

**PAPM 4100-A / PSCI 4809-C  
Cabinet Policy Advisory System**

Winter 2019  
Mondays 11:35 am to 2:25 pm  
Loeb D-199  
(Please confirm time and location on Carleton Central)

Instructor: R. Paul Wilson

Office: Richcraft Hall, Room 2430-R (Mezzanine level)

Office Hours: Mondays 2:45 pm to 4:30 pm and Thursdays 12:15 pm to 2 pm, or by appointment

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**Course Description**

*Overview:*

This course examines the foundations, evolution and practice of policy advice in the context of the Canadian cabinet, and considers the exercise of--and constraints on--political power within the core executive at the federal level in Canada.

*Objectives:*

By the end of this course, students should, among other things:

- Understand the complexity of policy analysis and policy advice in the context of responsible government and the Canadian core executive;
- Compare and contrast executive styles as they have evolved over time at the federal level (especially since the Second World War);
- Recognize different machinery of government options which prime ministers have for structuring cabinet and the benefits and tradeoffs inherent in these choices;
- Assess and critique claims with respect to centralization through examining factors which reinforce and constrain executive power;
- Analyse advisory support for ministers from the public service and political staff, especially with respect to responsiveness, politicization and ministerial responsibility;
- Understand the policy contribution of outside policy workers and their interaction with ministers and public servants.

**Readings:**

Significant readings will be assigned from the following books;

- **Ian Brodie**. 2018. *At the Centre of Government: The Prime Minister and the Limits on Political Power*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- **Patrice Dutil**. 2017. *Prime Ministerial Power in Canada: Its Origins under Macdonald, Laurier, and Borden*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- **Graham White**. 2005. *Cabinets and First Ministers*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

The Brodie and White books have been ordered from the Carleton University Bookstore. The Brodie and Dutil books are also available electronically through the Carleton Library.

Other readings will also be assigned and will be available on line or will be posted on CU Learn.

### **Evaluation Overview**

Students will be evaluated based on the following:

Assignment	Date Due	% final grade
Essay on Discussion Question	11:35 am on relevant class date	15%
Research paper or MC	11:35 am on Monday, April 1st	40%
Exam	In university exam period	30%
Class Participation	Cumulative throughout term	15%

Please see details below.

### **Class Schedule**

The schedule below provides the topic and reading assignments for each meeting of PAPM 4100-A / PSCI 4809-C.

Where not otherwise noted, academic journal articles are available online via the Carleton University Library. The instructor has, where possible, provided a hyperlink within the syllabus for materials that are publicly available on the internet, and will post some handout material on CU Learn.

It is the instructor's intention to follow this schedule. However, in some circumstances the instructor may propose to adjust the schedule or content in order to take advantage of current affairs or to accommodate the availability of guest speakers. The instructor commits to consult with the class with respect to possible adjustments but maintains final discretion to make amendments.

January 7: Class Introduction

Discussion of the course goals, outline, expectations and assignments.

#### January 14: Policy Analysis and Policy Advice

Discussion question: what is the relationship between policy advice and politics in a democratic polity?

- Richard D. French. 2018. "Lessons from the evidence on evidence-based policy." *Canadian Public Administration* 61 (3) September: 425-442.
- Michael Mintrom. 2012. *Contemporary Policy Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pages 1-5, 15-23, 27-41. (CU Learn).
- Patrick Weller. 1987. "Types of Advice." In *Advising the Rulers*, edited by William Plowden. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Pages 149-157 (CU Learn).

#### January 21: Responsible Government and the Locus of Power in Canada

- Brodie, 1-12 (optional), 13-25.
- White, *Cabinets and First Ministers*: 1-63
- Constitution Act, 1867, sections 9-16, 53-68 (available at <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/page-1.html> )

#### January 28: The Theory of Executive Styles and the Canadian Cabinet to circa 1968

Discussion question: does institutional style constrain prime ministers or does prime ministerial style determine institutional structure? Discuss and critique the theory of executive styles as set out in *Bernier et al.*

- Luc Bernier, Keith Brownsey and Michael Howlett, eds. 2005. *Executive Styles in Canada: Cabinet Structures and Leadership Practices in Canadian Government*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 3-13
- A.D.P. Heeney. 1967. "Mackenzie King and the Cabinet Secretariat." *Canadian Public Administration*. 10(3): 366-375. (available via library online)
- Patrice Dutil. 2018. *Prime Ministerial Power in Canada: Its Origins under Macdonald, Laurier, and Borden*. Vancouver: UBC Press: 322-334.

#### February 4: The Institutionalized Cabinet--Trudeau to Mulroney

Discussion question: Did Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's executive style empower ministers, public servants or the prime minister himself?

- Marc Lalonde. 1971. "The Changing Role of the Prime Minister's Office." *Canadian Public Administration*. 14(4):509-537. (Available online via library).
- H.D. Munroe. 2011. "Style within the centre: Pierre Trudeau, the *War Measures Act*, and the nature of prime ministerial power." *Canadian Public Administration*. 54(4): 531-49. (available online via library)
- Denis Smith. 1971. "President and Parliament: the Transformation of Parliamentary Government in Canada." In *Apex of Power: The Prime Minister and Political Leadership in Canada*, edited by Thomas Hockin (Scarborough: Prentice Hall). (Handout)
- Colin Campbell and George Szabrowski. 1979. *The Superbureaucrats: Structure and Behaviour in Central Agencies*. Toronto: Macmillan. Pages 146-182. (handout)
- Peter Aucoin. 1986. "Organizational change in the machinery of Canadian government: from rational management to brokerage politics." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 19(1): 3-27. (available online via library).

#### February 11 : PM Dictatorship in the Post-Institutionalized Cabinet?

Discussion question: Has cabinet become a focus group for the Prime Minister? If so, is this a new thing? A bad thing?

- Donald Savoie. 1999. *Governing from the Centre: The Concentration of Power in Canadian Politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pages 71-108. (available electronically via Carleton Library).

OR

Donald Savoie. 2005. "The federal government: Revisiting court government in Canada." In Bernier, Brownsey and Howlett, eds: 17-43.

- White, *Cabinets and First Ministers*: 64-101
- Brodie, pp. 53-74, 109-129
- Dutil, 3-15, 319-322

#### February 18: READING WEEK--NO CLASS

#### February 25: Advising Ministers: The Civil Service

Discussion question: Is impartial public administration at risk from politicization in Canada?

- Brodie, pp. 156-179
- R.A.W. Rhodes, John Wanna and Patrick Weller. 2009. *Comparing Westminster*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: pp. 155-186

- Donald Savoie. 1999. *Governing from the Centre*: pp. 109-155.
- Peter Aucoin. 2012. "New Political Governance in Westminster Systems: impartial Public Administration and Management Performance at Risk." *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*. 25(2):177-199.
- John Tait. 1996. *A Strong Foundation: Report of the Task Force on Public Service Values and Ethics*. Ottawa; Canadian Centre for Management Development. Pages 7-18. <http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/SC94-72-1996E.pdf>
- Paul Boothe. 2015. "A Word of Advice for Newly Un-Muzzled Federal Scientists." *Maclean's*, November 11th. <http://www.macleans.ca/politics/ottawa/a-word-of-advice-for-canadas-newly-un-muzzled-federal-scientists>.

#### March 4: Advising Ministers: Political Staffers

Discussion question: Are ministerial political staffers a benefit or a threat to responsible government in Canada?

- Peter Aucoin. 2010. "Canada." In *Partisan Appointees and Public Servants: An International Analysis of the Role of the Political Adviser*, edited by Chris Eichbaum and Richard Shaw. Northampton MA: Edward Elgar. pp. 1-23. (Handout)
- Lianne Benoit. 2006. "Ministerial Staff: The Life and Times of Parliament's Statutory Orphans." Commission of Inquiry into the Sponsorship Program and Advertising Activities. *Restoring Accountability: Research Studies. Vol. 1, Parliament, Ministers and Deputy Ministers*. Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada. pp. 145-193. [http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/206/301/pco-bcp/commissions/sponsorship-ef/06-03-06/www.gomery.ca/en/phase2report/volume1/CISPAA\\_Vol1\\_5.pdf](http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/206/301/pco-bcp/commissions/sponsorship-ef/06-03-06/www.gomery.ca/en/phase2report/volume1/CISPAA_Vol1_5.pdf)
- Ian Brodie. 2012. "In Defence of Political Staff." *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 35(3):33-39.
- R. Paul Wilson. 2016. "Trust but verify: Ministerial policy advisors and public servants in the Government of Canada." *Canadian Public Administration* 59(3): 337-356.

#### March 11: Cabinets and Budget Management

Discussion question: What is the relationship between budgeting systems and political will in achieving government priorities?

- David A. Good (2007). *The Politics of Public Money: Spenders, Guardians, Priority Setters, and Financial Watchdogs inside the Canadian Government*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Chapter 10, "Budget Reforms," pp. 247-284. (handout)
- Donald Savoie. 1999. *Governing from the Centre*. Pages 156-192 (available electronically via Library).
- Janice MacKinnon. 2003. *Minding the Public Purse: The Fiscal Crisis, Political Trade-offs, and Canada's Future*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Pages 97-129. (Available electronically via Library).
- Brodie, pp. 26-34

March 18: Advising Ministers in the Charter Age

Discussion question: How does the Department of Justice help ministers to balance their political goals with *Charter* obligations? In your opinion, do they do so appropriately?

- Andrew Petter. 2009. "Legalize This: The *Chartering* of Canadian Politics." in *Contested Constitutionalism*, edited by James B. Kelly and Christopher P. Manfredi. Vancouver: UBC Press. Pages 33-49. (CU Learn).
- Federal Court, *Edgar Schmidt versus Attorney General of Canada*. Please read the following documents posted on CU Learn:
  - Edgar Schmidt Statement of Claim Statement of Defence;
  - Affidavit of William Pentney, Deputy Minister and Deputy Attorney General;
  - Judgement of Justice Noel in *Schmidt v. AG Canada*, 2016 FC 269, paragraphs 280-289.
- Grant Huscroft. 2006. "Political Litigation and the Role of the Court." *The Supreme Court Law Review: Osgoode's Annual Constitutional Cases Conference* 34.  
<http://digitalcommons.osgoode.yorku.ca/sclr/vol34/iss1/3>

March 25: Advising Ministers from Outside: Consultations, Lobbyists, NGOs, Think Tanks

Discussion question: What role do groups outside of government have in advising ministers? What advantage/disadvantage does this provide to ministers and to what extent does it undermine the public service?

- Please read the following chapters which are all taken from Laurent Dobuzinkis, and Michael Howlett, eds. 2018. *Policy Analysis in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press (available electronically via Carleton Library)
  - Donald Abelson, "Any better ideas? Think tanks and policy analysis in Canada" (pp. 275-296)
  - Andrew Strich, "Policy analytical capacity and Canadian business associations" (pp. 297-316)
  - Rachel Laforest, "Transforming governance patterns: challenges and opportunities for voluntary sector policy capacity" (pp. 317-330)
  - Andrea Lawlor, "Media and public policy" (351-368)

Also, please read the following excerpts from the Lobbying Act: preamble, section 5 (consultant lobbyists), section 7 (in-house lobbyists), section 10.11 and 10.12 (five year ban). The Act is available on the Department of Justice web site at <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/L-12.4/>

April 1: Presentations (Memorandum to Cabinet Option)

April 8: Presentations Continued (if needed), Wrap Up and Thematic Review

### **Assignment Details**

Assignment 1: Discussion Question Essay (15%) Due at 11:35 am on the day of relevant class

I have provided a "discussion question" for most of the class topics.

Please choose one class and, using the assigned readings for that class, answer the discussion question in an essay of no more than five double spaced pages, including academic apparatus.

If you feel that readings from previous classes are relevant, then you may also bring them in. Keep in mind, however, that this is not intended as a major research paper!

The essay is due at the beginning of class on the day set for discussing that topic.

While there is not a formal class presentation component to this, I expect that students writing on a topic will make a strong contribution to that day's discussion, and this (like all participation) will factor into the class participation grade.

Assignment 2: Research Assignment (40%) Due: 11:35 am on Tuesday, April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2019

Each student will please choose one of the following two options:

Option A: Research Paper

Please write a research paper on a topic of your choice that relates to the class themes. The maximum length of the paper, inclusive of any notes and references, should be 15 double-spaced pages.

Essays must demonstrate the use of a wide range of sources materials. This must include relevant academic literature as well as other source materials appropriate to the topic such as political memoirs (e.g. prime ministers, their cabinet colleagues, senior public servants or political staffers), government documents, media reports, etc. Relying only on assigned class readings is not sufficient. Essays should contain a clear thesis supported by evidence-based arguments. Writing should be polished and error free.

It is strongly recommended that you consult with the instructor about the choice of topic and with respect to source materials.

Option B: Memorandum to Cabinet

Since this course involves policy advice to ministers, I am providing students with the option to write a Memorandum to Cabinet (MC). In the MC, a student will assume the role of a federal cabinet minister and develop a policy proposal of his or her choice for presentation to cabinet. In addition to choosing the policy proposal, the student may define the parliamentary parameters. For example, the student may choose to be a minister under the current Trudeau government, but may, alternatively, present the MC from the perspective of another party in government. But, *pace* Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the willing suspension of disbelief may only stretch so far: proposals must be plausible for the party and Canadian political context (no treaty negotiation mandates with the Klingon empire, please).

MCs must be carefully formatted according to the prescribed PCO MC template. (Yes, this means using legal size format!). PCO has prepared a *Drafter's Guide to Cabinet Documents* which provides detailed step by step drafting instructions. It is available at <https://www.canada.ca/en/privy-council/services/publications/memoranda-cabinet/drafters-guide-documents.html>. The template itself (which is appended to the *Drafter's Guide* as Annex A) is found at <https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/pco-bcp/documents/pdfs/mc-eng.doc>. As stipulated by PCO, MCs must define the problem, present options for addressing the problem, and present detailed evidence supporting the recommended option. This will require substantial research. All prescribed annexes (i.e. implementation plan, parliamentary plan and strategic communications plan) must also be included).

While generally students should follow the MC template carefully, I ask them to deviate from it in two respects.

First, in November 2013 the MC template was tightened to remove the previously standard "Background/Analysis" section, instead providing more generous page allowances for the Ministerial Recommendation (MR) section and an optional Detailed Proposal Description annex. For class evaluation purposes, I expect to see sufficient background analysis to demonstrate that you have thoroughly researched--and understand--the recommendations. Therefore, I expect that you will take advantage of the extended analysis provided for in the "Supplementary Information" section of the Drafter's Guide (pages 12-13). Taking it upon myself to role-play PCO Deputy Secretary (Operations) and pursuant to section 4.1.3 of the Guide, I hereby give consent for this.

Second, "real" government MCs can be somewhat fast and loose with references. Much information and text within government documents is, one suspects, freely borrowed from other government documents; and outside references are not necessarily carefully attributed. Class evaluation purposes require a more rigorous standard. Therefore, I expect students to use proper references, including page numbers, for all source material. I would prefer that this be done using footnotes (rather than endnotes or in text citations) but will

leave the particular method to students' discretion, so long as proper acknowledgement is given and source materials properly identified.

If there is interest, then we could use the final class period as a mock cabinet meeting where students could play the role of ministers and present their MCs. Because of the size of the class, however, we do not have time for everyone to do this. Thus, it is not mandatory. But if some students are willing to take this on, it would be a good learning opportunity.

#### Exam (30%). Date to be determined by the university

A formal examination will be scheduled during the university exam period. Questions will be essay style based on the course readings and/or class discussions. The instructor will give further details with respect to the type and range of questions towards the end of the semester.

#### Class Participation (15%)

Successful seminars require a commitment on the part of students to prepare for class and to participate in class. Fifteen percent of each student's course grade, therefore, will be based on attendance (including timeliness) and his or her understanding of class readings and concepts as demonstrated by the quality and consistency of contributions to class discussion.

### **Format and Grading**

#### **Format for Papers:**

Papers should be double-spaced with default margins and should be printed in either Times New Roman 12 point font or Arial 11 point font. Please number pages (yes, one of my pet peeves).

#### **References:**

I prefer footnotes which allow me easily to check source references without flipping back and forth to a reference list at the end of the paper. But I recognize that I am not only a historian by training but outdated. So I leave it to each student's discretion; however, whatever system you adopt, please use it properly and consistently. As an accessible option for the "in text" citation style, I recommend the format mandated by the Editorial Style Guidelines for the journal *Canadian Public Administration*. The guidelines are available on line at: [https://s3.ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/documenthosting/STYLE\\_GUIDE\\_for\\_CPA\\_Manuscripts-EnglishFeb2015.pdf](https://s3.ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/documenthosting/STYLE_GUIDE_for_CPA_Manuscripts-EnglishFeb2015.pdf). This contains helpful examples from the world of public administration.

Proper academic references are essential and must be taken seriously. Direct quotations must be acknowledged in quotation marks with a proper reference. Material that is paraphrased from a source must also be acknowledged with a proper reference. The instructor implores you to consult with him if you are uncertain about any aspect of referencing, for example the difference between quoting and paraphrasing or when to include a page number or where to place your citation in the text.

**General Expectations:**

When grading assignments the instructor will consider a range of factors. These include the extent to which the student has demonstrated understanding of the subject matter, factual accuracy, clarity of analysis and argument, strength of supporting evidence, and facility of expression. The instructor strongly believes that quality work must also be characterized by proper grammar and sentence/paragraph structure, spelling, formatting and general presentation. The instructor will take all these factors into account.

**Grading:**

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Approval of final grades:**

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

### **Submission of Assignments:**

Papers must be emailed directly to the instructor at [paul.wilson@carleton.ca](mailto:paul.wilson@carleton.ca) in PDF format. This creates an indisputable record of the fact and time of submission. I will endeavour to write my comments on the PDF and return papers electronically.

I will not be responsible for assignments submitted any other way, for example: stuffing a paper copy of an essay under my door or submitting into a departmental drop box or floating it down the river in a bottle.

Please note that, as per university policy, final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

### **Late Papers:**

Late papers will be accepted. However, the instructor will reduce the mark by one grade step (i.e. A to A minus, A minus to B plus) for each day or partial day that the paper is overdue. This includes holidays and weekends. For example, a paper due at 11:35 am will see its final grade reduced by one grade step if it is handed in past the deadline but on the same day (i.e. before midnight). Each day or partial day thereafter will see the grade reduced by a further grade step.

To illustrate: a paper due at 11:35 am on Monday will lose one grade step (e.g. A to A minus) if submitted at 5 pm on Monday; it will lose two grade steps (e.g. A to B+) if submitted at 12:30 am on Tuesday morning; and it will lose 4 grade steps (e.g. A to B minus) if submitted on Thursday.

### **Requests for Extensions:**

The instructor will extend an assignment deadline only in exceptional circumstances and with compelling justification. A student seeking an extension should approach the instructor as soon as possible in advance of the deadline in order to demonstrate good planning and responsibility.

### **Academic Accommodations**

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](mailto: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*).

**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance ([www.carleton.ca/equity](http://www.carleton.ca/equity))

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

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## **Plagiarism**

The Carleton University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” Examples of plagiarism can include:

- failing to provide appropriate acknowledgement of someone else's ideas, data, material or expressions, for example through improper paraphrasing, omitting quotation marks or failing to provide proper citation;
- submitting an assignment written in whole or in part, by someone else;
- submitting substantially the same work (e.g. all or part of an essay) for academic credit in more than one course without the instructor's knowledge and permission.

Please take time to review the policy. It is available at <http://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Academic-Integrity-Policy1.pdf>.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct 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 may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the

author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

## **Communications**

### **Use of Electronic Devices in Class:**

The instructor requests that students respect two principles with respect to the use of electronic devices in class: 1) in order to promote free discussion and to respect privacy, video and/or audio may not be recorded or broadcast without the prior consent of the instructor; and 2) use of electronic devices must not distract or disrupt other students or the class as a whole. The instructor reserves the right to impose restrictions on the use of electronic devices should problems arise.

### **Ownership of Class Content**

Classroom teaching and learning activities, including lectures, discussions, presentations, etc., by both instructors and students, are copy protected and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s). All course materials, including PowerPoint presentations, outlines, and other materials, are also protected by copyright and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s).

Students registered in the course may take notes and make copies of course materials for their own educational use only. Students are not permitted to reproduce or distribute lecture notes and course materials publicly for commercial or non-commercial purposes without express written consent from the copyright holder(s)."

### **Contacting the Instructor**

Please use official Carleton email in order to contact the instructor. My email address is paul.wilson@carleton.ca. I will endeavour to respond to email as quickly as possible but cannot guarantee same day answers.

### **Carleton E-mail Accounts:**

All email communication will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.