

Carleton University
Fall 2019
Department of Political Science
<https://carleton.ca/polisci/>

PSCI 4006A / 5006F
Legislatures and Representation in Canada
Wednesdays, 8:35am – 11:25am
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Jonathan Malloy
Office: Loeb D685
Office Hours: Wednesdays 1-2
Phone: 613-520-2600 x1189
Email: jonathan.malloy@carleton.ca

This course is about legislatures, legislators, and their role in the Canadian political system. We explore the different understandings and expectations surrounding legislatures and legislative representation. Particular attention is paid to issues of diversity and legislatures. The course does not concern itself closely with legislative procedure, but focuses on the roles that parliamentary institutions play in Canadian politics, policy-making, and democratic representation.

Upon successfully completing the course you will be able to:

- Demonstrate an understanding of the overall system of parliamentary government in Canada, with some familiarity with its technical elements.
- Describe and explain key debates about the role of legislative bodies and legislators in Canada.
- Understand and interpret the multiple roles of MPs.
- Explain and evaluate gendered, racial and other elements of legislative representation in Canada.
- Summarize and appraise academic studies of legislatures

Readings

All readings will be available online and/or provided electronically. A small number of copies of both books for the book review assignment (see below) have been ordered through the Carleton bookstore. They can also be ordered online including as e-versions.

Grading

4006 Students

| Due Date | | Weight in Final Grade |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| October 9 | Book Review | 20% |
| October 30 | Floor-Crossing Report | 20% |
| December 4 | Term Paper | 25% |
| | Presentation | 15% |
| | Participation | 20% |

5006 Students

| Due Date | | Weight in Final Grade |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| October 9 | Book Review | 15% |
| October 30 | Floor-Crossing Report | 15% |
| December 4 | Term Paper #1 | 20% |
| December 18 | Term Paper #2 | 20% |
| | Presentation | 15% |
| | Participation | 15% |

Book Review (20% for 4006 students; 15% for 5006 students)

Write a critical review of one of the following:

Representation in Action: Canadian MPs in the Constituencies by Royce Koop, Heather Bastedo, and Kelly Blidook (University of British Columbia Press, 2017).

At the Centre of Government: The Prime Minister and the Limits on Political Power by Ian Brodie (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018)

The review is due October 9 and should be at least 1500 words long. It should *not* summarize the book. Rather, it will answer the following:

- What in your view is the overall argument of the book? What is it trying to tell us?

- How does the book connect with ideas and readings explored in the course up to and including October 2?
- What are the book's overall strengths and weaknesses?

Late submissions may be subject to a penalty of one-third of a letter grade per day (i.e., from B+ to B), including weekends.

Floor-Crossing: MP Research Note

In this simulation, you work for a backbench MP. Your MP has become increasingly discontented with party policy and their leader, and unhappy with their lack of influence or career progress in the caucus. They are considering crossing the floor and joining a different party. But the MP is curious about the risks and benefits of floor-crossing, and asks you to research the issue.

Consulting the sources below, as well as any others you wish, write a report of 500-1000 words summarizing recent research on floor-crossing and clearly presenting options and issues that the MP should consider before making a decision.

Snagovsky, F., & Kerby, M. (2018). "The Electoral Consequences of Party Switching in Canada: 1945–2011". *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 51(2), 425-445.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423917001445>

Sevi, S., Yoshinaka, A., & Blais, A. (2018). "Legislative Party Switching and the Changing Nature of the Canadian Party System, 1867–2015". *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 51(3), 665-695.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423918000203>

John R McAndrews, Feodor Snagovsky, Paul E J Thomas (2019) "How Citizens Judge Extreme Legislative Dissent: Experimental Evidence from Canada on Party Switching", *Parliamentary Affairs*, ,

<https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsy050>

The assignment will be graded on:

- Demonstrated understanding of the key aspects of each article
- Clear identification of options and issues for the MP to consider
- Overall organization and coherence

Late submissions may be subject to a penalty of one-third of a letter grade per day (i.e., from B+ to B), including weekends.

Final Paper

Write a paper of approximately 1500-2000 words. You have four options. (PSCI 4006 students will write one paper. PSCI 5006 students will do two papers).

1. Write a paper arguing either for or against major reforms to Parliament. The paper should review the history of parliamentary reform and assess whether Parliament is generally working, or needs major changes. The paper must be decisive in arguing one side or the other.
2. Write a paper analyzing the progress of diversity in Parliament. Assess in your own terms what the key issues are, and in particular whether overall progress is generally good and promising, or not. You can focus broadly or on a specific dimension of diversity.
3. Compare a minimum of two provincial or territorial legislatures, evaluating their democratic health and performance over recent decades. Identify key factors that have shaped their development. While the analysis should be reasonably up-to-date, it should focus on long-term factors rather than the latest developments. As a starting point, consult the provincial and territorial studies here <http://cspg-gcep.ca/publications-e.html>
4. Write on something of your own choosing. You must discuss the topic and your plan beforehand with the instructor. Possibilities include (i) tracing and analyzing the passage of a bill or committee study, drawing conclusions about how it illustrates particular themes of study for legislatures; or (ii) assessing the relationship between communications technology and legislative representation over time (television, email, social media, etc.).

While independent research may be required, especially for options 3 and 4, the focus of the paper should be on argument and analysis rather than extensive research. Papers will be evaluated based on:

- a strong grasp of the general topic
- appropriate sources and engaging use of these sources
- appreciation of and engagement with key counterarguments
- theoretical and analytical sophistication
- the general organization and coherence of the paper
- spelling and grammar

Late submissions may be subject to a penalty of one-third of a letter grade per day (i.e., from B+ to B), including weekends.

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 will work together.

Presentations must be interesting. Simply summarizing the readings will earn a grade of zero. Assume your audience has read them. Presentations must engage with the arguments and the overall theme of the week. 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?
- What have we learned this week?

Take ownership of the topic and be innovative. Use PowerPoint, online links, short videos (including your own productions), etc. However, do not rely exclusively on technology. Games, role-playing, skits and class surveys can all be engaging learning experiences.

Presentations are opportunities. Use them.

Participation

The class will be very boring if the same people talk all the time, and/or if students are not all 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

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| September 4 | Introduction to the Course |
| September 11 | Understandings of Legislative Representation in Canada C.E.S. Franks (1987) Chapters 1 and 2, "Parliament in an Age of Reform" in Franks, <i>The Parliament of Canada</i> (University of Toronto Press) David Pond (2005) "Imposing a neo-liberal theory of representation on the Westminster model: A Canadian case", <i>The Journal of Legislative Studies</i> , 11:2, 170-193, https://doi.org/10.1080/13572330500158599 Jonathan Malloy "Paradox and the Study of the Canadian Parliament" |
| September 18 | Methods of Studying Legislatures <i>For reference:</i> Andrea Lawlor & Erin Crandall (2013) "Committee performance in the Senate of Canada: some sobering analysis for the chamber of 'sober second thought'", <i>Commonwealth & Comparative Politics</i> , 51:4, 549-568, https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2013.838372 Christopher Raymond and Jacob Holt (2014) "Due North? Do American Theories of Legislative Committees Apply to Canada?" <i>Journal of Legislative Studies</i> 20:2 174-192 https://doi.org/10.1080/13572334.2013.846546 Jean-Francois Godbout and Bjørn Høyland (2011). "Legislative Voting in the Canadian Parliament" <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i> , 44(2), 367-388. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423911000175 Jonathan Malloy (2002) "The 'Responsible Government Approach' and its Effect on Canadian Legislative Studies" <i>Parliamentary Perspectives</i> 5 (Canadian Study of Parliament Group) http://cspg-gcep.ca/pdf/Parliamentary_Perspectives_5_2002_e.pdf "The Linked Parliamentary Data Project" https://www.lipad.ca/#about |

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| <p>September 25</p> | <p>MPs and Their Roles</p> <p>Samara Centre for Democracy - MP Exit Interviews (Volumes 1 and 2) https://www.samaracanada.com/exit-interviews</p> <p>Elizabeth May, “Westminster Parliamentary Democracy: Where Some MPs Are More Equal Than Others” in Michael Chong, Scott Simms, and Kennedy Stewart, eds. <i>Turning Parliament Inside Out: Practical Ideas for Reforming Canada’s Democracy</i> (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2017).</p> <p><i>Optional: Students are encouraged to attend the Canadian Study of Parliament Group annual conference on “Courts and Parliament” on Friday September 27. Registration fees will be covered; see instructor for more details http://cspg-qcep.ca/pdf/Conference2019-Poster-Final.pdf</i></p> |
| <p>October 2</p> | <p>MPs and Public Policy</p> <p>Kelly Blidook (2010) Exploring the Role of ‘Legislators’ in Canada: Do Members of Parliament Influence Policy?, <i>The Journal of Legislative Studies</i>, 16:1, 32-56, https://doi.org/10.1080/13572330903541979</p> <p>Philippe Lagassé (2017) “Parliament and the War Prerogative in the United Kingdom and Canada: Explaining Variations in Institutional Change and Legislative Control” <i>Parliamentary Affairs</i>, 70:2, 280–300 https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsw029</p> <p>Janet Hiebert, “Parliamentary Engagement with the Charter: Rethinking the Idea of Legislative Rights Review,” <i>Supreme Court Law Review</i>, 58 (2012), 87-107. http://digitalcommons.osgoode.yorku.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1249&context=clr</p> |

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| <p>October 9</p> | <p>Committees</p> <p>Jonathan Malloy (1996) “Reconciling expectations and reality in House of Commons committees: The case of the 1989 GST inquiry” <i>Canadian Public Administration</i> 36:3 https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-7121.1996.tb00135.x</p> <p>Jack Stilborn (2014) The Investigative Study Role of Canada's House Committees: Expectations Met?, <i>The Journal of Legislative Studies</i>, 20:3, 342-359, https://doi.org/10.1080/13572334.2014.890801</p> <p>David Monk (2010) A Framework for Evaluating the Performance of Committees in Westminster Parliaments, <i>The Journal of Legislative Studies</i>, 16:1, 1-13, https://doi.org/10.1080/13572330903541904</p> |
| <p>October 16</p> | <p>Minority Government and Crises</p> <p>Jonathan Malloy (2010), “The Drama of Parliament Under Minority Government” in G. Bruce Doern and Christopher Stoney, eds., <i>How Ottawa Spends 2010-11: Recession, Realignment, and the New Deficit Era</i> (McGill-Queen’s University Press)</p> <p>Peter H. Russell (2009) “Learning to Live With Minority Parliaments” in Peter H. Russell and Lorne Sossin, eds., <i>Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis</i> (University of Toronto Press)</p> <p>Don Desserud; Stewart Hyson; “New Brunswick’s ‘Hung Legislature’ of 2018: Completing the Trilogy of Legislative Oddities” <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i> 42:1 (2019) http://www.revparl.ca/english/issue.asp?param=238&art=1836</p> |
| <p>October 30</p> | <p>Election Postmortem</p> |

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| <p>November 6</p> | <p>Senate</p> <p>Andrea Lawlor & Erin Crandall (2013) “Committee performance in the Senate of Canada: some sobering analysis for the chamber of ‘sober second thought’”, <i>Commonwealth & Comparative Politics</i>, 51:4, 549-568, https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2013.838372</p> <p>David C. Docherty (2002) “The Canadian Senate: Chamber of Sober Reflection or Loony Cousin Best Not Talked About”, <i>Journal of Legislative Studies</i>, 8:3, 27-48, https://doi.org/10.1080/714003922</p> <p>Macfarlane, Emmett. 2019. <i>The Renewed Canadian Senate: Organizational Challenges and Relations with the Government</i>. IRPP Study 71. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy. https://irpp.org/research-studies/renewed-canadian-senate-organizational-challenges-relations-government/</p> |
| <p>November 13</p> | <p>Gender and Legislatures</p> <p>Brenda O'Neill, “Unpacking Gender’s Role in Political Representation in Canada” <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i> 38:2 (2015) http://www.revparl.ca/english/issue.asp?param=223&art=1643</p> <p>Cheryl Collier and Tracey Raney. Canada's Member-to-Member Code of Conduct on Sexual Harassment in the House of Commons: Progress or Regress? <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i>, Volume 51, Issue 4 December 2018 , pp. 795-815 https://doi.org/10.1017/S000842391800032X</p> <p>Amanda Bittner and Melanee Thomas, “Moms in Politics: Work is Work” <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i> 40:3 (2017) http://www.revparl.ca/40/3/40n3e_17_Thomasbittner.pdf</p> <p>For reference:</p> <p>Karen Beckwith (2007). Numbers and Newness: The Descriptive and Substantive Representation of Women. <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i>, 40(1), https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423907070059</p> <p>Sarah Childs, <i>The Good Parliament</i> https://www.bristol.ac.uk/grc/research/good-parliament/</p> |

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| <p>November 20</p> | <p>Race and Diversity and Legislatures</p> <p>Brynne Langford and Mario Levesque (2017) “Symbolic and Substantive Relevance of Politicians with Disabilities: A British Columbia Case Study” <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i> 40:2 (2017) http://www.revparl.ca/english/issue.asp?param=231&art=1744</p> <p>Karen Bird (2015) “‘We are Not an Ethnic Vote!’ Representational Perspectives of Minorities in the Greater Toronto Area” <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i>, 48(2), 249-279. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423915000256</p> <p>Karen Bird. “Patterns of Substantive Representation among Visible Minority MPs: Evidence from Canada’s House of Commons.” In <i>The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties and Parliaments in Liberal Democracies</i>, Karen Bird, Thomas Saalfeld, Andreas Wüst, eds. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 207-229. (<i>Draft</i> version available here: https://socialsciences.mcmaster.ca/kbird/documents/ECPR.pdf)</p> <p>Jerome H. Black, “The 2015 Federal Election: More Visible Minority Candidates and MPs” <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i> 40:1 http://www.revparl.ca/english/issue.asp?param=230&art=1733</p> |
| <p>November 27</p> | <p>Indigenous Peoples and Parliament</p> <p>Michael Morden, (2016) “Indigenizing Parliament: Time to Re-Start a Conversation” <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i> 39:2 http://www.revparl.ca/39/2/39n2e_16_Morden.pdf</p> <p>Hunter Tootoo (2012), “Consensus Government in Nunavut” <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i> 35:4</p> <p>Graham White (2006) Traditional aboriginal values in a Westminster parliament: The legislative assembly of Nunavut, <i>The Journal of Legislative Studies</i>, 12:1, 8-31, https://doi.org/10.1080/13572330500483930a</p> <p>Sarah Maddison (2010) White Parliament, Black Politics: The Dilemmas of Indigenous Parliamentary Representation, <i>Australian Journal of Political Science</i>, 45:4, 663-680, https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2010.517180</p> <p>https://www.hilltimes.com/2019/06/19/we-have-to-be-part-of-it-indigenous-mps-talk-need-for-better-representation-barriers/204258</p> |

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| | https://www.hilltimes.com/2019/08/07/we-need-to-be-at-the-table-nominated-indigenous-candidates-near-2015s-record-high/210654 |
| December 4 | <p>The Future of Canadian Legislative Studies</p> <p>Jonathan Malloy (2002) "The 'Responsible Government Approach' and its Effect on Canadian Legislative Studies" Parliamentary Perspectives 5 (Canadian Study of Parliament Group) http://cspg-gcep.ca/pdf/Parliamentary_Perspectives_5_2002_e.pdf</p> |

Academic Accommodations

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC 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 your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. carleton.ca/pmc

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the

services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

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:

| 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.

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. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, 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 our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/> and our website <https://carletonpss.com/>, or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.