

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

This is a graduate level course in which 4<sup>th</sup> year POL specialist students with appropriate background and interests are welcome to participate. Course requirements are the same for both graduate and undergraduate students. In this seminar, 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. 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 longer term trends. Students will have the opportunity to conduct original research on these topics utilizing data from the 2019 and/or 2021 Canadian Election Studies. Based on this work, we will compare the Canadian data with findings in other democratic countries and consider the implications of both longer term social trends and shorter term campaign effects for theories of political realignment and social change 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  
<https://utorontopress.com/9781487594800/absent-mandate/>

Laura B. Stephenson, Allison Harell, Daniel Rubenson and Peter John Loewen.  
Canadian Election Study 2021 and 2019 Online Survey Codebooks. Download from  
<http://www.ces-eeec.ca/> [pdf files are also posted 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. 222-225. Journals such as the *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *Electoral Studies*, or the *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, will also be useful sources of material for students in this course.

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

Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop (eds.) *Parties, Elections and the Future of Canadian Politics*.  
UBC Press, 2013

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

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*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition. University of Toronto Press, 2017

Elisabeth Gidengil and Heather Bastedo (eds.) *Canadian Democracy from the Ground Up*. UBC Press, 2014

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

Thomas M. Holbrook. *Do Campaigns Matter?* Thousand Oaks CA, Sage, 1996

Mebs 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*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.. Toronto, Dundurn Press, 2016

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

Alex Marland, Thierry Giasson and Anna Lennox Esselment (eds.) *Permanent Campaigning in Canada*. UBC Press, 2017

Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan (eds.) *The Canadian Federal Election of 2021*. Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022

Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan (eds.) *The Canadian Federal Election of 2019*. Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020

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

Jason Roy and Christopher Alcantara. *Winning and Keeping Power in Canadian Politics*. University of Toronto Press, 2020

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

Laura B. Stephenson, John H. Aldrich and André Blais (eds.) *The Many Faces of Strategic Voting*. University of Michigan Press, 2018

## DATASETS AND SOFTWARE:

The best source for accessing the 2019 and 2021 CES data is ODESI (Ontario Data Documentation, Extraction Service and Infrastructure), a digital repository for social science data. The ODESI site also archives a number of other data files that may be of interest to students in this course, but our primary work will be with the 2019 and 2021 online surveys. The 2019 file contains 620 variables compiled from 37,822 respondents interviewed during the 2019 federal election campaign. 10,337 of these respondents were re-interviewed in the post-election wave of the study conducted after the election. The 2021 file contains 1020 variables compiled from 20,968 respondents interviewed during the 2021 campaign period. 15,069 of these respondents were re-interviewed in the post election wave, To access the 2019 data, see <https://search2.odesi.ca/#/details?uri=%2Fodesi%2FCES-E-2019-online.xml> For 2021, <https://search2.odesi.ca/#/details?uri=%2Fodesi%2Fcora-cdem-ces-E-2021.xml>.

Both datasets are available in several different formats, including SPSS, STATA, and SAS. The STATA file can also be read by other data analysis software such as R. Students should download the appropriate file for their own work, although it is also possible to explore the data and conduct a limited amount of analysis directly on the ODESI site.

Appropriate data analysis software such as SPSS, STATA or R is available on work stations of the Map and Data Library in Robarts (5<sup>th</sup> floor), as well as on a number of other work stations in Sid Smith or Robarts. See <https://mdl.library.utoronto.ca/technology/statistical-software> for a description of available software.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

The principal requirement for this course is a substantial (approximately 25 page) original research paper based on analysis of the 2019 and/or 2021 Canadian Election Study online survey data. It will count for 50% of the total mark for the course. This paper is due at the December 5<sup>th</sup> class, and the research on which it is based will be discussed in one of the two final classes (November 28<sup>th</sup> or December 5<sup>th</sup>). A final interview, which will form part of the process of evaluation of this work, will be scheduled individually with each student at the end of the term.

Three smaller assignments are linked to this project as follows:

(1) Variable discussion paper (1-2 pages). Due September 26<sup>th</sup> (5%)

(2) Research design paper (4-5 pages). Due October 10<sup>th</sup> (10%)

(3) Literature review paper (5-8 pages). Due October 31<sup>st</sup> (15%)

Class participation, including in-class discussion of the assignments and research presentations (20%)

All work completed in the three smaller assignments may be incorporated into the final paper. Please consult the essay guidelines posted on Quercus for more details regarding these assignments.

COURSE SYLLABUS:      \* denotes required reading for all students;

Items marked “Q” are posted as .pdf files on Quercus. Those marked “LR” may also be found on Quercus, but under the “Library Resources” tab.

### **September 12<sup>th</sup> Introduction: Studying Elections and Voting Behaviour**

\* Lawrence LeDuc and Richard G. Niemi. “A Framework for the Study of Voting Behavior and Election Outcomes ” [Q]

\* Cees van der Eijk and Mark N. Franklin. *Elections and Voters*, pp. 10-20 [Q]

\* Elisabeth Gidengil et al. *Dominance and Decline*, chapter 1 [Q]

### **September 19<sup>th</sup> The Strategic Configuration of Elections in Canada**

\* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 1

\* Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson, “The Puzzle of Elections and Voting in Canada” [Q]

\* Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. *Dynasties and Interludes*, chapter 1 [Q]

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

André Blais. “Accounting for the Electoral Success of the Liberal Party in Canada.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38 (2005) [Q]

## September 26<sup>th</sup> The 2019 and 2021 Canadian Election Studies

Variable discussion papers due. Discussion of these will take place in this class.

Laura B. Stephenson et al.. *Canadian Election Study 2021 Online Survey Codebook*.  
<http://www.ces-ec.ca/> [Q]

Laura B. Stephenson et al.. *Canadian Election Study 2019 Online Survey Codebook*.  
<http://www.ces-ec.ca/> [Q]

University of Toronto, Map and Data Library, "Statistical Software"  
<https://mdl.library.utoronto.ca/technology/statistical-software> [Q]

Alex Marland and Thierry Giasson (eds.) *Canadian Election Analysis: Communication, Strategy and Democracy*. UBC Press, 2015 [Q]

Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan (eds.) *The Canadian Federal Election of 2021*.  
Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022

Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan (eds.) *The Canadian Federal Election of 2019*.  
Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020

## October 3<sup>rd</sup> How Political Alignments Form and Change

\* *Dominance and Decline*, chapter 2 [Q]

\* V. O. Key. "The Theory of Critical Elections." *Journal of Politics* 17 (1955) [Q]

\* Paul Allen Beck, "A Socialization Theory of Partisan Realignment" [Q]

\* Mark Franklin. "How the Decline of Class Voting Opened the Way to Radical Change in British Politics." *British Journal of Political Science* 14 (1984) [Q]

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

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

## **October 10<sup>th</sup> Parties and Partisanship**

Research design papers due. Discussion of these will take place in this class.

- \* Gary King, Robert D. Keohane and Sidney Verba. “Improving Research Questions” [Q]
- \* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 2
- \* Russell Dalton, *Citizen Politics*, chapter 9 [LR]
- \* Eric Belanger and Laura B. Stephenson, “Parties and Partisans: The Influence of Ideology and Brokerage on the Durability of Partisanship in Canada” [Q]
- \* Christopher Cochrane. “Left-Right Ideology in Canadian Politics.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43 (2010) [Q]

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

## **October 17<sup>th</sup> Who Votes... and Why?**

- \* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 3
  - \* *Citizen Politics*, chapter 4 [LR]
  - \* Donald P. Green. “Civic Duty and Social Pressure as Causes of Voter Turnout” [Q]
  - \* Jon H. Pammett and Lawrence LeDuc. “Voting Turnout in 2019” [Q]
- Peter John Loewen and Daniel Rubenson (eds.) *Duty and Choice: The Evolution of the Study of Voting and Voters*. University of Toronto Press, 2019
- André Blais. *To Vote or Not to Vote*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000

## **October 24<sup>th</sup> Do Campaigns Matter?**

- \* Richard Nadeau and Frédérick Bastien. “Political Campaigning” [Q]
- \* Patrick Fournier, Fred Cutler and Stuart Soroka. “Who Responds to Election Campaigns?” [Q]

- \* Alex Marland and Thierry Giasson. "From Brokerage to Boutique Politics" [Q]
- \* Susan Delacourt. "Shopping for Votes: a Sequel?" in *Canadian Election Analysis*, pp. 72-73 [Q]
- \* Mark Burgess. "The Permanent Campaign Meets the 78-Day Campaign, and Falls Apart" in *Canadian Election Analysis*, pp. 25-26 [Q]

Thomas Holbrook, *Do Campaigns Matter?* Thousand Oaks CA, Sage, 1996

Alex Marland, Thierry Giasson and Anna Lennox Esselment (eds.). *Permanent Campaigning in Canada*. UBC Press, 2017

### **October 31<sup>st</sup> Issues and Issue Voting**

Literature review papers due. Discussion of these will take place in this class.

- \* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 4
- \* *Elections and Voters*, chapter 6 [LR]
- \* *Dominance and Decline*, chapter 6 [Q]
- \* Cameron D. Anderson. "Economic Voting in Canada: Assessing the Effects of Subjective Perceptions and Electoral Context" [Q]

Michael Lewis-Beck and Mary Steigmeier. "Economic Determinants of Electoral Outcomes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000) [Q]

Stuart Soroka and Christopher Wlezien. *Degrees of Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2010

### **November 7<sup>th</sup> Fall Reading Week, no class**

### **November 14<sup>th</sup> Are Leaders the "Superstars"?**

- \* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 5
- \* Amanda Bittner. "Leaders Always Mattered: the Persistence of Personality in Canadian Elections." *Electoral Studies* 54 (2018) [Q]

\* *Dynasties and Interludes* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), chapters 4, 6, 13 [LR]

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

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

## **November 21<sup>st</sup> The Changing Canadian Electorate**

\* Steve Patten. “The Evolution of the Canadian Party System” [Q]

\* *Elections and Voters*, chapter 7 [LR]

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

\* Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. “The Elusive Liberal Dynasty and the Continuation of Minority Government.” [Q]

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

## **November 28<sup>th</sup> Voting Behaviour: Choice and Context**

### Discussion of research papers (1)

\* *Absent Mandate*, chapter 6

\* Elisabeth Gidengil. “Voting Behaviour in Canada: the State of the Discipline.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 55 (2022) [Q]

\* John Aldrich and Laura B. Stephenson. “When Do Voters Act Strategically?” [Q]

\* 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 [Q]

\* Harold D. Clarke and Marianne C. Stewart. “From Sunny Ways to Cloudy Days: Voting in the 2019 Federal Election” [Q]

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



Laura B. Stephenson, John H. Aldrich and André Blais (eds.) *The Many Faces of Strategic Voting*. University of Michigan Press, 2018

## **December 5<sup>th</sup> Analyzing and Interpreting Elections**

### Discussion of research papers (2)

\* *Absent Mandate*, chapters 7, 8

\* G. Bingham Powell. "Why Elections Matter" [LR]

\* Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner. "Parties and Elections After 2011" [Q]

\* Richard Johnston. "Situating the Canadian Case" [Q]

\* Richard Johnston. "The 2015 Election and the Canadian Party System" in *Canadian Election Analysis*, pp. 22-23 [Q]

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

Stanley Kelley, Jr. *Interpreting Elections*. Princeton University Press, 1983

## **December 6<sup>th</sup> -15<sup>th</sup> Final Interviews (to be scheduled)**