

**POL 491F/2103F: Topics in Canadian Politics:
*Realignment and Dealignment in Canadian Electoral Politics***

Long term and short term change in Canadian electoral politics will be examined from the perspective of theories of realignment/dealignment and social change. We will also consider the concept of “critical elections” and its applicability to Canada; the role of social and economic forces in explaining changes in the Canadian party system over time; and the importance of demographic and economic factors for understanding electoral politics in Canada. Following an examination of forces that shaped the outcome of previous Canadian elections (federal and provincial), we will consider the implications of the outcome of the 2015 federal election for the future of the Canadian party system.

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TEXTS:

Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson (eds.) *Voting Behaviour in Canada*.
University of British Columbia Press, 2010 [VBC]

Cees van der Eijk and Mark N. Franklin. *Elections and Voters*. London, Palgrave Macmillan,
2009

Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte, André Blais, Joanna Everitt and Patrick Fournier. *Dominance
and Decline: Making Sense of Recent Canadian Elections*. University of Toronto Press, 2012

Lawrence LeDuc, Jon H. Pammett, Judith I. McKenzie and André Turcotte. *Dynasties and
Interludes: Past and Present in Canadian Electoral Politics*. Toronto, Dundurn Press, 2010

There is a vast theoretical and empirical literature on elections and voting. The van der Eijk and Franklin text contains an extensive bibliography of the comparative literature (pp. 265-291). A more substantial listing of Canadian references may be found in the Gidengil et al book (pp. 203-220) and LeDuc et al (pp. 551-567). Among other books that may be particularly useful for this course are:

Russell Dalton. *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial
Democracies*, 6th edition

Geoffrey Evans and Pippa Norris (eds). *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-
term Perspective*

Peter Mair, Wolfgang C. Müller and Fritz Plasser (eds.). *Political Parties and Electoral Change*

Mark Franklin, Thomas Mackie and Henry Valen. *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*

Harold D. Clarke, Allan Kornberg and Thomas Scotto. *Making Political Choices: Canada and the United States*

Martin Wattenberg. *The Decline of American Political Parties*

Byron Shafer (ed.). *The End of Realignment?: Interpreting American Electoral Eras*

Bö Sarlvik and Ivor Crewe. *Decade of Dealignment*

R. Kenneth Carty (ed.). *Canadian Political Party Systems*

Neil Nevitte. *The Decline of Deference*

R. Kenneth Carty, William Cross and Lisa Young. *Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics*

Alain Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (eds.). *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 3rd edition

Hugh Thorburn and Alan Whitehorn (eds.). *Party Politics in Canada*, 8th edition

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

POL491F

Essays (2). The first essay (35%) will examine the context, campaign, outcome and long term significance of any Canadian federal or provincial election prior to 1997. Students should choose their topic for this essay as soon as possible so that preliminary work on their chosen case can be included in one of the class discussions. The essay should be approximately 10-12 pages in length and should connect with some of the theoretical issues discussed in the van der Eijk/Franklin and Cameron/Anderson books and other readings listed on the syllabus. The due date for the first essay is November 3rd. Students will be expected to make a class presentation based on their work for this essay in one of the October class sessions. The second essay (25%) will deal with the outcome and interpretation of the 2015 federal election and its implications for the future of Canadian politics. This paper should be approximately 8-10 pages in length, and should take the form of the election notes that appear regularly in *Electoral Studies*. The due date for the second essay is December 1st. Students will be expected to discuss their interpretation(s) of the 2015 election in the final class on December 8th.

Participation/seminar (20%). Each student will be expected to contribute to and participate in all class discussions, and to make two class presentations as described above.

Final oral exam (20%). An oral exam based on the required readings, class presentations, and written work will be scheduled at a mutually agreeable time during the second or third week of December.

POL2103F

Students in POL2103F may opt to follow the requirements for POL491F as outlined above or may choose to submit a single larger essay (50%) on a mutually agreeable topic dealing either with a specific historical period, a theoretical issue, data analysis, or the 2015 election outcome. Students who choose this option will submit a proposed topic and a short outline of the essay by October 6th and should also expect to make one presentation in the appropriate class. For students choosing this option, the other two components of the grade will each count an additional 5%. The larger essay, if chosen, should be approximately 25 pages in length (including footnotes, bibliography, etc.), and is due on December 1st.

COURSE SYLLABUS: * denotes required reading for all students;

September 15th. **Introduction and theoretical concepts**

September 22nd. **How political alignments form and change**

* *Elections and Voters*, ch. 1, 2, 7

* V. O. Key. "The Theory of Critical Elections." *Journal of Politics* 17 (1955), pp. 3-18

* Paul Allen Beck, "A Socialization Theory of Partisan Realignment" in Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg, *Classics in Voting Behavior* (Washington, CQ Press, 1993), pp. 331-345

Mark Franklin. "How the Decline of Class Voting Opened the Way to Radical Change in British Politics." *British Journal of Political Science* 14 (1984), pp. 483-508

Walter Dean Burnham. *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (NY, Norton, 1970)

James L. Sundquist. *Dynamics of the Party System: Alignment and Realignment of Political Parties in the United States* (Washington, Brookings, 1983)

David Butler and Donald Stokes. *Political Change in Britain* (London, Macmillan, 1969)

Geoffrey Evans and Pippa Norris (eds.). *Critical Elections: British Politics and Voters in Long-term Perspective* (London, Sage, 1999)

Russell Dalton. *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, 6th edition (Washington DC, CQ Press, 2013), ch. 7-9

September 29th. **The Canadian context**

* *Elections and Voters*, ch. 3

* *Dominance and Decline*, ch. 1, 2

* Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson. "The Puzzle of Elections and Voting in Canada" [VBC, ch. 1]

* R. K. Carty. "Three Canadian Party Systems" in R. K. Carty (ed.), *Canadian Political Party Systems* (Toronto, Broadview, 1993), pp. 563-586

Alan Cairns. "The Electoral System and the Party System in Canada, 1921-1965." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1 (1968), pp. 55-80

Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. *Political Choice in Canada* (Toronto, McGraw Hill Ryerson, 1980).

Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. *Absent Mandate: Canadian Electoral Politics in an Era of Restructuring* (Toronto, Gage, 1996)

R. Kenneth Carty, William Cross and Lisa Young. *Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2000)

October 6th **Origins of the Canadian party system**

* *Dynasties and Interludes*, ch. 1, 2

* Laura B. Stephenson, "The Catholic-Liberal Connection" [VBC, ch. 4]

* Donald E. Blake. "1896 and All That: Critical Elections in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 12 (1979), pp. 259-280

Gordon T. Stewart. "The Beginning of Politics in Canada" in Alain Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (eds.). *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 3rd edition, pp. 17-32

Steve Patten. "The Evolution of the Canadian Party System" in Alain Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (eds.). *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 3rd edition, pp. 55-81

Louis Hartz. *The Founding of New Societies* (NY, Harcourt Brace, 1964), ch. 1, 7

Peter B. Waite. *Canada: 1874-1896* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1971)

John English. *The Decline of Politics: the Conservatives and the Party System, 1901-1920* (University of Toronto Press, 1977)

October 13th. **Brokerage politics and third parties**

* *Dynasties and Interludes*, ch. 3, 5

* *Dominance and Decline*, ch. 9, 10

* Eric Belanger and Richard Nadeau. "Third Party Support in Canadian Elections" [VBC, ch. 7]

Janine Brodie and Jane Jenson. "Piercing the Smokescreen: Stability and Change in Brokerage Politics" in Alain Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (eds.). *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 3rd edition, pp. 33-53

Eric Belanger. "Third Party Success in Canada" in Alain Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (eds.). *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 3rd edition, pp. 83-109

C. B. Macpherson. *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System* (University of Toronto Press, 1953)

W. L. Morton. *The Progressive Party of Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1950)

Walter D. Young. *Democracy and Discontent*, 2nd edition (Toronto, McGraw Hill Ryerson, 1978)

October 20th. **Election retrospective**

October 27th. **Leaders and political change**

* *Dominance and Decline*, ch. 7

* *Dynasties and Interludes*, ch. 4, 6-9

* Amanda Bittner. "Personality Matters: the Evaluation of Party Leaders in Canadian Elections" [VBC, ch. 8]

Peter C. Newman. *Renegade in Power* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1963)

Stephen Clarkson and Christina McCall. *Trudeau and Our Times* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1990, 1994)

Richard Johnston, André Blais, Henry Brady and Jean Crête. *Letting the People Decide* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's Press, 1992)

Michael Bliss. *Right Honourable Men* (Toronto, Harper Collins, 1995)

Maureen Mancuso (ed.). *Leaders and Leadership in Canada* (Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1994)

November 3rd. **Issues and voter choice** [First essay due]

* *Elections and Voters*, ch. 6

* *Dominance and Decline*, ch. 6

* *Dynasties and Interludes*, ch. 10, 11

Russell Dalton. *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, 6th edition (Washington DC, CQ Press, 2013), ch. 6, 10

Harold D. Clarke, Allan Kornberg and Thomas Scotto. *Making Political Choices: Canada and the United States*, ch. 1, 3

Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. *Absent Mandate: Canadian Electoral Politics in an Era of Restructuring*, ch. 2, 5, 6

Neil Nevitte, André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil and Richard Nadeau. *Unsteady State: The 1997 Canadian Federal Election* (Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1999)

November 10th. **Fall break, no class**

November 17th. **Parties and partisanship**

* *Elections and Voters*, ch. 4

* *Dominance and Decline*, ch. 4

* Eric Belanger and Laura B. Stephenson. "Parties and Partisans: The Influence of Ideology and Brokerage on the Durability of Partisanship in Canada" [VBC, ch. 5]

* Antoine Bilodeau and Mebs Kanji. "The New Immigrant Voter, 1965-2004: The Emergence of a New Liberal Partisan?" [VBC, ch. 3]

Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. *Absent Mandate: Canadian Electoral Politics in an Era of Restructuring*, ch. 3

R. Kenneth Carty, William Cross and Lisa Young. *Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2000)

Steven B. Wolinetz. "Cycles and Brokerage: Canadian Parties as Mobilizers of Interest" in Alain Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (eds.). *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 3rd edition, pp. 179-196

André Blais. "Accounting for the Electoral Success of the Liberal Party in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38 (2005), pp. 821-840

November 24th. **Ideology, values and social cleavages**

* *Dominance and Decline*, ch. 3, 11

* *Dynasties and Interludes*, ch. 12, 13

William Christian and Colin Campbell. *Political Parties and Ideologies in Canada*, 3rd edition (Toronto, McGraw Hill Ryerson, 1990)

Ronald D. Lambert, James Curtis, Steven Brown and Barry Kay. "In Search of Left-Right Beliefs in the Canadian Electorate." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 19 (1986), pp. 542-563

Neil Nevitte and Christopher Cochrane. "Value Change and the Dynamics of the Canadian Party Landscape" in Alain Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (eds.). *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 3rd edition, pp. 255-275

Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson. *The Big Shift* (Toronto, Harper Collins, 2013)

December 1st. **It's the economy! [Second essay due]**

* *Dominance and Decline*, ch. 5

* Cameron D. Anderson. "Economic Voting in Canada: Assessing the Effects of Subjective Perceptions and Electoral Context" [VBC, ch.6]

J. R. Happy. "Economic Performance and Retrospective Voting in Canadian Federal Elections." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 22 (1989), pp. 377-387

Michael Lewis-Beck and Mary Steigmeier. "Economic Determinants of Electoral Outcomes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000), pp. 183-219

Christopher J. Anderson "Economic Voting and Political Context: a Comparative Perspective," *Electoral Studies* 19 (2000), pp. 151-170

Richard Nadeau and André Blais. "Explaining Election Outcomes in Canada: Economy and Politics." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 26 (1993), pp. 773-790

December 8th. **The Harper Dynasty (and after): Was 2015 (or 2011) a "critical election"?**

* *Dynasties and Interludes*, ch. 14

* *Dominance and Decline*, ch. 8

* *Elections and Voters*, ch. 5