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Reforming federal election debates in Canada

Michelle Rogers
January 2010



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- 1) V. &B" (H&"?&; 6L6P&%B") \$, ,H() L- (H&), *"=6) 7") &7\$, 6(,&"6) "-H6P(,&"=B". 67. %B"=6(L&?" - (H, 6&L)
- 2) V. &B" ?\$") \$, "8\$%%\$F" ,. &"?&' \$; H(,6;"-H6) ;6-%&L" ,. (,"796?&, . &H&L, \$"8" ,. &"&%&; ,6\$) "-H\$; &L
- 3) : H6P(,&"6) ,&H&L, L"(H&"?&&-%B"6) c%9&), 6(%6) "?&, &H' 6) 6) 7" ,. &"?&, (6%L" \$"8"?&=(, &L
- 4) V. &"L\$%&" &?69' "9L&?", \$"=H\$ (?; (L, "?&=(, &L` ,&%&P6L6\$) ` ?\$&L") \$, "-H\$P6?&, . &"

Introduction-2008, Debating the Debates

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4+9#&% \$%6)-6, 5+, 9%)\$4 (5/657%,)%5+>\$, 2#+. :% 1&%&%2%2&+88%6%'V%2#(' %D&%2% (8%

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 -\$%,6;6()L" L9;. "(L" I\$&"#%(HI" ()?" ,. &"7&)&H(%-9=%; *" F6,. "\$-6)6\$)"-\$ML" H&P&(%)"7",. (,"
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Of Democratic Concern

<& \$; H(; B". (L"9) ?&H7\$) &, . H&&"F (P&L"\$8"&P\$%9,6\$) /"-<6H&; , "?&' \$; H(; B"=\$H) "6) ">, . &) L" 6) "U22"d#" (%\$F&?" (%%; 6,6]&) L", \$"P\$, \$"")" () ?"?"&, &H' 6) &, . &"-\$%; 6&L"\$8", . &"L,(, &"/"A)" , . &"! _"; &), 9HB", . &"dH6,6L. ="&7() ", \$"=96%" - (H%"(' &), (HB"6)L,6,9,6\$) L", . (" -H\$P6?&?" 0\$H" H&-H&L&), (. 6P&" 7\$P&H) () ; &" \$8" (" %(H7&H" -\$-9%,6\$) "#6,6]&) L" ?6?") \$, , ?&; 6?&" 6LL9&L" 6) ?6P6?9(%B" (L" , . &B" . (?" 6) " >, . &) L"*=9, " &%&; , &?" H&-H&L&), (. 6P&L", \$" ?\$" L\$" \$) " , . &6H" =&. (P&L" V, &, 6H?" F (P&` ' (LL" ?&' \$; H(; B` . (L" &), (6%?" (" -H\$; &LL" \$8" &0, &) ?6) 7" ?&' \$; H(; B", \$" -H&P6\$9L%&0; %9?&?" L&7' &), L" <&P&%\$-' &), L"6) ", . 6L" F (P&". (P&"6); %9?&?" , . &"H&' \$P(% \$8" H&%76\$9L" H&L,H6; ,6\$) L"1D" () ?"-H\$-&H, B" H&i 96H&' &), L"1U" , . &"&0, &) ?6) 7" \$8" L988H(7&,\$"F\$' &) 1W"(" () ?", . &"L, H&) 7, . &) 6) 7" \$8", . &"L&; H&, =(%\$, 1Q/ N&; , \$H(&L")\$F")9' =&H" 6) " , . &" ' 6%%\$) L` 8(H" =&B\$) ?" , . &" . () ?89% \$8" ; 6,6]&) L" F. \$" 6,6(%B" -(H,6; 6-(&?" 6) " ; % (LL6; (% ?&' \$; H(; B" \$H" 6) " , . &" &(H%"B" L, (7&L" \$8" - (H%"(' &), (HB" ?&' \$; H(; B"")>L" L9; . *(" F&%C F\$HI 6) 7"?&' \$; H(; B", \$? (B" H&i 96H&L" (" -9=%; " , . (" 6L"6) 8\$H' &?" () ?" &) 7(7&?" A)" #() (?(?" P\$, &H" , 9H) \$9, " 6L" (, () "(%%,6' &"%\$F/" A)" , . &"122D"8&?&H(% &%&; ,6\$) *" (" ' &(7&H" W2/cK "\$8" #() (?6() L"; (L, ("=(%\$, /"A)" 122S", . 6L" ?H\$--&?" &P&) "%\$F&H", \$" Uc/! k/" Y\$F" P\$, &H"

Y&L%&C>))&" ^&\$F)&KL" (H,6;%&" _\$\$. +, 9% ` . % ' +&%#&% " +4\$2%9L&L" ,. &" g\$P&H)' &), " \$8" #() (?(KL" JUUa% S\$, \$/68%A(5+68%A1/-\$7% (, %A(5+68%C, 969\$4\$, &- ", \$" ?&,&H' 6)&" . \$F" #() (?6() L"8\$%%F",. &")&FL"/+. &")\$,&L",. ("Sck" \$8" #() (?6() L"8\$%%F")&FL" ()?" ;9HH&), " (88(6HL" 8H&i 9&),%B` cUk" \$8" L&)6\$HL" ()?" Qck" \$8" B\$9)7" (?9%L" (7&?" 0! cC1D" B&(HL3/-D" <9H6)7" ,. &"122W" #() (?6("8&?&H(%&%; ,6\$)" #(H&,\$)" \)6P&HL6,BKL" L; . \$%%\$8"j\$9H) (%L' " ;\$)?9; ,&?" ("L,9?B",. ("?&,&H' 6)&?",. (" ,&%&P6L6\$)")&FL" F(L" ,. &"? '\$ 6)(), "L\$9H; &"\$8" &%&; ,6\$)" 6)8\$H' ,. 6\$)" 8\$H" ,. &"-9=%; " F6, . "#d#" ()?" #Vf")&FL" (L" ,. &"%&(?6)7" ;. ())&%L" V. 6L" F(L"8\$%%F&?" =B" H&76\$) (%?" (6B" %\$; (%))&FL" (-&HL/-U" +6); &" ,. &" ^&))&?BhE60\$)" ?&=(, &" \$8" ! cW2" ,. &" 6?&(" \$8" %&(?&HL" ?&=(, &L" . (L" L-H&(? " ,. H\$97. \$9, ,. &"?&' \$; H(,6; " F\$H%?" T8"8\$H,BC\$9H" &L, (-%L. &?"?&' \$; H(,6&L" L,9?6&?" 6)" ,. &" ' 6?C! CC2L" (%=9,"8\$9H". &%?"&(?&HL" ?&=(, &L/-W"V\$?(B(")9' =&H"\$8"; \$9), H6&L"(H&"L&&I 6)7" , \$" 6' -%&' &), " ?&=(, &L" dH(]6%" N; 9(?\$H" I(' (6; (" I(-()?" 5&06; \$" E(' 6=6(" E6; (H(79(" E67&H6("+\$9, ,. ">8H6; (" \I H(6)&L" 0" +,&-. &)" #%%' ()?" <6H&; \$H" \$8" +, 9?6&L" (, " ,. &" X()L(H?" +\$; 6&, B" 8\$H" : (H%(' &), (HB" g\$P&H)' &), " ()?" (" %; , 9H&H" (, " ,. &" Y\$)?)\$" +; . \$%%\$8" N; \$)\$'\$ 6; L" . (L" &0-%\$H&?" ,. &" ?&' \$; H(,6; " P(%9&"\$8", &%&P6L&?"?&=(, &L"X&"-\$6), L", \$")9' &H\$9L"(L-& , L"\$8" ?&=(, &L" F. 6; . " %)" ?," \$" ,. &6H" ?&' \$; H(,6; " L67)6e6; () ;&" E&P&H, . &%&LL" . &"(%L\$)" \$,&L" ,. ("F. &H&" ?&=(, &L"(H&" L, (7&?" -&H8\$H') ;&L" (L"\$--\$L&?", \$" , H9&" ?&=(, &L" ()?" L9=j&; , \$" \$P&HF. &%' 6)7" " &?6(" . B-&" 4, ,. &"%; (%6' ,. (" ?&=(, &L" ; \$), H6=9, &," \$" %=&H(%?&' \$" ; H(,6; " 9%9H&" L. \$" 9%?" =&" ?6L" 6LL&?" (L". \$" %%\$F@-S" V\$" &). () ;&" ,. &" ?&' \$" ; H(,6; " i 9(% , B" \$" 8" ?&=(, &L" #%%' ()" L977&L,L" ,. (" (9?6&); &"

()?" -\$%;6&L" \$8" ,. &" ?&=(,&L" H&' (6)" L&;H&,/" >)?")&F" ,&;.)\$%%76&L" . (P&")\$," =&&)"

6. <=>(&L" H(6L&, . &%&P&% \$8" (F(H&) &LL" ()?"9) ?&HL, ()?6) 7" \$8" -H\$=%&' L" ()?" - (H, B" - \$%; 6&L"/"
7. <=>(&L"&) (=%" ; ()?6?(&L", \$" (I &, . & L&%P&L" \$H& F6?&%B" I) \$F) \$" H", \$" ; \$HH&; ,") &7(, 6P&" (L-&; L"\$8", . &6H" - 9-%; "6' (7&/
8. <=>(&L" . &%-" %&76, 6] &" - \$%, 6; (% 6)L, 6, 9, 6\$) L" ()?" &); \$9H(7&, . &" - \$%, 6; (% 6) P\$%P&' &), "\$8"B\$9) 7"-&\$-%&PD
Y\$\$16) 7" (, "&(; . \$" 8", . &L&" L, 9?6&L" \$") &" 6) 8&H&); &" -H&L&), L" 6, L&%" A8" (" I &B" -H\$=%&' F6, . " (LL" ?&' \$; H(; B" 6) "#() (?(" %&L" 6) "%\$F" P\$, &H" I) \$F&%?7&" ()?" , 9H) \$9, ** ()?" 68" %&(?&HL" ?&=(&L"(H&" ()" (; &LL6=%" L\$9H; &" \$8" - \$%, 6; (% 6) 8\$H" (, 6\$) "F6, . " , . &" - \$, &), 6(%," \$" &); \$9H(7&" P\$, &H" - (H, 6; 6- (, 6\$) ** , . &)" 6, " 6L" ; %&(H% B" F\$H, . F. 6&" , \$" &0- %\$H&" . \$F" , . &L&" - \$L6, 6P&" ; \$), H6=9, 6\$) L"\$8"?&=(&L" 67, . " = &" (06' 6] &" ?" 6) "#() (?(/

An Argument for No Debates

V. \$97. ** \$L, () (%BL, L" (H79&, . (, "?&=(&L" (I &" (" P(%9(=%" ; \$), H6=9, 6\$) ", \$" ?&' \$; H(; B" **

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.. &"6?&(%""

X\$F", \$"=&L,"=(%) ; &"() ?"6) ; \$H-\$H(, &, . &"6) ,&H&L, L"\$8"(%"L, (I &. \$%?&HL"6L", . &"7\$(\$\$8", . 6L"
-H\$j&; , " V\$" , . (, &) ?" , . 6L"-(-&H" L, 9?6&L" , . &". 6L, \$HB"\$8"#"() (?6()) ?&=(, &L" () ?"(LL&LL&L"
6) ,&H) (, 6\$) (%&0-&H6&) ; &/T9H". \$-&"6L" , . (, "#() (?6() L" F6%"?&=(, &, . &"?&=(, &L" F&%"=&8\$H&"
. &") &0, "&%&; , 6\$) *"() ?" , . (, "\$9H" H&8\$H" "(7&) ?(*" F6, . "6, L"-H\$-\$L(%"8\$H"(' &) ?' &), L", \$" , . &"
B6, 6) 6%&\$5&+(, 2%T5&"() ?" , . &"Q/(6) 562&+, 9%T5&" F6%"=&"-(LL&?="B": (H%"(' &), /""

f(H6\$9L" ; \$) , H6=9, \$HL" , \$" , . &" Y\$H, 6&" [&-\$H, " (%\$" H&; \$7) 6] &?" , . (, . &H&" (H&" ; \$) 6%; , 6) 7"

P6?&\$,(-&"6)"(?P();&/OD"b.6%&,."&"'&?6("8&%",."&"&P&),"F(L"=\$H6)7"-\$%L)L.\$F&?"("'
'6%?C-H&&H&);&"8\$H",."&"8\$H'("=B",."&"-9=%;PU

+6' 6%(H%\$V\$)B"d9H' ()"8\$H' &H"#. (6H"\$8",. &")&,F\$HI "#\$)L\$H,69' "F\$H6,&L"4A"=%&P&"6,"6L"
,6' &"8\$H" #() (?6()LR,. H\$97. ",. &"# [V#` ,\$" -9%" ,. &"-%7"\$)" ,. &")&,F\$HI L" ()?"&),H9L,"

United States

Institutionalized Debates

V. &">' &H6; () "-H&L6?&), 6(%?&=(, &L"(H&"L-\$) L\$H&?"() ?"-H\$?9; &?"=B", . &"#\$' ' 6LL6\$)"\$)" : H&L6?&), 6(% <&=(, &L" 0#: <3" NL, (=%L. &?"6)" ! cSS" =B", . &" [&-9=%; () "?" <&' \$; H(,6;" - (H,6&L"()?" . &(?)?"=B" 8\$H' &H"; . (6HL" \$8", . &" E(,6\$) (% <&' \$; H(,6;" #\$\$' ' 6,,&&"()?" . &" E(,6\$) (% [&-9=%; () "#\$\$' ' 6,,&&"OMH() I "M(. H&) I \$-8"()?" : (9%"^6HI 3", . &"#\$' ' 6LL6\$)"6L"(")\$) -H\$e6,")\$) - (H,6L() U2! 0; 30_3" ; \$H-\$H(,6\$) /" V. & #: <" \$H7()6] &?" . &" ! cSS"! cc1" ! ccW"! 122D"()?"122S"-H&L6?&), 6(%?&=(, &L"A, "F(L"-H&; &?"=B", . &"Y&(79" \$8" b\$' &) f\$, &Hl" F. 6; . "L-\$) L\$H&?" . &" ! cQW"! cS2"()?" ! cSD"?&=(, &L/ A%%OL, H(,6P" \$8", . "&O,&), ", "\$F. 6; . "-(H,6&L", HB", \$" ; \$), H\$%, . &"?&=(, &L" 6)" ! cSQ", . &"Y&(79& F6, . ?H&F" 8H\$' "?&=(, &L" L-\$) L\$HL. 6-"6)" -H\$, &L, "(7(6)L, . &"6)e%&); &"\$8", . &"-(H,6&L" V. & Y&(79&L", H9L, &&L"P\$, &?"9) ()6' \$9L B", \$" -9%"\$9, "8H\$' " . &"?&=(, &L" ()?"\$)" T; , \$=&H" _H?*" ! cSS", . &B"6LL9&?"(" ?H(' (,6;" -H&LL" H&%&(L&J
" #\$\$Z\$691\$%(3% (4\$, %/(\$\$/2%2% +#)/6' +, 9%. (, 2(/2#+. %(3%#\$% /\$2+) \$, &+60%) \$; 6&\$2%

>"L-& ; 6(% >; , "\$8"#\$) 7H&LL" F (L" H&i 96H&?", \$" L&, " (L6?& , . &"&i 9(% , 6' &" -H\$P6L6\$) L" \$8" , . &" #\\$' ' 9) 6; (.6\$) L">; , "T , . &HF6L&* , . &"=H\$ (?; (L,&HL" F\$9%?" . (P&". (?,"\$"(L\$"-H\$P6?&"&i 9(% , 6' &" , \$" , . &" ()B" 6) \$H"- (H,B"-H&L6?&) , 6(% ; () ?6?(,&L" F . 6; . "F\$9%?" . (P&"-H& ; %9?&" , . &" ?&=(,&L"8H\$' ". (- -&) 6) 7! 2!

>" ?&=(,& . 6(, 9L" \$8" L60 , &&) "B&(HL" &) L9&?" F . 6%&" >' &H6; () " -\$%, 6; L" F&H&" ?6L,H(; , &?" =B" ' (, &HL" L9; . "(L" , . &"f6&,) (' "b(H" () ?" , . &"b (, &H7 (, &"L; () ?(%" b . &) ?&=(, &L" H& , 9H) &" 6) " ! cQW"#\$) 7H&LL" H&9L&?" \$" L&, " (L6?& , . &"#\\$' ' 9) 6; (.6\$) L">; , " (L" 6 , . (" 6) " ! cW2" , \$" (%\$ F" 8\$H" 9) &i 9(% ; \$P&H(7&" \$8" , . &" , F\$" %&(?6) 7" -H&L6?&) , 6(% ; () ?6?(,&L" ! 21 " V. &H&8\$H&* () " \$9 , L6?&" L-\$) L\$H" F (L" L\$97. , "L" , . (, . &) &, F\$HI L"; \$9%?" ; \$P&H" , . &" ?&=(,&" (L" (" 0=\$) (" e6?&"

0=6-(H,6L()K" H(,. &H",. ()")\$)-(H,6L()K" X&"H&6,&H(,&?",.. 6L";. (H7&"(7(6)"6)"122D"(8,&H"=&6)7" &0;%9?&"8H\$" ",. \$L&"?&=(,&L! D""

V. "&122S"?&=(,&L"=&,F&&)"d(H(;I" T=((' ("()?"1\$.)"5;#(6)"6' -%&' &),&?"(" \$H&"8H&&" e%\$F6)7"8\$H'(,".. ()". (?=&&)L&&"6)"-H&P6\$9L"B&(HL"V. &#: <"4F(),&?"("H&%0&?"8\$H'(,".. (,"6);%9?&?"6' &"8\$H"9)-H&?6;, (=%"i 9&L,6\$)6)7"()?" ;. (%&)7&L@!U"VF\$\$8",.. &.. H&&" -H&L6?&),6(% ?&=(,&L"(%\$F&?")6)&,BCL&);\$)??"()LF&HL", \$" i 9&L,6\$)L" 8\$%%F&?" =B" e6P&" 6)9,&L"8\$"-&)?"6L;9LL6\$)">, 6H?"?&=(,&,\$\$1",.. &"8\$H'"\$8"(",\$F)". (%&' &&,6)7" F6,.. i 9&L,6\$)L"=B"9);\$' ' 6,,&?"P\$,&HL" L(' -%&?"=B",.. &"g(%9-"TH7()6](,6\$)/!W" V. &" P6;&C -H&L6?&),6(% ?&=(,&L"\$. F&P&H" (?\$-,&?"(" \$H&"H676?"8\$H'(,"?9&,\$"5;#(6)KL";\$);&H)" (=9,.. &"6)&0-&H6&);&"\$8". 6L" P6;&C-H&L6?&),6(% ;()?6?(,&+(H(. ":" (%))!"0"()?"(%\$F&?"\$)B",F\$" 6)9,&L"8"?"6L;9LL6\$)"&H"i 9&L,6\$)"/"

Challengers to the Commission on Presidential Debates

g. \$, %=\$; 6&\$2"(")\$)-H\$e6,")\$)-(H,6L()" H7()6](,6\$)" ;H6,6;6] &L",.. & "#: <"(L" =&6)7" =6-(H,6L()" H(,. &H",. ()")\$)-(H,6L()";%\$L&?",\$",.. &"L977&L,6\$)"\$8"8\$H'(,".. ()7&"()?".. 6H?" -(H,B";()?6?(,&L! S"A,L"8\$9)?&H" g&\$H7&"M(H(. " F6, &L"6)". 6L"=\$\$1" L("%=\$; 6&\$% \(" %%#%" P\$. 1; 8+56, %,)%=\$4 (5/6&+5% E6/&+\$2% A\$5/\$&87% B(, /&(8%#\$% E/\$2+)\$, &+68%=\$; 6&\$2",.. (,".. & #: <" 6L"("=6-(H,6L()" H7()6](,6\$)" ;(,6)7", \$" 6)L9%(&,, &"' (j\$H"-(H,6&L"8H\$'" ;. (%&)7&"()?" i 9&L,6\$)"/!c"

A)"122D",.. &"dH&))()#" ,&H"8\$H"19L,6; &"6)";\$)j9);,6\$)" F6,.. ,&)"\$,.. &H"-H\$C?&' \$;H(;B" ;6P6;"7H\$9-L!12" H&%&(L??"H&-\$H,"%;(6' 6)7",.. (,".. & #: <"4" (Li 9&H(?&qLr"(L(") \$)-(H,6L() L-\$)L\$H@"()?"4L&H&,%" L9=' 6,L", \$" .. &"?&"()?L" \$8",.. &"[&-9=%;()?"<&' \$;H(,6;" ;()?6?(,&L@!1!"A,"; \$);%9?&?J"

"#\$%(\$, 2\$01\$, 5\$2%(3%215#%)\$5\$. &-\$%46f(/% 6/87%(\$, /&(8%/%) +2&/22+, 9% B6,)+)6&\$2% &%6&%(&\$/2% 6, &%(\$%\$6/%(\$3%, %\$R581)\$).%215%62%P(22%E\$/(&0221\$2%#\$%T4\$/+56, % . \$(. 8%\$ 6, &%(\$%\$6/%) ;(18%/\$%(\$3%, %9, (/):%215%62%/\$%\$/6)\$%,)%#%)(-\$&7% T,)%#%\$(\$, 6&\$2%6-\$% \$\$, %\$)15\$)%(\$6%\$/\$2%(\$3%8(/+*\$%) +. 6/&+26, % \$' 2% 5(, 3\$/%, 5\$2%, % #+5%#%\$%P\$. 1; 8+56, %,)%=\$4 (5/6&+5%6,)+)6&\$2% R5#6, 9\$% 4\$4 (/+>\$)%2(1,)% +\$2%JJ

>L"(" L\$%9,6\$)" .. &" H&-\$H," -H\$-\$L&?" .. &"#6,6]8)KL" <=& (, &"#\$' ' 6LL6\$)" 0#<#3" (L" ()" (%&H)(,6P&"-H&L6?&),6(% ?&=(,&"L-\$)L\$H#H&(&?"6)" I()9(HB"122D=B" g. \$, %=\$; 6&\$2",.. &" #<#" (6' L", \$" L-\$)L\$H" e6P&")6)&,BC' 6)9, &"-H&L6?&),6(% ?&=(,&L"()?"\$)&")6)&,BC' 6)9, &"

P6; &"-H&L6?&),6(%?&=(,&/V. &"#<#"=\$HH\$F&?"8H\$' ",. &"

(LL&' =%"("?"6P&HL&"-()&%\$8"(; (?&' 6; **; 6P6; ** (H,6L,6; ** H&%76\$9L**' &?6(*%(\$H"()?"=9L6)&LL"&(?&HL",\$(LI "i 9&L,6\$) LI 10

United Kingdom

V. \$97. "#() (?("6). &H6,&?"("-(H%(' &), (HB"LBL,& " \$8"7\$P&H)' &), "8H\$' "N) 7%() ?**%&(?&HL"
?&=(, &L" (H&

A)"122U",. &"dd#"(6H&?",. &"-H\$7H(' "Y1\$2&+(\$%"4\$V. H&&" ; ()?6?(&L"- (H,6;6-(,&?"6)" ("
L&H6&L" \$8" L-&; 6(% =H\$(?; (L,L" ?9H6) 7" F. 6; . "&(; . "; ()?6?(&*% \$")&" \$)" L,(7&*()LF&H&?"
i 9&L,6\$) L" 8H\$" " ,. &" L,9?6\$" (9?6&); &" ()?" (" '\$ \$?&H(\$,\$H" >77H&LL6P&" i 9&L,6\$) 6) 7" =B"
(9?6&); &" '&' =&HL" F(L" (%\$F&?*()" ?" ,. &" '\$ \$?&H(\$,\$H" -H&LL&?" ; ()?6?(&L", \$" ()LF&H"
F. &H&"6,"L&&' &" ,. &B" F&H&"&P(?6) 7" i 9&L,6\$) L!_-c"

!_-c"56)\$F"()?"Y(' (B"122S"SW

>, . &"122D"?&=(,&*&&(?&HL" F&H&" i 9&L,6\$) &?"=B" ("e6P&C' &' =&H"- () &%"H&-H&L&),6) 7"&(; . "
\$8", . &" (j\$H">9L,H(%() "' &?6("7H\$9-L" 6)L,&(?"\$8=B" ("L6) 7%&" \$?&H(,\$H"V. &"&P&), "F(L"
. \$L,&?"=B"#. ())&% E6)&" F6,. ">d#"(L,. &"\$)B"\$,, &H") &, F\$HI ", \$"(6H", . &"?&=(,&L/"#. ())&%
E6)&" (%L\$" (6H&" 6,L"; 9L,\$' (HB" 8\$%%\$F" 9- -H\$7H(' "8&(,9H6) 7", . &"0F\$H' K" "V. &" -H\$7H(' "
Z6&\$8+, \$"0\$)">d#3"H&-H,&?", . (,"\$)B"")&"6) ",&)">9L,H(%() L" F(,; . &?" , . &"122D"?&=(,&*"
() ?", . &B" F&H&" \$L,%B"P&H"D2"B&(HL"\$8"(7&/1b. &) "T12&/68+6, %)(8\$9,?6?", . &"?&=(,&L"8\$H"
P6&F&HL. 6- *"; H6,6; L"=&7()", \$" ; (%"8\$H", . 6H?C-(H,B"\$H7()6] (,6\$) "\$8", . &"?&=(,&L/"! U2
V. &"122Q%"9-153(-122cm[(V. &)-31010. 11F) 6"cu(\$H) 97(-48-7Tm/Fq8i 4T] TJ11Tf[(")-90(\$9,) 75

Conclusions

T%\$4(5/6&+5%(5+\$7% \$\$)2%4(/\$%#6, %12&%\$8\$5&+(, %\$; 6&\$2%-\$/\$7%\$' %7\$6/2%03%#\$2\$%)\$; 6&\$2%6/\$%(% (1/+2#%5+-+5%18&1/\$%#%7%4 12&% \$%4; \$))\$%, %6, %\$-\$K)\$-\$8(. +, 9%

V. &"8\$H; &"\$8" -&HL\$) (% ,B" ' (,,&HL"6)"?&=(,&L"=&; (9L&"6, " , (I &L"6) ; H&?6=%&"L, (' 6) (" ()?"&7\$,"\$")?9H&"F . ("6L"?&' ()?&?"\$8"- \$\$,6;6()L/
"#\$%E(8&+5+6, 2[%! "#\$\$+\$&4. &\$- . &/ +%\$&' / O+1\$"#\$&2+'(. %6,)%&(%; \$%%6F\$, %2\$/+(1287%; 7%#\$%
, \$&' (/F2n%6,)%&(% +, <
! : \$%,6; (% - (H,6&L" F() , ("L(8&"-%(; &"8\$H" ,. &6H"; ()?6?(,&L" ,"\$-H&L&), " ,. &' L&%P&L"6)"

6) ; %9?& , . &"L9=j&; , " \$8%"&(?&HL" ?&= (, &L" , . &"Y\$H, 6&" #\\$' ' 6LL6\$) " F (L" ; \$) ?9; , &?") &(H% B" , F&) , B" B&(HL" (7\$"/: 9=%; " \$9, ; HB" \$P&H" , . &"6) 6, 6(%?& 6L6\$) , \$"&0; %9?& "N%] (= &, . " 5 (B" 8H\$' ' ?&= (, 6) 7" 6) " , . &% (L, " &%& , 6\$) L" L977&L, L" 6, " 6L" . 67. " , 6' & , \$" , (I & (" 8H&L. " %%\$I" (, . & F (B" ?&= (, &L" (H&" \$H7() 6] &?" 6) " , . 6L"; \$9) , HB" " "

V. &" -9=%; " 6, L&%" (--&(HL" H&(?B" 8\$H" ; . () 7&L" >" H& ; &) , " - \$%% - H&- (H&?" 8\$H" , . &" 59) I " <&= (, &L" = B" D, , (-6&+ \$% P\$2\$6/5#% S/(1. 6) ?6; (, &L" , . (, " Q! K " \$8" #() (?6() L" L9--\$H, " 9H) 6) 7" , . &" \$H7() 6] (, 6\$) " \$8" , . &" ?&= (, &L" \$P&H" , \$" () " 6) ?&-&) ?&) , " () ?") \$) - (H, 6L() " ?&= (, &L" ; \$" ' 6LL6\$) !/ UU " E\$F" , . (, "#() (?(. (L" ?&= (, &?" , . &" F\$H, . " \$8" ?&= (, &L" " () ?" ; H6, 6; 6] &?" , . &" L, (, 9L" i 9\$" , . &" #+<" - H\$- \$L(%8\$H" , . &" H&8\$H" " \$8" , . &" #() (?6() , &% P6L&?" %&(?&HL" ?&= (, &L" L. " \$9%?" = &" ; \$) L6?&H&?" = B": (H%(' &) , " = &8\$H&" , . &) &0, " &%& , 6\$)) " "

Should the debates be mandatory?

!j \$% \$\$)%(%#688\$, 9\$%#\$% (8&+568% 6/&+\$2%(% 6/&+5. 6&\$%, %6% \$(. 8\$H2%) \$; 6&\$%,)% 5/\$6&\$%, 1\$% #\$/%#\$% (8&+568%+2F%(/%\$6) \$/2%(%#((2\$% (&%(% 6/&+5. 6&\$%2% +, 5/\$62+, 9%^{pkc}

A) "#() (?(" 76P&) , . (,) \$"%&76L(, 6\$) " ; \$P&HL" &%& , 6\$) " ?&= (, &L" ?6H& ; , B" - (H, 6; 6- (, 6\$) " 6L" (P\$9) , (HB" (88(6H" V. \$97. , . &" \) 6, &?" +, (, &L" 9L&L" , . &" #\\$' ' 6LL6\$) \$" : H&L6?&) , 6(%<&= (, &L" (L" () \$) - (H, 6L() " H7() 6] 6) 7" - (H, B" , . &" ?&= (, &L" (H&" (7(6) ") \$) , " ' () ?(, \$HB" A) " ! cQ1* 8\$H&L&&6) 7" E60\$) KL" H&89L(%, \$" ?&= (, &" 5; g\$P&H") " , . &" Q(56% P6& (, %L" ' 2"-H6) , &?J

!j \$%2&/ (, 987% / 9\$%#\$% (, 9 / 22% (% 622% (4 \$%8\$5&+ (, %\$3 / (42% \$9+286&+ (, % (88(' +, 9% &#+2% \$6 / 12% L (- \$4 ; \$ / %\$5&+ (, % #+5% (18% , 581) \$% / (- +2+ (, 2% 46F+ , 9%) \$; 6&\$2% 46,) 6& (/ 7%, %1&1 / % / \$2+) \$, +68% / 65\$2 <^{2km%}

A) "\ I H(6) &%& , 6\$) " % (FL" H&i 96H& , . (, . &" ' &?6(" H7() 6] &" () ?" = H\$ (?; (L, " &%& , 6\$) " ?&= (, &L" 6) P\$% P6) 7" (% H&76L, &H&?" ; () ?6? (, &L" 8\$H" - H&L6?&) , 6(% () ?" - (H%(' &) , (HB" &%& , 6\$) L" T / &+58% @h" (. 9' () H67. , L" \$H7() 6] (, 6\$) " 8\$; 9L6) 7" \$) " 8H&&? \$' " \$8" &0- H&LL6\$) " () ?" 6) 8\$H' (, 6\$) " . (L" ; (%&?" , . 6L" H&i 96H& ' &) , " () &0; &LL6P&B" \$) &H\$9L" \$= %7(, 6\$) " 8\$H" , . &" ' &?6(" () ?" (H79&L" , . (, 6, " ' (B") \$, " (; . 6&P&6, L" (6' " \$8" 6) 8\$H' 6) 7" , . &" &%& , \$H(, &" V. &" H7() 6] (, 6\$) " \$-6) &L" , . (, " 8H&& (; ; &LL" , \$" (6H, 6' &" 8\$H" - (H, 6L" () ?" ; () ?6? (, &L" 6L" ' \$L, &88& , 6P&" () ?" H& ; \$' ' &) ?L" , . &" H&i 96H& ' &) , " \$8" " () ?(, \$HB" ?&= (, &L" = &" (' &) ?&?J"

- (H,6;6- (,"F\$9%"?"\$, \$" (" ; ()?6?(&L" ; (' -(67)"/ E&P&H,. &%&LL" ,. &"122S" ?&=(,&L" ?\$" L977&L,".. (,"L9;. "H&-9,(,6\$)(%H6L1L" (B")\$,"=&;\$),H\$%)7` (L",. &"#\$)L&HP(,6P&,. H&(,")\$,",\$"- (H,6;6- (,"6)".. &"?&=(,&L" (I&L";%&(H"A)?&&?*,. &H&"6L" ("H&(%-\$LL6=6%,B",. (,"(,L\$' &"-\$6),"6)".. &"89,9H&".. &"-(H,6&L"()?".. &")&,F\$HI L" F6%"8(6%"\$H&(;. "(7H&&' &),"\$)".. &","&H" L"\$8".. &"?&=(,&"()?".. &"&&;,\$H(&"F6%"=&"H\$==&"\$8".. 6L"6' -\$H,(),"%&(H)6)7" \$--\$H,9)6,B/

!P\$4\$4;\$/##(' %-6. +)%&%2% +#(1&) \$; 6&\$230%\$8%2(%2/(, 987%; (1&/96, +>6&+(, 2% 6,) %2/15&1/\$2% \$5612\$% #\$,%7(1% (, H8%#6-\$%) \$; 6&\$:#7(1% /646&+56887%\$, #6, 5\$%#\$/% . (' \$/%(3%#\$%, 514; \$, &%6,)%/\$4\$,)(1287%+26)-6, 869\$%#\$5#688\$, 9\$/21 ' #5%#)(\$2% (\$4 (5/657?%kh

5\$H&\$P&H"6)"122S"6)"?&6?6)7", \$" F. \$' ", \$" &0,&)?",. &"6)P6,(,6\$)" , \$" ?&=(,&" ,. &"E&, F\$HI " #\$)L\$H,69' "H&;&P&?"8&&?=;(, I "8H\$' ",. &"-(H,6&L";\$)?&')6)7"5(BK"6);%9L6\$)/">; \$H?6)7" \$" +L?\$\$--\$H,9)6,B/

A) ",. &6H"; 9HH&), "L, (&*, . &"#() (?6() "?&=(, &L"=&%\$) 7", \$", . &") &, F\$H1 L" F. 6; . " 9L,"; (, &H", \$" ,. &" - \$%, 6; 6() L", \$" &) L9H&" - (H, 6; 6 - (, 6\$) /"#\$) L6L, &), %B" (% (L-&; L" \$8", . &" ?&; 6L6\$) C' (16) 7" - H\$; &LL&L" (H&" I &- , "L&; H&, "8H\$' ", . &" - 9 = %; *() ?", . &" ?&; 6L6\$) L" (H&" (?". \$; ` 6/&" ,. &H&". (P&" =&&) ") \$" ; \$) L6L, &), "H9%&L", . ("F\$9%?" (LL6L, "H() L- (H&); B"() ?" (: ; \$9), (=6%, B"'

!"()67H2% A%)\$; 6&\$2%/\$%(/5#\$2&/6&\$)% 7%#\$%"' (% 6/&+\$2%W% (%, \$%D+- \$2%+. %2\$/- +5\$%"(%

V. &H&8\$H&" (?\$-,6) 7" ,. &" ; H6,&H6(" L977&L,&?" =B" ,. &" gH&&) " : (H,B" 1-.%) " /" ' &) " &" #%" %)
1-/1)1-')&.3-1)1#)" /&1.6." /1').\$)' /6-) #7)1-')A\$34.%-) #&)1-')C&' \$6-) (' * /1' %)%-#@4()
&' B@.&')1-/1)/)6/\$(.(/1')O' ' 1)1-&' ')#7)1-')7#44#: . \$3)7#@&)6&.1' &./D)

! / =&"(" &' =&H"\$8"(-\$%,6; (%- (H,B" F6,. "(,%&(L,"U"-&H; &), "L9--\$H,"6") (,6\$) (%
\$-6)6\$)" -\$%L

1/ =&"(" L6,,6) 7" 5:

_ / =&"(" &' =&H"\$8"("8&?&H(%B"89) ?&?" - (H,Bn

D/ =&"(" &' =&H"\$8"("8&?&H(%- (H,B" ,. (." (L"("89%%H\$L,&H"\$8"; ()?6?(&L"(; H\$LL",. &"
) (,6\$/)

V. &"d%\$; "8\$H"&0(' -%&" F\$9%?" i 9(%8B" ,\$" - (H,6; 6- (, &"6) " = \$,,. &" M&H;) ; . " ?&= (, &" () ?" ,. &"

' 67. , * . \$F&P&H" 7H(, &" - (H, B"6) , &H&L, L*" F. 6; . " , &) ?", \$" 8(P\$9H"; (' - (67)6) 7", 6' &" (8, &H" , . &" ?&= (, &"6) " ; (L&"\$8"- \$\$H"- &H8\$H' () ; &/>; \$' ' \$?(, 6) 7" , . &L&" , F\$" - \$L6, 6\$) L*" d&H" () ?" 5\$) 6uH&" (?P\$; (, &, F\$" ?&= (, &L` \$) &". &%?" (, . &"\$) L&, \$" 8" , . &" ; (' - (67) , \$" - 6i 9&" - 9=%;" 6) , &H&L, " () ?" ("L&; \$) ?". &%?" ("F&&I" = &&\$H&" &%&; , 6\$) ?" (B/I OW"

d&H") ?" 5\$) 6uH&" L9 - - \$H, "L& - (H(, &"N) 7%L. " () ?" MH&); . " ?&= (, &L" 0(L" , . &B"; \$) L6?&H" , . &" = 6%) 79(% ?&= (, &" &0 - &H6' &), \$" ! cWS" 9) L9; ; &LL89%?" = 9, ?\$") \$, "L - & ; 68B" F. &, . &H" , . &B" 6) , &) ?" , . (, (" ?&= (, &" = & . &%?" 6) & (; . %() 79(7&= \$, . (, . &" = &76)) 6) 7" () ?" (, . &" &) ?" \$" 8" , . &" ; (' - (67) /" A" () B" ; (L&" , . &B" ?\$" L977&L, . (, " 8\$9H" ?&= (, &L" F\$9%" = &" , . &" ' (06' 9' L9 - - \$H, &?" = B"P6&F&H"6) , &H&L, " 0& (; . " F6, . (, " H9)) 6) 7", 6' &" \$" 8", F\$" . \$9HL3 /" V. &B" (%L\$" (?P6L&" ?\$6) 7" (F(B" F6, . " L6) 7%&C6LL9&" ?&= (, &L" L(P&" F. &H&" (- (H, 6; 9% (H" 6LL9&" ?\$' 6) (, &L" , . &" ; (' - (67) /"

V. 6L" - (- &H" L9 - - \$H, L" V\$) B" d9H' () K" 122W" ?& ; 6L6\$) ", \$" 6) ; H&(L&" , . &") 9' = &H" \$" 8" &%&; , 6\$) " ?&= (, &L" b&" - H\$ - \$L& , . (, (" L&H6&L" \$" 8" &%&; , 6\$) " ?&= (, &L" = &" . &%?" F&&I %B" , . H\$97. \$" 9, " , . &" ; (' - (67) /" V. &" 6) ; %9L6\$) " \$" 8" ' \$H&" ?&= (, &L" F\$9%" L\$%P&" L\$' &" \$" 8" , . &" - H\$ = %' L" 8\$H"

b&" ;\$); 9H" F6,. "#\$%&' ()" ,. (,*" 4?&=(,&" %&L" (," ,. &" . &(H," \$8" ?&' \$; H(; B@! S! " : 9=%;" ?&%=&H(,6\$)"6L"(")&; &LL(HB"-H& ;\$) ?6,6\$)" ,"\$6)8\$H' &?" ;6,6] &) "P\$,6) 7" TH7()6] &?"&%&; ,6\$)" ?&=(,&L"; ()'" (I &" ("L67)6e6; () ,";\$),H6=9,6\$)" ,"\$L9; . "?&%=&H(,6\$)" /V. &"&06L,6) 7"LBL,&' "6)" #() (?(*F. 6%&" ;\$),H6=9,6) 7" ,"\$,. 6L"-H\$; &LL"; ()"=&"7H&(. %B' -H\$P&?" /V. 6L" L,9?B"\$88&HL" ()" (7&)?("=B" F. 6; . ,. 6L"; ()"=&"(;. 6&P&?/

Summary of Recommendations

- 1) V&%&P6L&?"%&(?&HL"?&=(,&L" L. \$9%" =&" &),H&); . &" 6) 6%C8\$5&+(, 2%T5&()?" Q/(6)562&+, 9%T5&<
- 2) M&?"&H(% -(H,B" 89) ?6) 7" 8\$H" &%&; ,6\$)" ; (' -(67)L" L. \$9%" =&" ;\$),6) 7&," 9-\$)" 89%" -(H,6; 6-(,6\$)"6)"%&(?&HL"?&=(,&L/
- 3) V. &" B6, 6) 6%C8\$5&+(, 2%T5&%. \$9%" ;H&(&, . &" B6, 6)+6, %=\$; 6&\$2%((. \$/6&+-\$/#<#3", \$" \$H7()6] &, . &"?&=(,&L/"
- 4) <&=(,&L" L. \$9%" =&" . &%?" 6)" =\$,, "N) 7%L. " ()?"MH&); . n", . \$97. "-(H,B"%" &(?&HL" L. \$9%" . (P&,\$"i 9(%8B"8\$H"& ;. " ?&=(,&L"
- 5) : (H,B"6) ;9L6\$)" ; H6,&H6("L. \$9%" =&, . H&"\$8"8\$9H"63"Uk" L9--\$H,"6)") (,6\$) (%-\$%L"663" ("L&,(,6)" : (H%(' &),n"663"("89%"H\$L,&H" \$8"; () ?6?(,&L" (;H\$LL", . &") (,6\$) n"6P3"8&?&H(% 89) ?6) 7"
- 6) >" L&H6&L" \$8" ?&=(,&L" L. \$9%" , (I &" -%(;& ,. H\$97. \$9, " ,. &" ; (' -(67)" =&, F&&)" -(H,B" H&-H&L&), (,6P&L" \$)") (,6\$) (%()?"H&76\$) (% ,. &" &L" ()?" ,. &L&" L. \$9%" =&" =H\$ (?; (L, \$" ;\$' -%&' &), (HB" L-& ;6(%B"; . ())&%/
- 7) A)" ,. &" e6) (%F&&I L" \$8" ,. &"&%&; ,6\$)" ; (' -(67)" , F\$"%" &(?&HL"?&=(,&L" L. \$9%" , (I &" -%(;&n" ,. &" e6H," \$)" &8&,(,9H6) 7" (%i 9(%8B6) 7"- (H,B"%" &(?&HL" ()?" ,. &" L& ;\$)" ?&,(,9H6) 7" ,. &" : H6' &"56)6L,&H" ()?" ,. &" - (H,B"%" &(?&H"8H\$' ,. &" 67. &L, " -\$%" 7" \$--\$L6,6\$)" -(H,B"
- 8) N%&; ,6\$)" ?&=(,&" i 9&L,6\$) L" L. \$9%" =&" =H\$ (?&)&?" ,\$" 6) ;9?&" (" F6?&H"9) 6P&HL&" \$8" -(H,6; 6-(,L"0- &H. (-L"(L1) 7"8\$H' &H"-H6' &" 6)6L,&HL", \$" - \$L&" i 9&L,6\$) L", \$" ,. &") &F" %&(?&HL3%"&(?&HL" L. \$9%" =&" -&H' 6, ,&" , \$" i 9&L,6\$)" & ;. \$" ,. &H"
- 9) V. &" 9L&"\$8" L\$; 6(%)" &, F\$HI 6) 7" -%(,8\$H' L" L. \$9%" =&"&0-%\$6,&?" , \$" =H\$ (?&)" ,. &" H&(& ;. " ()?"(- -&(%\$8"%"& ;,6\$)" ?&=(,&L/

#6,6]&)K^L"<=&=(,%"#\$' ' 6LL6\$)"/. .,-JhhFFF;/6,6]&)L?&=(,/&\$H7h
#%(HI *I\$&/"4Y&,"N%] (=&,."5(B"+-&(Ik@S8(; \$%,)%M6&%5(H;. "_! *"122c/"
#%(HI &"X(H\$%?"<&&&)?(,) *"I()&"I&' L\$)"Y(FH&);&"Y&<9;"()?"I\$.)"X/": (' ' &,,/"0! cc! 3/"T; 2\$, &%M6,)6&:\$.%
D, &\$/./\$&, 9%#6, 9\$%, %B6, 6)+6, %C8\$5&+(, 2%\$5(,)%C)&+(, /"V\$H\$), \$J"g(7&/"
#\$%&' () *"+,&-.&)/"0! ccQ3"4V&%&P6L&?"Y&(??&HL"<=&=(,&L">)"&P(%9(,6\$)"()?"(-H\$-\$L(%#""^6)7CX(%": (-&H"
E\$_*"V. &"X()L(H?"+\$; 6&, B"8\$H": (H%(' &),(HB"g\$P&H)' &), "Y\$)?\$)"
#\$%&' () *"+,&-.&)/"0! ccS3"4V. &,"&%&P6L&?"Y&(??&HL"?"&=(,&"6)"dH6,(6)J"8H\$' ",(% 6)7". &(?L", \$" . &(?)&LL"
;. 6; I &)L@"E6/8+64\$, &6/7%T336+/2% S10! W3/

$\wedge \& \$ F) \& "Y \& L \% \& C >)) \& "4 \wedge \& \& -6) 7"9 -"F6, . " . \& ", 6' \& L" \#() (?6() L"() ?" . \& 6H") \& F L" \& ?6("76\&, /"B6, 6) +6, \% (5+6\% "/$,) 2\& 6\& 2\& +52\& B6, 6) 6\& B6\& 68(91\$U_ (\% @KUUb<$
 $Y() \$9\& * < (P6?"I"0! CC! 3"4 < \& = (, \& L"V. ("5 (, , \& H\& ?J" f\$, \& HL" [\& (, , 6\$) ", \$", . \& ! cSD" \#() (?6() "Y \& (?& HL. 6 -" <\& = (, \& L" B6, 6) +6, \% (1/, 68\% 3\% E (8\& +56\% A5+\$, 5\$ \& F\$ \& 1D" E\$ /"! *" U! CWU/$
 $Y\&<9; "Y(FH\&); \&"() ?" [6; . (H?": H6; \&"0! cSU3"4gH& (, <\& = (, \& L"V. \&"V\& \& P6L\& ?"Y\& (?& HL. 6 -" <\& = (, \& L" \$8"! cQc@"" B6, 6) +6, \% (1/, 68\% 3\% E (8\& +56\% A5+\$, 5\$ \& F\$ \& 1D" E\$ /"! *" U! CWU/$
 $Y\&<9; "Y(FH\&); \&"0! CC23"4: (H, B" +, H(, \& 76\& L"() ?" . , \&"9L" \$8", \& \& P6L\& ?"; (' - (67) ?\& = (, \& L" \& ^\% F\& H" >; (?& ' 6; " : 9 = \% L. \& HL" E\&, . \& H\& () ?L"$
 $Y\&<9; "Y(FH\&); \&"0! CCW3"4V. \&"Y\& (?& HL <\& = (, \& L" \#H6, 6; (%NP\&), "\$H" E\$) CNP\&), /"A) " "#\$B6, 6) +6, \% \$, \$ /68\% C\$5\& + (, \% 3\% hha" \& ?6, \& ?" = B" > \%) " MH6]] \& " I\$.) " X": (' ' \&, ."() ?" >, . \$) B" \& L, \& \% \& T, , (F (J" \#(H\% , \$)" \&) \& P\& HL6, B": H\& LL/$
 $5(B" N\%) (= . , /"0122C3"Z(2+, 9\% B(, +\$) \$, 5\$ \& E(' \$ / \% (8\& +52\% ,) \% \& \$5 / +2\% , \% B6, 6) +6, \% \$4 (5/657\% \$H\$), \$J" 5: \# \% (\%) ?" p" +, \& F(H,$
 $56) \$F" E\& F, \$) "E" () ?" \#H(67" Y /" Y ((B" 0122S3" D, 2+) \$\% \# \$E / \$2+) \$, \& 68\% = \$; 6\& \$2" \# . 6; (7\$J" \&) \& P\& HL6, B" \$8" \# . 6; (7\$": H\& LL/$
 $56, ; . \% > 9L, 6) /"012223"4V. \&"gH& (, "dH6, 6L. "NO; \& -, 6\$) /"A) " "\$\$ - +2\$) \% C\$5\& + (, \% = \$; 6\& \$2: \% , \& /, 6\& + (, 6\% E / 2. \$5\& + \$2: \% & ?" = B" +, \& - , \&) " \# \$ \% ' () ?" ! 2DC! 1! /" E\& F " G\$H1 J" +, "5 (H, 6) \& L": H\& LL"A) ; /$
 $5\$. (' ' (?" + 9L() /"4T9H" Y\& (?& HL <\& = (, \& L" (H\& \# \$) , H\$ \% \& ?" = B" . , \&" Vf" E\&, F\$H1 L" AL" 6, "V6' \&, \$": 9\% , . \& : \% 97a@"" 465\$6, 256" + \& -, \& ' = \& H" ! U" 122S/$
 $E9' = \& H! 27\$P/91 /"4b . (, (H\& : H6' \& "56) \& L, \& HL" Z9\& L, 6\$) La@! () 9(HB"1! *"122D/$
 $TKE\& \% 5 (H7\$, /"4A' - (, ; \$8" Y\& (?& HL <\& = (, \& Z9\& L, 6\$) \& ?" \& Z6\& \$\& , \$\% + \& -, \& ' = \& H" ! _ *"122D/$
 $T - \&) <\& = (, \& L" F\& F\& F /$ - \& ?\& = (, \& L / \$H7$
 $: 9 = \% ; "E\$, 6; \& [V" ! cSSC! D1 /" 0! cSS3 /" 1" + \& -, \& ' = \& H$
 $: 9 = \% ; "E\$, 6; \& [V" ! ccUCDD /" 0! ccU3 /" 1 U" 5 (H; . /$
 $[\$ = \& H, L\$) " I (' \& L" [" () ?" + \& = (L, 6 () " + - () \$ /" 0122S3"4V. \&" () (?6() "N\% ; , \$H (\% + BL, \& ' /" Y6 = H(HB" \$8": (H\% (' \& , *" Y(F" () ?" g\$P\& H) ' \&) " < \& P6L6\$) /$
 $[\$B(\% \# \$ ' ' 6LL6\$) \$) "N\% ; , \$H (\% [\& 8\$H' " () ?": (H, B" M6) () ; 6) 7 /" 0! CC! q100-10792cmBT1000BT10-58.$

! ""#\$%&' ()*(+, -#.(/0, 1(-2#(0, 3\$%-456#

Televised Election Debates in Canada: Reality TV or Useful Political Discourse?

V. &L&" \$,&L" -H&L&," (" L9' ' (HB" \$8" , . & -H&L&), (.6\$)L" ()?" ;\$' ' &), L" ' (?&" \$)" +&-,&' =H"1U"122C"(,"(-9=%;"H\$9)?,(=%". \$L,&?"=B" , . "&#+<("Z9&&)L"\")6P&HL6,B"6)" H&L-\$)L&," \$,. &"?H(8,"\$8" , 6L"-(-&H""

Setting the Stage: Are Canadians tuning in or turned off?

, -#O/%)!)EF: #&1-+
<8-/ .&?8' \$1')7#&)1-')! 1@(+)#7)= ' O#6&/6+>
y T9H#" ,H&". (L" ,. H&" (6" -9H-\$L&L" ()?" (' \$)7" ,. & "6L" ("-(H,6; 9%(H"; \$' ' 6, ' &), ",\$"
&); \$9H(76)7"; 6,6]&) "7(7&' &), "()?"=H\$ (?&H" L&) L&"\$8"; 6,6]&) L. 6-/

y >; (?& ' 9L," ,HB" ,"\$ -H\$' \$,& " , 6L" -9=%; " ?6L; \$9HL& ()?")&, F\$HI L" L. \$9%?" =& " 8(6H
09)=6(L&?3*6)8\$H' (,6P&" ()?" , (%)]6)7"6)"?&%P&H6)7" " &LL(7&L/

y V. () I "B\$9", "\$,.. &"L-\$) L\$HL" >9H&("M\$9)?(,6\$)/

G.6- ' 44')H#3' &%
<E@1-#&) #7) ICJ,) = ' * / 1' %K C/.&?) J\$7#&O/1.5') / \$() , / \$1/4.L.\$3D) H' 7#&O.\$3) 7' (' &/4
' 4' 61. #\$((' * / 1' %). \$)8/\$/(/M>

y V. &= "(L;" -H& ' 6L&"\$8" ,. & -(-&H" 6L" ,. (, " ,. H&" (H&" ,. H&" -\$L6,6\$) L" (, "L, (I &" C" ' &?6(*
- \$%,6; 6() L" ,. & "-&\$-%&"C" ()?" F&") &&?", \$" -9, " -&\$-%&" (, " ,. &"8\$H&8H\$) , /

y #H&?6, "8\$H" ,. &"6?&("=&. 6) ?" ,. & -(-&H" 7\$&L" , \$" 5 (HB" Y\$9" M6) ?% (B/

y : (-&H" 6) ; %9?&L" (); (L&L, 9?B" \$8" 8\$9H"; \$9) , H6&LJ" #() (?(?" \+?" \^?" >9L, H(%(` e6H, "6) , &H&L,
6L" ,. & "#() (?6() "-&HL-& ; ,6P&" 0?68e6; 9%" , \$" H&L&(H; . 3/

y X67. &L, " -\$6) , "\$8" ; \$) , & , 6\$) " 6) " H& (, 6\$) , "\$" ,. & -(-&H" L&& ' L" , \$" = &" 6) ; %9L6\$) " ; H6, &H6(`
F. 6; . "?&L") \$, " 6) ; %9?&" d%\$; " Z9&=& ; \$6L" 6) ,. & N) 7%L. "?&= (, &/

y N) 7%L. " Z9&=& ; &H" P&HB" ; \$) ; &H) &?" F6, . " ,. 6L" 6?&(n") &&?", \$" 9) ?&HL, ()?" 6) " ,. &6H" \$F) "
%) (7&F. (, 6L" . (-&) 6) 7" F6, . 6) ,. &6H" -H\$P6) ; &/

y V. & " g%\$=& " p" 5 (6% 8&%" ,. (, " . (P6) 7" F&&I %B" ?&= (, &L" F\$9%?" ?6' 6) 6L. " i 9(% , B" ()?" ,. (,
- &) (%)]6) 7" ; () ?6? (, &L" 8\$H") \$) C- (H,6; 6- (, 6\$) " F\$9%?" = & ") \$) C?& ' \$; H(,6; / V. &B" (%L\$"
FH\$, & ,. (, " ,. &"6?& (" \$8" (" ! J! " ?&= (, &" F(L" ,. &" \$) %B" L977&L, 6\$) " F6, . " &H6, /

Session 1: The Media Perspective

G/&2)N@43@16-

y T)&"6?&("F\$9%"=&, \$" . (P&"L-&; 6(%B" ;. ())&L" L. \$F" 4,. &' &?@"?&=(,&L" &/7" . 6L,\$HB" ;. ())&% (6H6)7"?&=(,&L"\$)"; 6,6] &) L. 6- "6) ". 6L,\$HB"=9L6)&LL")&, F\$HI L" L. \$F6)7"e6)(); 6(% ?&=(,&L"4dH(P\$@"(?)?"%I &";. ())&%L" L. \$F6)7"?&=(,&L"\$)";. &"(H,L/

y V. &"6); %9L6\$)"\$8" \$H&"?&=(,&L"; \$9%"L\$P&"L\$' &"\$8",. &"-H\$=%' L"8\$H")&, F\$HI L" ; \$9%" -H\$P6?&"("%P&%&H" L&) L&"\$8" F. (,KL"7\$6)7"");. ()"H&-&,6,6\$)"()?"L,()?(H?"L-&&;. /

y A,"6L"("&,%&P6L6\$)"L. \$F" ()?", \$" , (I&")&, F\$HI L" \$9, \$"?"\$6)7"Vf"6L", \$"H\$=,, &"?&=(,&L"\$8"(" L\$9H; &"\$8" &0-&H,6L&"6) " (,,H(;,6)7h-H\$' \$,6)7" (9?6&); &". (" F&" F(), &)7(7&"6) " ?&=(,&L/

y V. &"6?&(",, \$" [&79%,&"-\$%,6; (% L-&&;. " ()?"%&76L%,&,.. &"H9%&L" \$8"?&=(,&L" L. \$9%"=& H&;\$) L6?&H&?

!1' 5')O/.2.\$
 <E\$6-#&)U)%' \$.#&)' (.1#&)#7), P X%)I, -')E3' \$(/): .1-)!1' 5')O/.2.\$M;)E4%#)O#(' &/1' () 1-&' ')4' 61.#\$) (' * /1' %D) [\ \])/\$() [\ \ ^)7' (' &/4' 4' 61.#\$%) /\$()1-')[\ \ _)X\$1/&. #) '4' 61.#\$>

y A" (7H&&F6,. "VH6) (",, ("&,,6)7"-\$%,6; 6()L" L&,.. &"H9%&L" ?\$&L)K," (I&L&)L&"()?".. (," ' (B=&,.. &" &?6("H&"6)"()9)8(6H"-\$L6,6\$)"6)7&,6)7", \$"?&; 6?&F. \$"-(H,6;6-(,&L"()?"6) " ;\$P&H6)7",.. &"H&L9%L"5(B=&"F&"?)K,")&&?" ()" \$8e6; 6(% ;\$' ' 6LL6\$)"=9, " ; \$9%" . (P&" L\$" &,.. 6)7%"I &,, &"#+<"?&; 6?&6,/

y V. &" " &?6("; \$)L\$H,69' "?&; 6?&L",.. &"-%(B&H"()?"(%\$4\$=j&;,6P&%B@"?&; 6?&L",.. &"\$P&H(7&/

y A",.. &"-(L,*!J!"?&=(,&L". (P&"F\$HI &?"=9, " ,.. &"-H\$=%' "6)", \$"?(BKL";\$), &0,"6L",.. (," ()B" P6&F&H" F\$9%"?)K," F(), \$" F(,;.. " ?&=(,&L" =,&F&&)" ;&H,(6)" -&\$-%" F. \$" (H&"\$),.. &" -(H,B%"(&H" C"-&\$-%" F(), \$"L&&,.. &L,H\$)7" " &' =&H" ?&=(,6)7/

y A%"I &,,.. &"8\$H" (,,.. &"F(B"6,"6L" F6,. "%(&H"=6)7" L&(&?"(H\$9)?",.. &,(=%&"(L" \$--\$L&?" ,\$,.. &"L,688)&LL" \$8"-\$?69' L/

y b&"(H&,HB6)7", \$"?& \$" ;H(,6] &,.. &"F. \$"%&"?&=(,&"-H\$; &LL" \$9H" H\$%"6L", \$"-H\$' \$" &"7\$%"?" ?6L; 9LL6\$) L"()?"-9,6)7\$?"8\$%%FC9- "F. &H&")&; &LL(HB"=9, " ,.. &"#() (?6() "-&\$-%" (H&" &LL&), 6(%B"(L16)7",.. &"i 9&L,6\$) L")\$F/

y 5\$H&"9); \$' 8\$H, (=%"i 9&L,6\$) L"-H\$P6?&"8\$H"6), &H&L,6)7"()?"9); \$' 8\$H, (=%"' \$" &), L"6)" ?&=(,&L" C=9, "?"F&"F(), .. 6L",.. \$97. a

Follow-Up Comments and Questions

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Follow-Up Comments and Questions

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Appendix 2

From: Éric Grenier
Date: Fri, 11 Sep 2009 11:19:56 -0400
To: Thomas Axworthy
Subject: Re: Debates

Mr. Axworthy,

I appreciate your response. I've now gone through the paper, but I still have some concerns which I hope you will address.

First off, I agree that in theory it makes sense to have minimum requirements for inclusion in the debates. I also agree that they should be regulated and taken out of the hands of the media. However, while in theory your proposals make sense, they ignore our Canadian reality. The Bloc Quebecois exists, and has existed now since the early 1990s. We know that the Bloc will not run outside of Quebec. So to put these requirement rules in place now would exclude the Bloc from English-language debates. Were these rules put into place before the Bloc Quebecois came into existence, they would have far more merit. Instead, they appear to have the goal of excluding the Bloc, to change what has been a debate precedent since 1993.

The paper does not explain why excluding the Bloc would improve the debates. Is it to reduce the amount of people participating? True, most Canadians listening to the English-language debates cannot vote for the Bloc, but there are many English-speaking Canadians in Quebec who do have that opportunity. By putting these rules into place, the Bloc would be at a disadvantage in those anglophone ridings in Quebec.

On the other hand, having the Bloc in the English-speaking debates puts no one at a disadvantage, except perhaps that the Bloc leader takes up debate time that the other leaders could use. In that case, it would make more sense to limit the Bloc's time in the English-speaking debate to equal the proportion of Canadian anglophones who live in Quebec. That would at least give the Bloc leader time for an opening and closing statement and an opportunity to respond to questions concerning Quebec or challenges from the other party leaders concerning the Bloc.

In any case, many francophones do understand English. They will be more informed on their

So, to sum up, making changes like this would decrease the amount of information voters have before going to the polling booths. It would unfairly disadvantage the Bloc, a party that still earns more votes than the Greens and has, as recently as 2000, received more than even the NDP. In terms of national unity, it will only increase the misperceptions English Canadians have about Quebec and the sovereignty movement, and will certainly not make Quebecers feel more included in Canadian society.

While the proposals the CSD makes are, on the whole, very good, I fail to see how this particular proposal would benefit our Canadian democracy.

Regards,

Eric Grenier

