

Carleton University
Department of Political Science
Carleton.ca/Polisci

Winter 2025

PSCI 4006A / 5006A
Legislatures and Representation in Canada
Fridays 8:35-11:25 a.m.
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Jonathan Malloy (he/him)
Office: Loeb D685
Office Hours: Thursdays 2-3 p.m. or by appointment
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 their performance. 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 legislative bodies in Canada.
- Understand and interpret the multiple roles of MPs.
- Explain and evaluate gendered, racial and other elements of legislative representation in Canada.

Readings

The main text is my book, *The Paradox of Parliament* (University of Toronto, 2023). Students will be given free copies. Additional readings will be available online and/or provided electronically.

Grading

I am happy to discuss accommodations and alternative evaluations at any time. Assignments are due at the start of class, or 8:30 a.m. if there is no class on the due day. Late submissions are discouraged. Late submissions without sufficient reason will be subject to a penalty of one-third of a letter grade per day (i.e., from B+ to B), including weekends.

4006 Students

Due Date		Weight in Final Grade
Monday February 3	Methodology Assignment	20%
March 27	1st of Diversity or Senate Assignment	25%
April 8	2nd of Diversity or Senate Assignment	25%
	Presentation+Reflection	15%
	Participation	15%

5006 Students

Due Date		Weight in Final Grade
Monday February 3	Methodology Assignment	15%
March 1	Book Review Assignment	15%
March 27	1st of Diversity or Senate Assignment	20%
April 8	2nd of Diversity or Senate Assignment	20%
	Presentation+Reflection	15%
	Participation	15%

Schedule at a Glance

Jan. 10	Introduction to the Course
Jan. 17	Understandings of Legislative Representation
Jan. 24	Methods of Studying Legislatures
Jan 31	NO CLASS
Monday Feb 3	Visit to the House of Commons
Feb. 7	MPs - <i>Guest: Chandra Pasma, MPP</i>
Feb. 14	Parties
Feb 21	Winter Break
Feb 28	The House of Commons
March 7	Diversity 1
March 14	The Senate - <i>Guest: Dylan Odd</i>
Thursday March 20	Visit to the Senate
March 21	Diversity 2
March 28	Scrutiny
April 4	The Future of Parliament

Weekly Presentations

Each week a small group of students will present and lead class discussion. This means preparing a presentation of about 15-20 minutes for the start of the class, and then assisting with animating class discussion. Presentations should not simply summarize the readings. They should focus on highlighting key themes and connections between the readings, applying them to recent developments, and preparing questions for discussion.

Since the main text was written by the instructor, I encourage students to challenge it. *“The Professor is Wrong”* should be a key mantra in the class.

Presentations are opportunities. Use them. 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.

One week following your presentation, you must submit an individually-written 750 word reflective paper on the topic including further thoughts prompted by the class discussion.

Participation

Students are expected to come to class familiar with the week’s readings. This is a foundation of the seminar format. 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.

Field Trips

The course tentatively includes two field trips, one to the House of Commons and one to the Senate. We will also have a guest speaker in class, MPP and Carleton political science MA graduate Chandra Pasma, on Friday, February 7, and another, Dylan Odd, on Friday March 14. All of these may be disrupted by a federal and/or provincial election.

The House of Commons trip is **Monday February 3**. Since this is not during regular class time, attendance is optional. We will view Question Period, have a short tour of the renovated West Block, and meet Carleton alum and Member of Parliament Brad Vis, a former PSCI 4006/5006 student. More details will be shared in class.

The Senate trip is **Thursday March 20**. Since this is not during regular class time, attendance is optional. We will tour the renovated Senate and meet with a senator. Prior to the visit, on

Friday March 14, we will have a visitor to class, Dylan Odd. Dylan is a former Carleton political science student who has worked for several senators.

Further details on the field trips will be shared in class. Students are responsible for making their own way to the parliamentary precinct. I am happy to discuss accommodations and assistance if this poses a difficulty.

Assignment 1: Methodology Paper

Write a 1000 word analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the methodologies used in the three papers in the Methodology week. The paper must make extensive references to the papers and can also refer to class discussions.

The assignment will be graded on:

- demonstrated general understanding of the methodological approaches of each article
- thoughtful analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of each approach
- general organization, sophistication, and coherence of the paper

Assignment 2: Diversity in the 44th Parliament

Select one or more of the five groups in chapter 6 of *The Paradox of Parliament* and write a 1000 word paper analyzing recent experiences of parliamentarians from the group in the 2021-2025 Parliament, updating the symbolic/descriptive/substantive representation frameworks. The paper should make references to specific parliamentarians and draw from academic sources, biographical sources, and media accounts; the more specific and timely, the better.

The assignment will be graded on:

- demonstrated general understanding of key elements of diversity and legislative representation
- creativity and resourcefulness in researching developments in the 44th Parliament
- clear references and citations to primary and reputable secondary sources
- general organization, sophistication, and coherence of the paper

Assignment 3 : The Senate: Dream Team or Ticking Time Bomb?

This assignment requires writing two essays arguing opposite perspectives, one arguing in favour of the 2016 changes to the Senate, and one arguing against. Each paper should be at least 1000 words long. The paper should rely overwhelmingly on information from our field trip, guest speaker, class discussions and the following specific sources:

Malloy, *Paradox of Parliament*

McCallion, Elizabeth. "Partisanship, Independence, and the Constitutive Representation of Women in the Canadian Senate." *Politics & Gender* (2024): 1–25. Web.

McCallion, Elizabeth. "From Private Influence to Public Amendment? The Senate's Amendment Rate in the 41st, 42nd and 43rd Canadian Parliaments." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 55.3 (2022): 583–599.

VandenBeukel, Jason Robert, Christopher Cochrane, and Jean-François Godbout. "Birds of a Feather? Loyalty and Partisanship in the Reformed Canadian Senate." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 54.4 (2021): 830–849.

Macfarlane, Emmett *Constitutional Pariah: Reference re Senate Reform and the Future of Parliament* (UBC Press, 2022)

De Paiva, David, and Jonathan Malloy. "What do Senate Committees Tell Us About the Post-2016 Senate?" *Canadian Journal of Political Science*

The assignment will be graded on the following criteria:

- a strong grasp of the general topic
- clarity of writing and analysis
- appropriate engagement and use of sources
- strength and sophistication of arguments for both sides
- the general organization and coherence of the paper

PSCI 5006 Additional Assignment: Book Review

Write a critical review of one of the following books:

Celina Caesar-Chavannes, *Can You Hear Me Now?* (Penguin Random House, 2021)

Jody Wilson-Raybould, *'Indian' in the Cabinet* (Harper Collins, 2021)

Alex Marland, *Whipped: Party Discipline in Canada* (University of British Columbia Press, 2020)

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

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

Jean-Francois Godbout, *Lost on Division: Party Unity in the Canadian Parliament* (University of Toronto Press, 2021)

The review should be at least 1500 words long. It should *not* summarize the book. Rather, it will answer the following, making regular references to the book, and will be graded on these criteria:

- What in your view is the overall argument/theme of the book as it relates to Parliament? What is it trying to tell us?
- How does the book connect with ideas and readings explored in the course?
- What are the book's overall strengths and weaknesses in terms of helping us understand Parliament?

Detailed Schedule

	Topic	Readings
Jan. 10	Introduction to the Course	None
Jan. 17	Understandings of Legislative Representation in Canada	<i>The Paradox of Parliament</i> Chapters 1 and 2
Jan. 24	Methods of Studying Legislatures	<p>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</p> <p>Cheryl N Collier, Tracey Raney, "Understanding Sexism and Sexual Harassment in Politics: A Comparison of Westminster Parliaments in Australia, the United Kingdom, and Canada" <i>Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society</i>, 25:3, Fall 2018, 432–455, https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxy024</p> <p>Kelly Blidook and Royce Koop, "Representational Style Across National and Constituency Contexts: Members of Parliament in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom" <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/epub/10.1177/10659129241257856</p>
Jan 31	NO CLASS	
Monday Feb 3		Visit to the House of Commons

Feb. 7	MPs	Chapter 4 - MPs “ The Real House Lives ” Samara Centre for Democracy
Feb 14	Parties	Chapter 3 Parties Excerpts of Alex Marland, <i>Whipped: Party Discipline in Canada</i> (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2020)
Feb 21		WINTER BREAK
Feb. 28	The House of Commons	Chapter 5 - House of Commons Business 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 Paul Wilson (2016) “Harper and the House of Commons: An Evidence-Based Assessment” in Jennifer Ditchburn and Graham Fox, eds., <i>The Harper Factor: Assessing a Prime Minister’s Policy Legacy</i> (McGill-Queen’s University Press)

<p>March 7</p>	<p>Diversity 1</p>	<p>Chapter 6 - Diversity</p> <p>Manon Tremblay, “Representation: The Case of LGBTQ People,” in <i>Queering Representation: LGBTQ People and Electoral Politics in Canada</i>, ed. Manon Tremblay (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019).</p> <p>Rayment, E., & McCallion, E. (2023). Contexts and Constraints: The Substantive Representation of Women in the Canadian House of Commons and Senate. <i>Representation</i>, 60(1), 117–133. https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2023.2173283</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>March 14</p>	<p>Senate</p>	<p>Chapter 7 - The Senate</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>McCallion, Elizabeth. “From Private Influence to Public Amendment? The Senate’s Amendment Rate in the 41st, 42nd and 43rd Canadian Parliaments.” <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i> 55.3 (2022): 583–599.</p> <p>VandenBeukel, Jason Robert, Christopher Cochrane, and Jean-François Godbout. “Birds of a Feather? Loyalty and Partisanship in the Reformed Canadian Senate.” <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i> 54.4 (2021): 830–849.</p>

<p>March 21</p>	<p>Diversity 2</p>	<p>Bird, K. (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. doi:10.1017/S0008423915000256</p> <p>Carrière, R., & Koop, R. (2023). Indigenous Political Representation in Canada. <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i>, 56(2), 257–278. doi:10.1017/S0008423923000173</p> <p>Mario Levesque, "Searching For Persons With Disabilities in Canadian Provincial Office," <i>Canadian Journal of Disability Studies</i> 5, no. 1 (January 2016): 73–106 https://cids.uwaterloo.ca/index.php/cids/article/view/250/434</p>
<p>March 28</p>	<p>Scrutiny</p>	<p>Chapter 8 – Scrutiny</p> <p>S.L. Sutherland, "Responsible Government and Ministerial Responsibility: Every Reform Is Its Own Problem," <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i> 24, no. 1 (1991): 91–120, 92, https://www.istor.org/stable/3229633</p> <p>Lagassé, P., & Saideman, S. M. (2016). Public critic or secretive monitor: party objectives and legislative oversight of the military in Canada. <i>West European Politics</i>, 40(1), 119–138. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2016.1240409</p>
<p>April 5</p>	<p>The Future of Parliament</p>	<p>Chapter 9, The Future of Parliament</p> <p>Michael M. Atkinson and Paul G. Thomas (1993) "Studying the Canadian Parliament" <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> 18:3 423-451 https://www.istor.org/stable/439834</p>

Political Science Course Outline Appendix

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:

Student Mental Health

As a university student, you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus):

<https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

Carleton Resources:

Mental Health and Wellbeing:

<https://carleton.ca/wellness/>

Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>

Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>

Academic Advising Centre (AAC):

<https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>

Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS):

<https://carleton.ca/csas/>

Equity & Inclusivity Communities:

<https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off Campus Resources:

Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>

Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>

Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>

ood2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>

The Walk-In Counselling Clinic:

<https://walkincounselling.com>

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances:

Students must contact the instructor(s) of their absence or inability to complete the academic deliverable within the predetermined timeframe due to medical or other extenuating circumstances. For a range of medical or other extenuating circumstances, students may use the online self-declaration form and where appropriate, the use of medical documentation.

This policy regards the accommodation of extenuating circumstances for both short-term and long-term periods and extends to all students enrolled at Carleton University. Students should also consult the [Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations](#) for more information. Detailed information about the procedure for requesting academic consideration can be found [here](#).

Pregnancy: 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 accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, please contact Equity and Inclusive Communities (EIC) at equity@carleton.ca or by calling (613) 520-5622 to speak to an Equity Advisor.

Religious obligation: 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 [click here](#).

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:

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, please request your accommodations for this course through the [Ventus Student Portal](#) 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*). Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. For final exams, the deadlines to request accommodations are published in the [University Academic Calendars](#). 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).

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 its 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:
<https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services>.

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 will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me 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.

PETITIONS TO DEFER

Students unable to write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control may apply within **three working days** to the Registrar's Office for permission to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully supported by the appropriate documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered. [See Undergraduate Calendar, Article 4.3](#)

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

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). Permissibility of submitting substantially the same piece of work more than once for academic credit. If group or collaborative work is expected or allowed, provide a clear and specific description of how and to what extent you consider collaboration to be acceptable or appropriate, especially in the completion of written assignments.

WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY

The last day to withdraw from full fall term and fall/winter courses with a full fee adjustment is **September 30th, 2024**. The last day for a fee adjustment when withdrawing from winter term courses or the winter portion of two-term courses is **January 31, 2025**. The last day for academic withdrawal from full fall and late fall courses is **November 15, 2024**. The last day for academic withdrawal from full winter, late winter, and fall/winter courses is **March 15, 2025**.

WDN: For students who withdraw after the full fee adjustment date in each term the term WDN will be a permanent notation that appears on their official transcript.

OFFICIAL FINAL EXAMINATION PERIOD

Fall courses: **December 9-21, 2024**. Winter and Fall/Winter courses: **April 11-26, 2025** (may include evenings & Saturdays or Sundays)

For more information on the important dates and deadlines of the academic year, consult the [Carleton 2024-2025 Calendar](#).

GRADING SYSTEM

The grading system is described in the Undergraduate Calendar section [5.4](#).

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

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:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, 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 that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts 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 can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

RESOURCES (613-520-2600, phone ext.)

Department of Political Science (2777)	B640	Academic Advising Centre (7850)	302 Tory
Loeb		Paul Menton Centre (6608)	501
Registrar's Office (3500)	300 Tory	Nideyinàn	
Centre for Student Academic Success (3822)	4 th floor	Career Services (6611)	401 Tory
Library			