

POL 356Y

Canadian Political Parties

Instructor: Prof. Nelson Wiseman
Office: 3079 Sidney Smith Hall
Telephone: (416) 978-3336

Office Hours:
Thursday 11-12
or by appointment: (call 416. 978-3336
any day from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m.)

TA: Evan Rosevear
TA Contact: evan.rosevear@utoronto.ca

Requirements and Evaluation:

First Term Essay	20%	Due: Oct. 31	Note: 2% per day penalty for late papers.
First Term Test	20%	Dec. 5	
Second Term Essay	25%	Feb. 27	
Participation	10%		
Second Term Test	25%	Apr. 3	

Text Books:

1. Alain-G. Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay, eds., *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 4th ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017). [Hereafter referred to as G+T]
2. Nelson Wiseman, *In Search of Canadian Political Culture* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007). (E-book) [Hereafter referred to as Wiseman 2007]

Also Recommended: (All on Course Reserves at Robarts Library, 4th Floor)

1. Hugh G. Thorburn and Alan Whitehorn, eds., *Party Politics in Canada* 8th ed. (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2001). [Hereafter referred to as T+W]
2. Alain-G. Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay, eds., *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 3rd ed. (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2007). [Hereafter referred to as G+T 2007] (E-book)
3. Jared J. Wesley, ed., *Big Worlds: Politics and Elections in Canada's Provinces and Territories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016) (E-book)
4. Heather MacIvor, ed., *Election*, (Toronto: Emond Montgomery, 2009).
5. William Cross, *Political Parties* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).
6. R. Kenneth Carty, William Cross, and Lisa Young, *Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000).
7. William Cross, ed., *Political Parties, Representation, and Electoral Democracy in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002).
8. R. K. Carty, ed., *Canadian Political Party Systems: A Reader* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1992)

This link should take you to the readings:

<https://cr.library.utoronto.ca/studenthome/id/181139>

If the link fails, access the readings from the portal page by clicking 'Launch Course Reserves'.

Plagiarism:

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence, and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto's policy on Plagiarism at <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>. Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Accessibility Needs:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations or have any accessibility concerns, please visit <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility> as soon as possible.

ESSAYS

You are to complete two essays for this course, one in first term, and one in second term. The goal of each essay is to provide a clear, concise argument backed by rational consideration of the evidence. Essay topics will be distributed separately in the first and second term.

Your argument should be summarized in a sentence or two – the thesis statement. The thesis statement should appear in the first paragraph of your essay. It should be explicit. The reader should be very clear on what you are arguing.

You can assume an educated reader. Do not spend more than a few paragraphs providing background information. Focus on providing information that advances your argument.

While the balance of the paper will defend your argument, you should also acknowledge counterarguments and seek to demonstrate that your argument is superior.

The essay should be approximately 2,500 words (excluding the bibliography), 12 pt Times New Roman font with standard margins. Include a title page and include your name, date, and course number.

Formatting bibliographies, references

In completing the written assignments, cite all facts and figures that are not common knowledge. Cite all ideas borrowed from other authors.

Use a recognized standard format correctly in bibliographies, references, and footnotes. *Failure to do so will result in substantial penalty in calculating your assignment grade.*

Cornell University provides useful online guides to the APA and MLA citation styles:

http://campusgw.library.cornell.edu/newhelp/res_strategy/citing/apa.html
http://campusgw.library.cornell.edu/newhelp/res_strategy/citing/mla.html

Late assignments

Late penalties for written assignments: **2 percent per day, including the weekends.** Late papers are to be submitted to the Department of Political Science reception, Room 3018, 3rd floor

Sidney Smith Hall (100 St. George Street). During the week, there is an after hours mail slot in the Department but this is not available on the weekends.

First Term: The Parties and their Evolution

Sept. 12: Introduction to the Course: Books, Requirements, Evaluation, Themes.

1. G+T, Chap. 5
2. Meisel and Mendelsohn, Chap. 13, in T+W.

Sept. 19: Origins of Canada's Parties

1. Wiseman, "Nineteenth Century Parties" + "Nineteenth Century Table" (Scan);
2. Stewart in G+T 2007, Chap. 1.
3. Gordon T. Stewart, "[Political Patronage under Macdonald and Laurier, 1878-1911](#)," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 10.1:13-26 (1980).
4. Reid "The Rise of National Parties in Canada," in T+W, Chap 2. (Scan).
5. Wiseman, "Empire and Continent" (Scan).

Sept. 26: Third Parties

1. Wiseman, "Third Parties" (Scan).
2. Belanger, Chap. 10 in G+T.
3. Seymour Martin Lipset "Democracy in Alberta," *Canadian Forum* (December 1954), pp. 175-7 (Scan).
4. Mary Hallett, "The Social Credit Party and the New Democracy Movement," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 47, no. 4 (1966).
5. W. L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950).

Oct 3&10: Classifying Party Systems

1. Patten, Chap. 1 in G+T.
2. R. K. Carty, Chap. 3 in T+W (Scan).
3. Rick Ogmundson, "[On the Measurement of Party Class Position: The Case of Federal Political Parties](#)," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 12.4: 565-76 (1975).
4. R. K. Carty, William Cross, and Lisa Williams, pp. 33-35 in T+W.
5. Rand Dyck, "Political Parties," in *Provincial Politics in Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1996). pp. 7-11. (Scan)

Oct. 17: Ideology and Parties

1. Wiseman, Chap. 6 in G+T.
2. Gad Horowitz, "[Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation](#)," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 32.2: 143-71 (1966).

3. Wiseman 2007, pp. 14-17, 21-24.
4. Colin Campbell and William Christian, *Parties, Leaders, and Ideologies in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1996).
5. Katherine Fierlbeck, *The Development of Political Thought in Canada* (Peterborough: Broadview, 2005).

Oct. 24: The Conservative Party

1. Woolstencroft, Chap. 8 in G+T.
2. Wiseman “A Dead End: Conservatism and the Conservative Party,” and Faron Ellis, “Twenty-First Century Conservatives Can Continue to Succeed,” in Mark Charlton and Paul Barker, eds., *Crosscurrents: Editors’ Choice*, 6th ed. (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2015), pp. 1-38. (Scan).
3. Steve Patten, “The Triumph of Neo-Liberalism within Partisan Conservatism in Canada,” in James Farney and David Rayside, eds., *Conservatism in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 59-76. (Scan).
4. Robert L. Stanfield, “Conservative Principles and Philosophy,” in Paul W. Fox and Graham White, eds., *Politics: Canada*, 7th ed. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1991), pp. 297-301. (Scan)
5. W. L. Morton, “Canadian Conservatism Now,” in Paul W. Fox, ed., *Politics: Canada*, 3rd. ed. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1970), pp. 233-236 (Scan)

Oct. 31 The Liberal Party

1. Jeffrey, Chap. 7 in G+T.
2. Brooke Jeffrey, *Divided Loyalties: The Liberal Party of Canada 1984-2008* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
3. R. Kenneth Carty, *Big Tent Politics: The Liberal Party's Long Mastery of Canada's Public Life* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015).
4. Wiseman 2007, pp.80-82.
5. L. B. Pearson, “Introduction,” in J. W. Pickersgill, *The Liberal Party* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962), pp. vii-xiii. (Scan).

Nov. 14: The NDP

1. McGrane, Chap. 9 in G+T.
2. Nelson Wiseman and Benjamin Isitt, “[Social Democracy in Twentieth Century Canada: An Interpretive Framework](#),” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 40. 3: 567-89 (2007).
3. “The Regina Manifesto,” <http://www.socialisthistory.ca/Docs/CCF/ReginaManifesto.htm>
4. David Lewis, “A Socialist Takes Stock,” in Paul W. Fox, ed., *Politics: Canada* 3rd. ed. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1970), pp. 238-241(Scan).
5. “The NDP ‘Waffle Manifesto’: For an Independent Socialist Canada,” and “The Deputy Leader Replies,” in Paul W. Fox, ed., *Politics: Canada* 3rd. ed. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1970), pp. 242-247. (Scan).

Nov. 21: Media and Parties

1. Hackett, Chap. 27 in T+W.

2. Rutherford, "The Politician's Dominion: Party Media Relationships in Early Canada," in Carty, ed., *Canadian Political Party Systems: A Reader*
3. Soderlund et. al., "From a Single Medium to a Multimedia Society," in Carty, ed., *Canadian Political Party Systems: A Reader*.
4. Jeremy Wilson, "Media coverage of Canadian Election Campaigns: Horse-Race Journalism and the Meta-Campaign," *Journal of Canadian Studies* (1981), vol. 15, pp. 56-68.
5. Christopher Waddell, "The Campaign in the Media 2008," in Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan, *The Canadian Federal Election of 2008* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2009).

Nov. 28: Digital Party Politics, Marketing Parties, and Participation

1. Everitt, Chap. 14, G+T.
2. Small, Chap. 18, G+T.
3. Milner, Chap. 19, G+T.
4. Marland and Giasson, Chap. 16, G+T.
5. Susan Delacourt, *Shopping for Votes: How Politicians Choose Us and We Choose Them* (Madeira Park, B.C.: Douglas & McIntyre, 2016).

Dec. 5: Test (Location TBA)

Second Term: Issues and Provincial/Regional Parties

Jan. 9,16,&23: The Electoral System, Polling, Voting, and Direct Democracy

1. Pilon, Chap. 11, G+T.
2. Claude Emery, Library of Parliament, "Public Opinion Polling in Canada," <http://www.loppar.gc.ca/content/loppar/researchpublications/bp371-e.htm>
3. Wiseman 2007, Chap. 2.
4. Courtney in G+T 2007, Chap. 13.
5. Andrea Perrella, "Overview of Voting Behaviour Theories," in Heather MacIvor, ed., *Election* (Toronto: Emond Montgomery, 2009), pp. 221-249 (Scan)
6. Alan C. Cairns, "[The Electoral System and the Party System in Canada, 1921-1965](#)," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 1.1 (1968), pp. 55-80.
7. Nelson Wiseman, "Cairns Revisited – the Electoral and Party System in Canada," in Paul W. Fox and Graham White, eds., *Politics: Canada 7th ed.* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1991), pp. 265-274. (Scan)
8. Barry J. Kay, "Of Bandwagons and Silent Spirals: Is There Hard Evidence that Polls Contaminate the Canadian Electoral Process?" (PDF online)
9. Elections Canada, Report on the 42nd general election of October 19, 2015. http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=rep/off/sta_2015&document=index&lang=e
10. Tanguay, Chap. 15, G+T.

Jan. 30: Party Leaders and Members

1. Keith Archer and Alan Whitehorn, "[Opinion Structure among New Democratic Activists: A Comparison with Liberals and Conservatives](#)," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 23.1 (March 1990).
2. Steve Patten, Democracy and the Candidate Selection Process in Canadian Elections," Chap. 7 in MacIvor, ed., *Election* (Toronto: Emond Montgomery, 2009).
3. Keith Archer and Faron Ellis, "[Opinion Structure of Party Activists: The Reform Party of Canada](#)," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 27.2 (June 1994).
4. R. Kenneth Carty, William Cross, and Lisa Young, *Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), pp. 121-129.
5. Noel, Chap. 9 in Alain-G. Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay, eds., [Canadian Parties in Transition](#), 3rd ed. (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2007). (E-book).

Feb. 6: Money and Parties

1. Young, Chap. 2, G+T.
2. Paltiel, "Party Finance Before World War I," in Carty, ed., pp. 122-127.
2. Harrill, "Party Finance in the Second Party System," in Carty, ed., pp. 252-264.
3. C. G. Power, "The Problem of Election Spending," in Carty, ed., pp. 265-260.
4. Lisa Young and Harold J. Jansen, eds., *Money, Politics, and Democracy: Canada's Party Finance Reforms* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).
5. Sebastian Spano, *Political Financing* (Ottawa: Parliamentary Information and Research Service, 2008).
<http://search.library.utoronto.ca/details?9362019&uuid=7af970c9-4954-43bf-9100-a277b56ebea2>

Feb. 13: Regionalism and Parties

1. Wiseman 2007, Chap. 5.
2. Bickerton, Chap. 3, G+T.
3. "Introduction," and "Conclusion," in Wesley, ed., *Big Worlds*
4. David J. Elkins and Richard Simeon, *Small Worlds: Provinces and Parties in Canadian Political Life* (Toronto: Methuen, 1980).
5. Stewart, Sayers, and Carty, "Partisan Competition in the Canadian Provinces," in Christopher Dunn, ed., *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016) 3rd. ed.
<http://books1.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/viewdoc.html?id=/ebooks/ebooks3/utpress/2015-12-22/1/9781442634022>

Feb. 27: Atlantic Canadian Party Politics

1. Adamson and Stewart in T+W 2007, Chap. 22.
2. Wiseman 2007, Chap. 6.
3. Ian Stewart, "Liberals and Conservatives in Nova Scotia: Not a Case of Tweedledum and Tweedledee," in Ian Stewart, [Roasting Chestnuts: The Mythology of Maritime Political Culture](#) (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994), pp. 73-88. (E-Book)
4. Flanagan and Marland, Chap 1 in Wesley, ed., *Big Worlds*.
5. Levesque, Chap. 4 in Wesley, ed., *Big Worlds*.

Mar. 6: Quebec Party Politics

1. Wiseman 2007, Chap. 7
2. Tannahill and Kanji, Chap. 5 in Wesley, ed., *Big Worlds*.
3. Denis Monière, *Ideologies in Quebec* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981)
4. Gagnon and Boucher, Chap. 13, G+T.
5. A. Brian Tanguay, "Sclerosis or A Clean Bill of Health? Diagnosing Québec's Party System in the Twenty-First Century," in Alain-G. Gagnon, ed., *Québec: State and Society* 3rd. ed. (Peterborough: Broadview, 2004), pp. 221-243. (Scan)

Mar. 13: Ontario Party Politics

1. Wiseman 2007, Chap. 8
2. Anderson, Chap. 6 in Wesley, ed., *Big Worlds*
3. Sid Noel, "The Ontario Political Culture: An Interpretation," in Graham White, ed., *The Government and Politics of Ontario*, 5th ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press)
http://books1.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/viewdoc.html?id=/ebooks/ebooks0/gibson_crkn/2009-12-01/6/417734
4. Robert Bothwell, *A Short History of Ontario* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1986).
5. Norman Penner, "Ontario: The Dominant Province", in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: Party Systems in the Ten Provinces* 2nd ed. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978).

Mar. 20: Party Politics in the Midwest

1. Wiseman 2007, Chap. 9
2. Nelson Wiseman, "Is the NDP Manitoba's Natural Governing Party?" *Prairie Forum* 39.1: 1-26. (2016)
<http://journals.uregina.ca/prairieforum/article/view/237/892>
3. Nelson Wiseman, "The Socialist Imprint on Saskatchewan Politics" (Scan)
4. Wesley, Chap. 7 in Wesley, ed., *Big Worlds*.
5. Nelson Wiseman, "Reading Prairie Politics: Morton, Lipset, Macpherson," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* v.51 (2015): pp. 7-25. (Scan)

Mar. 27: Party Politics in the Far West

1. Nelson Wiseman, "[The American Imprint on Alberta Politics](#)," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 31.1 (Winter 2011), pp. 39-53
2. Wiseman 2007, Chap. 10.
3. Nelson Wiseman, "Introduction" to C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. vii-xxv.
4. Gordon S. Galbraith, "British Columbia," in David Bellamy, J. H. Pammett, and D. C. Rowat, eds., *The Provincial Political Systems* (Toronto: Methuen, 1976), pp. 62-75 (Scan)

5. Donald E. Blake, “The Politics of Polarization: Parties and Elections in British Columbia,” in R. K. Carty, ed., [*Politics, Policy, and Government in British Columbia*](#) (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996), pp. 67-84. (E-Book)

Apr. 3: **Test** (Location TBA)