

Carleton University
Clayton H. Riddell Graduate Program in Political Management

POLM5001 – Institutions and Governance I

Fall Term 2015, Thursdays, 9-12
2420R in the River Building
@UC_POLM5001

Instructor: Paul Thomas
Email: paul.thomas@carleton.ca

Office: RB 2436R (Thursdays); Loeb D681
Office hours: Thurs. 12:30–1:30 or by appointment

Course description

This is the first of two courses that examine the exercise of political power in Canada from a political management perspective. This course concentrates on Parliament and political parties; the sister course (POLM 5002) focuses on Cabinet and the bureaucracy. Both courses are designed to help students become strategic thinkers by gaining a thorough understanding of both the complexities of the Canadian political process and of current political trends.

Evaluation

Course participation	20%	Ongoing
Memoranda	80%	Best eight of nine memoranda submitted (10% each)

Course participation

This is a seminar class focused on class discussion. Attendance in class is necessary. Students will lose 10% of their participation grade for each class missed without an approved absence (see course policies below). Attendance on its own, however, is not sufficient. Students must participate actively in the class, keeping in mind that quantity does not trump quality. Comments should focus on the subject of the day's class and the assigned readings – which you are expected to read. Partisanship should be set aside in favour of analysis, and your contributions should be delivered in a fashion that fosters an open environment. Participation also requires attention and active listening. Emails and texts should only be checked at the break or after class.

Memoranda

The memoranda are concise, clearly written documents that analyze the readings from a given week and express your views on particular question. Students must produce all nine memoranda throughout the course as laid out in the weekly schedule, but the lowest grade will be dropped when calculating the final average so long as all nine are submitted.

Rather than an academic essay, the memoranda should be written in the style of a two-page political briefing note. However, this does not mean that the memoranda are descriptive: each should have a clear argument that can be easily determined within the first few lines. It should also be logically organized. Additional material beyond the course readings may be included if it helps to demonstrate your argument. However, the readings should be the primary focus.

Format

The memoranda should be written in full sentences and paragraphs (i.e. not point-form) in 12pt font with 1” margins, preferably in Times New Roman typeface. All acronyms should be spelled out the first time they are used.

Academic integrity

Students must abide by the University’s academic integrity policies laid out below. Any references to external sources, including the course readings, must be properly documented.

Submission

Unless alternate arrangements have been made as per the course policies below, x`. Students are strongly advised to keep rough drafts and notes from their assignments until the marked assignments have been returned.

Course policies**Respectful discussion**

Politics is a subject on which people often have very strongly held views. To ensure the class offers an open and inclusive environment, students are asked to remember the following principles when making contributions:

- Respect for the diversity of classmates;
- Respect for different opinions and perspectives.

Confidentiality

The class operates under the Chatham House Rule: “When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.” (<http://www.chathamhouse.org/about/chatham-house-rule#sthash.BPJ6xd6B.dpuf>)

Extensions and approved absences

Extensions on class assignments or approval for absence from a class will be granted only for exceptional, unforeseen circumstances that are beyond a student’s control. Please advise the Instructor at your earliest opportunity if you believe you will require an extension or will miss a class. Extensions or approved absences will not be granted after a due date or class has passed. Please note that suitable documentation, such as a medical certificate in the case of illness, will be required for both extensions and approved absences.

Late penalties

In politics, as in all professions, late work is not accepted by employers in the absence of extenuating circumstances. Late assignments will not be accepted unless you have made prior arrangements under the terms listed above. A failure to submit all course requirements will result in a failure of the course.

Academic Integrity and Offences

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

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

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course’s instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of "F" for the course. For further information please refer to the [Graduate Calendar](#) or to the Library’s [guidance](#) on how to avoid plagiarism.

Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

- *Pregnancy obligation*: please contact me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details see the Student Guide.
- *Religious obligation*: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details see the Student Guide.
- *Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities*: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

Texts

There are two primary course texts that are supplemented by book excerpts, journal articles, and newspaper/magazine articles.

- Docherty, David. 2005. *Legislatures*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Loat, Alison and Michael Macmillan. 2014. *Tragedy in the Commons*. Toronto: Random House.

Course Calendar

September 3: Introduction

Class objectives

- What are the major differences between Westminster and Congressional systems?
- What are the functions of Parliament?
- Is Parliament in decline?

Required readings

Graham K. Wilson. 2009. "Congress in Comparative Perspective." *Boston University Law Review* 89: 827–45. [Link](#)

Docherty. *Legislatures*. Chapter 1, pages 3-25.

Loat and Macmillan. *Tragedy in the Commons*. Introduction, pages 1-11.

Additional readings

Paul G. Thomas. 2010. "Parliament and Legislatures: Central to Canadian Democracy?" In *The Oxford Handbook of Canadian Politics*, eds. David E. Smith and John C. Courtney. New York: Oxford University Press. 153-171.

September 10: The constitution, responsible government, and the Crown

Class objectives

- How do legislatures form governments?
- What is the convention of responsible government?
- Does responsible government succeed in holding governments accountable?
- What problems does the system create?
- Is responsible government compatible with citizens' expectations of democracy?
- What are conventions? How are they created and enforced?

Memorandum

Using the material from the week's readings, evaluate whether Canada's system of responsible government is effective at holding the executive to account and ensuring that the composition of the government in power reflects the results of the democratic process.

Required readings

Peter Aucoin, Mark D. Jarvis, and Lori Turnbull. 2011. *Democratizing the Constitution: Reforming Responsible Government*. Toronto: Emond Montgomery Press. Pages 29-46; 75-110, 155-188.

Rainer Knopff and Dave Snow. 2013. "'Harper's New Rules' for Government Formation: Fact or Fiction?" *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 36(1): 18-27.

http://www.revparl.ca/36/1/36n1_13e_Knopff-Snow.pdf

Additional readings

Andrew Heard. 2007. "Just What Is a Vote of Confidence? The Curious Case of May 10, 2005." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 40(02): 395-416.

Peter H. Russell. 2011. "Discretion and the Reserve Powers of the Crown." *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 34(2): 19-25. http://www.revparl.ca/34/2/34n2_11e_Russell.pdf

September 17: The constitution, the judiciary, and Parliament

Guest: Professor Carissima Mathen, Faculty of Law, University of Ottawa

Class objectives

- How is the constitution a political document?
- Are judges political actors?
- What are the procedures for judicial review?
- What is the proper balance of power between Parliament and the courts?
- How are judicial appointments made in Canada?

Memorandum

Using the material from the week's readings, evaluate whether Canada's current constitutional arrangements give Parliament a sufficient role in determining the constitutionality of new legislation.

Required readings

Rainer Knopff and F. L. Morton. 2000. "Chapter One: Introduction." In *The Charter Revolution and the Court Party*. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press. Pages 13-32.

Gregory Hein. 2000. "Interest Group Litigation and Canadian Democracy." *IRPP Choices* 6(2): 1-30.

Christopher P. Manfredi. 2007. "Day the Dialogue Died: A Comment on *Sauve v. Canada*, The." *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 45: 106-123.

Bob Tarantino. 2014. "Court Politics." *Literary Review of Canada* 22(1).

<http://reviewcanada.ca/magazine/2014/01/court-politics/>

Sean Fine. 2015. "Stephen Harper's Courts: How the Judiciary Has Been Remade." *The Globe and Mail*. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/stephen-harpers-courts-how-the-judiciary-has-been-remade/article25661306/>

Additional readings

Ran Hirschl. 2008. "The Comparative Study of Rights and Judicial Review." In *The Comparative Turn in Canadian Political Science*, eds. Linda A. White, Richard Simeon, Robert Vipond, and Jennifer Wallner. Vancouver: UBC Press, 77–98.

Ran Hirschl. 2008. "The Judicialization of Politics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics*, eds. Keith E. Whittington, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Gregory A. Caldeira. New York: Oxford University Press, 119–41.

Emmett Macfarlane. 2013. "Dialogue or Compliance? Measuring Legislatures' Policy Responses to Court Rulings on Rights." *International Political Science Review* 34(1): 39–56.

September 24: Political Parties I – Outside of Parliament

Class objectives

- What functions do parties play in a democratic society?
- What is the practice of brokerage politics?
- How democratic are Canadian parties in their internal operations?
- Who should select party leaders?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the nomination process?

Memorandum

Using the material from the week's readings, evaluate whether Canada's political parties provide their members with meaningful opportunities for input on major internal decisions such as candidate nominations, policy development, and leader selection.

Required readings

William Cross and R. Kenneth Carty. 2010. "Political Parties and the Practice of Brokerage Politics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Canadian Politics*, eds. David E. Smith and John C. Courtney. New York: Oxford University Press, 191–207.

William Cross. 2006. "Candidate Nomination in Canada's Political Parties," in *The Canadian Federal Election of 2006*, edited by Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan. Toronto: Dundurn, 171-195 (e-book at Carleton library).

Loat and Macmillan. *Tragedy in the Commons*. Chapters 1 and 2, pages 13-56.

William Cross and André Blais, "Who Selects the Party Leader?" *Party Politics* 18, no. 2 (March 2012): 127-150

Additional readings

Scott Pruyers. 2014. "Reconsidering Vertical Integration: An Examination of National Political Parties and Their Counterparts in Ontario." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 237–58.

William Cross and Lisa Young. 2004. "The Contours of Political Party Membership in Canada." *Party Politics* 10(4): 427–44.

October 1: Parliament I – Legislative process and parliamentary procedure (*Field trip)

Guests: Marc Bosc, Acting Clerk of the House of Commons; The Honourable Peter Milliken, former Speaker of the House of Commons

Class objectives

- What are the steps in the legislative process for government bills?
- What opportunities exist for input from MPs or the public?
- How do omnibus bills, time allocation, and closure affect the legislative process?
- Are filibusters acceptable democratic tools for both government and opposition?
- Do committees play a meaningful role in the development of legislation and policy?

Memorandum

Using the material from the week's readings, evaluate whether the parliamentary process gives sufficient opportunity individual MPs, opposition parties, stakeholders, and individual citizens to express their views on proposed legislation.

Required readings

Docherty. *Legislatures*. Chapter 7, pages 139-174.

François Plante. 2013. "The Curtailment of Debate in the House of Commons." *Canadian Parliamentary Review*. 36(1): 28–36. http://www.revparl.ca/36/1/36n1_13e_Plante.pdf.

Ryan Maloney. 2015. "Tories have shut down debate 100 times in this Parliament." *Huffington Post*. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2015/06/10/time-allocation-tories-brent-rathgeber_n_7556762.html

Jack Stilborn. 2014. "The Investigative Study Role of Canada's House Committees: Expectations Met?" *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 1–18.

Joanna Smith and Les Whittington. 2012. "Marathon struggle not expected against budget bill." *The Toronto Star*. http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2012/06/11/federal_budget_2012_marathon_struggle_not_expected_against_budget_bill.html

Royce Koop and Davis Hirsch. 2013. "Goertzen's Filibuster Asserts the Power of Legislature." *Winnipeg Free Press*. <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/analysis/goertzens-filibuster-asserts-the-power-of-legislature-212875561.html>

Joan Bryden. 2007. "'Obstruction' handbook leaked." *The Toronto Star*.
http://www.thestar.com/news/2007/05/18/obstruction_handbook_leaked.html

October 8: Members of Parliament I – Representation and legislative careers

Guest: Derek Konrad, former MP

Class objectives

- What are the different conceptions of representation?
- Is the House of Commons representative of Canadians?
- Does the makeup of parliament shape the choices it makes?
- What factors shape promotion to cabinet?
- What factors shape departure from Parliament?

Required readings

Docherty. *Legislatures*. Chapters 2 and 3, pages 26-71.

Manon Tremblay. 1998. "Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 31(3): 435–65.

Matthew Kerby and Kelly Blidook. 2011. "Determinants of Voluntary Legislative Turnover in Canada." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36(4): 621–43.

Additional readings

Jerome H. Black. 2013. "Racial Diversity in the 2011 Federal Election: Visible Minority Candidates and MPs." *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 36(3): 21–26.

Paul Thomas, Peter John Loewen, and Michael K. MacKenzie. 2013. "Fair Isn't Always Equal: Constituency Population and the Quality of Representation in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 46(2): 273–93.

Matthew Kerby. 2009. "Worth the Wait: Determinants of Ministerial Appointment in Canada, 1935–2008." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42(3): 593–611.

October 15: Political Parties II – Inside Parliament

Class objectives

- What functions do parties play in parliament?
- What powers does the Prime Minister have over parliament?
- Is party discipline too strong?
- Are there any benefits to MPs from party discipline?
- Should MPs follow their party line? If not, how do they decide?
- Would a Prime Minister who experiences a rebellion be seen as weak?
- Should there be an exception to party discipline for "conscience issues"?

Memorandum

Using the material from the week's readings, evaluate whether party discipline at the Canadian Parliament hinders the representation of citizens' views, or helps to promote it.

Required readings

Aucoin, Jarvis, and Turnbull. *Democratizing the Constitution*, pages 12-19.

Loat and Macmillan. *Tragedy in the Commons*. Chapters 5 and 7-8, pages 115-134; 159-216.

David Docherty. 1997. "Chapter 6." In *Mr. Smith Goes to Ottawa : Life in the House of Commons*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Pgs 136-170.

Additional readings

Bill Curry and Stuart A. Thompson. 2013. "Conservative MPs Break Ranks More Often Than Opposition." *The Globe and Mail*.

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/conservative-mps-break-ranks-more-often-than-opposition/article8156279/>

Susan Delacourt. 2014. "Justin Trudeau's Edict for MPs on Abortion Another Example of His Worrisome Trend to Arbitrary Leadership." *The Toronto Star*.

http://www.thestar.com/news/insight/2014/05/23/justin_trudeau_with_abortion_stand_the_champion_of_freedom_and_choice_stumbles_again.html

Kelly Blidook and Matthew Byrne. 2013. "Constant Campaigning and Partisan Discourse in the House of Commons." In *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics*, eds. Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop. UBC Press, 46–66.

October 22: Parliament II – Scrutiny and accountability

Guest: Kevin Page, former Parliamentary Budget Officer; Jean Luc Pepin Research Chair, University of Ottawa

Class objectives

- What is the doctrine of ministerial accountability?
- How does the size of a legislature affect the potential for scrutiny?
- What tools of scrutiny and accountability are available to legislators?
- Do the Officers of Parliament empower MPs or compete with them?
- What is the estimates process and how is it different from the budget?
- Do MPs have the tools they need to track government spending?

Memorandum

Using the material from the week's readings, evaluate whether parliament has the capacity to meaningfully hold the government to account for its spending and policy decisions.

Required readings

Canada. Privy Council Office. 2011. "Part I: Ministerial Responsibility and Accountability." In *Accountable Government a Guide for Ministers and Ministers of State*. Ottawa: Privy Council Office. http://pm.gc.ca/grfx/docs/guidemin_e.pdf Pgs 1-3.

Docherty. *Legislatures*. Chapters 5 and 6, pages 94-139

David Good. 2007. "Chapter 9: Parliament and Public Money." In *The Politics of Public Money: Spenders, Guardians, Priority Setters, and Financial Watchdogs inside the Canadian Government*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pgs. 223-246.

Jack Stilborn. 2010. "Officers of Parliament: More Watchdogs, More Teeth, Better Governance?" In *How Ottawa Spends, 2010-2011 : Recession, Realignment, and the New Deficit Era*, eds. G. Bruce. Doern and Christopher. Stoney. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 243-60.

Scott Clark and Peter DeVries. 2014. "It's Time to Cancel Ottawa's Blank Cheque." *iPolitics.ca*. <http://www.ipolitics.ca/2014/04/22/its-time-to-cancel-ottawas-blank-cheque/>

Karen Howlett. 2012. "Ontario Liberals Face Being Found in Contempt of Parliament over Cancelled Power Plants." *The Globe and Mail*.

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/speaker-rules-ontario-liberals-in-contempt-for-not-releasing-all-gas-plant-documents/article4541963/>

Darcy Henton. 2014. "Provincial Budget Fails to Meet Accounting Standards: Auditor General." *Calgary Herald*. <http://www.calgaryherald.com/touch/story.html?id=9767390>

Additional readings

Paul Thomas and Graham White. 2015. "Evaluating Provincial and Territorial Legislatures." In *Provinces: Canadian provincial politics, Third Edition*, ed. Christopher J. C. Dunn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Alex Smith. 2010. *A Guide to the Estimates*. Ottawa: Library of Parliament.

<http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/LOP/ResearchPublications/prb0925-e.htm>

October 29: Reading week – no class

November 5: Members of Parliament II – Constituency work and backbench influence

Class objectives

- Should MPs have a job description?
- Is constituency work an important task for an MP?
- Is "free-lancing" by MPs a sign of initiative or weakness?
- Does private member's business allow MPs to shape legislative outcomes?
- Does caucus provide a meaningful tool for MPs to influence party decisions?
- Do MPs have the resources to perform their duties?

Memorandum

Using the material from the week's readings, evaluate whether individual MPs have the capacity to shape policy and legislative outcomes.

Required readings

Loat and Macmillan. *Tragedy in the Commons*. Chapters 4 and 6, pages 83-113, 135-158.

Docherty. *Legislatures*. "Chapter 4: Constituency Work" Pages. 72-93.

Jane Hilderman and Paul Thomas. 2013. "Climbing the Ladder of Dissent: Backbench Influence in the Canadian House of Commons." CPSA Annual Conference. Victoria, B.C. (June 10, 2014). Pgs 1-18. [Read online](#)

Kelly Blidook. 2010. "Exploring the Role of 'Legislators' in Canada: Do Members of Parliament Influence Policy?" *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 16(1): 32–56.

Additional readings

R. Paul Wilson. "Minister's Caucus Advisory Committees under the Harper Government: Minister's Caucus Advisory Committees." *Canadian Public Administration* 58(2): 227–48.

Christopher Garner and Natalia Letki. 2005. "Party Structure and Backbench Dissent in the Canadian and British Parliaments." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38(2): 463–82.

Peter John Loewen, Royce Koop, Jaime Settle, and James H. Fowler. 2014. "A Natural Experiment in Proposal Power and Electoral Success." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(1): 189–96.

November 12: Parliament III – The Senate (*Field trip)

Guest: Cathy Piccinin, Deputy Principal Clerk, Committees, Senate of Canada

Class objectives

- What roles is the Senate believed to play within the Canadian political system?
- How does the Senate contribute to the four functions of the Canadian Parliament?
- Does the Senate complement or compete with the House of Commons?
- What are the perceived strengths of the Senate?
- What are the primary concerns with the Senate?
- How can Senate reform occur?
- What proposals have been put forward for Senate Reform?
- How might Senate reform affect the operation of Parliament and Canadian politics?

Memorandum

Using the material from the week's readings, evaluate whether the Canadian Senate should be reformed or abolished.

Required readings

David C. Docherty. 2002. "The Canadian Senate: Chamber of Sober Reflection or Loony Cousin Best Not Talked About." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 8(3): 27–48.

Andrea Lawlor and Erin Crandall. 2013. "Committee Performance in the Senate of Canada: Some Sobering Analysis for the Chamber of 'sober Second Thought.'" *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 51(4): 549–68.

David Smith. 2009. "The Senate of Canada and the Conundrum of Reform." In *The democratic dilemma : reforming the Canadian Senate*, ed. Jennifer Smith. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 11–26.

John Uhr. 2009. "The Australian Model Senate." *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 32(1): 26–32.
http://www.revparl.ca/32/1/32n1_09e_Uhr.pdf

Peter O'Neil. 2013. "Senate, Including 16 Conservatives, Vote to Neuter Union Financial-Disclosure Bill." *Vancouver Sun*. June 25.

Tonda MacCharles. 2014. "Supreme Court rejects Harper government proposals for Senate reform." *The Toronto Star*. http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2014/04/25/supreme_court_rejects_harper_government_proposals_for_easy_senate_reform.html

Josh Wingrove. 2014. "Trudeau's Shakeup Sows Confusion in the Senate over Who Owns the Liberal Brand." *The Globe and Mail*. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/liberals-independents-and-the-independent-independents-whats-in-a-senators-name/article16602890/>

Additional readings

Meg Russell. 2010. "A Stronger Second Chamber? Assessing the Impact of House of Lords Reform in 1999 and the Lessons for Bicameralism." *Political Studies* 58(5): 866–85.

Paul G. Thomas. 2003. "Comparing the Lawmaking Roles of the Senate and the House of Commons." In *Protecting Canadian democracy : the Senate you never knew*, ed. Serge Joyal. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 189–228

November 19: Liberal Party and Conservative Party of Canada

Guests: Jeremy Broadhurst, National director, Liberal Party of Canada; Dustin Van Vugt, Executive Director, Conservative Party of Canada

Class objectives

- In what ways is the Conservative Party of Canada similar to the Reform and Alliance Parties? In what ways is it different?
- What factors contributed to the poor Liberal showing in the 2011 election?
- What factors contributed to the Conservatives' success?

Required readings

Tom Flanagan. 2013. "Something Blue: The Harper Conservatives as Garrison Party." In *Conservatism in Canada*, eds. James Farney and David Rayside. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 79–94.

Michael D. Behiels. 2010. "Stephen Harper's Rise to Power: Will His 'New' Conservative Party Become Canada's 'Natural Governing Party' of the Twenty-First Century?" *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40(1): 118–45.

Faron Ellis and Peter Woolstencroft. 2011. "The Conservative Campaign: Becoming the New Natural Governing Party?" In *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*, eds. Jon Pammett and Christopher Dornan. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 15–44.

Brooke Jeffrey. 2011. "The Disappearing Liberals: Caught in the Cross-Fire." In *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*, eds. Jon Pammett and Christopher Dornan. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 45–76.

November 26: New Democratic Party and Green Party

Guests: Anne McGrath, National director of the New Democratic Party; Emily McMillan, Executive Director, Green Party of Canada

Class objectives

- What changes have occurred in party financing in Canada in recent years?
- What strategies did the NDP and the Green parties employ to adapt to the new funding reality?
- What impact have these strategies had on party democracy and campaigning?
- What factors contributed to the demise of the BQ and its replacement by the NDP in Quebec?

Required readings

Lynda Erickson and David Laycock. 2015. "Building for a Breakthrough: The Layton Years, 2003-2011." In *Reviving Social Democracy: The near Death and Surprising Rise of the Federal NDP*, eds. David Laycock and Lynda Erickson. Vancouver, British Columbia: UBC Press, 39–62.

David Laycock and Lynda Erickson. 2015. "Modernizing the Party." In *Reviving Social Democracy: The near Death and Surprising Rise of the Federal NDP*, eds. David Laycock and Lynda Erickson. Vancouver, British Columbia: UBC Press, 84–107.

Harold J. Jansen and Lisa Lambert. 2013. "Too Little, Too Soon: State Funding and Electoral District Associations in the Green Party of Canada." In *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics*, eds. Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop. Vancouver: UBC Press, 211–30.

Susan Harada. 2011. 'Party of One: Elizabeth May's Campaign Breakthrough', in *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*, ed. by Jon Pammett and Christopher Dornan. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2011, 139–66.

Additional Readings

David McGrane. 2011. "Political Marketing and the NDP's Historic Breakthrough." In *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*, eds. Jon Pammett and Christopher Dornan. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 77–110.

December 3: Democratic Reform

Class objectives

- What ideas for reform have been proposed for Canada's democratic institutions (e.g. responsible government, parties, House of Commons, Senate)?
- How would these reforms affect backbench legislators and political parties?
- Is reform of institutions sufficient, or is a cultural change required?
- Will Canadians accept a political system that is less predictable?

Memorandum

Using the material from the week's readings, evaluate which proposed reform would make the largest improvement to Canadian democracy.

Required readings

Loat and Macmillan. *Tragedy in the Commons*. Chapter 8, pages 217-235.

Docherty. *Legislatures*. Chapter 8, pages 176-198

Lorne Sossin. 2012. "Democratizing the Constitution: Reforming Responsible Government By Peter Aucoin, Mark D. Jarvis and Lori Turnbull. Toronto: Emond Montgomery Publications, 2011. Pp. 250, Index." *Canadian Public Administration* 55(2): 315–18.

Michael Chong. 2014. *Reform Act 2014 - Backgrounder*.

http://static.squarespace.com/static/533b8bdee4b06e0edf7efbea/t/537cbac4e4b0bb0d036e2549/1400683204342/Backgrounder_FINAL.pdf

Kady O'Malley. 2014. "NDP Scores Surprise Win on E-Petitions Thanks to 8 Tory MPs." *CBC News: Inside Politics Blog*. <http://www.cbc.ca/1.2517292>

Jonathan Malloy. 2014. "OpEd: Real Parliamentary Reform Goes beyond Changing the Rules." *Ottawa Citizen*. <http://ottawacitizen.com/news/politics/the-limits-of-parliamentary-reform>