

Carleton University
Department of Political Science

Winter 2023

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

PSCI 4006A / 5006F

Legislatures and Representation in Canada

Wednesdays 2:35-5:25

Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Jonathan Malloy

Office: Loeb D384 (Office of the Dean)

Office Hours: Tuesdays 2-3 or by appointment

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 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 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.

Readings

The main text for the course is my forthcoming book, *The Paradox of Parliament*. Students will be given electronic copies of the manuscript. Additional readings will be available online and/or provided electronically.

Weekly Animators/Presentations

Each week 2-3 students will take the lead in animating 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
- 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.

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 Trip(s)

The course will include at least one field trip, to the House of Commons, currently scheduled for Wednesday March 29. This date may need to be adjusted. There may also be a second field trip to the Senate. This will fall partly but not entirely during the scheduled class time, meaning that the field trip is optional. Students are responsible for making their own way to the parliamentary precinct. I am happy to discuss accommodations if this poses a difficulty.

Grading

PSCI 4006 students will do two of the following. PSCI 5006 students will do all three:

- Book Review Assignment
- Floor-Crossing Assignment
- MP Interview Assignment

All students will complete a term paper.

Students will also be graded on the presentations and their weekly participation.

I am happy to discuss accommodations and alternative evaluations at any time. 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
February 8	First Assignment	20%
March 1	Second Assignment	20%
April 5	Term Paper	35%
	Presentation	5%
	Participation	20%

5006 Students

Due Date		Weight in Final Grade
February 8	First Assignment	15%
March 1	Second Assignment	15%
March 22	Third Assignment	15%
April 5	Term Paper	35%
	Presentation	5%
	Participation	15%

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)

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 should be at least 1500 words long. It should *not* summarize the book. Rather, it will answer the following, and will be graded on this 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?

Floor-Crossing 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.

Alex Marland, Mireille Lalancette, Jared Wesley, “Legislators’ Motivations for Leaving Their Party: The Canadian Case” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association (APSA) annual conference. Montreal, September 2022
<https://preprints.apsanet.org/engage/api-gateway/apsa/assets/orp/resource/item/631a3e4b49042a4c5bd06b21/original/legislators-motivations-for-leaving-their-party-the-canadian-case.pdf>

Snagovsky, F., & Kerby, M. (2018). “The Electoral Consequences of Party Switching in Canada: 1945–2011”. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 51(2), 425-445.
 doi: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. doi:10.1017/S0008423918000203

John R McAndrews, Feodor Snagovsky, Paul E J Thomas, “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 academic sources
- clear identification of options and issues for the MP to consider
- overall organization and coherence

Interview a Former Member of Parliament

This assignment requires you to contact and interview a **former** member of Parliament. Former provincial legislators are also possible. The instructor will assist with suggestions and possible ways to contact interview subjects. The interview should cover topics like the following:

- Why did they run for Parliament?
- Was being an MP different than they expected?
- What changes would they make to the parliamentary system?
- How do they look back on their time in Parliament?

You will then write a 1000 word summary of what you learned in the interview, tying it to topics covered in the course.

The assignment will be graded on:

- strength of connections between the interview findings and the course material
- clarity of writing and analysis
- overall organization and coherence

Term Paper

Term papers are to be approximately 1500-2000 words on one of the following:

1. Write a paper arguing either for or against major reforms to the House of Commons. 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. Is the post-2016 Senate a representational paradise, or a ticking time bomb? Write an assessment of the likely future prospects of the institution.

While independent research may be required, 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

Optional: Students may submit an outline or summary (no more than 500 words) of their paper by March 22 to receive preliminary feedback.

Schedule at a Glance

Jan. 11	Introduction to the Course
Jan. 18	Understandings of Legislative Representation
Jan. 25	Methods of Studying Legislatures
Feb. 1	Parties
Feb. 8	MPs
Feb. 15	The House of Commons
Feb 22	Winter Break
March 1	Diversity 1
March 8	Diversity 2
March 15	The Senate
March 22	Scrutiny
March 29	Field Trip
April 5	The Future of Parliament

Detailed Schedule

	Topic	Readings
Jan. 11	Introduction to the Course	None
Jan. 18	Understandings of Legislative Representation in Canada	<i>The Paradox of Parliament</i> Chapters 1 and 2
Jan. 25	Methods of Studying Legislatures	<p>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</p> <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>The "Constituency Member" in Practice: Two case studies from Australia and New Zealand Royce Koop, University of Manitoba Kelly Blidook, Memorial University</p>

		<p>Paper presented at the 2018 Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association</p> <p>CPSA 2018 (cpsa-acsp.ca)</p>
Feb. 1,	Parties	<p>Chapter 3 Parties</p> <p>Excerpts of Alex Marland, <i>Whipped: Party Discipline in Canada</i> (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2020)</p>
Feb. 8	MPs	<p>Chapter 4 - MPs</p> <p>Samara Centre for Democracy - MP Exit Interviews (Volumes 1 and 2)</p> <p>https://www.samaracanada.com/exit-interviews</p>
Feb. 15,	The House of Commons	<p>Chapter 5 - House of Commons Business</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>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 1	Diversity 1	<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>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>
March 8	Diversity 2	<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>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>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>
March 15	Senate	<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>Elizabeth McCallion, “The Canadian Senate Briefly Reached Gender Parity – Here’s Why It Matters,” <i>The Conversation</i>, March 3, 2021, https://</p>

		theconversation.com/the-canadian-senate-briefly-reached-gender-parity-heres-why-it-matters-153525
March 22	Scrutiny	Chapter 8 – Scrutiny 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.jstor.org/stable/3229633
March 29	Field Trip to the House of Commons	
April 5	The Future of Parliament	Chapter 9, The Future of Parliament Michael M. Atkinson and Paul G. Thomas (1993) “Studying the Canadian Parliament” <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> 18:3 423-451 https://www.jstor.org/stable/439834

Appendix

Covid-19 Pandemic Measures

It is important to remember that COVID is still present in Ottawa. The situation can change at any time and the risks of new variants and outbreaks are very real. There are [a number of actions you can take](#) to lower your risk and the risk you pose to those around you including being vaccinated, wearing a mask, staying home when you're sick, washing your hands and maintaining proper respiratory and cough etiquette.

Feeling sick? Remaining vigilant and not attending work or school when sick or with symptoms is critically important. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms do not come to class or campus. If you feel ill or exhibit symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately. In all situations, you should follow Carleton's [symptom reporting protocols](#).

Masks: Masks are no longer mandatory in university buildings and facilities. However, we continue to recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be maintained. We are aware that personal preferences regarding optional mask use will vary greatly, and we ask that we all show consideration and care for each other during this transition.

Vaccines: While proof of vaccination is no longer required to access campus or participate in in-person Carleton activities, it may become necessary for the University to bring back proof of vaccination requirements on short notice if the situation and public health advice changes. Students are strongly encouraged to get a full course of vaccination, including booster doses as soon as they are eligible and submit their booster dose information in [cuScreen](#) as soon as possible. Please note that Carleton cannot guarantee that it will be able to offer virtual or hybrid learning options for those who are unable to attend the campus.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow requirements and guidelines regarding health and safety which may change from time to time. For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and health and safety requirements please see the [University's COVID-19 website](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca.

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/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

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 accommodation: 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 accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

Religious accommodation: 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 [click here](#).

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, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, [click here](#).

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 engage in student activities 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.

Sexual Violence Policy

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. 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.

Plagiarism

Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

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.

More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

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).

Submission and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

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

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 Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

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/>.

Official Course Outline

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