

PSCI 4006A / 5006F
Legislatures and Representation in Canada
Wednesday 08:35-11:25a.m.
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Professor: Jonathan Malloy
Office: Loeb B696
Office Hours: Wednesday 13:00-15:00
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This course is about legislatures and their role in the Canadian political system. We explore the pressures and demands on legislatures and the different ways in which they can be evaluated and understood. The course does not concern itself closely with legislative procedure, but asks what role parliamentary institutions play in Canadian politics and their relationship to other vehicles of policy-making and democratic representation.

Texts

A variety of texts will be used. Since prepared course readers are expensive and have a short lifespan, weekly readings will be available online, on library reserve, and/or directly from the instructor.

Required Text for book review assignment:

Peter Russell, *Two Cheers for Minority Government* (Emond Montgomery, 2008)
(Copies have been ordered through Haven Books, 43 Seneca Street, costing about \$20)

Other Useful Texts:

Peter Russell and Lorne Sossin, ed., *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (University of Toronto Press, 2009)

Sylvia Bashevkin, *Women, Power, Politics: The Hidden Story of Canada's Unfinished Democracy* (Oxford University Press: Toronto., 2009)

Background Reading:

David Docherty, *Legislatures* (UBC Press: Vancouver, 2004)

Canadian Study of Parliament Group Seminars

Students are encouraged to attend one or more Canadian Study of Parliament Groups seminars held during the fall term on Parliament Hill. Student fees are \$25 per event. Further information will be given in class.

Tuesday September 21 – “Question Period and Its Reform”

Wednesday October 13- "Parliament 101: The Committee System" (No class that day)

Friday November 19 - "Paths to Power"

Grading

Undergraduate (4006)

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|----------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| Book Review | 20% | Due October 13 |
| Research Paper | 40% | Due <u>Friday</u> November 26 |
| Presentation | 20% | |
| Participation | 20% | |

Graduate (5006)

| | | |
|--------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| First Book Review | 15% | Due October 13 |
| Second Book Review | 15% | Due November 3 |
| Research Paper | 40% | Due <u>Friday</u> November 26 |
| Presentation | 15% | |
| Participation | 15% | |

Late submissions will be subject to a penalty of one-third of a letter grade per day (i.e., from B+ to B), including weekends. See further details below for each assignment.

Book Reviews

All Students:

Write a critical review of *Two Cheers for Minority Government* by Peter Russell. The review is due October 13, should be at least 1500 words long, and will:

- Briefly summarize the main argument of the book (no more than a third of the review)
- Analyze the arguments and give your own reactions to them
- Compare and contrast the arguments with other course readings
- Specifically evaluate whether Russell's criticism of "false majorities" is right or wrong, and why
- Discuss whether developments since 2008 might change Russell's views, and whether or not he has accurately assessed the Harper government

Reviews are due by 4 PM on October 13 in either hard copy or by e-mail, since there is no scheduled class that day. Late reviews will lose one-third of a letter grade every day, each "day" starting at 4 PM. As per Early Feedback guidelines, grades for the First Book Review will be available by Nov 6th.

Graduate (5006) Students:

Write a critical review of one of the following, due November 3:

David E. Smith, *The People's House of Commons* (UTP: Toronto, 2008)

Ian Stewart *Just One Vote: From Jim Walding's Nomination to Constitutional Defeat* (University of Manitoba Press, 2009)

Manon Tremblay, *Quebec Women and Legislative Representation* (UBC Press: Vancouver, 2009)

Research Paper

The research paper will explore an aspect of Canadian legislatures.

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- The paper must argue a clear thesis, not simply describe some aspect of legislatures.
- The paper must be primarily about legislatures and representation, not just "politics."
- It can look at federal, provincial or territorial legislatures. Non-Canadian comparisons are also welcome as long as there is significant Canadian content.
- Papers should be 3000-4000 words long.
- Any standard citation format (MLA, APA, footnotes, endnotes) may be used. Be particularly careful to give full Internet citations. For further guidance see: <http://www.library.carleton.ca/howdoin/citing.html>

By **Monday November 8**, all students must e-mail a one-page summary of their topic and ideas to the instructor. The summary must:

- Clearly state the topic and thesis
- Outline the anticipated major arguments and general structure of the paper
- State how it will be researched and anticipated challenges
- Provide a list of preliminary sources

Papers are due on **Friday November 26** by 4 PM. Electronic submissions may be acceptable; further information will be provided in class. Late papers will lose one-third of a letter grade every day, including weekends, as of 4 PM (e.g., a paper received by 4 PM on Mon Nov 29 will lose a full letter grade).

Presentations

Every student will sign up to give a presentation on one class's readings. Usually there will be several students each week and you must work together.

Before the presentation, presenters must submit a written text, slide deck or other summary of their presentation to the instructor..

Presentations must be interesting. Simply summarizing the readings will earn a grade of zero. Presentations must engage with the arguments and the overall theme of the class. Answer questions including:

- What are the authors' arguments and how effective are they? Do you agree or disagree with them? Which are the strongest and weakest readings from an analytical point of view?
- How do the different readings fit together? Do they complement or counter each other? How do they fit with earlier readings in the course?
- What type of methodology and research is used in each article? Were the author's choices appropriate?

Take ownership of the topic and be innovative, using technology to enhance the experience. Use PowerPoint, websites, YouTube, the CBC archives and other resources.

Games, role-playing, skits and class surveys can all be interesting and useful.

Participation

The class will be very boring if the same people talk all the time, or if participants are not clearly familiar with the week's readings. Thus participation grades are awarded based on both **quantity** and **quality** of participation throughout the term. Students are expected to be familiar with the readings and contribute regularly in class.

Schedule

Sept 15 Introduction

Tuesday Sept 21 - CSPG Seminar – "Question Period and Its Reform"

Sept 22 Parliament and Parliamentary Reform

C. E.S. Franks, Chapter 1, "Parliament in an Age of Reform" in Franks, *The Parliament of Canada* (University of Toronto Press: 1987)

David Smith, Chapter 1, "The State of the Commons" in Smith, *The People's House of Commons* (University of Toronto Press, 2007) (text is also available online at books.google.com)

Sept 29 MPs and Parties

Michael Mezey, Chapter 2, "Representation: A Theoretical Discussion" in Mezey, *Representative Democracy: Legislators and their Constituents* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2008)

Barry Campbell, "Politics as Unusual: A Legend is Born" *The Walrus*, March 2008 and "Darkness Visible: The continuing saga of Barry Campbell, MP" April 2008
<http://www.walrusmagazine.com/articles/2008.03-politics-canada-election-barry->

[campbell/
http://www.walrusmagazine.com/articles/2008.04-politics-canada-election-ottawa-backbench-mp-barry-campbell/](http://www.walrusmagazine.com/articles/2008.04-politics-canada-election-ottawa-backbench-mp-barry-campbell/)

Jonathan Malloy, "High Discipline, Low Cohesion? The Uncertain Patterns of Canadian Parliamentary Party Groups," *Journal of Legislative Studies* 9:4 (Winter 2003) [journal available online via library catalogue].

Jonathan Dignan, "(Less) Male, (Even Less) Educated, (Even Less) Experienced & (Even more) White" (Public Policy Forum, 2009)
<http://www.ppforum.com/publications/lessmale-even-less-educated-even-less-experienced-%0Beven-more-white>

Oct 6 Parliament Under Stress

Peter Russell, *Two Cheers for Minority Government* (Emond Montgomery Press: Toronto, 2008)

Jonathan Malloy, "The Drama of Parliament Under Minority Government" in Doern and Stoney, eds., *How Ottawa Spends 2010-11: Recession, Realignment, and the New Deficit Era* (McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal and Kingston, 2010)

C.E.S. Franks, "To Prorogue or Not to Prorogue: Did the Governor-General Make the Right Decision?" and
Andrew Heard, "The Governor-General's Suspension of Parliament: Duty Done or A Perilous Precedent?" in Russell and Sossin, eds., *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis*

Oct 13 CSPG Seminar – "Parliament 101: The Committee System"

Russell Book Review Due

Oct 20 Citizens and Voting

Brian Tanguay, "Reforming Representative Democracy: Taming the 'Democratic Deficit'" in James Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon, eds., *Canadian Politics (Fifth Edition)* University of Toronto Press: 2009

Lawrence LeDuc and Jon Pammett, "Voter Turnout" in Heather MacIvor, ed., *Election* (Emond Montgomery Press: Toronto, 2009)

Oct 27 Executive and Accountability

Donald Savoie, Chapter 12, "Power: Locating It and Holding It To Account" in Savoie, *Court Government and the Collapse of Accountability in Canada and the United Kingdom* (University of Toronto Press, 2008)

Nov 3 The Senate and Officers of Parliament

David E. Smith “The Senate of Canada and the Conundrum of Reform”, Hugh Segal, “Senate Reform and Democratic Legitimacy: Beyond Stasis” and Lorna Marsden “Thoughts on Senate Reform” all in Jennifer Smith, ed., *The Democratic Dilemma: Reforming the Canadian Senate* (Institute of Intergovernmental Relations: Queen’s University, 2009).

John A. Stilborn, “The Officers of Parliament: More Watchdogs, More Teeth, Better Governance?” in in Doern and Stoney, eds., *How Ottawa Spends 2010-11: Recession, Realignment, and the New Deficit Era* (McGill-Queen’s University Press: Montreal and Kingston, 2010)

5006 Book Reviews Due

Monday November 8 – Essay Outlines Due

Nov 10 Gender and Diversity

Sylvia Bashevkin, *Women, Power, Politics: The Hidden Story of Canada’s Unfinished Democracy* (Oxford University Press: Toronto., 2009)

Manon Tremblay, “Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behaviour in Canada’s 35th Parliament” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* XXXI:3 (September 1998)

Jerome H. Black, “Ethnoracial Minorities in the 38th Parliament: Patterns of Change and Continuity” in Caroline Andrew et al, eds., *Electing A Diverse Canada: The Representation of Immigrants, Minorities and Women* (UBC Press: 2008)

Nov 17 Technology and Parliament – readings subject to change

Tamara A. Small, “Blogging the Hill: Garth Turner and the Canadian Parliamentary Blogosphere” *Canadian Political Science Review* 2:3 (2008)
<http://ojs.unbc.ca/index.php/cpsr/article/view/49/119>

Philip Norton “Four Models of Political Representation: British MPs and the Use of ICT” *Journal of Legislative Studies* 13:3 (September 2007) [journal available via library catalogue]

Darin Barney, *One Nation Under Google: Citizenship in the Technological Republic* (Hart House, University of Toronto, 2007)
http://www.mcgill.ca/files/arts/barney_2007HartHouseLecture.pdf

Friday Nov 19 CSPG Conference – “Paths to Power”

Nov 24 Territorial and Provincial Legislatures

David Pond, “Imposing a Neo-Liberal Theory of Representation on the Westminster Model: A Canadian Case” *Journal of Legislative Studies* 11:2 (Summer 2005)) [journal available via library catalogue]

Graham White, "Traditional Aboriginal Values in a Westminster Parliament: The Legislative Assembly of Nunavut" *Journal of Legislative Studies* 12:1 (March 2006) [journal available via library catalogue]

Alex Marland, "The Newfoundland and Labrador House of Assembly" (Canadian Study of Parliament Group: Ottawa, 2010) available at <http://www.studyparliament.ca>

Friday November 26 – Essays Due

Dec 1 – No Class (instructor away)

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 15 2010 for December examinations and March 11 2011 for April examinations**.

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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor 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. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

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

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.

Course Requirements: Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

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 in the after-hours academic life 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, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, 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.