PSCI 4006A/5006F
LEGISLATURES AND REPRESENTATION IN CANADA
Friday 8:35-11:25

Professor: Dr. Rand Dyck
Office: Loeb B643
Office Hours: Friday 11:30-12:30 or by appointment
E-mail: Rand.Dyck@carleton.ca

This course is designed to achieve an understanding of the operation of Parliament, its role in the policy-making process, and work of the individual M.P. It examines Commons procedure, Question Period, debate on bills, Caucus, Committees, Parliamentary Officers, controlling the purse strings, the functions of MPs, Majority Governments compared to Minority and Coalition Governments, the Parliamentary Crises of 2008 and 2009, Senate Reform and the whole concept of democratic, responsible government. Because this course is being offered in Ottawa, students are normally expected to spend considerable time on Parliament Hill. With British exchange students in the course, we also explicitly compare Canada and the U.K. After a few introductory lectures, the other classes will take the form of seminars in which two or three students will present or debate the topic of the day, followed by general class discussion.

Texts available at CU Bookstore:

Peter Aucoin, et al., Democratizing the Constitution (Toronto: Emond Montgomery, 2011)
David C. Docherty, Legislatures (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005)

On-line Text:


The House of Commons has a new and very useful website:
ourcommons.ca

Supplementary Reading:
The following books criticized the manner in which the Harper government treated Parliament:

- Martin, *Harperland: The Politics of Control*
- Harris, *Party of One: Stephen Harper and Canada’s Radical Makeover*
- Rathgeber, *Irresponsible Government: The Decline of Parliamentary Democracy in Canada*
- Whittington, *Spinning History: A Witness to Harper’s Canada*
- Hurtig, *The Arrogant Autocrat: Stephen Harper’s Takeover of Canada*

### Method of Evaluation

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Due Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two Book Reviews @ 10% each</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>September 22; October 20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Two Field Reports @ 7.5% each</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>October 6; Nov. 10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seminar presentation (20%) and report (10%)</td>
<td>30%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Major paper (on a different topic than seminar)</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>December 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attendance and participation</td>
<td>10%</td>
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The book reviews should be about 7 pages long: Docherty-Sept. 22; Aucoin-Oct. 20.

The Field Reports should be based on personal observation of one House of Commons committee and one Senate committee. They should be about 7 pages long and contain your observations of the operation of the committee, as well as how it relates to issues discussed in class.

The written seminar report is due one week after the oral seminar presentation. The report is a written version of the seminar presentation, revised as appropriate, about 10 pages long, and in semi-scholarly format.

The major paper for undergraduates should be 15 pages long and for graduate students, at least 20 pages long. All assignments are to be submitted in class or in the drop-box. Late submissions are subject to a penalty of 5 marks per day.

Exchange students must attend class and participate, but are relieved of any written work. Students are expected to attend every class and to have done the readings beforehand so
they can contribute regularly. One mark out of the 10 allotted for Attendance and Participation is deducted for each absence. The readings below have been divided into those that all members of the class should read in advance and those that seminar presenters must read. Of course, non-presenters should read some in the second category as well, and presenters will probably need to go beyond the sources listed. All members of the class should email me a written question or observation on the readings at the beginning of each class to confirm that they have done the general readings, just in case they do not have a chance to raise their point in the class discussion.

Class Schedule

1. Sept. 8:   Introduction

2. Sept. 15: Overview: House of Commons: What Goes on in the Chamber?

   Docherty, chs. 1, 7
   Compendium of Procedure –
   http://www.ourcommons.ca/About/Compendium/Index-e.htm,
   esp. Legislative Process; Parliamentary Cycle; Typical Sitting Day; Parliamentary Procedure; Parliamentary Publications
   Samara, Tragedy in the Commons, Conclusion


   Canadian Study of Parliament Group, papers on provincial legislatures available at http://www.studyparliament.ca
   Graham White, “Go North, Young Scholar, Go North,” CIPS (December 2011)
4. Sept. 29: Representation: To what extent are MPs representative of the population (especially in terms of gender, ethnicity, and class) and to what extent should they be?

Class:
Docherty, ch. 2
https://hillnotes.ca/2016/03/08/update-women-in-canadas-parliament/
Canadian Parliamentary Review, Spring 2017 (visible minorities);
Summer 2016 (Indigenous)

Seminarians:
Sylvia Bashevkin, Women, Power, Politics: The Hidden Story of Canada’s Unfinished Democracy
Michael Mezey, Representative Democracy: Legislators and their Constituents, ch. 2
Cameron Anderson, “Conceptions of Political Representation in Canada,” CJPS (December 2005)
Samara, House of Words, Tragedy in the Commons
Andrew Griffith articles in the Hill Times – October 22, 2015 (visible minority MPs); Feb. 26, 2016 (diversity on committees)
Franks, Parliament of Canada, ch. 4
Canadian Parliamentary Review, Spring 2011 (Women, Ethnicity);
Spring 2013 (Women); Summer 2013 (Women, Youth); Autumn 2013 (Women, Ethnicity); Summer 2015 (Women)
Canadian Public Administration, December 2013

5. Oct. 6: Representing the Constituency and Constituents: What MPs and their staff do; what resources they are given, etc;
In the House: Question Period; Private members’ business; members’ statements; and petitions

Class:
Docherty, ch. 4, 5
Compendium of Procedure –
http://www.ourcommons.ca/About/Compendium/Index-e.htm
esp. Private Members’ Business; Questions
Seminarians:  
Docherty, *Mr. Smith Goes to Ottawa: Life in the House of Commons*  
Samara, *Tragedy in the Commons; Who’s the Boss?*  
Blidook, *Constituency Influence in Parliament*  
O’Brien, *House of Commons Procedure and Practice*, chs. 21 and 22  
*Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Autumn 2009 (QP; Members’ Statements); Winter 2010 (QP); Autumn 2011 (Private Members’ Bills; QP); Winter 2012 (Private Members’ Bills; Autumn 2013 (Petitions); Winter 2013 (Members’ Statements; Library of Parliament); Winter 2014 (Petitions); Summer 2016 (Staffers)  
Library of Parliament, Are you Ready to Legislate?; Celebrating 50 Years of Parliament’s Research Service; Question Period in the Canadian Parliament and Other Legislatures

6. **Oct. 13:** Government Control (and Abuse) of the Commons: Party Discipline, Partisanship, Whips, Caucus, Bills, Debate, and the PMO

Class:  
Docherty, ch. 7  
Compendium of Procedure –  
http://www.ourcommons.ca/About/Compendium/Index-e.htm, Debate and Voting

Seminarians:  
Franks, *The Parliament of Canada*, ch. 5  
Savoie, *Court Government and the Collapse of Accountability in Canada and the United Kingdom*  
Samara, *Tragedy in the Commons*, chs. 5, 7 and 8  
Aucoin, *Democratizing the Constitution*  
Smith, *Across the Aisle: Opposition in Canadian Politics*  
*Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Spring 2013 (Omnibus Bills; Curtailing Debate).  
Alex Marland, *Brand Command: Canadian Politics and Democracy in the Age of Message Control*  
Michael Chong’s Reform Act – Library of Parliament Legislative Summary of Bill C-586
7. **Oct. 20:** Controlling the Purse Strings: Parliament’s Role in Public Spending and Oversight of its Own Spending

**Class:**
Docherty, ch. 5, 6, 7
Compendium of Procedure –
http://www.ourcommons.ca/About/Compendium/Index-e.htm,
Financial Procedures

**Seminarians:**
Library of Parliament, *The Office of the Auditor General of Canada: Beyond Bean Counting*
O’Brien, *House of Commons Procedure and Practice*, ch. 18
*Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Spring, Summer, and Winter, 2012 (Estimates)
Gilmour, “The Canadian Accounting Officer,” in Dunn, *The Handbook of Canadian Public Administration*
Boyer, *Our Scandalous Senate*

8. **Nov. 3:** The Role of Parliamentary Committees

**Class:**
Docherty, ch. 7
Compendium of Procedure –
http://www.ourcommons.ca/About/Compendium/Index-e.htm,
Committees; Legislative Process
House of Commons and Senate websites

**Seminarians:**
O’Brien, *House of Commons Procedure and Practice*, ch. 20
Aucoin, *Democratizing the Constitution*
Samara, *Tragedy in the Commons*, ch. 6
*Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Spring 2014 (Committee Chairs);
Spring 2017 (Interest Groups; Subordinate Legislation)
Stilborn, “The Investigative Study Role of Canada’s House Committees” in *Journal of Legislative Studies* 20 (3).
Malloy, “Reconciling expectations and reality in the House of Commons,” *Canadian Public Administration* 39 (3)

Class:
Docherty, Ch. 6
*Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Winter 2010 (PBO); Summer 2017

Seminarians:
*Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Spring 2006, (all agents); Summer 2008 (Parliamentary Budget Officer)
Stilborn, “The Officers of Parliament” in *How Ottawa Spends 2010-11*
Websites of individual Parliamentary Officers
Democracy Watch; OECD, *Lobbyists, Governments and Public Trust;*
Jeffrey Roy, *Business and Government in Canada*
Kevin Page, *Unaccountable: Truth and Lies on Parliament Hill*

10. Nov. 17: Majority and Minority/Coalition Governments and the Electoral Systems that Produce Them

Class:
Aucoin, esp. pp. 163-173
Samara, “What we talk about when we talk about electoral reform”

Seminarians:
Russell, *Two Cheers for Minority Government*
*Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Spring 2007 (Minority Government); Winter 2016 (Electoral Reform)
*Policy Options* (October 2009)
J. Godbout and B. Hoyland, “Coalition voting and minority governments in Canada,” *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 49-4
*Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Winter 2014 (Australia); Winter 2013 (New Zealand)
Marc Gervais, *Challenges of Minority Governments in Canada*
Charlton and Barker, *Crosscurrents*, 8th ed., Majority and Minority Governments

Class:
Compendium of Procedure –
http://www.ourcommons.ca/About/Compendium/Index-e.htm,
Parliamentary Privilege; Speaker and Other Presiding Officers; Parliamentary Cycle; Parliamentary Framework

Seminarians:
Docherty, ch. 3
Russell and Sossin, Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis
Aucoin, Democratizing the Constitution
Nicholas MacDonald and James Bowden, “No Discretion: On Prorogation and the Governor General, Canadian Parliamentary Review (Spring 2011)
Canadian Parliamentary Review, Summer 2010 (Royal Prerogative);
Summer 2012 (Prorogation and Dissolution); Summer 2016 (Crown and PM)
House of Commons Debates, April 27, 2010; March 9, 2011.
Bowden, “Fall of Christy Clark”
Anti-Harper books

12. Dec. 1: Senate Reform

Class:  
Canadian Parliamentary Review, Spring 2016; Spring 2017
Reference Re Senate Reform, [2014] 1 S.C.R. 704  
Hill Times articles on recent developments

Seminarians:
Serge Joyal, ed., Protecting Canadian Democracy
Reference Re Legislative Authority of Parliament to Alter or Replace the Senate, [1980] 1 S.C.R. 54  
Special Senate Committee on Senate Reform, October 2006
Special Senate Committee on Senate Modernization, Spring 2016
Smith, ed., The Democratic Dilemma: Reforming the Canadian Senate
Boyer, Our Scandalous Senate
Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

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

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

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation,
including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day’s date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

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

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<td>67-69</td>
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<td>63-66</td>
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<td>57-59</td>
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<td>73-76</td>
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<td>53-56</td>
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<tr>
<td>70-72</td>
<td>B-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50-52</td>
<td>D-</td>
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**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Carleton E-mail Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

**Carleton Political Science Society:** The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit [https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/](https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/) or come to our office in Loeb D688.
Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.