf Associations
Women's issues	All-Party Women's Caucus	2011	Active	
Cleantech industry	Cleantech Caucus	2012	Active	
Oceans	All-Party Oceans Caucus	2012	Active	World Wildlife Fund
Poverty	All-Party Anti-Poverty Caucus	2012	Active	Dignity for all Campaign
Scouts	Parliamentary Friends of Scouts	2012	Active	Scouts Canada
Tamil community	Canada-Tamil Parliamentary Friendship Group	2012	Active	
Eating disorders	All-Party Eating Disorders Caucus	2013	Active	National Initiative for Eating Disorders
Small business	All-Party Entrepreneur Caucus	2013	Active	Canadian Federation of Independent Business
Cooperatives	All-Party Cooperative Caucus	2014	Active	Co-operatives and Mutuals Canada