FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE REVIEW

Canada Legislative Outlook 2026

The First Year of the Carney Government

A Twelve-Month Review of Federal Legislative Activity

26 May 2025 - 26 May 2026

Legislative activity. Statutory completion.
Parliamentary pathways. Policy implementation.

An anniversary snapshot of what moved through Parliament, how it moved, and what remained to be done.

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Reading this report

The analytical window is fixed at 26 May 2026. A bill’s later progress does not change its Year One classification. Legislative conversion measures statutory completion; it does not measure policy completion or effectiveness.

Figures are placed with the analysis they support. The full bill-level dataset and primary-source endnotes provide the underlying evidence.

Executive Summary

The First Year of the Carney Government

The first twelve months of the 45th Parliament produced a federal legislative record characterized less by uniform legislative throughput than by selective conversion across multiple governing channels.

This report examines the period from 26 May 2025 to 26 May 2026, using the opening of the 45th Parliament as the starting point and its first anniversary as a fixed analytical cutoff. “Year One” is therefore an analytical period rather than a formally defined Canadian legislative year or parliamentary session.

The government entered the 45th Parliament following an election in which the Liberal Party won 169 of 343 seats, short of the 172 seats required for a House majority. House composition changed during Year One. Three Liberal candidates won the 13 April 2026 by-elections; by the House sitting of 27 April, the parliamentary record explicitly reflected 174 Liberal MPs, and that majority remained in place through the 26 May cutoff. Its inaugural programme, set out in the May 2025 Speech from the Throne, combined immediate affordability measures with broader commitments concerning internal trade, major projects, housing, immigration and border administration, defence, trade diversification and fiscal restructuring. [11] [12] [13] [14] [50]

During the first twelve months, 35 Government Bills were introduced in the House of Commons and Senate. Of these, 29 were classified as substantive policy legislation, while five were supply or appropriation bills and one was the House pro forma bill. [1]

By the anniversary cutoff, 13 of the 35 Government Bills had received Royal Assent, producing a total legislative conversion rate of 37.1%. [1]

Within the substantive-policy universe, eight of 29 bills had received Royal Assent, producing a 27.6% substantive legislative conversion rate. The remaining 21 substantive bills-72.4% of the substantive legislative programme-remained in the parliamentary pipeline. [1]

Those figures, however, describe only part of the government's first-year record.

Statutory completion was substantially more concentrated than legislative activity. The eight substantive enactments were located in three primary policy categories: Economy & Fiscal Policy, Trade & Internal Market, and Immigration & Labour Mobility. Other policy fields generated significant legislative activity but had not produced substantive enactments by the anniversary cutoff.

Legislative velocity also varied substantially. Some priority measures moved rapidly. The One Canadian Economy Act, C-5, progressed from introduction on 6 June 2025 to Royal Assent on 26 June, with broad cross-party support at its principal House stages, while other measures remained before Parliament for substantially longer periods or carried forward into Year Two. [19]

The evidence does not support treating this variation as a single measure of government effectiveness or parliamentary obstruction. Different bills encountered different combinations of cross-party support, narrow voting margins, committee scrutiny, procedural acceleration, Senate pre-study and bicameral negotiation.

Nor was legislation the government's only implementation channel.

Several Throne Speech priorities advanced through executive, administrative, intergovernmental or international action alongside-or in advance of-legislation. The Major Projects Office, Build Canada Homes, defence cooperation and other initiatives illustrate a governing model in which statutory authority and executive implementation frequently operated in parallel.

This distinction also applies after enactment.

Royal Assent did not place the eight substantive enactments at a common implementation endpoint. Some statutes had entered into force and were being actively administered by the cutoff. Others required regulations or measure-specific implementation. One major benefit had an established delivery mechanism but a payment date immediately after the analytical cutoff. Two trade implementation statutes had completed Canada's domestic legislative requirements while further steps remained before their underlying international agreements could operate for Canada.

The resulting first-year record is therefore best understood through several separate but connected measures: legislative activity; statutory completion; parliamentary pathway; implementation maturity; and observable policy outcomes.

These measures answer different questions and should not be collapsed into a single government-performance score.

The central finding of this report is therefore:

The Carney government's first year was characterized by a broad legislative agenda but selective conversion into statute. Statutory completion was concentrated in a limited number of policy areas, while other priorities advanced through heterogeneous parliamentary pathways or through executive and administrative mechanisms. The anniversary cutoff consequently captured a government with completed priority legislation, active implementation machinery and a substantial multi-layer policy carryover into Year Two.

Six Key Findings

Finding 1 - The Government Introduced a Broad Legislative Programme, but Statutory Completion Was Concentrated

The first twelve months produced 35 Government Bills, of which 29 constituted substantive policy legislation under the methodology used in this report. [1]

Eight substantive bills had received Royal Assent by 26 May 2026.

This produced a 27.6% substantive legislative conversion rate. [1]

The remaining 21 substantive bills were not treated as legislative failures or as evidence of inactivity. They constituted the government's substantive parliamentary carryover at the fixed anniversary cutoff. [1]

The distribution of legislation also reveals an important distinction between legislative attention and statutory completion.

The substantive agenda extended across economic and fiscal policy, public safety and justice, Indigenous and social policy, trade and internal markets, housing and infrastructure, immigration and labour mobility, institutions and democratic governance, and defence and sovereignty.

The eight substantive enactments, however, were concentrated in only three of those primary categories.

The first-year legislative record therefore cannot be adequately described by the volume of bills introduced alone.

Legislative attention was broad; statutory completion was concentrated.

Finding 2 - The Throne Speech Was Implemented Through Both Legislative and Executive Channels

The May 2025 Speech from the Throne did not translate into a single legislative checklist.

Some commitments had identifiable statutory mechanisms and moved through Parliament. These included measures relating to personal income tax, GST treatment for eligible first-time home buyers, federal internal-trade and labour-mobility barriers, major-project authorities and border and immigration administration.

Other commitments depended substantially on executive or administrative action.

The establishment and operation of the Major Projects Office, the administrative launch of Build Canada Homes, defence spending and international defence cooperation, and elements of trade diversification illustrate this second pathway.

Still other commitments were explicitly multi-year objectives. Targets concerning the temporary-resident share of the population, fiscal restructuring, housing delivery and defence capacity could not meaningfully be classified as completed or uncompleted after twelve months because their stated implementation horizons remained open.

For that reason, this report does not calculate a single “percentage of Throne Speech promises delivered.” Such a denominator would combine fundamentally different types of commitments.

Instead, the evidence indicates a dual legislative-executive delivery model, with multi-year outcomes assessed separately.

The government's agenda moved through legislation, executive administration and longer-term policy implementation simultaneously.

Finding 3 - Legislative Acceleration Was Selective Rather Than Uniform

The government's legislative programme did not move through Parliament at a common speed.

C-5 provides the clearest example of accelerated statutory conversion, moving from introduction to Royal Assent in 20 calendar days with broad cross-party support at its principal House stages. [19]

Other enacted measures followed substantially longer parliamentary pathways. C-4, for example, was introduced on 5 June 2025 and received Royal Assent on 12 March 2026. C-12 moved through committee scrutiny, both chambers and exchanges concerning Senate amendments before receiving Royal Assent in March 2026. [18] [26]

Several substantive bills remained at earlier or intermediate parliamentary stages at the anniversary cutoff.

The evidence therefore supports describing the governing pattern as selective acceleration, not generalized legislative speed.

Acceleration also should not be equated with unilateral executive control.

During the minority phase, the governing caucus did not itself hold a majority of House seats; by late April 2026, it did. The report therefore interprets recorded votes according to the House composition in force at the time rather than assuming a single parliamentary environment across Year One.

Selected priorities moved rapidly when political support and parliamentary procedure aligned; the wider legislative programme moved at substantially different speeds.

Finding 4 - Year One Spanned Minority and Majority House Phases, Producing Multiple Parliamentary Pathways

The government's House position changed during Year One and did not generate a uniform legislative environment. Earlier examples such as C-5 and C-15 belong to the minority phase, while C-30's late-May votes occurred after the Liberal caucus held a House majority. [19] [29] [44]

Some measures received broad cross-party support at important stages. Others advanced through narrower voting margins. Some involved procedural acceleration, including time allocation. Senate pre-study allowed scrutiny of selected measures to begin before formal arrival from the House of Commons.

Bicameral negotiation also mattered. C-12 demonstrated that the Senate could propose amendments and that the two chambers could subsequently negotiate the final legislative text through formal messages and responses. [26]

These mechanisms frequently overlapped.

A rapidly enacted bill could still undergo committee scrutiny and amendment. A bill enjoying broad support at one stage could face closely divided votes on individual amendments. A government bill could combine Commons majority-building with Senate pre-study.

Consequently, neither “cross-party cooperation” nor “parliamentary obstruction” adequately describes the first year as a whole.

The first year was characterized by policy-dependent parliamentary alignments and procedures rather than a single stable voting pattern or a uniform pattern of opposition.

Legislative velocity therefore measures elapsed time. It does not independently measure the intensity or quality of parliamentary scrutiny.

Likewise, voting margins document parliamentary alignment at a particular stage; they do not establish the motivations of individual parties or parliamentarians.

Finding 5 - The Year Two Carryover Was Substantial but Heterogeneous

At the anniversary cutoff, 21 substantive Government Bills remained in Parliament. [1]

Treating all 21 simply as “unfinished bills” obscures substantial differences among them. [1]

Some had not completed second reading in their originating chamber. Others had completed second reading and were undergoing or had completed committee examination. A further group had completed third reading in their originating chamber and had therefore travelled substantially further through the parliamentary process.

The cutoff also created unavoidable boundary effects. Parliamentary activity immediately after 26 May cannot be used retrospectively to change a bill's Year One classification.

Legislative age further complicates simple backlog interpretations. A bill introduced only weeks before the cutoff and a bill that had remained before Parliament for many months can both appear in the same unfinished count while representing very different parliamentary histories.

For that reason:

Pipeline maturity measures parliamentary distance travelled, not parliamentary distance remaining with certainty.

Year Two also inherited more than legislation.

It inherited implementation obligations created by Year One statutes and institutions, together with multi-year policy commitments whose stated implementation horizons remained open.

The carryover should therefore be understood in three layers: unfinished legislation; ongoing implementation; and unresolved policy outcomes.

Finding 6 - Royal Assent Measured Statutory Completion, Not Policy Completion

The eight substantive enactments did not occupy a common implementation position by 26 May 2026.

C-3 had entered into force and its new citizenship framework was being administered. [17]

C-5 had moved through subsequent regulatory and institutional implementation. [19]

C-4 had entered active tax administration, including administrative measures connected with its tax provisions. [18]

C-15 contained multiple measures with different implementation timelines. [29]

C-19 had an established administrative delivery mechanism, but its principal special payment was scheduled for after the anniversary cutoff. [33]

C-13 and C-18 had completed Canada's domestic implementing legislation while further international steps remained before the relevant trade arrangements could operate for Canada. [27] [32]

The substantive legislative conversion rate therefore has a precise and deliberately limited meaning:

The 27.6% conversion rate measures statutory completion, not policy completion. [1]

It does not mean that 27.6% of the government's programme was implemented.

It does not mean that 27.6% of Throne Speech commitments were completed.

And it does not measure policy effectiveness.

Royal Assent is an important institutional threshold, but it is not a universal policy endpoint.

Year One by the Numbers

PART II | Legislative Output and the Structure of the Government Agenda

2.1 The First-Year Legislative Universe

During the first twelve months of the 45th Parliament, the government introduced 35 Government Bills across the House of Commons and Senate. [1]

The anniversary dataset comprises 30 House Government Bills, C-1 through C-30, and five Senate Government Bills, S-2 through S-6. S-1 is not included because it is a Senate Public Bill rather than a Senate Government Bill. Bills introduced after 26 May 2026 are outside the Year One universe. [15] [44] [45] [49]

The 35 Government Bills consist of: [1]

• 29 substantive Government Bills (82.9%); [1]

• 5 supply or appropriation bills (14.3%); and

• 1 House pro forma Government Bill, C-1 (2.9%). [15]

The five appropriation measures are C-6, C-7, C-17, C-23 and C-24. C-24 is Appropriation Act No. 1, 2026-27 and received Royal Assent on 26 March 2026. [20] [21] [31] [37] [38]

C-1, the traditional House pro forma bill respecting the administration of oaths of office, is recorded in total government legislative activity but excluded from the substantive-policy universe. [15]

Accordingly, the substantive legislative universe consists of 29 bills. [1]

Senate Government Bills are classified under the same primary policy taxonomy and decision rules applied to House Government Bills.

2.2 Legislative Completion

By the anniversary cutoff, 13 of the 35 Government Bills introduced during Year One had received Royal Assent. [1]

Total Legislative Conversion Rate: 37.1%

13 / 35 = 37.1%

Five of those enacted bills were supply or appropriation legislation. Once appropriation and pro forma legislation are removed, 8 of the government's 29 substantive bills had received Royal Assent by 26 May 2026. [1]

Substantive Legislative Conversion Rate: 27.6%

8 / 29 = 27.6%

The eight substantive enactments were:

• C-3 - Citizenship Act amendments; [17]

• C-4 - Making Life More Affordable for Canadians Act; [18]

• C-5 - One Canadian Economy Act; [19]

• C-12 - Strengthening Canada's Immigration System and Borders Act; [26]

• C-13 - legislation implementing the United Kingdom's accession to the CPTPP; [27]

• C-15 - Budget 2025 Implementation Act, No. 1; [29]

• C-18 - legislation implementing the Canada-Indonesia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement; and [32]

• C-19 - Canada Groceries and Essentials Benefit Act. [33]

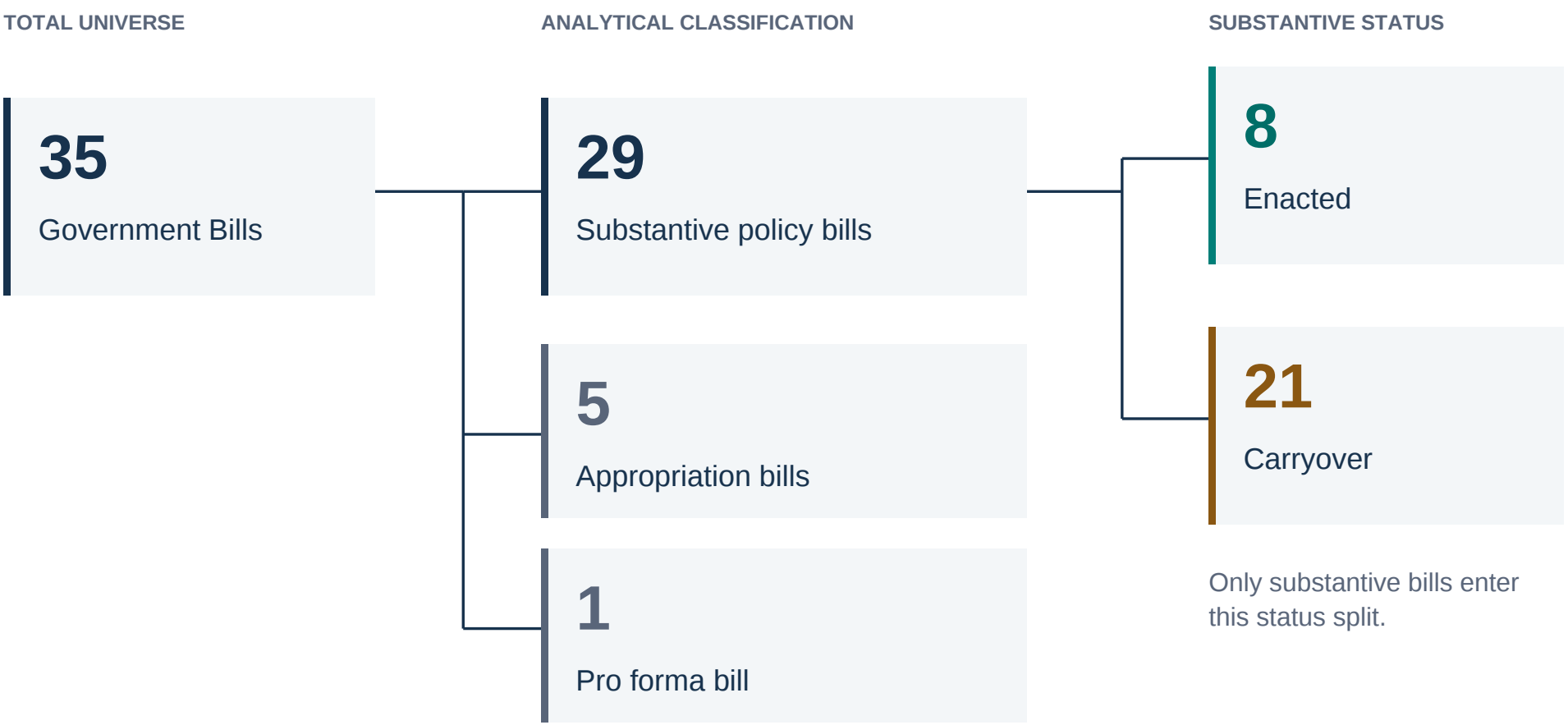
The difference between the total and substantive conversion rates reflects the distinct constitutional and parliamentary role of supply legislation rather than a contradiction between the indicators.

C-1 requires separate treatment in reconciling the totals. As the House pro forma bill, it is excluded from both the substantive enacted count and the substantive carryover pipeline. The 21-bill carryover figure therefore represents the 29 substantive Government Bills less the eight substantive bills that had received Royal Assent by the cutoff. [1] [15]

Legislative Funnel

Government bills introduced within the analytical window

Snapshot: 26 May 2026



TOTAL CONVERSION	13/35 = 37.1%	SUBSTANTIVE CONVERSION	8/29 = 27.6%

Total enactments = 8 substantive + 5 appropriation Acts. Conversion measures statutory completion.

Source: Author’s calculations based on Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo. [1]

26 May 2025 - 26 May 2026

2.3 Legislative Attention Was Broader Than Legislative Completion

Of the 29 substantive Government Bills introduced, 8 had received Royal Assent and 21 remained in the parliamentary pipeline at the anniversary cutoff. [1]

Royal Assent: 8 bills (27.6%)

Parliamentary pipeline: 21 bills (72.4%)

Total substantive bills: 29 (100%)

Nearly three-quarters of the substantive legislative programme therefore remained somewhere in the parliamentary process at the anniversary cutoff.

This is not treated as a failure rate. The 21 bills were situated at different parliamentary stages: some remained near the beginning of the legislative process, while others had progressed through committee, the House of Commons or substantial Senate consideration. [1]

The figure instead identifies the size of the government's Year-One Carryover Agenda.

2.4 Policy Composition of the Legislative Programme

Applying the report's primary-classification rule to all 29 substantive bills produces the following legislative map. Senate Government Bills are classified using the same rules as House Government Bills. [1]

Economy & Fiscal Policy - 7 introduced (24.1%); 3 Royal Assent

Public Safety & Justice - 7 introduced (24.1%); 0 Royal Assent

Indigenous & Social Policy - 5 introduced (17.2%); 0 Royal Assent

Trade & Internal Market - 3 introduced (10.3%); 3 Royal Assent

Housing & Infrastructure - 2 introduced (6.9%); 0 Royal Assent

Immigration & Labour Mobility - 2 introduced (6.9%); 2 Royal Assent

Institutions & Democratic Governance - 2 introduced (6.9%); 0 Royal Assent

Defence & Sovereignty - 1 introduced (3.4%); 0 Royal Assent

Total - 29 introduced (100%); 8 Royal Assent

These categories are analytical classifications produced under the methodology established in Part I; they are not official parliamentary classifications.

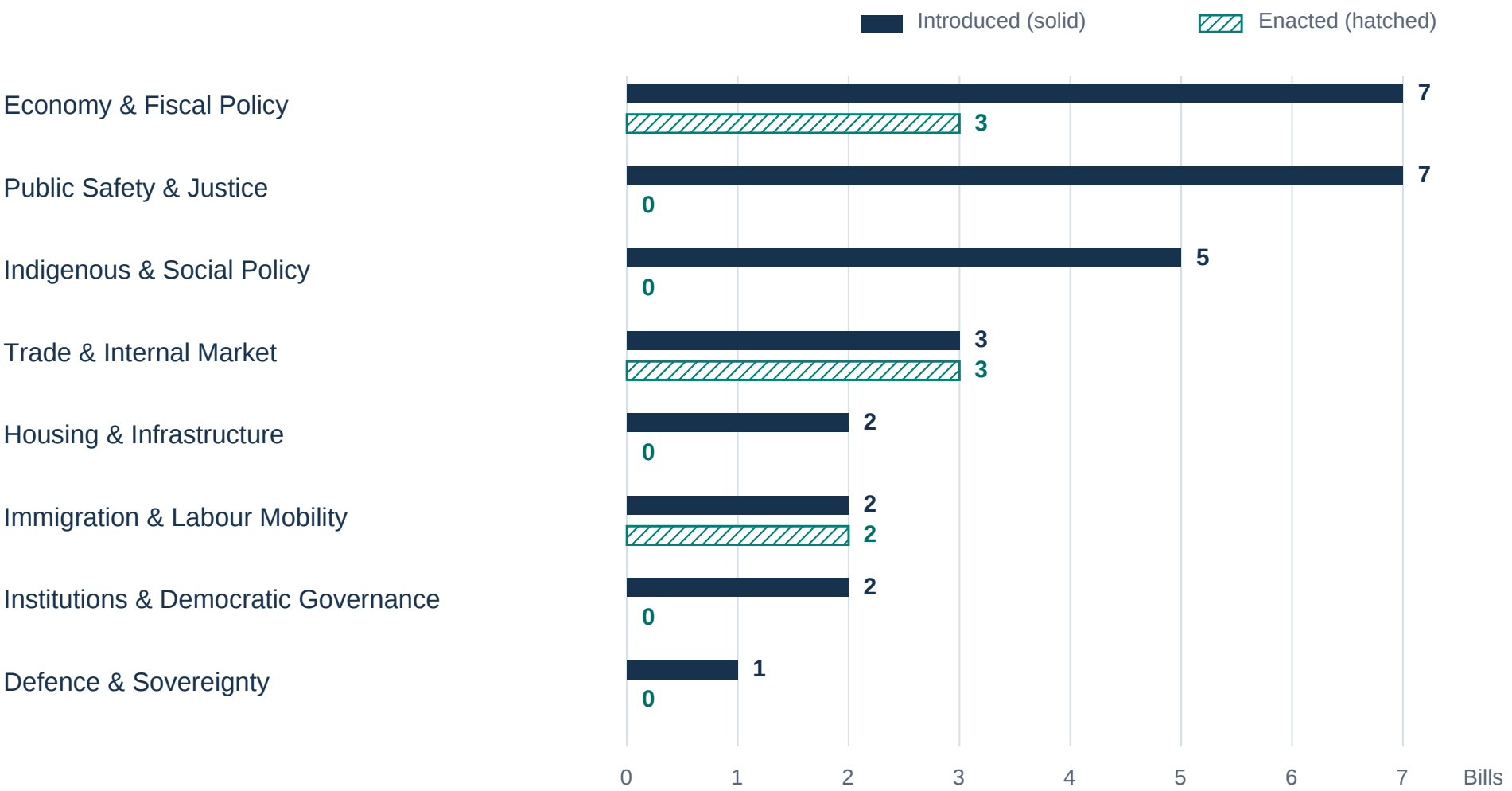
The distribution reveals a distinction that raw legislative totals conceal: legislative attention was broad, while statutory completion was concentrated.

Economy and fiscal policy and public safety and justice each represented roughly one-quarter of the substantive programme. Indigenous and social policy represented a further 17.2%. The enacted portion of the programme, however, was concentrated in a narrower set of fields.

Policy Areas: Introduced vs Enacted

29 substantive introductions; 8 substantive enactments

Snapshot: 26 May 2026



Enacted bills are a subset of introductions; each bill has one primary policy category.

Introduced: solid bars. Enacted: outlined bars with diagonal hatching.

Source: Author’s calculations based on Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo. [1]

26 May 2025 - 26 May 2026

2.5 Concentrated Statutory Completion

The eight substantive enactments were distributed across only three of the eight primary policy categories:

Economy & Fiscal Policy - 3

Trade & Internal Market - 3

Immigration & Labour Mobility - 2

All other primary categories - 0

Total - 8

All eight substantive bills receiving Royal Assent by the anniversary cutoff were therefore concentrated in economic and fiscal policy, trade and internal-market policy, and immigration and labour mobility.

Conversely, the government had introduced substantive legislation classified primarily in public safety and justice, Indigenous and social policy, housing and infrastructure, institutions and democratic governance, and defence and sovereignty, but none of the bills classified primarily in those areas had reached Royal Assent by the cutoff.

This does not establish that those policy areas were inactive. It establishes a narrower finding:

The thematic breadth of the government's legislative agenda was substantially greater than the thematic breadth of its first-year statutory completion.

2.6 The Trade and Internal-Market Exception

The clearest concentration appears in Trade & Internal Market.

All three bills classified primarily in this category had received Royal Assent by the anniversary cutoff. These included the One Canadian Economy Act and legislation implementing Canada's trade arrangements involving the United Kingdom's accession to the CPTPP and the Canada-Indonesia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement.

This does not establish that trade legislation was inherently easier to enact, nor does the report assign a qualitative judgment to the result.

It establishes that trade and internal-market legislation moved from introduction to statutory completion more consistently than any other primary policy category during the analytical period.

That pattern is examined later against parliamentary voting behaviour, cross-party support and legislative velocity.

2.7 A Large Carryover Agenda

At the cutoff, 21 substantive Government Bills remained in the parliamentary pipeline. [1]

These bills did not occupy a single stage. Some remained at first or second reading, while others had progressed through committee or substantial consideration in the other chamber.

The carryover figure must therefore be interpreted as a measure of unfinished legislative stock rather than a measure of legislative inactivity.

2.8 Why the Cutoff Changes the Story

The anniversary methodology matters because several bills progressed shortly after 26 May 2026. Using their current status would overstate what had actually been completed during Year One.

C-30 illustrates the issue. At the anniversary cutoff it had completed second reading on 26 May and had been referred to the House Finance Committee. Proceedings occurring after that date belong to the post-cutoff record and do not alter its Year One classification. [44]

The distinction protects the analysis against retrospective contamination: subsequent parliamentary progress does not redefine how advanced legislation was at the end of the period being studied.

2.9 Year One Legislative Map

The quantitative structure of Year One can be summarized as:

35 Government Bills introduced

→ 29 substantive policy bills [1]

→ 8 substantive bills enacted

→ 21 substantive bills carried forward [1]

Expressed proportionally:

82.9% of Government Bills introduced represented substantive policy legislation.

27.6% of the substantive legislative programme reached Royal Assent within Year One.

72.4% remained in the parliamentary pipeline at the anniversary cutoff. [1]

The significance of these figures lies less in any individual percentage than in their relationship. The government generated a broad legislative programme, while statutory completion during its first twelve months was selective and concentrated rather than evenly distributed across that programme.

2.10 First Quantitative Finding

The first major quantitative finding is:

The Carney government's first year was characterized by a broad substantive legislative agenda but concentrated statutory completion. Of 29 substantive Government Bills introduced by the anniversary cutoff, eight had received Royal Assent, producing a 27.6% substantive conversion rate. Those enactments were concentrated in economic and fiscal policy, trade and internal-market policy, and immigration and labour mobility, while 21 substantive bills remained in the parliamentary pipeline. [1]

This finding is descriptive.

The report does not characterize the 27.6% conversion rate as comparatively high or low without a historical comparator constructed using the same twelve-month window, bill universe and exclusions. [1]

From the Throne Speech to Action

PART III | Translating the Government’s Inaugural Programme into Legislative and Executive Action

3.1 From Legislative Output to Agenda Delivery

Legislative output provides only one measure of a government's first year.

The Speech from the Throne delivered by King Charles III on 27 May 2025 set out a broader programme encompassing taxation, internal trade, major projects, housing, border security, immigration, defence, international economic diversification and fiscal policy. Some commitments explicitly required legislation; others depended primarily on executive, fiscal, regulatory or intergovernmental action; several were multi-year objectives whose deadlines extended beyond the report's anniversary cutoff. [50]

For this reason, the report does not calculate a single “promises kept” percentage.

Instead, identifiable commitments are assessed according to the instrument required for delivery and their status as of 26 May 2026.

The resulting analysis reveals an important feature of the government's first year:

The inaugural programme advanced through a dual legislative-executive pathway. Some of its most concrete commitments became law during Year One, while others progressed through institutions, spending decisions, international agreements and administrative action without requiring-or without yet completing-primary legislation.

3.2 A Three-Track Delivery Framework

Commitments are separated into three categories.

Legislative commitments

Commitments for which the Throne Speech explicitly promised legislation or whose delivery required a statutory change.

Executive and administrative commitments

Commitments capable of substantial implementation through executive decisions, spending, programme creation, international or intergovernmental agreements, procurement or delegated authority.

Multi-year outcome commitments

Commitments expressed as future quantitative or policy outcomes whose stated timeframe extended beyond 26 May 2026.

The three groups are not combined into a common completion denominator.

This prevents, for example, an enacted tax amendment from being treated as analytically equivalent to a 2027 immigration target or a multi-year housing objective.

3.3 Core Commitment-to-Action Matrix

The following matrix tracks a set of the most identifiable and measurable commitments in the 2025 Speech from the Throne.

Commitment	Delivery instrument	Status at cutoff
Middle-class personal income tax reduction	Legislative / fiscal	Legislated
GST relief for first-time buyers of new homes	Legislative / fiscal	Legislated
Remove remaining federal internal-trade and labour-mobility barriers	Legislative + regulatory implementation	Legislated; implementation underway
Accelerate projects of national interest	Legislative + executive	Legislated; institutional implementation underway
Establish Major Projects Office	Executive / administrative, enabled by statutory framework	Operational
Pursue “one project, one review” with interested provinces and territories	Intergovernmental	Implementation underway
Create Build Canada Homes	Executive + legislative institutionalization	Operational administratively; permanent statutory framework in parliamentary pipeline
Strengthen border security and immigration-system integrity	Legislative + administrative	Legislated; implementation underway
Reduce temporary residents to below 5% of population by end-2027	Multi-year immigration target	Implementation underway; target not yet due
Rebuild, rearm and reinvest in the Canadian Armed Forces	Fiscal / procurement / international cooperation	Implementation underway
Deepen defence cooperation with Europe	International / executive	Material implementation underway
Diversify trade and economic relationships	Legislative + international	Multiple legislative and executive actions completed or underway
Restrain federal operating expenditure	Multi-year fiscal programme	Implementation underway
Balance the operating budget within three years	Multi-year fiscal target	Target not yet due

The matrix does not represent every sentence or aspiration contained in the Throne Speech. It isolates commitments for which a sufficiently identifiable delivery mechanism or measurable horizon can be established.

3.4 Affordability: From Immediate Fiscal Action to Legislation

The Throne Speech committed the government to reducing the lowest personal income-tax rate and providing GST relief to first-time buyers of new homes. [50]

On the same day as the Throne Speech, 27 May 2025, the Minister of Finance tabled a Notice of Ways and Means Motion proposing the middle-class tax reduction and GST relief for qualifying first-time home buyers. [50]

The measures subsequently formed part of Bill C-4, the Making Life More Affordable for Canadians Act. [18]

C-4 received Royal Assent on 12 March 2026. The legislation reduced the lowest federal personal income-tax rate to 14.5% for the 2025 taxation year and 14% beginning in 2026. [3] [18]

For the purposes of the anniversary framework, these commitments can therefore be classified as:

Legislated

This classification concerns statutory delivery. It does not attempt to determine in this chapter whether the measures subsequently produced the affordability effects claimed or anticipated by the government. Those questions belong to the implementation and outcome analysis.

3.5 One Canadian Economy: Rapid Legislative Conversion

The Throne Speech made internal economic integration one of the government's most explicit legislative commitments. [50]

It promised legislation removing remaining federal barriers to internal trade and labour mobility and separately committed the government to accelerating projects considered to be in the national interest. [50]

Bill C-5, the One Canadian Economy Act, was introduced on 6 June 2025 and received Royal Assent on 26 June-20 calendar days after introduction. [19]

The Act created two statutory frameworks: the Free Trade and Labour Mobility in Canada Act and the Building Canada Act.

The former establishes a framework for federal recognition of comparable provincial and territorial requirements affecting interprovincial trade and labour mobility. The latter provides the statutory architecture for accelerating projects designated as being in the national interest.

This represents one of the clearest cases of direct conversion from Throne Speech commitment to legislation during Year One.

However, Royal Assent did not complete every element of the commitment. Both internal-market reform and major-project acceleration required subsequent administrative, regulatory and intergovernmental implementation.

The appropriate Year One classification is therefore:

Legislated - implementation underway

3.6 Major Projects: Legislation Followed by Institutional Implementation

The Throne Speech committed the government to creating a Major Federal Project Office, reducing approval times for major projects and pursuing a “one project, one review” model with interested provinces and territories. [50]

Following enactment of C-5, the government launched the Major Projects Office (MPO) on 29 August 2025 as a special operating agency supported by the Privy Council Office. [1] [5] [19]

By September, the government had referred an initial group of major projects to the Office. [5]

The intergovernmental component proceeded separately. The Throne Speech had called for cooperation agreements with interested provinces and territories within six months. By December 2025, Canada had signed an environmental and impact-assessment cooperation agreement with Ontario, following arrangements involving New Brunswick and an earlier framework with British Columbia; additional provincial arrangements remained under development. [55]

By 8 May 2026, the federal government reported completed cooperation agreements with Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, with Newfoundland and Labrador still in development. [55]

This commitment therefore illustrates a layered delivery pathway:

Throne Speech → legislation → institution → project referrals → intergovernmental agreements.

It cannot adequately be described merely as a bill receiving Royal Assent.

3.7 Housing: Administrative Delivery Before Statutory Institutionalization

The housing commitment demonstrates the opposite sequence.

The Throne Speech pledged measures intended to increase housing construction and specifically committed to creating Build Canada Homes, a mission-driven organization intended to accelerate affordable housing development, support prefabricated and modular construction and provide financing to affordable-housing builders. [50]

Build Canada Homes became operational on 14 September 2025 as a Special Operating Agency within Housing, Infrastructure and Communities Canada. The government announced an initial capitalization of $13 billion. [1] [54]

The institution therefore existed and was operating before Parliament completed legislation establishing its intended permanent statutory structure.

By the anniversary cutoff, legislation to formalize Build Canada Homes as a Crown corporation was still before Parliament.

Consequently, the correct Year One characterization is not “unfulfilled” merely because the permanent statute had not yet received Royal Assent. Nor should it be classified simply as “legislated.”

Instead:

Administrative institution operational - statutory institutionalization in parliamentary pipeline

This is one of the clearest examples of why legislative output alone cannot measure implementation of the government's inaugural programme.

3.8 Border Security and Immigration-System Integrity

The Throne Speech committed the government to legislation strengthening border security, including additional powers relating to goods destined for export and measures directed at fentanyl, precursor chemicals and transnational crime.

Bill C-12, the Strengthening Canada's Immigration System and Borders Act, was introduced on 8 October 2025 and received Royal Assent on 26 March 2026. The date is taken from the official parliamentary record. [26]

Among other measures, the Act amended the Customs Act concerning CBSA access to goods destined for export and created mechanisms addressing precursor chemicals and other border, immigration and security matters.

The legislative component of the commitment can therefore be classified as:

Legislated

Implementation nevertheless extends beyond enactment. Operational changes involving border agencies, immigration administration, law enforcement and delegated authorities continue after Royal Assent.

Accordingly, the broader policy programme is more accurately characterized as:

Legislated - implementation underway

3.9 Immigration Levels: A Target Whose Deadline Had Not Arrived

The Throne Speech committed the government to reducing temporary-resident levels, including a target of bringing the temporary population to less than 5% of Canada's population by the end of 2027. [50]

This commitment is analytically different from C-4, C-5 or C-12. Its success condition lies beyond the report's anniversary cutoff. [18] [19] [26]

The 2026-2028 Immigration Levels Plan incorporated temporary-resident targets and reiterated the objective of reducing the temporary population below 5% by the end of 2027. [56]

At 26 May 2026, therefore, the report does not classify the commitment as either achieved or missed.

Its Year One status is:

Implementation underway - target not yet due

This distinction is essential to avoiding a misleading promise-completion statistic.

3.10 Defence and European Security Cooperation

The Throne Speech committed the government to rebuilding, rearming and reinvesting in the Canadian Armed Forces and specifically identified closer participation in European defence initiatives. [50]

Implementation began through fiscal and international rather than ordinary legislative channels.

On 9 June 2025, the government announced additional defence investment intended to bring Canadian defence spending to NATO's then 2% of GDP benchmark during 2025-26. Finance briefing material identified $9.3 billion in additional 2025-26 investment associated with that objective. [57]

Canada and the European Union then signed a Security and Defence Partnership on 23 June 2025, explicitly framed as a step toward Canadian participation in the EU's SAFE defence instrument. [58]

EU member-state representatives endorsed the bilateral agreement on Canada's participation in SAFE on 19 December 2025. Canada and the European Union signed the agreement on 14 February 2026, and it entered provisional application on 13 April 2026. Formal EU conclusion and formal entry into force occurred after the Year One cutoff. [51] [52] [53]

The Throne Speech defence commitment therefore provides another example of substantial programme delivery occurring largely outside the Government Bill count.

Its status at the cutoff is best described as:

Fiscal, procurement and international implementation underway

This classification does not imply that the broader objective of rebuilding the Canadian Armed Forces had been completed within one year.

3.11 Trade Diversification

The Throne Speech situated Canada's economic agenda within a broader objective of reducing vulnerability to external trade disruption and strengthening relationships with reliable international partners. [50]

During Year One, this objective proceeded through both legislative and diplomatic channels.

Parliament enacted legislation implementing the United Kingdom's accession to the CPTPP and the Canada-Indonesia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement before the anniversary cutoff. These enactments contributed to the concentration of Royal Assent identified in the Trade & Internal Market category in Part II.

At the same time, the government pursued deeper economic and security cooperation with the European Union, including the June 2025 Canada-EU strategic and security partnership. [58]

The relevant Year One classification is therefore:

Multiple legislative and executive actions completed or underway

The report does not equate these actions with completion of the broader objective of trade diversification, which is inherently longer-term.

3.12 Fiscal Discipline: Policy Framework Established, Outcome Not Yet Due

The Throne Speech also established a fiscal objective of slowing operating expenditure and balancing the federal operating budget within three years. [50]

Budget 2025 subsequently adopted an operating-versus-capital framework and stated that the government intended to balance the operating budget within three years. The budget also established measures intended to restrain growth in direct programme spending. [59]

This represents identifiable policy implementation.

It does not demonstrate achievement of the ultimate fiscal target, because the three-year horizon extended beyond the anniversary cutoff.

The appropriate classification is:

Implementation underway - target not yet due

As with the immigration target, assessing the commitment as simply “kept” or “broken” at the end of Year One would impose an artificial deadline not contained in the commitment itself.

3.13 What the Delivery Matrix Reveals

The Throne Speech analysis produces three broader findings.

First: some of the most explicit legislative commitments converted into statute.

Affordability measures, federal internal-trade reform, the major-project statutory framework and border/immigration legislation all reached Royal Assent during the analytical period.

Second: substantial policy implementation occurred outside primary legislation.

Build Canada Homes became operational administratively before completion of its permanent statutory framework. The Major Projects Office translated enacted authority into an operating institution. Defence commitments progressed through appropriations, procurement policy and international agreements.

Third: some of the government's most prominent objectives were inherently multi-year.

Temporary-resident reduction, housing construction, military recapitalization, trade diversification and the operating-budget target cannot reasonably be evaluated solely by whether their ultimate outcomes had been achieved within twelve months.

Together, these patterns demonstrate why legislative conversion and agenda delivery must remain separate indicators.

3.14 Second Major Finding

The evidence supports a second central finding for the report:

The Carney government's inaugural programme operated through a dual legislative-executive delivery model. Several concrete Throne Speech commitments moved rapidly into statute, particularly in affordability, internal economic integration and border policy. Other priorities-including housing institutions, major-project administration, defence cooperation and fiscal restructuring-advanced substantially through executive, administrative, intergovernmental or international mechanisms. Multi-year targets in immigration, fiscal policy and other areas remained in implementation rather than being meaningfully classifiable as completed or uncompleted after twelve months.

This finding complements rather than contradicts the quantitative result from Part II.

The first finding showed that only 8 of 29 substantive Government Bills had received Royal Assent by the anniversary cutoff. [1]

The present analysis demonstrates why that 27.6% legislative conversion rate cannot be interpreted as a 27.6% agenda-delivery rate. [1]

They measure different things.

The First-Year Governing Pattern

PART IV | Selective Acceleration, Concentrated Completion and a Dual-Track Governing Strategy

4.1 From Activity to Governing Pattern

The first twelve months of the Carney government cannot be adequately described by a single legislative statistic.

As established in Part II, the government introduced 35 Government Bills, of which 29 were substantive policy measures. Eight of those 29 substantive bills had received Royal Assent by the anniversary cutoff, producing a 27.6% substantive legislative conversion rate, while 21 remained in the parliamentary pipeline. [1]

Part III demonstrated that this legislative conversion rate cannot be treated as an agenda-delivery rate. Several government priorities advanced through executive, administrative, intergovernmental, fiscal or international mechanisms rather than through completed primary legislation.

Taken together, the evidence points to a more specific first-year governing pattern:

The defining feature of the Carney government's first year was selective conversion rather than uniform legislative throughput. A broad policy agenda produced concentrated statutory completion, while selected priorities were accelerated through Parliament and others advanced through executive or administrative channels. The result at the anniversary cutoff was a combination of completed priority legislation, non-legislative implementation and a substantial parliamentary carryover agenda.

This interpretation rests on four related patterns: selective acceleration; concentrated statutory completion; legislative-executive dual-track delivery; and substantial legislative carryover.

These patterns describe the distribution and pathways of government action. They are not assessments of the government's political performance.

4.2 Pattern One - Selective Acceleration

The government did not move all substantive legislation through Parliament at a comparable pace.

The clearest example is C-5, the One Canadian Economy Act. [19]

Introduced on 6 June 2025, C-5 received Royal Assent on 26 June 2025, a 20-calendar-day introduction-to-assent interval. Parliamentary records show substantial Commons support at major stages: second reading passed 304-29; at third reading Part 1 passed 335-1 and Part 2 306-31. [19]

Speed, however, did not imply the absence of parliamentary contestation.

At report stage, individual amendments produced markedly different coalitions. One amendment passed 170-167, while others passed unanimously or were defeated by substantial margins. Final report-stage concurrence nevertheless passed 313-24.

The Senate also began examining the subject matter of C-5 before formally receiving the bill from the Commons. Parliamentary records show Senate pre-study activity before formal receipt, followed by rapid Senate consideration and Royal Assent. [19]

C-5 therefore demonstrates something more precise than simply “fast legislation”: [19]

Acceleration was compatible with parliamentary scrutiny when a sufficiently broad coalition existed around the underlying policy objective.

But C-5 was not representative of the entire programme. [19]

C-4 was introduced on 5 June 2025 and received Royal Assent on 12 March 2026. This is consistent with Part III: the underlying Notice of Ways and Means Motion was tabled on 27 May 2025, while the bill itself was introduced on 5 June. These are separate stages in the same policy-to-legislation sequence. [18]

C-12 followed another pathway: introduced 8 October 2025, it progressed through Commons and Senate consideration, including Senate amendments and subsequent exchanges between the chambers, before Royal Assent on 26 March 2026. [26]

At the opposite end of the anniversary snapshot, C-30 had not completed the Commons by 26 May 2026. Yet the government had secured time allocation 171-167 on 25 May and second reading 170-164 on the anniversary date itself. Those votes occurred after the Liberal caucus had reached 174 seats, so C-30 belongs to the late-Year One majority phase rather than the earlier minority phase. [44]

These cases show that legislative velocity was not uniform.

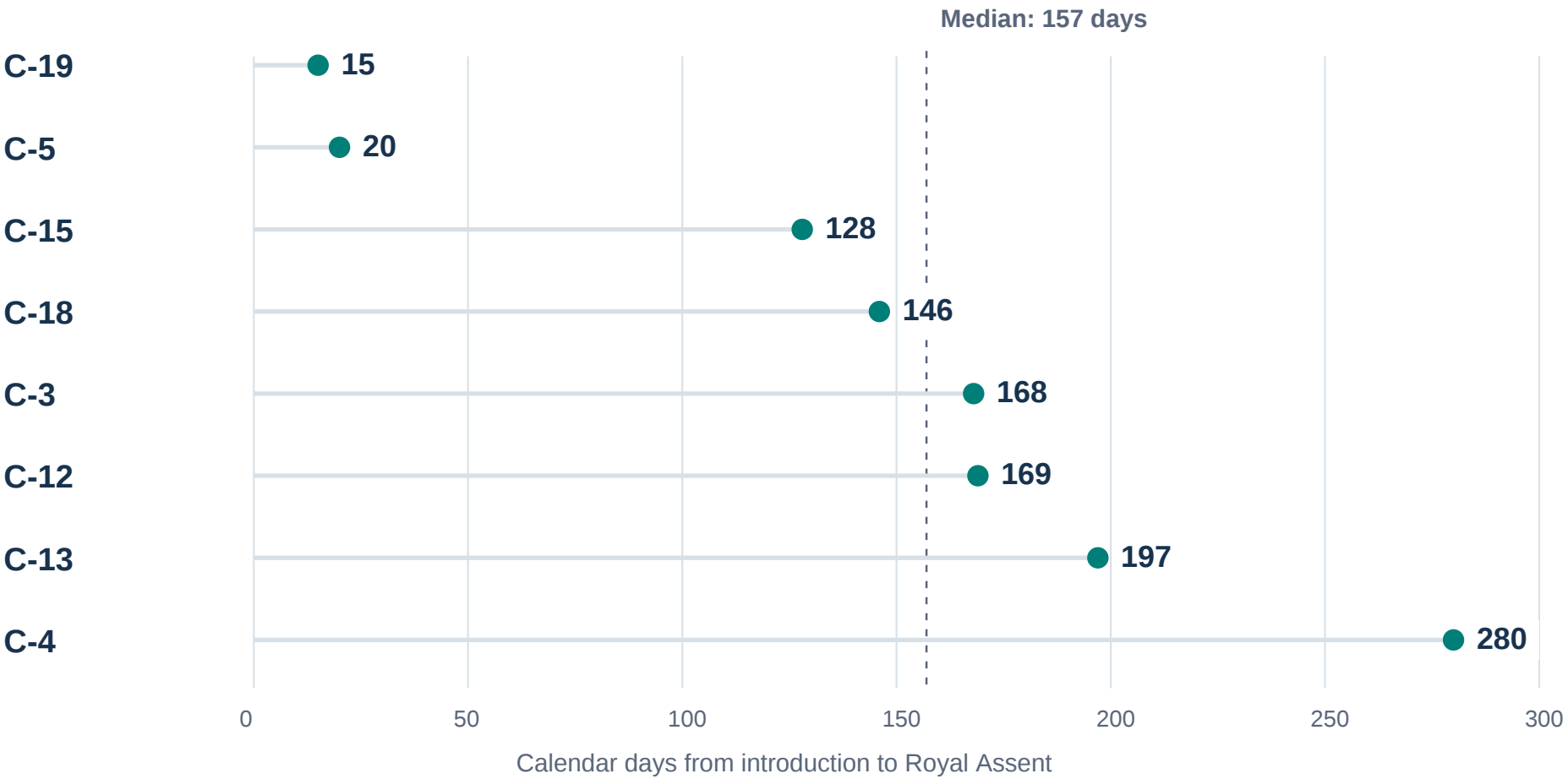
The evidence instead supports the concept of selective acceleration: certain priorities moved unusually quickly when parliamentary support, procedural strategy and policy urgency aligned, while other government legislation followed longer or incomplete pathways.

Legislative Velocity

Eight substantive bills receiving Royal Assent by the cutoff

Snapshot: 26 May 2026

MEDIAN 157 DAYS MEAN 140.4 DAYS RANGE 15-280 DAYS



Elapsed time only; not a measure of legislative quality, scrutiny or effectiveness. Carryover ages are excluded.

Source: Author’s calculations based on Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo. [1]

26 May 2025 - 26 May 2026

4.3 Acceleration Was Not the Same as Executive Control

This distinction matters especially across a first year in which the government's House position changed from minority to majority.

A government can determine which bills it introduces and can seek procedural acceleration. It cannot, by itself, guarantee the votes necessary to enact every measure.

The C-5 voting record illustrates this constraint particularly well. [19]

The government secured very broad support on the bill's principal stages, but individual report-stage amendments produced coalitions ranging from unanimous agreement to extremely narrow divisions.

C-15 provides a different example. [29]

At report stage, concurrence in the Budget 2025 implementation bill passed 168-163. Individual proposed amendments immediately preceding concurrence produced similarly close divisions. C-15 nevertheless ultimately received Royal Assent on 26 March 2026. [29]

C-30 supplies a third pattern under a different House composition: by late May the Liberal caucus held a majority of seats. Time allocation passed 171-167, followed the next day by second reading at 170-164, showing that narrow recorded divisions could still occur during the majority phase. [44]

The resulting interpretation is important:

Selective acceleration should not be understood as unilateral control over Parliament. It describes the government's ability to concentrate political and procedural effort on selected priorities and to assemble the parliamentary support necessary to move them.

This distinction prevents the analysis from importing a presidential model of executive legislative control into Canada's Westminster parliamentary system.

4.4 Pattern Two - Concentrated Statutory Completion

Selective acceleration occurred alongside a second pattern: statutory completion was considerably narrower than legislative attention.

Part II established that the 29 substantive Government Bills were distributed across eight primary policy categories. [1]

Yet the eight substantive enactments completed by the cutoff were concentrated in only three:

Economy & Fiscal Policy - 3

Trade & Internal Market - 3

Immigration & Labour Mobility - 2

No substantive bill classified primarily under the other five categories had reached Royal Assent by the anniversary cutoff.

The concentration is visible not only in the category totals but in the sequence of enacted legislation.

C-3 received Royal Assent on 20 November 2025. C-19 followed on 12 February 2026; C-4 on 12 March; C-12 and C-15 on 26 March; and the two trade implementation measures, C-13 and C-18, on 6 May 2026.
[17] [18] [26] [27] [29] [32] [33]

The dates for C-3, C-19 and C-12 have been checked against the official parliamentary record. In particular, C-12 received Royal Assent on 26 March 2026. [17] [26] [33]

The relevant finding is therefore not that the government legislated exclusively in those three areas. It did not.

The government introduced legislation across public safety and justice, housing and infrastructure, Indigenous and social policy, institutional governance, defence and other fields.

Rather:

Legislative attention was broad; statutory completion was concentrated.

This distinction is central to understanding Year One.

A count of bills introduced captures agenda breadth.

A count of Royal Assent captures statutory completion.

The two measures answer different questions, and during the first year they produced materially different pictures of the government's legislative programme.

4.5 Trade and Internal-Market Policy Was the Clearest Completion Cluster

The concentration was particularly visible in trade and internal-market policy.

All three bills assigned primarily to that category in the report's taxonomy had reached Royal Assent by the anniversary cutoff.

C-5 moved from introduction to Royal Assent in 20 days. C-13, implementing the United Kingdom's accession to the CPTPP, received Royal Assent on 6 May 2026. C-18, implementing the Canada-Indonesia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement, received Royal Assent on the same date. [19] [27] [32]

This 3-of-3 completion pattern stands in contrast to policy categories where multiple bills had been introduced but none had reached Royal Assent by 26 May.

It would nevertheless be inappropriate to infer from this alone that trade legislation was intrinsically easier to pass.

Trade implementation legislation, internal-market reform and other policy fields differ in legal complexity, political coalition structure, committee scrutiny and the degree of pre-legislative negotiation.

The defensible conclusion is narrower:

Trade and internal-market policy formed the most complete statutory cluster of the government's first-year legislative programme.

Why that occurred becomes a question for the parliamentary-dynamics analysis rather than an assumption built into the quantitative finding.

4.6 Pattern Three - A Legislative-Executive Dual Track

The third governing pattern becomes visible only when the Throne Speech analysis is combined with the legislative dataset.

Not every major government priority required a completed Government Bill.

Build Canada Homes illustrates this clearly.

The institution became operational administratively during Year One while legislation intended to establish its permanent statutory structure remained in Parliament at the anniversary cutoff.

The Major Projects Office presents another configuration.

C-5 supplied the statutory framework for major-project acceleration, after which implementation moved into institutional creation, project referrals and intergovernmental cooperation. [19]

Defence policy followed still another route: spending decisions, procurement, international agreements and European security cooperation carried much of the first-year implementation burden rather than a single principal Government Bill.

The same analytical distinction applies to multi-year immigration and fiscal objectives.

Consequently, the government's first-year programme operated simultaneously through parliamentary legislation and executive, administrative, fiscal, regulatory, intergovernmental and international action.

This dual track explains an apparent tension in the first-year record.

On one hand, 72.4% of substantive Government Bills remained in the parliamentary pipeline at the anniversary cutoff. [1]

On the other, several Throne Speech priorities had already generated identifiable implementation activity.

These statements are not contradictory.

They measure different channels of governing.

4.7 Royal Assent Was a Milestone, Not Always the Endpoint

The dual-track pattern also exposes another analytical problem with conventional legislative scorecards.

Royal Assent can mean different things for different policies.

For some legislation, enactment itself completes the principal legal commitment.

For other measures, Royal Assent creates authority, institutions or frameworks whose substantive effects depend on regulations, administrative decisions, agreements, funding or implementation capacity.

C-5 is again illustrative. [19]

Royal Assent established the legal architecture for federal internal-trade recognition and national-interest projects. But implementation continued through the Major Projects Office and intergovernmental cooperation.

C-12 similarly reached Royal Assent on 26 March 2026, but the statute itself contemplated operational implementation across border, immigration and security functions. [26]

The report therefore distinguishes statutory completion from entry into force, entry into force from administrative implementation, and implementation from observable policy outcomes.

This is not merely a methodological qualification.

It changes the interpretation of Year One.

The government's enacted legislation should be understood as a portfolio of completed statutes at different stages of real-world implementation, not as a portfolio of completed policy outcomes.

4.8 Pattern Four - Carryover Was a Structural Feature of Year One

The fourth pattern is the size and maturity of the unfinished legislative programme.

At 26 May 2026, 21 of 29 substantive Government Bills remained somewhere in the parliamentary process. [1]

Calling all 21 bills “stalled” would be analytically incorrect. Their positions varied substantially. [1]

To make the carryover analysis replicable, pipeline maturity is classified using the furthest parliamentary stage formally completed as of 26 May 2026:

Early pipeline - the bill had not completed second reading in its originating chamber by the cutoff.

Committee pipeline - the bill had completed second reading and had been referred to committee in its originating chamber, but had not completed third reading there. This category includes bills reported from committee but still awaiting completion of report stage or third reading.

Advanced pipeline - the bill had completed third reading in its originating chamber, whether or not formal entry into the second chamber had occurred.

Near-resolution pipeline - the bill had completed its originating chamber and had reached third reading, message consideration or another final parliamentary stage in the second chamber, leaving only limited parliamentary steps before possible Royal Assent.

Pipeline maturity is determined exclusively by the furthest parliamentary stage formally completed as of 26 May 2026. Subsequent progress is not used to reclassify a bill retrospectively. The framework measures parliamentary advancement, not the probability that a bill will ultimately be enacted.

This classification measures parliamentary position rather than political momentum or likelihood of passage.

C-30 had completed second reading in the Commons on the cutoff date and had been referred to the Finance Committee. [44]

S-5 had completed third reading in the Senate on 26 May but did not receive first reading in the House of Commons until 28 May, outside the analytical period. At the cutoff, therefore, it had completed its originating chamber but had not yet entered the Commons. [48]

C-14 provides an even sharper illustration of the anniversary effect. Senate committee consideration was completed and the committee report with amendments was presented on 26 May, the analytical cutoff. Senate report stage was completed on 27 May and third reading on 28 May. Those later stages cannot be imported backward into the Year One snapshot. [28]

Other bills remained considerably earlier in the process.

The carryover agenda should therefore be interpreted as a distribution of legislative maturity, not a binary pile of unfinished legislation.

4.9 The Anniversary Snapshot Reveals Legislative Momentum Hidden by Royal Assent Counts

The carryover analysis also explains why a Royal Assent count alone understates parliamentary activity near the cutoff.

C-14 and S-5 are particularly instructive. [28] [48]

Neither belonged in the Year One enacted total.

Yet both were significantly advanced by 26 May and progressed immediately afterward.

Conversely, other bills in the 21-bill carryover stock were much further from final resolution. [1]

Thus two propositions can simultaneously be true:

Only eight substantive Government Bills had received Royal Assent by the cutoff.

A larger portion of the government's substantive programme had progressed materially through Parliament.

This does not justify retrospectively increasing the conversion rate.

Instead, it justifies treating pipeline maturity as a separate analytical dimension.

That distinction becomes particularly important when assessing the agenda inherited by the government's second year.

4.10 Changing House Composition Produced Variable Voting Patterns, Not a Single Governing Relationship

The legislative record also cautions against describing the first year through a single government-opposition relationship.

C-5 produced overwhelming majorities on principal votes. [19]

C-15 produced a much narrower 168-163 report-stage concurrence. [29]

C-30's time-allocation motion and second-reading vote were also narrow, at 171-167 and 170-164 respectively. [44]

These outcomes occurred within the same Parliament and under the same government, but not under the same House composition: C-5 and C-15 were decided during the minority phase, whereas C-30's late-May votes occurred after the Liberal caucus held a House majority. [19] [29] [44]

The evidence therefore supports a policy-dependent interpretation:

The first-year record did not produce either uniform legislative paralysis or a single stable voting relationship. During the minority phase, the governing caucus did not itself hold a majority of House seats; by the late-Year One majority phase, it did. Parliamentary support nevertheless continued to vary by bill, stage and policy question.

This matters for interpreting selective acceleration.

The government's capacity to move legislation was not reducible to formal seat count alone. During the minority phase, the governing caucus remained below the 172-seat threshold required for a House majority, while its seat total changed over time through membership changes and vacancies; recorded outcomes depended on the actual alignment and participation of MPs in each division. After the caucus reached 174 seats, recorded margins and parliamentary outcomes still varied by measure and stage.

The next part of the report examines those parliamentary pathways directly.

4.11 The First-Year Governing Model

Combining Parts II, III and IV produces a more complete model of the government's first year:

Broad agenda formation

→ Selective legislative prioritization

→ Different parliamentary coalition structures

→ Concentrated statutory completion

while simultaneously:

Throne Speech commitments

→ Executive / administrative / fiscal / intergovernmental action

→ Implementation outside or beyond primary legislation

and finally:

Unfinished substantive legislation

→ 21-bill carryover agenda of varying parliamentary maturity [1]

The resulting governing model is therefore not one of simple legislative productivity.

It is better characterized as selective conversion across multiple governing channels.

4.12 What the Evidence Does Not Establish

The evidence does not establish that the government deliberately deprioritized every policy area in which no bill reached Royal Assent.

It does not establish that a bill remaining in Parliament represented policy failure.

It does not establish that rapid enactment necessarily produced superior policy.

It does not establish that executive implementation was a substitute for parliamentary action where legislation was legally required.

And it does not establish that a 27.6% substantive conversion rate was historically high or low. [1]

Those conclusions would require different evidence.

The findings established here are narrower and empirically grounded:

the substantive agenda was broad;

statutory completion was concentrated;

legislative velocity varied materially;

some priorities moved through non-legislative implementation channels;

and a large but heterogeneous legislative pipeline remained at the anniversary cutoff.

4.13 Third Major Finding

The evidence supports the report's third major finding:

The Carney government's first year was characterized by selective conversion rather than uniform legislative throughput. Statutory completion was concentrated in a limited number of policy areas, while legislative velocity varied sharply across the broader programme. Selected priorities moved rapidly when sufficient parliamentary support and procedural conditions aligned; other priorities advanced through executive and administrative channels or remained at varying stages of the parliamentary pipeline. The resulting Year One record combined targeted legislative acceleration with substantial policy carryover.

This finding links the quantitative evidence from Part II with the agenda-delivery analysis from Part III.

It also establishes the question for the next stage of the report:

What parliamentary pathways allowed some government priorities to move rapidly as the government's House position shifted from minority to majority, while others advanced narrowly, slowly or remained unfinished?

That is the subject of Part V - Parliamentary Dynamics.

Parliamentary Dynamics

PART V | Coalition-Building, Procedural Acceleration and Bicameral Negotiation Across a Changing House Composition

5.1 Parliamentary Outcome Was Only Part of the Story

The first-year legislative record spans two distinct House-composition phases. The Liberal Party entered the 45th Parliament with 169 of 343 seats and therefore without a House majority. Following earlier membership changes, three Liberal candidates won the 13 April 2026 by-elections; by the House sitting of 27 April, the parliamentary record explicitly reflected a 174-seat Liberal caucus. That majority remained in place through the 26 May cutoff. Government bills therefore did not move through a single recurring parliamentary environment. [1] [11] [12] [13] [14]

Part IV identified selective conversion across multiple governing channels as the broader governing pattern. Within Parliament itself, however, enacted and advancing legislation followed materially different political and procedural routes.

Some measures attracted overwhelming support across party lines. Others advanced through narrow Commons majorities. In some cases, the government relied on procedural tools to secure a vote. In others, Senate consideration altered the final parliamentary route before Royal Assent.

The evidence therefore supports a further distinction:

Parliamentary pathway matters as much as parliamentary outcome when interpreting legislative activity across a period in which the governing party's House position changed.

A bill receiving Royal Assent establishes that Parliament enacted it. It does not, by itself, reveal whether enactment resulted from broad agreement, a narrow voting coalition, procedural acceleration, bicameral negotiation or some combination of those mechanisms.

For this reason, the report treats parliamentary dynamics as a separate analytical dimension.

Liberal Caucus Timeline

Liberal caucus seats and dated events; 343-seat House, majority threshold 172

Snapshot: 26 May 2026

DATE	EVENT	PHASE	SEATS
28 Apr 2025	General election baseline	**Pre-window context**	**169**
4 Nov 2025	Chris d'Entremont: Conservative to Liberal	Minority phase	**170**
11 Dec 2025	Michael Ma: Conservative to Liberal	Minority phase	**171**
9 Jan 2026	Chrystia Freeland resigns	Minority phase	**170**
2 Feb 2026	Bill Blair resigns	Minority phase	**169**
13 Feb 2026	Tatiana Auguste's seat vacated; election result void	Minority phase	**168**
18 Feb 2026	Matt Jeneroux: Conservative to Liberal	Minority phase	**169**
11 Mar 2026	Lori Idlout: NDP to Liberal	Minority phase	**170**
8 Apr 2026	Marilyn Gladu: Conservative to Liberal	Minority phase	**171**
13 Apr 2026	Auguste, Begum and Martin win three by-elections	**Election results**	**174***
27 Apr 2026	House record explicitly reflects 174 Liberal MPs	**Late-Year-One House majority phase**	**174**
26 May 2026	Analytical cutoff: Liberal caucus remains at 174	Late-Year-One House majority phase	**174**

Year One opens 26 May 2025 with 169 Liberal seats.

*174 reflects the by-election result; 27 April is the explicit House-record confirmation.

Event spacing is categorical, not proportional to elapsed time. Exact official notification dates are not inferred.

Sources: Elections Canada [11, 13]; House of Commons [12, 14].

5.2 Four Parliamentary Pathways

Four recurring pathways are used to interpret the first-year record:

Broad-consensus pathway - major stages of a government bill attracted support substantially beyond the governing party.

Narrow-majority pathway - decisive stages depended on comparatively close recorded votes.

Procedural-acceleration pathway - parliamentary scheduling or debate-limiting procedures materially shaped the route through a stage.

Bicameral-negotiation pathway - Senate amendments, messages between chambers or pre-study materially affected the parliamentary process.

These categories are not mutually exclusive.

A bill can exhibit broad agreement at one stage and close division over an amendment at another. Pre-study can coexist with either broad or narrow Commons support. Procedural acceleration describes the route through Parliament, not the substantive level of political agreement.

Accordingly, the framework is descriptive rather than a scoring system.

No bill receives an overall “consensus,” “friction” or “difficulty” score.

5.3 Broad Consensus: C-5

C-5 provides the clearest example of a broad-consensus pathway during the first year. [19]

Second reading passed 304-29. Report-stage concurrence passed 313-24. At third reading, Part 1 passed 335-1, while Part 2 passed 306-31.

Those margins demonstrate support extending well beyond the government's own parliamentary caucus.

Yet the internal voting record was more complicated than the final margins suggest.

At report stage, one amendment passed 170-167; another passed 337-0. Other amendments were rejected by margins ranging from relatively close to overwhelming.

The important analytical point is therefore not that C-5 was uncontested. [19]

It was that disagreement over individual provisions coexisted with broad support for final enactment.

Cross-party legislative agreement can exist at the level of a bill's principal objective while substantial disagreement persists over its design.

That distinction matters because relying only on the final third-reading vote would conceal the parliamentary negotiation occurring inside the bill.

5.4 Narrow Majorities: C-15

C-15, the first Budget 2025 implementation bill, followed a materially different Commons pathway. [29]

At report stage, several proposed amendments produced close divisions, including votes of 162-169 and 162-168. Final concurrence at report stage passed only 168-163.

The government therefore obtained the parliamentary result it required, but through a much narrower voting configuration than existed for C-5. [19]

This difference matters analytically.

Both bills eventually received Royal Assent.

A binary enacted/not-enacted variable would treat them identically.

Their Commons pathways, however, were substantially different.

Royal Assent can conceal very different coalition structures.

The first-year record therefore does not support describing government legislation generally as either “bipartisan” or “polarized.” Those labels collapse bill-specific parliamentary behaviour into a single political characterization.

The evidence instead supports a more limited finding: coalition breadth varied substantially by measure and by stage.

5.5 Procedural Acceleration: C-30

C-30 demonstrates a third pathway. [44]

On 25 May 2026, the House approved time allocation on the bill by 171-167.

The following day-the final day included in this report's analytical period-the House rejected a reasoned amendment 137-197 and then approved second reading 170-164, referring C-30 to the Standing Committee on Finance. [44]

C-30 had therefore not reached Royal Assent-or even completed the Commons-by the cutoff. [44]

Nevertheless, its parliamentary route already revealed two relevant dynamics.

First, the government sought to limit the remaining time available for debate at that stage.

Second, the recorded division itself was narrow: time allocation carried by four votes.

The example reinforces a point established in Part IV:

C-30 should not be treated as a minority-government example. By the time of these votes, the Liberal caucus held a majority of House seats, although the recorded margins remained narrow. The vote totals alone do not establish the cross-party alignments, absences or abstentions that produced those margins. [44]

C-30 therefore belongs in the analysis even though it was unfinished at the cutoff. [44]

Its value is not as evidence of legislative completion but as evidence of how the government attempted to move priority legislation through Parliament.

5.6 Bicameral Negotiation: C-12

C-12 illustrates another parliamentary route: negotiation between the House of Commons and Senate. [26]

The Senate completed third reading on 12 March 2026 and sent a message containing amendments to the House.

A government motion responding to the Senate amendments was placed on notice on 19 March. On 26 March, the House considered the Senate amendments, proposed a modification to one Senate amendment, agreed with another and disagreed with a third.

Later that day, the Senate considered the Commons response, agreed to the Commons modification and decided not to insist on the amendment rejected by the House.

Royal Assent followed on 26 March 2026.

This sequence is analytically different from a bill passing through the second chamber without amendment.

It demonstrates that Senate participation can alter the route to statutory completion even where the ultimate result remains enactment.

C-12 therefore reinforces another distinction: [26]

Bicameral passage should not be treated as a purely sequential process in which the Senate simply confirms a Commons decision.

In some cases, the second chamber becomes part of the negotiation required to produce the final legislative text.

5.7 Pre-Study as a Mechanism of Parliamentary Time

Senate pre-study provides a further example of how parliamentary procedure can affect legislative timing.

C-15 was introduced in the House on 18 November 2025. On 26 November, before the bill had arrived from the Commons, the Senate authorized the National Finance Committee and other committees to examine its subject matter. Formal Senate first reading did not occur until 26 February 2026. [29]

C-5 provides an especially compressed example. On 12 June 2025, the Senate adopted a motion authorizing pre-study of the subject matter of the bill and scheduling Committees of the Whole for 16, 17 and 18 June. These proceedings occurred before formal first reading of C-5 in the Senate on 25 June. The bill received Royal Assent the following day, 26 June. [19]

Pre-study does not remove the requirement for formal Senate consideration after a bill arrives from the Commons.

It does, however, allow examination to begin while the Commons process is still underway.

That makes pre-study relevant to the report's analysis of legislative velocity.

Parliamentary time can be compressed not only by limiting debate but also by conducting stages of scrutiny in parallel across the two chambers.

These are institutionally different mechanisms and should not be collapsed into a common “fast-track” label.

5.8 Procedural Speed and Parliamentary Scrutiny Were Not Opposites

The evidence also cautions against assuming that faster parliamentary movement necessarily meant the absence of scrutiny.

C-5 moved from introduction to Royal Assent in only 20 calendar days. Yet the Transport, Infrastructure and Communities Committee examined the bill over meetings on 17 and 18 June, reported it with amendments on 19 June, and the House then considered numerous report-stage amendments on 20 June. [19]

At the same time, Senate pre-study had already been authorized and Committees of the Whole had met on 16, 17 and 18 June.

Conversely, a longer legislative timeline does not by itself demonstrate greater scrutiny.

Elapsed time can reflect parliamentary scheduling, adjournments, negotiation, committee workload, government prioritization, procedural conflict or other factors.

Accordingly:

Legislative velocity measures elapsed time. It does not independently measure the quality or intensity of parliamentary scrutiny.

This distinction protects the velocity indicator from carrying an interpretation it cannot support.

5.9 The Senate Was Part of Legislative Timing, Not Merely an Endpoint

The first-year record also shows why legislative velocity should be measured across the entire parliamentary pathway rather than only through the Commons.

For C-15, Senate pre-study began while Commons consideration was underway, and formal Senate consideration continued through March before Royal Assent on 26 March. [29]

For C-12, Senate amendments produced an exchange of messages between the chambers before enactment. [26]

For C-5, Senate pre-study-including the Committees of the Whole held on 16-18 June-and rapid formal consideration contributed to a 20-day introduction-to-assent interval. [19]

These examples show three distinct Senate functions within legislative timing:

parallel scrutiny through pre-study;

formal second-chamber consideration;

and

bicameral negotiation through amendments and messages.

The Senate therefore appears in the Year One record not simply as the final institutional checkpoint before Royal Assent but as an active component of the legislative pathway.

5.10 Changing House Composition Did Not Produce a Single Voting Pattern

The parliamentary evidence from C-5, C-15 and C-30 spans both phases of Year One and demonstrates that the government did not operate through one stable voting pattern. [19] [29] [44]

C-5 attracted overwhelming support on its principal votes. [19]

C-15's report-stage concurrence passed 168-163. [29]

C-30's time-allocation motion passed 171-167, followed by a 170-164 second-reading vote. [44]

These results are difficult to reconcile with either of two simplified narratives:

that the minority phase necessarily produced legislative paralysis;

or that the government operated through a single durable parliamentary alliance.

The evidence instead indicates variable, policy-dependent voting alignments.

That does not mean that every individual vote reflected explicit inter-party negotiation. Recorded votes establish voting alignment, not necessarily the negotiations or motives that produced it.

The defensible conclusion is narrower:

Recorded voting alignments and margins varied by phase, bill, amendment and procedural question.

5.11 Vote Margins Measure Parliamentary Alignment, Not Political Motivation

This limitation is methodologically important.

A 335-1 vote demonstrates extraordinarily broad parliamentary agreement on the proposition before the House.

It does not, by itself, establish why individual parties or MPs supported it.

Likewise, a 168-163 vote demonstrates a narrow parliamentary division. It does not independently establish that the government made concessions, negotiated a formal arrangement or faced a particular political motive.

Those propositions require separate documentary evidence.

For this reason, the report uses recorded votes to describe:

breadth of parliamentary support;

closeness of division;

and

variation across stages.

It does not infer political motives from vote totals alone.

This is particularly important when comparing the minority and majority phases of Year One, because the temptation to infer negotiation or political motive from a successful vote can exceed what the parliamentary record actually establishes.

5.12 Parliamentary Friction Is Multidimensional

The evidence from Year One suggests that “parliamentary friction” cannot be represented adequately by a single score.

A bill may move quickly but generate numerous amendments.

Another may move slowly but ultimately receive broad support.

A third may require time allocation.

A fourth may pass the Commons relatively smoothly but encounter substantive Senate amendments.

Accordingly, this report documents friction through observable dimensions rather than combining them into an arbitrary index:

elapsed legislative time;

committee amendments;

report-stage amendments;

Senate amendments and messages;

recorded vote margins;

and

use of procedural mechanisms affecting debate or scheduling.

This approach preserves information that a composite score would obscure.

It also avoids assigning normative weights-for example, assuming that a Senate amendment represents more “friction” than a narrow Commons vote.

5.13 Three Bills, Three Commons Configurations

The contrast can be summarized without ranking the bills:

C-5

Principal Commons pattern: Broad support

Illustrative recorded vote: 335-1, Part 1 third reading

Committee / amendment activity: Committee amendments + multiple report-stage votes

Senate role: Pre-study + rapid consideration

Status by 26 May 2026: Royal Assent

C-15

Principal Commons pattern: Narrower majority at key stage

Illustrative recorded vote: 168-163, report-stage concurrence

Committee / amendment activity: Extensive committee/pre-study activity + report-stage amendments

Senate role: Extensive pre-study

Status by 26 May 2026: Royal Assent

C-30 at cutoff

Principal Commons pattern: Narrow majority + procedural acceleration

Illustrative recorded vote: 171-167, time allocation

Committee / amendment activity: Referred to Finance Committee at cutoff

Senate role: Pre-study underway; formal passage not reached by cutoff

Status by 26 May 2026: Committee pipeline

The comparison demonstrates why the report does not equate enactment with a single parliamentary process.

5.14 Parliamentary Dynamics Help Explain Selective Conversion

Part IV established that statutory completion was concentrated rather than evenly distributed across the government's substantive agenda.

The parliamentary evidence in this chapter adds an institutional explanation for how at least some of that selective conversion occurred.

Rapid completion could coincide with broad Commons agreement and parallel Senate scrutiny, as with C-5. [19]

Completion could also occur through much narrower Commons divisions followed by Senate consideration, as with C-15. [29]

Other legislation could be procedurally accelerated yet remain unfinished at the anniversary cutoff, as C-30 demonstrates. [44]

And Senate amendments could require renewed bicameral consideration immediately before Royal Assent, as occurred with C-12. [26]

These pathways do not establish a single causal explanation for why eight substantive bills reached Royal Assent while 21 did not. [1]

They establish something more defensible:

The government's legislative conversion rate was produced through heterogeneous parliamentary pathways rather than a uniform legislative process.

5.15 Fourth Major Finding

The evidence supports the report's fourth major finding:

Year One did not generate a single legislative dynamic. The government began the 45th Parliament without a House majority and, by late April 2026, the Liberal caucus held 174 seats and therefore a majority. Government measures nevertheless advanced through different combinations of broad cross-party support, narrow recorded divisions, procedural acceleration, Senate pre-study and bicameral negotiation. Earlier examples such as C-5 and C-15 occurred during the minority phase, while C-30's late-May votes occurred during the majority phase. The resulting record is therefore better understood as a series of policy-dependent parliamentary alignments and procedures than as either uniform cross-party cooperation or uniform legislative obstruction. [19] [29] [44]

This finding completes the institutional explanation begun in Part IV.

The first-year record can now be summarized through four connected observations:

the government introduced a broad substantive agenda;

statutory completion was concentrated;

agenda implementation also occurred outside primary legislation;

and

the legislation that advanced did so through materially different parliamentary pathways.

The remaining question is forward-looking but not predictive:

What unfinished legislative stock, implementation obligations and policy commitments did this first-year pattern carry into Year Two?

That provides the bridge to Part VI - Unfinished Business and the Year Two Agenda.

Unfinished Business and the Year Two Agenda

PART VI | Legislative Carryover, Pipeline Maturity and Implementation Obligations

6.1 Year One Ended with a Legislative Stock, Not a Blank Slate

The anniversary cutoff did not mark the end of a parliamentary session.

As established in Part I, 26 May 2026 is an analytical anniversary rather than an institutional parliamentary year-end. The 45th Parliament, First Session continued beyond the cutoff.

Consequently, unfinished Government Bills did not expire merely because the analytical period ended.

Of the 29 substantive Government Bills introduced during Year One, eight had received Royal Assent and 21 remained unfinished, producing a substantive carryover share of 72.4%. [1]

That figure should not be interpreted as a measure of legislative inactivity.

The 21 bills occupied substantially different positions in Parliament. Some had barely entered debate. Others were in committee. Several had completed an entire chamber. [1]

The appropriate analytical question is therefore not simply:

How much legislation remained unfinished?

but:

What kind of legislative stock was carried into Year Two, and how far through Parliament had it progressed by the anniversary cutoff?

6.2 Carryover Has Two Institutional Dimensions - and Three Analytical Layers

At the institutional level, the Year Two inheritance consisted of two distinct forms of unfinished work.

Legislative carryover comprised substantive Government Bills introduced before the cutoff but still requiring parliamentary action.

Implementation carryover comprised policies already enacted or launched during Year One but still requiring regulations, administration, institutional development, agreements, spending, procurement or measurable policy outcomes.

A third analytical layer consisted of outcome carryover: multi-year commitments whose stated policy horizon had not yet expired and whose eventual outcomes could not meaningfully be classified as complete after twelve months.

This distinction follows directly from the dual-track governing model established in Parts III and IV.

A bill awaiting second reading, an enacted statute awaiting implementation and a multi-year target still within its stated horizon are all unfinished policy business, but they are institutionally and analytically different.

Accordingly:

Year Two inherited unfinished legislation, unfinished implementation and unfinished policy horizons.

6.3 Pipeline Maturity at the Anniversary Cutoff

The four operational categories distinguish the furthest parliamentary stage completed. The Advanced category includes bills that had completed their originating chamber but had not yet formally entered the second chamber.

Early pipeline - the bill had not completed second reading in its originating chamber by the cutoff.

Committee pipeline - the bill had completed second reading and had been referred to committee in its originating chamber, but had not completed third reading there. This category includes bills reported from committee but still awaiting completion of report stage or third reading.

Advanced pipeline - the bill had completed third reading in its originating chamber by the cutoff, whether or not formal first reading in the second chamber had yet occurred. Where useful, the analysis distinguishes between chamber-complete bills awaiting second-chamber entry and bills for which second-chamber proceedings were already underway.

Near-resolution pipeline - the bill had progressed through its originating chamber and reached third reading, message consideration or another final parliamentary stage in the second chamber, leaving only limited formal parliamentary steps before possible Royal Assent.

Pipeline maturity is determined exclusively by the furthest parliamentary stage formally completed as of 26 May 2026. Subsequent progress is not used to reclassify a bill retrospectively.

Pipeline maturity measures parliamentary distance travelled, not parliamentary distance remaining with certainty. It describes the furthest formal stage completed by the cutoff and does not estimate the probability or timing of enactment.

This rule produces several instructive cases.

C-29, the Financial Crimes Agency Act, received first reading on 27 April and had not completed second reading by the cutoff. It therefore remained in the early pipeline. [1] [43]

C-22, the Lawful Access Act, completed second reading on 20 April and was referred to committee. It therefore belonged to the committee pipeline. [36]

C-11, the Military Justice System Modernization Act in the 45th Parliament, completed third reading in the Commons on 25 May and received first reading in the Senate on 26 May itself. It therefore entered the advanced pipeline on the final day of Year One, with second-chamber proceedings formally underway. [25]

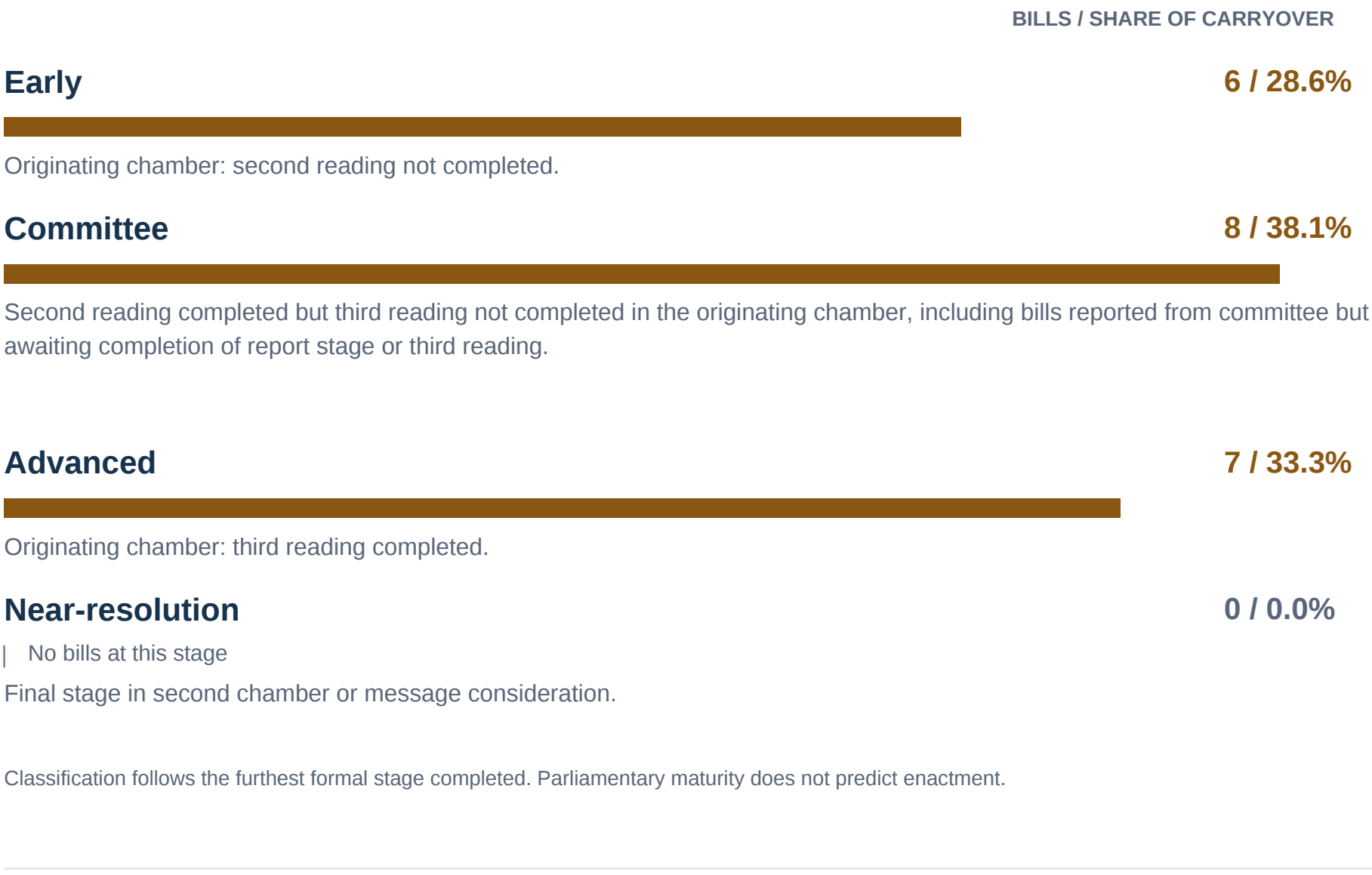
S-5 provides the clearest boundary case. It completed third reading in its originating chamber-the Senate-on 26 May but did not receive first reading in the Commons until 28 May. Under the refined definition, S-5 is classified as advanced at the cutoff: chamber complete, awaiting second-chamber entry. [48]

The purpose of the maturity framework is therefore not semantic. It captures real differences in how much parliamentary work had already occurred.

Carryover Pipeline Maturity

Distribution of 21 substantive carryover bills by furthest parliamentary stage completed.

Snapshot: 26 May 2026



Classification follows the furthest formal stage completed. Parliamentary maturity does not predict enactment.

Source: Author’s calculations based on Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo. [1]

26 May 2025 - 26 May 2026

6.4 The Cutoff Produces Genuine Parliamentary Boundary Effects

C-14 demonstrates why cutoff discipline matters. [28]

The Bail and Sentencing Reform Act had already completed the Commons. Senate committee consideration was completed and the committee report with amendments was presented on 26 May. Senate report stage occurred on 27 May and third reading on 28 May-immediately after the analytical period.

Those developments are relevant to later history.

They are not part of Year One.

The same issue appears with S-5, whose Commons first reading occurred two days after the cutoff. [48]

And C-20, the Build Canada Homes Act, had completed Commons committee consideration by 4 May, but had not completed report stage by 26 May. Its Senate pre-study meetings began on 27 May, the first day outside the analytical window. [34]

These examples demonstrate an important methodological principle:

An anniversary snapshot necessarily separates parliamentary activity that may be only days apart. That is a feature of a fixed cutoff, not a reason to move the cutoff retrospectively.

Without that discipline, the definition of “Year One” would shift according to subsequent events.

6.5 Carryover Was Heterogeneous in Policy Content as Well as Parliamentary Stage

The unfinished stock was not concentrated in a single policy field.

Public safety and justice legislation formed a visible component of the carryover agenda. C-8 had completed the Commons and, after Senate second reading, was in Senate committee by the cutoff. C-9 had likewise completed the Commons, completed Senate second reading and was under Senate committee consideration. For C-14, Senate committee consideration was completed and the committee report with amendments was presented on 26 May. C-16 had completed Commons committee consideration, and the committee report with amendments was presented to the House on 25 May; report-stage debate occurred after the analytical cutoff. [22] [23] [28] [30]

Housing remained partly legislative despite substantial administrative implementation. C-20 had completed Commons committee consideration, while C-26-authorizing payments intended to improve housing supply-had received first reading but had not completed second reading. [34] [40]

Indigenous-policy legislation likewise occupied several different stages. C-10 had completed report stage on 21 April and was awaiting third reading in the Commons; C-21 remained in second-reading proceedings; and C-27 had received first reading on 26 March but had not completed second reading by the cutoff. [24] [35] [41]

Institutional and regulatory legislation also remained in the pipeline. C-25 completed second reading on 24 April and was referred to committee, while C-29 remained before completion of second reading. [1] [39] [43]

The carryover agenda was therefore both procedurally and substantively heterogeneous.

6.6 Some of the Most Mature Carryover Legislation Had Already Crossed Chambers

Several unfinished measures had moved well beyond their point of introduction.

C-8 and C-9 had completed the Commons and were under consideration in Senate committees by the cutoff. [22] [23]

C-14 had likewise completed the Commons; Senate committee consideration was completed and the committee report with amendments was presented on the cutoff date. [28]

C-11 completed Commons third reading on 25 May and entered the Senate on 26 May. [25]

S-5 had completed its entire originating chamber on 26 May, although formal Commons entry occurred only after the cutoff. [48]

These bills therefore cannot be analytically grouped with measures such as C-26, C-27 or C-29, which had not completed second reading in their originating chamber. [1] [40] [41] [43]

This produces a useful distinction within the 21-bill carryover stock: [1]

A substantial unfinished agenda does not necessarily imply an entirely immature agenda.

Some Year Two legislative work consisted of continuing bills already substantially processed during Year One.

Other measures entered Year Two with most parliamentary stages still ahead.

6.7 Carryover Also Included Newer Legislative Priorities

The pipeline contained another temporal distinction.

Several bills were introduced relatively late in the analytical period.

C-26 and C-27 were introduced on 26 March 2026. C-28 followed on 21 April, C-29 on 27 April, and C-30 on 29 April. [40] [41] [42] [43] [44]

Their unfinished status therefore cannot be interpreted in the same way as legislation that had spent many months before Parliament.

C-29, for example, had been before the House for less than one month by the cutoff. [43]

C-30, although introduced only on 29 April, had already completed second reading and been referred to the Finance Committee on 26 May following time allocation and a recorded second-reading vote. [44]

The comparison reinforces another limitation of raw conversion rates:

Unfinished status does not control for legislative age.

A bill introduced eleven months before the cutoff and a bill introduced four weeks before it both appear in the denominator as “not enacted,” even though their parliamentary opportunity windows differ substantially.

This does not invalidate the conversion indicator.

It explains why the indicator must be read alongside legislative age and pipeline maturity.

6.8 Year Two Inherited Implementation Obligations from Enacted Legislation

The unfinished agenda extended beyond the 21 bills. [1]

Several statutes enacted during Year One created implementation obligations continuing beyond Royal Assent.

C-5 established statutory frameworks for internal trade, labour mobility and projects in the national interest, while subsequent implementation proceeded through regulation, institutional administration, project designation and intergovernmental cooperation. [19]

C-12 created new border, immigration and security authorities whose operational effects depended on administrative implementation. [26]

The affordability measures enacted through C-4 also moved from legislative completion into tax administration and application. [18]

Consequently, the enacted portfolio itself contained unfinished work.

This produces a second Year Two pipeline:

Royal Assent

→ entry into force

→ regulations / administration

→ operational implementation

→ observable outcomes

The first-year legislative scorecard therefore becomes the starting point rather than the endpoint for implementation analysis.

6.9 Administrative Institutions Created in Year One Also Carried Forward

Build Canada Homes demonstrates this particularly clearly.

By the cutoff, the organization was already operational administratively, while C-20-the legislation intended to establish its permanent statutory framework-had completed committee consideration in the Commons but had not completed report stage. [34]

The same policy priority therefore existed simultaneously in two institutional states:

administrative implementation underway;

and

statutory institutionalization unfinished.

This overlap is precisely what the dual-track framework was designed to capture.

The Major Projects Office similarly entered Year Two with an implementation agenda extending beyond the enactment of C-5: project review, coordination and intergovernmental implementation continued even though the enabling legislation belonged to the Year One enacted total. [19]

Thus:

Year Two did not merely inherit bills. It inherited institutions created or activated during Year One whose implementation mandates were still developing.

6.10 Multi-Year Commitments Form a Third Layer of Carryover

A third category of unfinished business consisted of objectives whose own deadlines extended beyond the anniversary.

The government's target of reducing temporary residents below 5% of Canada's population by the end of 2027 remained an active implementation objective.

The commitment to balance the operating budget within three years likewise remained temporally open.

Defence recapitalization, housing construction and trade diversification were inherently multi-year programmes rather than objectives reasonably classifiable as complete after twelve months.

These commitments should not be added to the 21-bill legislative carryover count. [1]

Nor should they be treated as missed commitments.

Instead, they constitute a separate policy-outcome carryover:

legislative carryover - parliamentary work remained;

implementation carryover - enacted or launched policy required further execution;

outcome carryover - the stated policy horizon had not yet expired.

This three-layer structure provides a more accurate description of what the first year handed to the second.

6.11 Year Two Began with Different Types of Institutional Work

The combined evidence therefore produces a Year Two agenda with several distinct forms of work:

Parliamentary continuation - advancing the 21 substantive bills remaining in Parliament. [1]

Statutory implementation - implementing legislation already enacted.

Institutional development - operationalizing or expanding institutions such as Build Canada Homes and the Major Projects Office.

Intergovernmental implementation - translating federal frameworks into arrangements involving provinces and territories.

International implementation - advancing trade and defence commitments whose execution extended beyond enactment or agreement.

Outcome monitoring - assessing multi-year objectives only as evidence becomes available and their relevant horizons approach.

These categories should not be collapsed into a single measure of “agenda completion.”

They involve different institutions, timelines and standards of evidence.

6.12 What the Year Two Outlook Can - and Cannot - Say

The carryover analysis identifies what remained, not what would happen next.

Pipeline maturity does not establish the probability of enactment.

A bill that had completed one chamber could subsequently be amended, delayed, defeated, withdrawn or affected by broader parliamentary events.

Likewise, a bill still at first reading could subsequently move rapidly.

For this reason, the report does not convert parliamentary stage into a forecast.

Nor does it infer electoral or political outcomes from the unfinished agenda.

The defensible outlook is institutional:

Year Two began with a substantial but uneven legislative stock, alongside implementation obligations generated by Year One statutes and administrative initiatives.

That statement describes the inherited agenda without predicting its resolution.

6.13 Post-Cutoff Developments Are Evidence of the Value of the Snapshot, Not Part of It

Later parliamentary developments can be used only to illustrate why the cutoff methodology matters.

For example, C-14's Senate committee report with amendments was presented on 26 May; report stage followed on 27 May and third reading on 28 May. [28]

S-5 moved from Senate third reading on 26 May to Commons first reading on 28 May. [48]

C-20's Senate pre-study committee meetings began on 27 May. [34]

None of those developments changes the Year One classification.

They demonstrate instead that:

The anniversary snapshot captured a moving parliamentary system rather than a natural legislative stopping point.

Where post-cutoff developments are mentioned in the final report, they should therefore appear only in clearly identified notes or in the Year Two discussion-not in Year One KPIs.

6.14 The Year Two Legislative Map

The first-year record can now be represented as a continuing policy chain:

29 substantive Government Bills introduced

↓

8 received Royal Assent by 26 May 2026

↓

21 entered Year Two as legislative carryover

while simultaneously:

Year One enactments

↓

entry into force / regulation / administration

↓

implementation obligations

and:

multi-year commitments

↓

continued policy execution

↓

future observable outcomes

The resulting Year Two agenda was therefore not simply the remainder of Year One legislation.

It was the combined inheritance of unfinished statutes-in-making, unfinished implementation and unfinished policy horizons.

6.15 Fifth Major Finding

The evidence supports the report's fifth major finding:

The Carney government's second year began with a substantial but heterogeneous policy inheritance. Twenty-one substantive Government Bills remained in Parliament at the anniversary cutoff, ranging from measures still before completion of second reading to bills that had completed an entire chamber. At the same time, statutes enacted during Year One generated continuing regulatory and administrative obligations, while several Throne Speech objectives retained multi-year implementation horizons. The Year Two agenda should therefore be understood not simply as legislative backlog, but as a three-layer carryover of unfinished legislation, ongoing implementation and unresolved policy outcomes.

This finding completes the first-year analytical chain:

Broad legislative agenda

→ concentrated statutory completion

→ dual legislative-executive delivery

→ heterogeneous parliamentary pathways

→ multi-layer Year Two carryover.

From Royal Assent to Implementation

PART VII | Statutory Completion, Entry into Force and Administrative Delivery

7.1 Royal Assent Was Not a Common Implementation Endpoint

The eight substantive Government Bills that received Royal Assent during Year One all count equally in the report's legislative conversion rate.

They did not, however, occupy the same implementation position by 26 May 2026.

C-3 had entered into force and Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada was applying the new citizenship rules. C-5 had moved into regulations and institutional implementation. C-4 had authorized the Canada Revenue Agency to process the new first-time home buyers' rebate. C-19 had established a benefit for which administrative delivery had been scheduled, although its first special payment remained outside the analytical period. [17] [18] [19] [33]

At the other end of the spectrum, C-13 and C-18 had completed Canada's domestic legislative process only weeks before the cutoff, while additional international and executive steps remained before the underlying trade agreements could become operational for Canada. [27] [32]

The resulting distinction is fundamental:

Statutory completion and policy implementation are separate analytical events.

Royal Assent determines whether legislation belongs in the enacted numerator.

It does not establish that every legal provision is in force, that administrative delivery has occurred, or that observable policy outcomes exist.

Implementation Status at the Cutoff

Qualitative implementation status of the eight substantive enactments

Snapshot: 26 May 2026

BILL	STATUS AT THE CUTOFF	SOURCES
C-3	in force; administrative application underway	[2]
C-4	statutory completion; active tax administration	[3]
C-5	in force; regulations and institutional implementation underway	[4] [5]
C-12	statutory completion; relevant legal and administrative implementation underway	[6]
C-15	mixed implementation portfolio; measure-specific timelines	[7]
C-19	administrative delivery prepared; principal special payment scheduled after cutoff	[8]
C-13	domestic implementation legislation enacted; international entry into force pending	[9]
C-18	domestic implementation legislation enacted; international entry into force pending	[10]

Each description is bill-specific. This display assigns no implementation score or ranking.

Royal Assent establishes statutory completion; it does not establish policy completion or observable outcomes.

Sources: Parliament of Canada [1]; official implementation records [2-10].

26 May 2025 - 26 May 2026

7.2 An Implementation-Maturity Framework

To preserve that distinction, enacted legislation is assessed across five implementation stages:

Statutory completion - Parliament has enacted the legislation and Royal Assent has occurred.

Entry into force - the relevant provisions have legally commenced, either upon Royal Assent, on a specified statutory date or through an Order in Council or other commencement mechanism.

Administrative implementation - departments, agencies or institutions have begun applying the statutory framework through regulations, processing systems, institutional arrangements, payments, guidance or operational activity.

Service or policy delivery - the statutory measure is producing the administrative service, transfer, regulatory treatment or institutional activity contemplated by the legislation.

Observable policy outcomes - sufficient evidence exists to assess effects beyond the immediate administrative act.

These stages are not necessarily linear for every statute.

An omnibus budget implementation act may contain provisions with different commencement dates. A trade implementation statute can complete Canada's domestic legal preparations before the underlying international agreement enters into force. A tax measure can have practical administrative effects before Royal Assent through withholding arrangements and subsequently receive statutory confirmation.

The framework therefore describes implementation maturity, not an implementation score.

7.3 C-3 - Citizenship Reform Reached Operational Implementation

C-3 provides one of the clearest examples of movement beyond statutory completion during Year One. [2] [17]

The bill received Royal Assent on 20 November 2025 and came into force on 15 December 2025. [2]

From that date, IRCC began applying the new citizenship-by-descent framework. The legislation restored or extended citizenship to categories affected by the former first-generation limit and established a substantial-connection test for future citizenship transmission beyond the first generation. The test generally requires a Canadian parent born or adopted abroad to demonstrate at least 1,095 cumulative days of physical presence in Canada before the birth or adoption of the child. [2]

This places C-3 beyond both Royal Assent and entry into force. [2] [17]

By the anniversary cutoff, the new statutory rules were already part of active citizenship administration. [2]

The distinction is important: [2]

C-3 was not merely enacted during Year One; its new legal framework had become operational during Year One. [2] [17]

Observable long-term effects on citizenship volumes, however, require a different evidentiary horizon and should not be inferred from implementation alone. [2]

7.4 C-4 - Legislative Completion Followed Earlier Administrative Preparation

C-4 illustrates a different implementation pathway. [3] [18]

The Making Life More Affordable for Canadians Act received Royal Assent on 12 March 2026. [3]

Its personal income-tax component reduced the lowest federal marginal rate from 15% to 14.5% for 2025 and to 14% beginning in 2026. The Canada Revenue Agency had already adjusted withholding tables from 1 July 2025 based on the proposed measure, meaning that an important practical component preceded final statutory enactment. [3]

Royal Assent also allowed the Canada Revenue Agency to begin processing the new first-time home buyers' GST rebate. The measure eliminates GST for eligible first-time buyers of new homes up to $1 million and phases out the rebate between $1 million and $1.5 million. [3]

C-4 therefore demonstrates why the implementation chain cannot always be read as a perfectly chronological sequence. [3] [18]

Administrative preparation and practical tax treatment can precede final enactment, while Royal Assent subsequently provides the completed statutory authority for continued administration. [3]

By the cutoff, C-4 had therefore moved beyond statutory completion into active tax administration. [3] [18]

That does not by itself establish its effects on household finances, home purchases or housing supply. Those are outcome questions. [3]

7.5 C-5 - The Clearest Example of Institutional Implementation

C-5 provides the most developed institutional implementation pathway among the eight substantive enactments. [4] [5] [19]

The One Canadian Economy Act received Royal Assent on 26 June 2025. [4] [5]

The government subsequently consulted on implementation of the Free Trade and Labour Mobility in Canada Act. The Regulatory Impact Analysis Statement published with the regulations records engagement with more than 195 different stakeholders, including businesses, business and labour associations, unions, provincial governments and citizens. Both the Act and its regulations came into force on 1 January 2026. The federal framework recognizes comparable provincial or territorial requirements in specified circumstances and provides for exclusions where necessary to address identified risks. [4] [5]

The Building Canada Act generated a separate institutional pathway. [4] [5]

The government launched the Major Projects Office on 29 August 2025, followed by project referrals and an Indigenous Advisory Council. The office became a principal administrative mechanism for advancing projects under the new framework. [4] [5]

C-5 therefore crossed several implementation stages within Year One: [4] [5] [19]

Royal Assent → regulatory development → entry into force / institutional creation → administrative implementation. [4] [5]

This makes C-5 particularly useful for understanding why an enacted statute should not be treated as a single completed event. [4] [5] [19]

The statute created legal authority. Regulations and institutions translated that authority into an operational framework. [4] [5]

Whether those mechanisms ultimately reduce interprovincial barriers, accelerate project approvals or produce broader economic effects remains an outcome question requiring later evidence. [4] [5]

7.6 C-12 - Legal Authorities Entered the Implementation Phase

C-12 received Royal Assent on 26 March 2026. [6] [26]

The Strengthening Canada's Immigration System and Borders Act introduced changes across asylum processing, immigration administration, information sharing and border-security authorities. Following Royal Assent, relevant provisions began to be incorporated into immigration and border administration, while different components of the legislation followed their applicable commencement and operational pathways. [6]

This places C-12 beyond the category of legislation merely awaiting implementation. [6] [26]

By the cutoff, statutory authorities were already being incorporated into the immigration and border system. [6]

However, the legislation's broad scope makes a single implementation label potentially misleading. Different provisions affect different institutions and administrative processes, and their operational consequences need not emerge simultaneously. [6]

C-12 should therefore be classified as: statutory completion achieved; entry into force and administrative implementation underway, with policy outcomes not yet established. [6] [26]

This distinction is particularly important because changes in border crossings, asylum volumes or enforcement outcomes cannot automatically be attributed to C-12 merely because they occur after enactment. Causal assessment would require separate evidence. [6] [26]

7.7 C-15 - Omnibus Legislation Produces Multiple Implementation Timelines

C-15 presents a methodological problem of a different kind. [7] [29]

The Budget 2025 Implementation Act, No. 1 received Royal Assent on 26 March 2026 and implemented numerous Budget 2025 measures across different policy areas. [7]

Because budget implementation legislation contains multiple statutory measures, it should not be assigned a single universal implementation date beyond Royal Assent. [7]

Some provisions take effect directly. Others establish programmes or authorities requiring subsequent administration. Still others contemplate implementation over future fiscal or tax years. [7]

For example, the Act placed the National School Food Program on a statutory footing and provided for continuing federal support, while other Budget 2025 measures followed their own administrative timelines. [7]

Accordingly, C-15 should be treated as a mixed implementation portfolio rather than as a single policy intervention. [7] [29]

This produces a general methodological rule: [7]

For omnibus legislation, implementation maturity should be assessed at the measure level where necessary rather than inferred from the status of the Act as a whole. [7]

C-15 counts once in the legislative conversion numerator. It may require multiple observations in the implementation dataset. [7] [29]

7.8 C-19 - Administration Was Ready, but Delivery Crossed the Cutoff

C-19 offers perhaps the clearest example of the difference between administrative implementation and actual benefit delivery. [8] [33]

The Canada Groceries and Essentials Benefit Act received Royal Assent on 12 February 2026. [8]

The legislation provided for a one-time top-up equivalent to 50% of the annual 2025-26 GST Credit and a 25% increase in the successor benefit for five years beginning in the 2026-27 benefit year. [8]

By 17 April, the Canada Revenue Agency had announced that the one-time payment would be issued on 5 June 2026, followed by the first regular enhanced Canada Groceries and Essentials Benefit payment on 3 July. [8]

The anniversary cutoff occurred on 26 May. [8]

Therefore, the legislation had been enacted; the delivery mechanism and payment date had been established; but the one-time payment had not yet been issued within Year One. [8]

C-19 should consequently be classified at the cutoff as administratively implementation-ready, with principal benefit delivery scheduled immediately after the analytical period. [8] [33]

The payment subsequently made on 5 June can be noted as a post-cutoff development, but it cannot be imported into the Year One implementation status. [8]

This is precisely the type of distinction that an anniversary snapshot is designed to preserve. [8]

7.9 C-13 - Domestic Legislative Completion Preceded International Entry into Force

C-13 received Royal Assent on 6 May 2026, completing the Canadian legislation required to implement the United Kingdom's accession to the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership. [9] [27]

But Royal Assent did not mean that the CPTPP immediately entered into force between Canada and the United Kingdom. [9]

Canada still had to complete and notify its ratification process. That occurred after the Year One cutoff: Canada ratified the Protocol on 3 July 2026, and the CPTPP subsequently entered into force between Canada and the United Kingdom on 1 September 2026. [9]

At 26 May, therefore, C-13 occupied a particularly clear implementation position: domestic statutory completion achieved; international implementation not yet complete. [9] [27]

This demonstrates why trade implementation legislation requires a distinct analytical treatment. [9]

Parliament can complete the domestic legislative prerequisite while the international legal instrument remains outside the implementation stage for Canada. [9]

Post-cutoff ratification and entry into force belong in a later update, not in the Year One KPI. [9]

7.10 C-18 - The Same Distinction Appeared in the Indonesia Agreement

C-18, the Canada-Indonesia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement Implementation Act, also received Royal Assent on 6 May 2026. [10] [32]

The Act established Canada's domestic legal framework for implementing the agreement, including approval of the agreement, administrative and institutional provisions, order-making authority and amendments necessary to bring Canadian law into conformity with the agreement. [10]

But the international agreement had not entered into force by the 26 May cutoff. An Order in Council concerning the agreement's entry into force was not made until 12 June 2026, outside the analytical period. [10]

Accordingly, C-18 occupied essentially the same Year One implementation category as C-13: domestic statutory completion achieved; international implementation remained pending at the cutoff. [10] [27] [32]

This reinforces the broader point that trade implementation acts should not be treated as equivalent to an agreement already operating in commerce. [10]

7.11 The Eight Enactments Formed an Implementation Spectrum

The enacted portfolio can therefore be summarized as an implementation spectrum rather than a binary set of completed policies.

C-3 - In force; administrative application underway. [17]

C-4 - Statutory completion; active tax administration. [18]

C-5 - In force; regulations and institutional implementation underway. [19]

C-12 - Statutory completion; relevant legal and administrative implementation underway. [26]

C-15 - Mixed implementation portfolio; measure-specific timelines. [29]

C-19 - Administrative delivery prepared; principal special payment scheduled after cutoff. [33]

C-13 - Domestic implementation legislation enacted; international entry into force pending. [1] [27]

C-18 - Domestic implementation legislation enacted; international entry into force pending. [32]

The comparison does not rank the statutes. Nor does it imply that the legislation closer to observable delivery was more important or more effective. It identifies only how far implementation had progressed by the common analytical date.

7.12 Implementation Maturity Changes the Meaning of the 27.6% Conversion Rate

The report's substantive legislative conversion rate remains:

8 enacted substantive Government Bills / 29 introduced substantive Government Bills = 27.6%. [1]

Implementation analysis does not alter that figure. Instead, it changes what the numerator means.

The eight enacted bills are not eight completed policy outcomes. They are eight statutes occupying different positions along the implementation chain.

Thus:

The 27.6% conversion rate measures statutory completion, not policy completion. [1]

That distinction is one of the most important interpretive safeguards in the report.

Without it, the legislative scorecard would systematically overstate the extent to which Royal Assent represented the end of government action.

7.13 Implementation Can Begin Before or Continue Long After Royal Assent

The eight cases also reveal that implementation is not always neatly downstream from enactment.

C-4's withholding tables were adjusted on the basis of the proposed tax measure before Royal Assent. [18]

C-3 moved from Royal Assent to entry into force in less than a month. [17]

C-5 required subsequent regulations and institution-building. [19]

C-19 had an operational payment mechanism in preparation but crossed the analytical cutoff before delivery. [33]

C-13 and C-18 completed domestic legislation while international entry into force remained pending. [27] [32]

These examples produce a more accurate policy chain:

Policy commitment → legislative authority → Royal Assent → entry into force where required → regulatory / administrative preparation → service or policy delivery → observable outcomes

But the chain should not be interpreted as mechanically sequential. Different policies can enter it at different points, overlap stages or require external conditions.

7.14 Observable Outcomes Require a Higher Evidentiary Threshold

The final stage-observable policy outcomes-requires particular caution.

A regulation being in force does not establish that internal trade barriers have materially fallen.

A Major Projects Office operating does not establish that project approval timelines have shortened.

A new citizenship framework being administered does not by itself establish its long-term effect on citizenship patterns.

A tax rebate being processed does not establish its effect on housing affordability or housing construction.

And an international trade agreement implementation statute does not establish additional trade flows before the agreement itself is in force.

For this reason, the report treats observable outcomes as a separate evidentiary category.

Implementation evidence establishes that government machinery is operating. Outcome evidence establishes whether the policy environment changed in the manner being measured.

The latter generally requires more time and, where appropriate, independent administrative or statistical evidence.

7.15 Sixth Major Finding

The evidence supports the report's sixth major finding:

Royal Assent did not represent a common implementation endpoint for the Carney government's first-year legislation. The eight substantive enactments occupied materially different positions by the anniversary cutoff: some had entered into force and were being actively administered; others required measure-specific implementation; one had administrative delivery scheduled immediately after the cutoff; and two trade implementation statutes still awaited additional steps before their underlying international agreements could operate for Canada. The government's 27.6% substantive legislative conversion rate should therefore be interpreted as a measure of statutory completion rather than policy completion or policy impact. [1]

This finding completes the distinction running throughout the report:

legislative output is not statutory completion;

statutory completion is not implementation;

and implementation is not policy outcome.

Overall Conclusion

The first year of the Carney government illustrates the limitations of evaluating a parliamentary agenda through a single legislative count.

Measured only by introduction, the government produced a broad programme spanning multiple policy areas.

Measured by Royal Assent, completion was substantially narrower: eight of 29 substantive Government Bills had become law by the anniversary cutoff. [1]

Measured by parliamentary process, those bills and the wider legislative programme followed markedly different routes and timelines. Measured by parliamentary context, Year One also crossed from an initial minority phase to a late-period House majority, requiring recorded votes to be interpreted against the House composition in force at the time.

Measured by implementation, even the enacted portfolio remained heterogeneous.

And measured against the Speech from the Throne, government action extended beyond Parliament into administrative institutions, intergovernmental arrangements, international cooperation and multi-year policy targets.

These findings are not contradictory. They describe different stages of the same governing process.

The first-year record can therefore be represented as a chain:

Broad legislative agenda

→ concentrated statutory completion

→ selective legislative acceleration

→ heterogeneous parliamentary pathways

→ dual legislative-executive delivery

→ uneven implementation maturity

→ multi-layer Year Two carryover

The analytical value of this framework is that it avoids two opposite errors.

The first is to treat every introduced bill or announced initiative as equivalent to delivered policy.

The second is to treat every measure not enacted within twelve months as evidence of failure or inactivity.

Neither interpretation is supported by the parliamentary record.

Instead, the anniversary snapshot shows a government that converted selected priorities into statute while maintaining a substantially larger legislative pipeline and simultaneously advancing parts of its programme through non-legislative mechanisms.

The next analytical question is therefore not simply how many additional bills receive Royal Assent.

It is how the different components of the first-year record develop over time: whether unfinished legislation progresses through Parliament, whether enacted statutes move from legal authority into sustained administration, whether newly established institutions become operationally consequential, and whether measurable outcomes eventually emerge from the policies initiated during Year One.

Those questions belong to subsequent observation rather than retrospective alteration of the first-year record.

The 26 May 2026 snapshot remains fixed.

Its principal contribution is not a verdict on the government.

It is a clearer account of what moved, how it moved, how far it moved, and what remained to be done after the first twelve months.

Methodology and Source Architecture

PART I | Research framework and methodology

1.1 Purpose and Research Question

This report examines the federal legislative agenda during the first twelve months of the government led by Prime Minister Mark Carney, covering the period from 26 May 2025 to 26 May 2026.

Its purpose extends beyond counting bills introduced or Acts receiving Royal Assent. The analysis examines how the government's stated policy programme moved through Parliament and, where relevant, from statutory authority into implementation.

The report addresses four principal questions:

How much of the government's stated agenda became legislation? How quickly did legislation advance? In which policy areas was legislative activity concentrated? Through what parliamentary and implementation pathways did government priorities progress?

Four concepts are treated separately throughout the analysis:

Legislative activity - the introduction and parliamentary consideration of government legislation.

Statutory completion - enactment through Royal Assent.

Policy implementation - the subsequent legal, regulatory, fiscal or administrative steps required to operationalize policy.

Observable policy outcomes - evidence concerning the economic, social, fiscal or institutional consequences of implemented policy.

A bill introduced in Parliament constitutes legislative activity, but not statutory completion. Royal Assent creates or amends law but does not necessarily mean that all provisions are in force or fully implemented. Implementation, in turn, does not establish that a policy has produced its intended outcomes.

These distinctions form the analytical foundation of the report.

1.2 Analytical Period

The principal analytical period is:

26 May 2025 - 26 May 2026

The First Session of the 45th Parliament began on 26 May 2025. On 27 May, King Charles III delivered the Speech from the Throne setting out the government's inaugural parliamentary programme. [50]

The term Year One therefore denotes a twelve-month analytical window beginning with the opening of the 45th Parliament.

It does not represent a formally defined Canadian legislative year.

Canadian parliamentary sessions do not automatically terminate after twelve months. A session continues until prorogation or dissolution; routine adjournments and parliamentary recesses do not themselves begin a new session.

Accordingly, 26 May 2026 is an analytical anniversary cutoff rather than an institutional parliamentary boundary.

The First Session continued beyond the report's cutoff date.

1.3 Anniversary Snapshot

This report adopts an Anniversary Snapshot approach.

Every legislative indicator is reconstructed according to the status of parliamentary business at the end of 26 May 2026.

A bill that remained before committee on that date is classified as being before committee even if it subsequently received Royal Assent. A bill enacted after the cutoff does not retroactively enter the Year One Royal Assent count.

This rule applies consistently across all quantitative indicators.

Developments occurring after the analytical period may appear only:

1. in clearly identified Post-Cutoff Update notes where necessary to understand subsequent developments; or

2. in the report's Year Two Outlook.

Post-cutoff developments never alter Year One classifications or indicators.

2. Sources and Evidentiary Standards

The report uses a hierarchy of evidence intended to distinguish parliamentary facts, government claims and independent analysis.

2.1 Primary Parliamentary and Government Sources

Principal sources include:

- Parliament of Canada;
- LEGISinfo;
- House of Commons Debates and Journals;
- Senate Debates and Journals;
- parliamentary committee evidence and reports;
- enacted statutes and Royal Assent records;
- federal budgets and economic statements;
- regulations and Orders in Council where relevant;
- departmental and central-agency publications; and
- the 2025 Speech from the Throne.

Official parliamentary records determine bill status, parliamentary stages, recorded votes, amendments and Royal Assent.

2.2 Independent Institutional Sources

Where the analysis requires fiscal, economic or implementation evidence beyond government reporting, preference is given to institutions including:

- Parliamentary Budget Officer;
- Statistics Canada;
- Auditor General of Canada;
- Bank of Canada; and
- other independent public institutions.

2.3 Secondary Sources

Academic research, recognized policy institutes and reputable news organizations are used principally for contextual information, external analysis and contemporary reaction.

Government communications describing government achievements are treated as primary evidence of the government's own position or reported actions, not as independent confirmation that an intended policy outcome has been achieved.

3. Legislative Universe

The principal legislative dataset consists of Government Bills introduced in either chamber during the analytical period in the First Session of the 45th Parliament.

The unit of observation is the bill.

Each bill is coded for:

- bill number and title;
- chamber of origin;
- date of introduction;
- sponsoring minister or government representative;
- primary policy area;
- secondary policy tags;
- parliamentary stage at the anniversary cutoff;
- Royal Assent, where applicable;
- relevant recorded divisions;
- committee consideration;
- significant amendments;
- Senate treatment;
- procedural acceleration where applicable;
- entry into force, where relevant; and

- identifiable implementation status.

Government Bills originating in either the House of Commons or the Senate are included.

Senate Public Bills are excluded from government legislative output, applying the same attribution principle used for Private Members' Bills in the House of Commons.

The detailed bill-level dataset functions as the evidentiary backend of the study. The main report analyzes aggregate patterns and uses individual bills only where they provide evidence of a broader legislative or implementation pattern.

4. Legislative Classification

Government Bills perform substantially different parliamentary functions. The report therefore distinguishes among the following categories.

4.1 Substantive Policy Legislation

Bills establishing or materially changing public policy, statutory institutions, taxation, regulation, criminal law, trade frameworks, immigration law, housing policy or other substantive areas of federal policy.

These bills form the principal universe used to analyze the government's legislative programme.

4.2 Budget Implementation Legislation

Budget implementation bills are included within the substantive legislative universe because they may enact significant changes in taxation, programmes, regulatory frameworks and economic policy.

They receive a separate analytical tag because their scope and parliamentary role differ from ordinary policy bills.

For avoidance of ambiguity:

Budget implementation bills are included in the Substantive Legislative Conversion Rate.

4.3 Supply and Appropriation Legislation

Appropriation legislation authorizes expenditure required for the operation of government.

These bills constitute genuine legislative output and are therefore included in measures of Total Government Legislative Output.

They are excluded, however, from the substantive-policy denominator, since including routine supply legislation would distort a measure intended to capture substantive policy-making activity.

4.4 Pro Forma Legislation

Traditional pro forma legislation introduced at the beginning of a parliamentary session is recorded as parliamentary activity but excluded from the substantive-policy universe.

Its procedural and constitutional function differs from ordinary government policy legislation.

5. Matters Outside the Government Legislative Denominator

5.1 Private Members' and Senate Public Bills

Private Members' Bills and Senate Public Bills are not attributed to the government merely because members of the governing party support them.

They are therefore excluded from Government Legislative Output.

Where such legislation materially intersects with the government's programme, it may be discussed contextually without entering government legislative indicators.

5.2 Regulations and Orders in Council

Regulations, Orders in Council and other delegated instruments are not counted as bills.

Where legislation requires subsequent regulatory action, those instruments are considered within the implementation analysis.

5.3 Government Announcements

A policy announcement does not constitute legislative activity.

Announcements may establish political intent or signal future administrative action, but they enter legislative indicators only when an identifiable Government Bill is introduced.

5.4 Spending and Administrative Decisions

Expenditure, procurement, programme creation and administrative restructuring may constitute significant policy implementation without requiring new legislation.

Such actions are measured through the implementation framework rather than artificially attributed to legislative output.

6. Policy Taxonomy

Each substantive Government Bill is assigned one primary policy classification, supplemented where necessary by secondary policy tags.

The eight primary categories are:

Economy & Fiscal Policy - Taxation, fiscal policy, financial regulation and economic institutions

Trade & Internal Market - International trade, internal trade and labour mobility

Housing & Infrastructure - Housing supply, infrastructure and major physical-investment frameworks

Immigration & Labour Mobility - Citizenship, immigration and temporary/permanent migration frameworks

Public Safety & Justice - Criminal law, policing, borders, cyber security and financial crime

Defence & Sovereignty - Defence, Arctic sovereignty and related strategic frameworks

Indigenous & Social Policy - Indigenous governance, social programmes and related statutory frameworks

Institutions & Democratic Governance - Elections, public institutions and democratic rules

Classification Rule

Primary classification is determined by the principal statutory purpose of the legislation, assessed through its long title, legislative summary and operative provisions.

Where legislation contains multiple material policy components, classification follows the predominant statutory function of the bill.

Secondary tags preserve significant cross-sectoral content.

The sponsoring department or minister may inform interpretation but does not independently determine primary classification.

This rule permits each bill to appear once in aggregate policy-area totals while preserving important overlaps elsewhere in the analysis.

7. Core Legislative Indicators

7.1 Total Government Legislative Output

The total number of Government Bills introduced during the analytical period.

This is the broadest measure of government legislative activity.

7.2 Substantive Government Legislative Output

Government Bills introduced during the analytical period after excluding:

- pro forma legislation; and
- supply and appropriation legislation.

Budget implementation legislation remains included.

7.3 Legislative Conversion Rate

The proportion of Government Bills introduced during the analytical period that had received Royal Assent by the anniversary cutoff.

Legislative Conversion Rate =

Government Bills receiving Royal Assent by cutoff / Government Bills introduced by cutoff

The indicator measures parliamentary completion, not policy effectiveness, implementation quality or political success.

7.4 Substantive Legislative Conversion Rate

The corresponding calculation for the substantive legislative universe:

Substantive Legislative Conversion Rate =

Substantive Government Bills receiving Royal Assent by cutoff / Substantive Government Bills introduced by cutoff

Budget implementation legislation is included in both numerator and denominator where applicable; supply, appropriation and pro forma legislation are excluded.

7.5 Legislative Velocity

For bills receiving Royal Assent within the analytical period, Legislative Velocity measures calendar days between:

Introduction → Royal Assent

For legislation still before Parliament at the anniversary cutoff, no completed velocity measure is assigned.

Instead, the report records:

- elapsed calendar days since introduction; and
- parliamentary stage reached at the cutoff.

Velocity is descriptive. Faster passage is not presumed to indicate better legislation, nor is slower consideration treated as legislative failure.

8. Parliamentary Pathway

Final bill status alone cannot capture how government legislation moved through a House whose partisan composition changed during the analytical period.

Where evidence permits, the report examines:

- cross-party support;
- recorded divisions;
- committee scrutiny;
- government and opposition amendments;
- Senate amendments;
- Senate pre-study; and
- procedural mechanisms affecting the parliamentary timetable.

The report deliberately avoids combining these variables into a subjective numerical friction score.

Instead, parliamentary pathways are described according to their observable characteristics.

This permits distinctions among:

- legislation attracting broad cross-party support;
- legislation dependent upon narrower parliamentary coalitions;
- legislation materially amended during parliamentary consideration;
- legislation receiving accelerated consideration; and
- legislation remaining active but incomplete at the anniversary cutoff.

This approach is particularly relevant to the 45th Parliament. The 2025 general election produced a Liberal caucus of 169 of 343 seats, below the 172 seats required for a House majority. House composition then changed during Year One through changes of political affiliation, vacancies and by-elections. Three Liberal candidates won the 13 April 2026 by-elections; by the House sitting of 27 April, the parliamentary record

explicitly reflected 174 Liberal MPs, giving the governing caucus a majority of House seats. That majority remained in place through the 26 May analytical cutoff. [11] [12] [13] [14]

The report therefore distinguishes an initial minority phase from a late-Year One majority phase. Parliamentary votes are interpreted according to the House composition in force at the time, rather than treating election-day seat totals as constant across the full twelve months.

9. From Legislation to Implementation

Royal Assent is treated as a major legislative milestone rather than a synonym for complete policy delivery.

The analytical chain is:

Commitment

A sufficiently identifiable policy objective is articulated.

Legislative Action

A Government Bill intended to implement or enable that objective is introduced.

Statutory Completion

The legislation receives Royal Assent.

Entry into Force

Relevant statutory provisions become legally operative.

Administrative Implementation

Necessary regulations, institutions, programmes, funding arrangements or administrative systems become operational.

Observable Policy Outcomes

Evidence becomes available concerning economic, fiscal, social or institutional effects attributable to the implemented policy.

Not every policy follows all six stages.

Some objectives can be implemented principally through fiscal, executive, regulatory or administrative action without requiring new primary legislation.

10. Throne Speech Delivery Framework

The Speech from the Throne delivered on 27 May 2025 provides the principal baseline for reconstructing the government's inaugural programme. [50]

The report does not reduce the entire Throne Speech to a single percentage of promises “kept.”

Its commitments differ materially in instrument, timeframe and measurability.

They are therefore separated into three groups.

Legislative Commitments

Objectives requiring or clearly anticipating parliamentary legislation.

Executive or Administrative Commitments

Objectives principally implemented through regulation, spending, procurement, programme creation, intergovernmental agreements or other executive action.

Multi-Year Outcome Commitments

Targets whose stated completion dates extend beyond the first-year analytical period.

Multi-year objectives are not classified as incomplete merely because their deadlines had not arrived by 26 May 2026.

Instead, the analysis identifies whether measurable implementation had begun and whether credible evidence of progress was available by the cutoff.

This prevents commitments with fundamentally different delivery mechanisms and timelines from being combined into a misleading aggregate promise score.

11. The Carryover Agenda

Substantive legislation that had not received Royal Assent by 26 May 2026 forms the:

Year-One Carryover Agenda

Unfinished legislation is classified according to its actual parliamentary stage at the anniversary cutoff.

Where useful, the analysis distinguishes among:

- early parliamentary pipeline;
- committee-stage legislation;
- advanced Commons consideration;
- Senate consideration; and
- legislation approaching final parliamentary resolution.

A bill that remained active at the cutoff is therefore not automatically characterized as failed or stalled.

This distinction allows the report to identify unfinished legislative business without converting an anniversary snapshot into a binary political scorecard.

12. Interpretation

The analytical framework ultimately distinguishes three questions:

Output

What legislation did the government introduce and enact?

Implementation

How far had the government's policy programme progressed toward operation?

Impact

What observable policy outcomes can credibly be identified?

These questions are related but require different evidence.

High legislative output does not by itself demonstrate policy implementation or effectiveness.

Conversely, incomplete parliamentary passage does not establish absence of government action where policy can lawfully proceed through executive, fiscal, regulatory or administrative instruments.

The report therefore evaluates the structure, concentration, parliamentary trajectory and implementation maturity of the first-year federal agenda without treating legislative statistics as a political scorecard.

13. Comparative Methodological Inspiration

The analytical design draws limited methodological inspiration from comparative legislative-monitoring practice.

The Integralia legislative report distinguishes between the volume of legislative activity and its qualitative interpretation, using quantitative legislative output as a foundation for examining the broader functioning of the governing agenda.

This report adopts that general principle while constructing an independent framework appropriate to Canada's Westminster parliamentary system.

The Canadian policy taxonomy, indicators, anniversary methodology, implementation framework and substantive conclusions are independently developed for this study.

Source architecture

The report's factual architecture is designed so that its central quantitative and institutional claims can be traced to authoritative sources without treating citations as substitutes for analysis. The objective is twofold: first, to make the legislative dataset and major factual claims reproducible; second, to preserve a clear distinction between sourced facts and the report's own analytical conclusions.

This source architecture does not create a separate evidentiary standard from the methodology established in Part I. It operationalizes that standard for publication in both web and PDF formats.

10.2 Evidence Hierarchy

The preferred source hierarchy is:

1. Primary parliamentary and legal records - Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo, House of Commons and Senate Debates and Journals, committee reports, enacted statutes, Canada Gazette and Orders in Council.

2. Official electoral and membership records - Elections Canada and House of Commons Changes in Membership / Party Standings records.

3. Official implementation records - federal departments, central agencies and administrative bodies responsible for applying enacted policy.

4. Official treaty and international institutional records - Global Affairs Canada's Treaty Law Division and Treaty Registry, the Council of the European Union, EUR-Lex and equivalent official records where international legal status is material.

5. Independent public institutions - Parliamentary Budget Officer, Statistics Canada, Auditor General of Canada, Bank of Canada and similar bodies where independent fiscal, economic or outcome evidence is required.

6. Academic, think-tank and reputable media sources - used principally for external interpretation, context or contemporary reaction, not where a stronger primary source establishes the underlying fact.

Where multiple sources describe the same parliamentary event, the record closest to the formal event is preferred. For example, LEGISinfo and parliamentary Journals take precedence over a departmental news release for Royal Assent or stage progression.

10.3 Factual Claims and Analytical Conclusions

The report applies a strict source-attribution rule:

A factual proposition is cited to the source that establishes it.

An analytical conclusion is identified as the report's interpretation of the sourced record.

A citation therefore does not imply that Parliament, a department or another institution endorses the report's analytical characterization.

For example, the statement that C-5 moved from introduction to Royal Assent in 20 calendar days is a factual proposition derived from the parliamentary record. The description of C-5 as the clearest Year One example of selective legislative acceleration is the report's analytical conclusion drawn from that record. [19]

The same distinction applies throughout the report to concepts such as concentrated statutory completion, heterogeneous parliamentary pathways, dual legislative-executive delivery and implementation maturity.

10.4 Canonical Source Map

Legislative universe, bill type, introduction date, parliamentary stages and Royal Assent

Primary source: Parliament of Canada - LEGISinfo.

Appendix A includes a bill-specific primary source for all 35 Government Bills in the Year One universe. [1]

Recorded divisions, parliamentary procedure and chamber chronology

Primary sources: House of Commons and Senate Debates, Journals, recorded-vote records and committee proceedings.

Statutory commencement, regulations and delegated implementation

Primary sources: enacted statutes, Justice Laws where applicable, Canada Gazette and Orders in Council.

Throne Speech baseline

Primary source: Privy Council Office, Speech from the Throne, 27 May 2025.

House composition and membership changes

Primary sources: Elections Canada for election and by-election results; House of Commons Changes in Membership / Party Standings records and parliamentary proceedings for caucus composition.

Administrative implementation

Primary sources: the department, agency or central body responsible for implementation, including Finance Canada, Canada Revenue Agency, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, Public Safety Canada, Housing, Infrastructure and Communities Canada and the Privy Council Office where applicable.

International agreements and treaty status

Primary sources: Global Affairs Canada's Treaty Registry and the relevant international institution's official legal record. Signature, provisional application, formal conclusion and entry into force are treated as distinct legal stages.

Independent fiscal, economic or outcome evidence

Preferred sources: Parliamentary Budget Officer, Statistics Canada, Auditor General of Canada, Bank of Canada and other independent public institutions.

Source attribution

The report separates sourced factual propositions from analytical conclusions. A source citation supports the factual proposition to which it is attached; it is not presented as institutional endorsement of the report's interpretation. Analytical statements such as selective acceleration, concentrated statutory completion or heterogeneous parliamentary pathways are the report's own conclusions derived from the cited record.

Appendix A provides a direct bill-level source path through the Primary Source URL field. This allows each row to be checked independently against the official parliamentary record.

Appendices / Master Legislative Dataset

APPENDIX A | 35 Government Bills at 26 May 2026

The unit of observation is the bill. Each record preserves the title, introduction date, analytical treatment, primary category, Year One status and pipeline or completed-velocity information. Bill-level links lead to the official parliamentary record. [1]

C-1

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	An Act respecting the administration of oaths of office
Introduction	2025-05-27
Analytical treatment	Pro forma; non-substantive
Primary category	-
Status at 26 May 2026	Introduced as pro forma bill
Pipeline / velocity	Excluded from substantive denominator
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [15]

C-1 - official bill record

C-2

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Strong Borders Act
Introduction	2025-06-03
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Public Safety & Justice
Status at 26 May 2026	Second reading in progress in House
Pipeline / velocity	Early; 357 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [16]

C-2 - official bill record

C-3

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	An Act to amend the Citizenship Act (2025)
Introduction	2025-06-05
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Immigration & Labour Mobility
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2025-11-20
Pipeline / velocity	Enacted; 168 days
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [17]

C-3 - official bill record

C-4

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Making Life More Affordable for Canadians Act
Introduction	2025-06-05
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Economy & Fiscal Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2026-03-12
Pipeline / velocity	Enacted; 280 days
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [18]

C-4 - official bill record

C-5

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	One Canadian Economy Act
Introduction	2025-06-06
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Trade & Internal Market
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2025-06-26
Pipeline / velocity	Enacted; 20 days
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [19]

C-5 - official bill record

C-6

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Appropriation Act No. 1, 2025-26
Introduction	2025-06-17
Analytical treatment	Appropriation; non-substantive
Primary category	-
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2025-06-26
Pipeline / velocity	Excluded from substantive denominator
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [20]

C-6 - official bill record

C-7

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Appropriation Act No. 2, 2025-26
Introduction	2025-06-17
Analytical treatment	Appropriation; non-substantive
Primary category	-
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2025-06-26
Pipeline / velocity	Excluded from substantive denominator
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [21]

C-7 - official bill record

C-8

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	An Act respecting cyber security, amending the Telecommunications Act and making consequential amendments to other Acts
Introduction	2025-06-18
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Public Safety & Justice
Status at 26 May 2026	Commons complete; Senate second reading complete; Senate committee active
Pipeline / velocity	Advanced; 342 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [22]

C-8 - official bill record

C-9

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Combatting Hate Act
Introduction	2025-09-19
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Public Safety & Justice
Status at 26 May 2026	Commons complete; Senate second reading complete; Senate committee active
Pipeline / velocity	Advanced; 249 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [23]

C-9 - official bill record

C-10

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Commissioner for Modern Treaty Implementation Act
Introduction	2025-09-25
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Indigenous & Social Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	Report stage completed in House; awaiting third reading
Pipeline / velocity	Committee; 243 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [24]

C-10 - official bill record

C-11

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Military Justice System Modernization Act
Introduction	2025-09-26
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Defence & Sovereignty
Status at 26 May 2026	Commons third reading 2026-05-25; Senate first reading 2026-05-26
Pipeline / velocity	Advanced; 242 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [25]

C-11 - official bill record

C-12

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Strengthening Canada's Immigration System and Borders Act
Introduction	2025-10-08
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Immigration & Labour Mobility
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2026-03-26
Pipeline / velocity	Enacted; 169 days
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [26]

C-12 - official bill record

C-13

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	An Act to implement the Protocol on the Accession of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership
Introduction	2025-10-21
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Trade & Internal Market
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2026-05-06
Pipeline / velocity	Enacted; 197 days
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [27]

C-13 - official bill record

C-14

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Bail and Sentencing Reform Act
Introduction	2025-10-23
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Public Safety & Justice
Status at 26 May 2026	Commons complete; Senate committee report presented with amendments on cutoff date
Pipeline / velocity	Advanced; 215 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [28]

C-14 - official bill record

C-15

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Budget 2025 Implementation Act, No. 1
Introduction	2025-11-18
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Economy & Fiscal Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2026-03-26
Pipeline / velocity	Enacted; 128 days
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [29]

C-15 - official bill record

C-16

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Protecting Victims Act
Introduction	2025-12-09
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Public Safety & Justice
Status at 26 May 2026	House committee report presented 2026-05-25; originating chamber not complete
Pipeline / velocity	Committee; 168 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [30]

C-16 - official bill record

C-17

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Appropriation Act No. 3, 2025-26
Introduction	2025-12-09
Analytical treatment	Appropriation; non-substantive
Primary category	-
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2025-12-11
Pipeline / velocity	Excluded from substantive denominator
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [31]

C-17 - official bill record

C-18

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Canada-Indonesia CEPA Implementation Act
Introduction	2025-12-11
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Trade & Internal Market
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2026-05-06
Pipeline / velocity	Enacted; 146 days
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [32]

C-18 - official bill record

C-19

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Canada Groceries and Essentials Benefit Act
Introduction	2026-01-28
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Economy & Fiscal Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2026-02-12
Pipeline / velocity	Enacted; 15 days
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [33]

C-19 - official bill record

C-20

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Build Canada Homes Act
Introduction	2026-02-05
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Housing & Infrastructure
Status at 26 May 2026	House committee completed 2026-05-04; report stage not completed by cutoff
Pipeline / velocity	Committee; 110 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [34]

C-20 - official bill record

C-21

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Red River Métis Self-Government Recognition and Implementation Treaty Act
Introduction	2026-02-12
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Indigenous & Social Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	Second reading in progress in House
Pipeline / velocity	Early; 103 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [35]

C-21 - official bill record

C-22

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Lawful Access Act, 2026
Introduction	2026-03-12
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Public Safety & Justice
Status at 26 May 2026	Second reading completed; referred to House committee
Pipeline / velocity	Committee; 75 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [36]

C-22 - official bill record

C-23

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Appropriation Act No. 4, 2025-26
Introduction	2026-03-24
Analytical treatment	Appropriation; non-substantive
Primary category	-
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2026-03-26
Pipeline / velocity	Excluded from substantive denominator
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [37]

C-23 - official bill record

C-24

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Appropriation Act No. 1, 2026-27
Introduction	2026-03-24
Analytical treatment	Appropriation; non-substantive
Primary category	-
Status at 26 May 2026	Royal Assent 2026-03-26
Pipeline / velocity	Excluded from substantive denominator
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [38]

C-24 - official bill record

C-25

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Strong and Free Elections Act
Introduction	2026-03-26
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Institutions & Democratic Governance
Status at 26 May 2026	House committee study underway; committee met on cutoff date
Pipeline / velocity	Committee; 61 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [39]

C-25 - official bill record

C-26

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	An Act to authorize certain payments to be made out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund for the purpose of improving housing supply
Introduction	2026-03-26
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Housing & Infrastructure
Status at 26 May 2026	First reading only by cutoff
Pipeline / velocity	Early; 61 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [40]

C-26 - official bill record

C-27

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Final Self-Government Agreement for the Tłegǫ̀hłı̨ Got’ı̨nę Act
Introduction	2026-03-26
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Indigenous & Social Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	First reading only by cutoff
Pipeline / velocity	Early; 61 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [41]

C-27 - official bill record

C-28

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Canadian Space Launch Act
Introduction	2026-04-21
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Economy & Fiscal Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	Second reading in progress in House
Pipeline / velocity	Early; 35 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [42]

C-28 - official bill record

C-29

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Financial Crimes Agency Act
Introduction	2026-04-27
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Public Safety & Justice
Status at 26 May 2026	First reading only by cutoff
Pipeline / velocity	Early; 29 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [43]

C-29 - official bill record

C-30

Field	Recorded value
Origin	House
Title / short title	Spring Economic Update 2026 Implementation Act
Introduction	2026-04-29
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Economy & Fiscal Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	Second reading completed and referred to Finance Committee on cutoff date
Pipeline / velocity	Committee; 27 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [44]

C-30 - official bill record

S-2

Field	Recorded value
Origin	Senate
Title / short title	An Act to amend the Indian Act (new registration entitlements)
Introduction	2025-05-29
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Indigenous & Social Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	Senate complete; Commons second reading completed; House committee in progress
Pipeline / velocity	Advanced; 362 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [45]

S-2 - official bill record

S-3

Field	Recorded value
Origin	Senate
Title / short title	An Act to amend the Weights and Measures Act, the Electricity and Gas Inspection Act, the Weights and Measures Regulations and the Electricity and Gas Inspection Regulations
Introduction	2025-10-28
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Economy & Fiscal Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	Senate complete; Commons second reading in progress
Pipeline / velocity	Advanced; 210 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [46]

S-3 - official bill record

S-4

Field	Recorded value
Origin	Senate
Title / short title	An Act to amend the Energy Efficiency Act
Introduction	2025-11-26
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Economy & Fiscal Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	Senate second reading completed; Senate committee study active through cutoff
Pipeline / velocity	Committee; 181 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [47]

S-4 - official bill record

S-5

Field	Recorded value
Origin	Senate
Title / short title	Connected Care for Canadians Act
Introduction	2026-02-04
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Indigenous & Social Policy
Status at 26 May 2026	Senate third reading completed on cutoff date; Commons entry occurred post-cutoff
Pipeline / velocity	Advanced; 111 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [48]

S-5 - official bill record

S-6

Field	Recorded value
Origin	Senate
Title / short title	Federal Law-Civil Law Harmonization Act, No. 4
Introduction	2026-02-24
Analytical treatment	Substantive
Primary category	Institutions & Democratic Governance
Status at 26 May 2026	Senate second reading completed and referred to committee; originating chamber not complete
Pipeline / velocity	Committee; 91 days elapsed
Primary source	Parliament of Canada, LEGISinfo [49]

S-6 - official bill record

Reconciliation and classification notes

APPENDIX B

Legislative universe

Measure	Count
Government Bills introduced	35
Substantive policy bills	29
Appropriation bills	5
Pro forma bill	1
Total Royal Assent	13
Substantive enactments	8
Substantive carryover	21

Policy areas

Primary policy area	Introduced	Enacted
Economy & Fiscal Policy	7	3
Public Safety & Justice	7	0
Indigenous & Social Policy	5	0
Trade & Internal Market	3	3
Housing & Infrastructure	2	0
Immigration & Labour Mobility	2	2
Institutions & Democratic Governance	2	0
Defence & Sovereignty	1	0

Substantive enactments: elapsed time

Bill	Introduction-to-assent calendar days
C-19	15
C-5	20
C-15	128
C-18	146
C-3	168
C-12	169
C-13	197
C-4	280

The seven Economy & Fiscal Policy bills are C-4, C-15, C-19, C-28, C-30, S-3 and S-4. C-28 remains in this category because its principal statutory function is to establish a regulatory framework for space launch and re-entry activity under the Aeronautics Act. Defence and sovereignty are retained as secondary tags because the activity has strategic implications, but the bill itself is not principally a defence statute. S-3 remains in Economy & Fiscal Policy because its operative focus is commercial measurement, inspection, sampling, exemptions and corrective measures under the Weights and Measures Act and the Electricity and Gas Inspection Act; energy is therefore secondary rather than determinative. S-4 also remains in Economy & Fiscal Policy because it modernizes the Energy Efficiency Act's regulatory, exemption, administration and enforcement framework, expressly including innovation, competitiveness and economic growth, while Energy/Environment is retained as a strong secondary tag. [18] [29] [33] [42] [44] [46] [47]

The seven Public Safety & Justice bills are C-2, C-8, C-9, C-14, C-16, C-22 and C-29. C-29 remains in this category because its principal statutory purpose is to establish the Financial Crimes Agency as a specialized federal law-enforcement body mandated to investigate financial crime and contribute to the recovery of proceeds of crime. Economy & Fiscal Policy is retained as a secondary tag because the agency operates in the financial-crime domain, but the bill's primary institutional function is enforcement rather than financial-sector regulation. [1] [16] [22] [23] [28] [30] [36]

The five Indigenous & Social Policy bills are C-10, C-21, C-27, S-2 and S-5. [1] [24] [35] [41] [45] [48]

The three Trade & Internal Market bills are C-5, C-13 and C-18. [1] [19] [27] [32]

The two Housing & Infrastructure bills are C-20 and C-26. [34] [40]

The two Immigration & Labour Mobility bills are C-3 and C-12. [17] [26]

The two Institutions & Democratic Governance bills are C-25 and S-6. [39] [49]

The sole Defence & Sovereignty bill is C-11. [25]

Carryover classifications

Early pipeline - 6 bills - 28.6% of substantive carryover

C-2, C-21, C-26, C-27, C-28, C-29

Committee pipeline - 8 bills - 38.1%

C-10, C-16, C-20, C-22, C-25, C-30, S-4, S-6

Advanced pipeline - 7 bills - 33.3%

C-8, C-9, C-11, C-14, S-2, S-3, S-5

Near-resolution pipeline - 0 bills at the cutoff

Total carryover - 21 bills

The classification follows the refined rule used in Part VI. A bill is Early if it had not completed second reading in its originating chamber. A bill is in the Committee pipeline if it had completed second reading but had not completed third reading in its originating chamber, including bills already reported from committee but still awaiting completion of report stage or third reading. A bill is Advanced once it has completed third reading in its originating chamber, whether or not formal entry into the second chamber has occurred. Near-resolution is reserved for bills that had reached a final parliamentary stage in the second chamber or message consideration by the cutoff.

No bill in the 21-bill carryover stock met the near-resolution definition on 26 May 2026. Several moved into such stages immediately after the cutoff, but those developments are excluded from the Year One classification. C-14 remains classified as Advanced: it had already completed third reading in its originating chamber, and the Senate committee report with amendments was presented on 26 May itself; Senate report stage and third reading occurred on 27 and 28 May, outside the analytical period. [1] [28]

Reproducibility

Primary legislative source: Parliament of Canada - LEGISinfo.

For each bill, the report uses the official bill record to establish bill type, title, originating chamber, introduction date, dated parliamentary stages and Royal Assent. Appendix A uses the official short title where Parliament provides one and otherwise uses the official long title; functional or shorthand labels are not used in the final dataset. When a current bill page contains post-cutoff activity, only stages formally completed on or before 26 May 2026 are used for the Year One dataset.

House-composition source: House of Commons - Changes in Membership and official parliamentary records. The House notes that party standings become official when the Clerk receives the relevant election certificate or official communication from a Member. For this reason, the report distinguishes the 13 April 2026 by-election results from the later parliamentary record explicitly reflecting a 174-seat Liberal caucus.

Policy classification source rule: the classification is analytical rather than official. Primary category is determined by principal statutory purpose using the long title, short title where available, legislative summary and operative statutory function. Secondary subject matter does not automatically determine the primary category.

Completed legislative velocity: introduction date to Royal Assent in calendar days. It is calculated only for substantive bills receiving Royal Assent by the cutoff.

Elapsed age for carryover bills: introduction date to 26 May 2026 in calendar days. It is not treated as completed legislative velocity.

Pipeline maturity: determined exclusively by the furthest formal parliamentary stage completed by the cutoff. Post-cutoff proceedings do not retrospectively alter Year One classification.

The dataset is therefore a historical anniversary snapshot rather than a representation of each bill's current status.

Endnotes

Primary records support factual propositions; analytical conclusions are the author's own.

Notes 1-14 retain the numbering used in the figures. Notes 15-49 provide the 35 bill-level records. Sources published after the cutoff are identified as retrospective corroboration or post-cutoff legal context; they do not update Year One classifications.

[1] Parliament of Canada

LEGISinfo: 45th Parliament, first session

Dated bill histories through 26 May 2026. Figures 1-4 and statutory completion in Figure 5. Direct records for all 35 bills are listed below. Policy categories and pipeline groupings are the author's analytical classifications.

[2] Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

Bill C-3: Citizenship Act amendments come into effect

15 December 2025. C-3: entry into force and active application of the new citizenship rules.

[3] Department of Finance Canada

Legislation to make life more affordable receives Royal Assent

12 March 2026. C-4: tax administration and authority for CRA to process rebate claims.

[4] Canada Gazette

Free Trade and Labour Mobility in Canada Regulations

Part II, vol. 159, no. 24; 19 November 2025. C-5: regulations, Regulatory Impact Analysis Statement and commencement provisions.

[5] Prime Minister of Canada

Launch of the Major Projects Office

29 August 2025. C-5: official record of institutional implementation; not evidence of policy outcomes.

[6] Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

New immigration and asylum measures from Bill C-12 have become law

March 2026; Royal Assent 26 March 2026. C-12: legal and administrative implementation, with different components following different pathways.

[7] Parliament of Canada

C-15: Budget 2025 Implementation Act, No. 1, as enacted

Royal Assent 26 March 2026. C-15: measure-specific provisions and commencement clauses underpin the mixed-portfolio description.

[8] Canada Revenue Agency

Canada Groceries and Essentials Benefit: top-up coming June 5

17 April 2026. C-19: payment preparation and schedule announced before the cutoff; the principal special payment was scheduled after it.

[9] Global Affairs Canada

Canada’s ratification of the United Kingdom’s CPTPP Accession Protocol

3 July 2026; retrospective corroboration only. C-13: read alongside the 6 May Royal Assent record. This later record corroborates that international entry into force was pending at 26 May; it does not update the snapshot.

[10] Governor General in Council / Privy Council Office

Order in Council P.C. 2026-0601: Canada-Indonesia CEPA Implementation Act, §45

12 June 2026; retrospective corroboration only. C-18: read alongside the 6 May Royal Assent record. This post-cutoff commencement order corroborates the pending position; no later status enters the figure.

[11] Elections Canada

Report on the 45th General Election: delivering the election

General election of 28 April 2025. Election baseline of 169 Liberal seats in a 343-seat House. The election is pre-window context.

[12] House of Commons

Changes in Membership, 45th Parliament

Use only events on or before 26 May 2026. Affiliation changes, vacancies and by-elections. Later entries on this evolving page are excluded.

[13] Elections Canada

Voting results: by-elections of 13 April 2026

13 April 2026 electoral event. Results for Terrebonne, Scarborough Southwest and University-Rosedale. Election results are distinguished from parliamentary confirmation.

[14] House of Commons

Debates (Hansard), sitting no. 111, 45th Parliament, first session

27 April 2026; see statement at 19:30. The parliamentary record explicitly refers to 174 members. This is a documented-by date, not an inferred exact notification date.

[15] Parliament of Canada

C-1: An Act respecting the administration of oaths of office

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[16] Parliament of Canada

C-2: Strong Borders Act

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[17] Parliament of Canada

C-3: An Act to amend the Citizenship Act (2025)

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[18] Parliament of Canada

C-4: Making Life More Affordable for Canadians Act

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[19] Parliament of Canada

C-5: One Canadian Economy Act

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[20] Parliament of Canada

C-6: Appropriation Act No. 1, 2025-26

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[21] Parliament of Canada

C-7: Appropriation Act No. 2, 2025-26

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[22] Parliament of Canada

C-8: An Act respecting cyber security, amending the Telecommunications Act and making consequential amendments to other Acts

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[23] Parliament of Canada

C-9: Combatting Hate Act

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[24] Parliament of Canada

C-10: Commissioner for Modern Treaty Implementation Act

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[25] Parliament of Canada

C-11: Military Justice System Modernization Act

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[26] Parliament of Canada

C-12: Strengthening Canada's Immigration System and Borders Act

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[27] Parliament of Canada

C-13: An Act to implement the Protocol on the Accession of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[28] Parliament of Canada

C-14: Bail and Sentencing Reform Act
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[29] Parliament of Canada

C-15: Budget 2025 Implementation Act, No. 1
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[30] Parliament of Canada

C-16: Protecting Victims Act
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[31] Parliament of Canada

C-17: Appropriation Act No. 3, 2025-26
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[32] Parliament of Canada

C-18: Canada-Indonesia CEPA Implementation Act
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[33] Parliament of Canada

C-19: Canada Groceries and Essentials Benefit Act
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[34] Parliament of Canada

C-20: Build Canada Homes Act
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[35] Parliament of Canada

C-21: Red River Métis Self-Government Recognition and Implementation Treaty Act
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[36] Parliament of Canada

C-22: Lawful Access Act, 2026
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[37] Parliament of Canada

C-23: Appropriation Act No. 4, 2025-26
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[38] Parliament of Canada

C-24: Appropriation Act No. 1, 2026-27
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[39] Parliament of Canada

C-25: Strong and Free Elections Act
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[40] Parliament of Canada

C-26: An Act to authorize certain payments to be made out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund for the purpose of improving housing supply
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[41] Parliament of Canada

C-27: Final Self-Government Agreement for the Tłegǫ̀hłı̨ Got’ı̨nę Act
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[42] Parliament of Canada

C-28: Canadian Space Launch Act
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[43] Parliament of Canada

C-29: Financial Crimes Agency Act
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[44] Parliament of Canada

C-30: Spring Economic Update 2026 Implementation Act
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[45] Parliament of Canada

S-2: An Act to amend the Indian Act (new registration entitlements)
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[46] Parliament of Canada

S-3: An Act to amend the Weights and Measures Act, the Electricity and Gas Inspection Act, the Weights and Measures Regulations and the Electricity and Gas Inspection Regulations
45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[47] Parliament of Canada

S-4: An Act to amend the Energy Efficiency Act

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[48] Parliament of Canada

S-5: Connected Care for Canadians Act

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[49] Parliament of Canada

S-6: Federal Law-Civil Law Harmonization Act, No. 4

45th Parliament, first session. Dated parliamentary history through 26 May 2026.

[50] Privy Council Office

Speech from the Throne

27 May 2025. Baseline for the inaugural programme and its legislative, executive and multi-year commitments.

[51] Global Affairs Canada, Treaty Law Division

Agreement on participation under the SAFE Instrument

Provisional application from 13 April 2026. Provisional application is distinguished from formal entry into force.

[52] Council of the European Union

SAFE: Council concludes agreement with Canada

15 June 2026; post-cutoff legal context. Formal EU conclusion occurred after the analytical cutoff.

[53] EUR-Lex

Information relating to entry into force, 2026/1699

Post-cutoff legal context. Formal entry into force on 1 August 2026 does not alter the 26 May snapshot.

[54] Prime Minister of Canada

Prime Minister Carney launches Build Canada Homes to supercharge homebuilding across the country

14 September 2025. Administrative operation as a Special Operating Agency and initial capitalization of $13 billion.

[55] Government of Canada, One Canadian Economy

Canada’s new government to simplify and accelerate Canada’s regulatory process

Status reported by 8 May 2026. Intergovernmental implementation of the one project, one review commitment.

[56] Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

CIMM: 2026-2028 Immigration Levels Plan

4 December 2025; multi-year target through end-2027. Temporary-resident targets and the objective of reducing the temporary population below 5% by end-2027.

[57] Department of Finance Canada

Committee of the Whole briefing binder: Defence Spending (incl. Ukraine)

10 June 2025; announcement of 9 June 2025. Additional defence investment and the then 2% of GDP NATO benchmark.

[58] European Council / Council of the European Union

EU-Canada summit: outcome documents and Security and Defence Partnership

23 June 2025. International and executive defence cooperation.

[59] Department of Finance Canada

Budget 2025, Annex 1: Outlook for Capital Investments and Table A1.5

2025. Operating-versus-capital framework and the three-year operating-budget objective.