

POL 490F/2102F: Topics in Canadian Politics
Change and Continuity in Canadian Electoral Politics

Long term trends in Canadian electoral politics will be examined from the perspective of the core theoretical concepts in the study of voting behaviour and elections. Utilizing data from the Canadian election studies and other surveys, we will assess the effects of social and economic forces in establishing continuities in Canadian electoral politics. We will also consider the ability of shorter term factors such as election campaigns, social media, economic performance, or new issues and problems to disrupt or alter these. Following an analysis of elements that have shaped the contours of Canadian federal elections in recent years, particularly those of 2011 and 2015, we will consider the implications of the 2019 federal election campaign and election outcome for future electoral alignments in Canada.

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TEXTS:

Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. *Absent Mandate: Strategies and Choices in Canadian Elections*. University of Toronto Press, 2019
[Available in print from the UT bookstore or as an ebook from University of Toronto Press]

Alex Marland and Thierry Giasson (eds.) *Canadian Election Analysis: Communication, Strategy and Democracy*. UBC Press, 2015 [Available as a .pdf file on Quercus]

OTHER SOURCES:

There is a vast theoretical and empirical literature on elections and voting. The following books will be available on reserve at the Robarts Library. Several of the books listed below contain an extensive bibliography of the comparative literature. See especially *Elections and Voters* (pp. 265-291), *Comparing Democracies 4* (pp. 205-235), or *Citizen Politics* (pp.305-326). A more substantial listing of Canadian references may be found in *Absent Mandate* (pp. 185-197), *Dominance and Decline* (pp. 203-220) or *The Canadian Election Studies* (pp. 222-258).

Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson (eds.) *Voting Behaviour in Canada*. UBC Press, 2010

Russell Dalton. *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, 7th edition. Washington, CQ Press, 2019

Susan Delacourt. *Shopping for Votes: How Politicians Choose Us and We Choose Them*. Vancouver, Douglas & MacIntyre, 2013

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

Alain-G. Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (eds.) *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 4th edition. University of Toronto Press, 2017

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

Mebis Kanji, Antoine Bilodeau and Thomas J. Scotto (eds.) *The Canadian Election Studies: Assessing Four Decades of Influence*. UBC Press, 2012

Peter John Loewen and Daniel Rubenson (eds.) *Duty and Choice: The Evolution of the Study of Voting and Voters*. University of Toronto Press, 2019

Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris (eds.) *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*. London, Sage, 2014

Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett, *Dynasties and Interludes: Past and Present in Canadian Electoral Politics*, 2nd edition. Toronto, Dundurn Press, 2016

Heather MacIvor (ed.) *Election*. Toronto, Emond Montgomery, 2010

Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan (eds.) *The Canadian Federal Election of 2015*. Toronto, Dundurn Press, 2016

Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan (eds.) *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*. Toronto, Dundurn Press, 2011

Stuart N. Soroka and Christopher Wlezien. *Degrees of Democracy: Politics, Public Opinion and Public Policy*. Cambridge University Press, 2010

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

POL490F

Essays (2). The first essay (25%) will examine the potential explanatory power in Canadian voting behaviour of any independent variable (broadly defined) chosen from a list of possibilities provided by the instructor. Your analysis should be based on the Canadian election studies or other surveys that contain sufficient data. SPSS versions of the 2015 and 2011 Canadian Election Studies are available on Quercus for your use, and/or you may utilize other data sources. Please consult the specific instructions for this pre-election essay as soon as possible, and inform the instructor of your plans within the first two weeks of the class. Your essay should be approximately ten pages in length (including tables, references, etc). The pre-election essay is due on election day (**October 21st**) no later than 5 PM. Students will be expected to make a brief class presentation based on their work for the pre-election essay as part of the discussion in one of the three October class sessions prior to the election. The second essay (35%) will deal with

the outcome and interpretation of the 2019 federal election and its implications for governance and/or the future of Canadian politics. This paper (the post-election essay) should be approximately 12-15 pages in length. You are free to build upon your analysis of data from your first paper, or from other sources, in developing your interpretation of the election outcome. Students will be expected to discuss their interpretation(s) of the election based on preliminary work for the essay in one of the four classes beginning on November 12th. The due date for the post election essay is **December 3rd**.

Participation/seminar (20%). Each student will be expected to contribute to and participate in all class discussions, and to make two specific contributions based on individual research as described above.

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

POL2102F

Students in POL2102F may opt to follow the requirements for POL490F as outlined above or may choose to submit a single larger essay (50%) on a mutually agreeable topic dealing either with a significant theoretical issue, data analysis, or the election outcome. Students who choose this option should submit a proposed topic and a short outline of the essay by **October 1st** and should also expect to make a short presentation in an appropriate class both before and after the election. 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 tables, bibliography, etc.), and is due on **December 3rd**.

COURSE SYLLABUS: * denotes required reading for all students;

September 10th Introduction: Studying Elections and Voting Behaviour

* Lawrence LeDuc and Richard G. Niemi, "Voting Behavior: Choice and Context" in LeDuc, Niemi and Norris, *Comparing Democracies 4*, pp. 133-149

* Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. *Canada at the Polls 2019: A New Mandate?* [blog, available on Quercus]

Elisabeth Gidengil et al. *Dominance and Decline*, chapter 1

Cees van der Eijk and Mark N. Franklin. *Elections and Voters*, chapter 2

September 17th The Strategic Configuration of Elections in Canada

* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 1

* Richard Johnston, “The 2015 Election and the Canadian Party System” in Marland and Giasson, *Canadian Election Analysis*, pp. 22-23

* Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson, “The Puzzle of Elections and Voting in Canada” in Anderson and Stephenson, *Voting Behaviour in Canada*, pp. 1-39

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

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

September 24th Parties and Partisanship

* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 2

* Eric Belanger and Laura B. Stephenson, “Parties and Partisans: The Influence of Ideology and Brokerage on the Durability of Partisanship in Canada” in *Voting Behaviour in Canada*, pp. 107-138

Russell Dalton. *Citizen Politics*, chapter 9

Elections and Voters, chapter 3

Dominance and Decline, chapter 4

Steve Patten. “The Evolution of the Canadian Party System” in Alain-G Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay (eds.) *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 4th edition, pp. 3-27

October 1st The Canadian Electorate

* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 3

* Allison Harrell and Tania Gosselin, “The Youth Vote in the 2015 Election” in *Canadian Election Analysis*, pp. 118-119

* Susan Delacourt. “Shopping for Votes: a Sequel?” in *Canadian Election Analysis*, pp. 72-73

Dominance and Decline, chapter 8

Citizen Politics, chapter 4

Elections and Voters, chapter 4

Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. "Voter Turnout" in Heather MacIvor, *Election*, pp. 251–67

October 8th Issues and Issue Voting

* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 4

* LeDuc and Pammett. *Dynasties and Interludes*, chapter 1

* Cameron D. Anderson. "Economic Voting in Canada: Assessing the Effects of Subjective Perceptions and Electoral Context" in *Voting Behaviour in Canada*, pp.139-163

Dominance and Decline, chapters 5, 6

Citizen Politics, chapter 6

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

Stuart Soroka and Christopher Wlezien. *Degrees of Democracy*, chapters 1, 2

October 15th Leaders and Campaigns

* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 5

* Amanda Bittner. "Personality Matters: the Evaluation of Party Leaders in Canadian Elections" in *Voting Behaviour in Canada*, pp. 183-207

* Mark Burgess. "The Permanent Campaign Meets the 78-Day Campaign, and Falls Apart" in *Canadian Election Analysis*, pp. 25-26

Richard Nadeau and Frédérick Bastien. "Political Campaigning" in Gagnon and Tanguay, *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 4th edition, pp. 364-387

Amanda Bittner. *Platform or Personality: The Role of Party Leaders in Elections*. Oxford University Press, 2011

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

John Ibbitson. *Stephen Harper*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2015

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

October 21st Election Day [First essay due]

October 22nd Election Retrospective

October 29th Analyzing and Explaining the Outcome

* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 6

* David Coletto and Maciej Czop. "Change above All Else: The Public Opinion Dynamics that Led to the Liberal Majority" in *Canadian Election Analysis*, pp. 116-117

"Election 2015: Reflections on this Project and on the Campaign" in *Canadian Election Analysis*, part 1

"The Players and their Strategies" in *Canadian Election Analysis*, part 3

Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan (eds.) *The Canadian Federal Election of 2015*. Toronto, Dundurn Press, 2016

Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan (eds.) *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*. Toronto, Dundurn Press, 2011

November 5th Fall break, no class

November 12th A New Mandate? Policy Implications of the Election (1)

* *Absent Mandate*, chapters 7, 8

Elections and Voters, chapter 5

G. Bingham Powell. "Why Elections Matter" in *Comparing Democracies 4*, pp. 187-204

Christopher Cochrane. "Left-Right Ideology in Canadian Politics." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43 (2010) pp 583–605

Degrees of Democracy, chapters 6-9

November 19th Policy Implications of the Election (2)

November 26th Change and Continuity: Long Term Implications of the 2019 Election (1)

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

* Eric Belanger. "Third Parties in Canada: Variety and Success" in Gagnon and Tanguay, *Canadian Parties in Transition*, 4th edition, pp. 185-214

Elections and Voters, chapter 5

Dominance and Decline, chapters 10, 11

Dynasties and Interludes, chapter 13, 14

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

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

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

December 3rd Change and Continuity (2) [Second essay due]

December 4th - 13th Final oral exams (as scheduled)