

Carleton University
Fall 2020
Department of Political Science
<https://carleton.ca/polisci/>

PSCI 4006A / 5006F
Legislatures and Representation in Canada
Synchronous Course via Zoom
Course: Tuesdays, 2:35pm – 5:25pm
Office Hours: Tuesdays, 12-1pm

Instructor: Louise Cockram
Email: LouiseCockram@cunet.carleton.ca

Course Description

This course focuses on the state of legislative politics and representation at both the federal and provincial level in Canada. Throughout the course we will discuss different approaches to studying legislatures, as well as the challenges that legislatures and legislators face in performing their role. The course readings will explore themes such as: diversity in Canadian legislatures, the competing roles of legislators in Canada, as well as the features and challenges of provincial and territorial legislative assemblies. The course assignments are designed to provide students with the opportunity to practice useful tasks in academia, including literature reviews and presentations.

Questions to keep in mind throughout the course:

What role do legislatures play in our democracy?

What is the role of legislators in Canada?

What do we mean by representation?

Which methods and theories predominate in the literature on legislative studies?

How will the current COVID-19 pandemic affect legislatures in Canada?

How do Canadian legislatures compare with other Westminster parliaments?

Which groups are underrepresented in Canadian legislatures, and why?

What to expect from each seminar?

PSCI 4006A/5006F will be held synchronously. This means that the class will run over the course of three hours each Tuesday from 2:35pm-5:25pm. The class will be held on Zoom. I will email all class participants a link, as well as a password, to enter the call the evening before class. Students will need a microphone, webcam, and internet connection to participate in the course.

I will begin each class by discussing the readings and then I will then touch on the questions asked in the discussion forum. We will always take a 15-minute break in the middle of each class to allow us to recoup.

Class absences

If you are absent from the seminar you can make up your participation grade by sending me a one-page analytical reflection on the readings for that week.

Assignments

Note:

You can use any citation style you like for the assignments as long it is consistent.

All assignments must be uploaded electronically to CU learn.

PSCI 4006		
Date Due	Assignment	Grade Percentage
Every Monday by 4pm	Participation in weekly question forum	10
Each week	Participation in class	20
Beginning 29 September -Sign up on CUlearn	Class presentation (on one of the weekly topics)	20
6 October	Review essay of four articles	20
20 October	Final Paper Proposal	5
15 December	Final paper	25

PSCI 5006		
Date Due	Assignment	Grade Percentage
Every Monday by 4pm	Participation in weekly question forum	10
Each week	Participation in class	20
Beginning week 29 September -Sign up on CUlearn	Class presentation (on one of the weekly topics)	10
6 October	Review essay of four articles	10
20 October	Final Paper Proposal	5
17 & 24 November	Peer-Review of Final Paper	10
8 December	Class presentation (on your final paper)	10
15 December	Final paper	25

For both PSCI 4006 A and PSCI 5006F

Participation in weekly question forum

Each week I will post a discussion forum in CU learn for students to post questions about the readings or topic for that week. Each member of the class will be required to post at least one question per week by Monday at 4pm. I will collate these questions and use them to guide the discussion for that week. This

will allow class participants to take some ownership over the class discussion. Please keep in mind that there are no stupid questions and that the purpose of this class is to learn. Your questions can address a theme in the reading or address something that you find unclear from the readings. Participation in the weekly question forum will be graded on the frequency and quality of your posts. Your question must be posted by 4pm on the Monday before class for it to count towards your grade.

Participation in class

This is a seminar class, so all students are required to participate in the class discussion, either through making observations about the class material/weekly topic or by asking questions. Participation will be graded on the frequency and quality of students' interventions in the class discussion.

Class presentation

Beginning 29 September, each member of the class will be required to do a presentation on one of the weekly topics. There is a sign-up sheet on CU learn for students to pick the week they would like to present on. There will be two to three student presentations per week. The presentations will be individual; however, students must consult with the other presenters for that week to ensure that there is not significant overlap in what they are covering. Presenters must consult at least two additional academic sources (i.e. beyond what is listed in the syllabus) to expand on the readings for that week.

There are two options for organizing the presentation:

- 1) You can provide a critique of the reading(s) you choose for that week, along with the two additional academic sources.
- 2) You can provide analysis on a theme related to the topic for that week (e.g. the challenge that MPs face in balancing constituency vs. legislative work; the merits, and disadvantages of parliamentary reform). The two additional sources beyond the course readings will be used to expand and contextualize your analysis.

Presentations should be around 20 minutes and will take place at the beginning of each class. The presentation should analyze the week's readings thematically rather than summarize the readings. Students who summarize the readings will not achieve a grade higher than a C-. The presentations will be synchronous, and you will be able to use the features on zoom (e.g. polling, whiteboard) to enhance the presentation. Students are encouraged to make the presentation both informative and engaging, keeping in mind the nature of the online learning environment. An example of informative and engaging online practice is to create discussion questions to ask your peers.

Review essay of four articles

This assignment is to help you to practice writing literature reviews. Choose any four articles in the course and link them through a thematic review. The articles can all be in the same week or from multiple weeks (if you choose articles from multiple weeks they must be linked in some way). At least three of the four articles must be from academic sources (see note on sources). The review should be at least 8 pages. You can use this review essay as a template for the literature review in your final paper. However, you cannot do the review essay on the same topic as your class presentation. The structure of your review should look something like this:

Introduction (one page)

- Why did you pick the four articles? What do they all have in common? Do they address a common theme, or do they utilize a common theory?
- Brief summary of articles (1-2 paragraphs)

Body of paper

- What themes can you draw out of the articles?
- Do the articles take a similar perspective on the issue they address or are there multiple perspectives? Are the articles in conversation with each other?
- Is there anything missing from the articles that you think should have been addressed?

Conclusion

Final paper & Final paper proposal

- **Final Paper Proposal**

All students are required to submit a two-page proposal of their final paper by 20 October. The proposal should include the following: a research question, a brief description of the argument, as well as a preliminary list of sources (at least 5). I will review each proposal and provide feedback by 27 October.

- **Final Paper**

The final paper for this class should be on a topic that interests you. It should analyze a theme or problem related to Canadian legislatures or Canadian legislative studies, rather than summarize a topic. Your paper should include the following: an introduction, a research question, a literature review, some discussion, and a conclusion. I am available during my office hours to provide advice on your research question.

A note on sources

The bibliography for your final paper should be primarily comprised of academic sources. Academic sources are peer-reviewed journal articles. While grey literature (e.g. reports from think tanks) can be useful, it should not form the basis of your bibliography.

There are four excellent journals that produce research on legislatures. These include:

Parliamentary Affairs

Legislative Studies Quarterly

The Journal of Legislative Studies

The Canadian Journal of Political Science

Another useful journal (not peer-reviewed) is the Canadian Parliamentary Review. The Canadian Parliamentary Review is the “industry” publication for legislators and House staff across Canada. It features articles from legislative clerks, elected representatives, as well as researchers on Canadian legislative politics.

If you decide to write about a topic currently in the news, for which there is not a lot of academic research, you still need to refer back to earlier academic work to inform your analysis. For instance, David Docherty’s book *Mr. Smith Goes to Ottawa* was published in 1998 but is still useful to study parliamentary careers today.

Late Assignment Policy

Late assignments will be deducted by 5% per day including weekends.

For PSCI 5006F Only

Peer-review of final paper

Graduate students in the course will be required to peer-review a draft of another graduate student’s final paper. Students will not be required to edit the paper they are assigned to peer-review, rather they will comment on themes and suggest ways to improve the paper (e.g. by suggesting additional sources, highlighting areas that require more clarity). The peer-review will consist of in-text comments of the paper, as well as a one-page summary review. Graduate students will send a draft of their paper to their peer-review partner by 17 November. Both the in-text comments and one-page summary review must be sent via email to both your peer-review partner and the instructor by 24 November.

Peer-review is an important part of academia. While it is important to provide honest feedback, please be supportive of your peer-review partner. The ultimate goal of the peer-review process is to improve your peer-review partner’s paper, rather than provide criticism for criticism’s sake.

Your grade for this assignment will be determined by the quality of the feedback you provide to your peer-review partner. In other words, if your peer-review partner provides negative feedback on your paper, this will not affect your overall grade.

Class Presentation (on your final paper)

The graduate students in the class will be required to present their final papers in the final session of the course. The presentations will last around 15 minutes and will provide an overview of the key arguments in your final paper. This assignment is designed to simulate a conference setting where you present your own ideas to an audience.

Readings

Note: there is no required textbook for this course. All readings will be available through Ares or through a link on CUlearn.

Date	Topic	Readings
15 September	1. Introduction to the Course <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introductions • Review of syllabus • What are the key issues in the study of Canadian legislative politics? • What are the key issues in legislative politics in practice? 	This syllabus! “The Real House Lives: Strengthening the Role of MPs in an Age of Partisanship.” <i>The Samara Centre for Democracy</i> . https://www.samaracanada.com/research/political-leadership/mp-exit-interviews/volume-ii/the-real-house-lives
22 September	2. The House of Commons <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the role of the House of Commons? • What are the challenges of representation in the House of Commons? 	Chapter Two “Approaches to Parliamentary Government” in Franks, C.E.S. <i>The Parliament of Canada</i> . Toronto University Press, 1987. Chapter One “A Democratic Audit of Canadian Legislatures” in Docherty, David. <i>Legislatures</i> . UBC Press, 2005. Malloy, Jonathan. “High Discipline, Low Cohesion? The Uncertain Patterns of Parliamentary Groups.” <i>The Journal of Legislative Studies</i> . Vol. 9, no 4. 2003. pp. 126-129. Blidook, Kelly and Byrne, Matthew. “Constant Campaigning and Political Discourse in the House of Commons.” <i>Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics</i> edited by Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop. 2013. Paranjape, Avnee. “Will the West Block Chamber Change Parliamentary Culture?” <i>Policy Options</i> . 2019. https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/may-2019/will-west-block-chamber-change-parliamentary-culture/ .
29 September	3. Constituency Representation in Canadian Politics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the nature of constituency 	“Beyond the BBQ: Reimagining Constituency Work for Local Democratic Engagement.” <i>The Samara Centre for Democracy</i> . https://www.samaracanada.com/research/political-leadership/mp-exit-interviews/volume-ii/beyond-the-barbecue

	<p>representation in Canada?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do legislators balance constituency and parliamentary work? 	<p>Chapters One and Five. Blidook, Kelly, Koop, Royce and Bastedo, Heather. <i>Representation in Action: MPs in the Constituencies</i>. UBC Press, 2018.</p> <p>Koop, Royce, Blidook, Kelly and Fuga, Lesley Anne. "Has the COVID-19 Pandemic Affected MPs' Representational Activities?" <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i>. Advance Online Publication: https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1017/S0008423920000566.</p> <p>Bird, Karen. "'We are Not an Ethnic Vote!' Representational Perspectives of Minorities in the Greater Toronto Area" <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i>. Vol. 48, no. 2. pp. 249-279.</p>
6 October	<p>4. Accountability and Scrutiny in the House of Commons</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the House of Commons effective in keeping the government accountable? • What role do Officers of Parliament play? • What is the role of committees? 	<p>Chapter Four "Primus: there is no longer inter or pares Savoie, Donald." <i>Governing from the Centre: the concentration of Power in Canadian Politics</i>. Toronto University Press, 1999.</p> <p>Stilborn, Jack. "The Investigative Study Role of Canada's House Committees: Expectations Met?" <i>The Journal of Legislative Studies</i>. Vol. 20 no.3, 2014 pp. 342-359.</p> <p>Bergman, Gwyneth. and MacFarlane, Emmett. "The Impact and Role of Officers of Parliament: Canada's Conflict of Interest and Ethics Commissioner." <i>Canadian Public Administration</i>. Vol. 61 no. 1. 2018. pp. 5-25.</p> <p>Wilson, Paul. R. "Harper and the House of Commons: An Evidence-Based Assessment" <i>The Harper Factor: Assessing a Prime Minister's Legacy</i> edited by Jennifer Ditchburn and Graham Fox, 2016. pp. 2-43.</p>
13 October	<p>5. The Senate</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the role of the Senate? • Does the Senate provide an effective check on the House? 	<p>Lawlor, Andrea and Crandall, Erin. "Committee performance in the Senate of Canada: some sobering analysis for the chamber of 'sober second thought'", <i>Commonwealth & Comparative Politics</i>. Vol. 51 No.4. 2013. pp. 549-568,</p> <p>Docherty, David. C. (2002) "The Canadian Senate: Chamber of Sober Reflection or Loony Cousin Best Not Talked About", <i>Journal of Legislative Studies</i>. Vol. 8, no.3 2002. pp.27-48.</p>

		<p>Macfarlane, Emmett. "The Renewed Canadian Senate: Organizational Challenges and Relations with the Government." <i>IRPP</i>. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy. https://irpp.org/research-studies/renewed-canadian-senate-organizational-challenges-relations-government/</p> <p>Mullen, Stephanie. "'Way Past that Era Now?' Women in the Canadian Senate." <i>Stalled: The Representation of Women in Canadian Governments</i>, edited by Jane Arscott, Manon Tremblay, and Linda Trimble, 2013. pp. 273-289.</p>
20 October	<p>6. Provincial and Territorial Legislatures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the particular issues in Provincial Legislatures? 	<p>Thomas, Paul and Lewis, J.P. "Executive creep in Canadian Provincial Legislatures." <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i>. Vol. 52, no.2, 2018. pp. 363-383.</p> <p>White, Graham. "Traditional aboriginal values in a Westminster parliament: The legislative assembly of Nunavut." <i>The Journal of Legislative Studies</i>. Vol. 12, no. 1. 2006. pp: 8-31</p> <p>White, Graham. "In the Presence of Northern Aboriginal Women?" <i>Stalled: The Representation of Women in Canadian Governments</i>, edited by Jane Arscott, Manon Tremblay, and Linda Trimble, 2013. pp.233-252.</p> <p>Raney, Tracey. "The Ontario Legislature: Living Up to Its Democratic Potential amidst Political Change?" <i>The Politics of Ontario</i>. Edited by Jonathan Malloy and Cheryl Collier. 2016. pp. 81-99.</p>
27 October	Fall Reading Break – Relax and Enjoy!	
3 November	<p>7. Does Parliament Represent the People? Part One:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why don't we have a diverse Parliament? 	<p>Tossutti, Livianna and Hilderman, Jane. "Representing Canadians: Is the 41st Parliament Still a Vertical Mosaic?" <i>Canadian Democracy from the Ground Up: Perceptions and Performance</i>, edited by Elisabeth Gidengil and Heather Bastedo, 2014. pp. 171-193.</p> <p>Tolley, Erin. "Who you know: Local party presidents and minority candidate emergence." <i>Electoral Studies</i>. Vol. 58. pp. 70-79.</p> <p>O'Neill, Brenda. "Unpacking Gender's Role in Political Representation in Canada." <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i>. 2015. Vol. 38, no. 2</p>

		<p>http://www.revparl.ca/english/issue.asp?param=223&art=1643</p> <p>Episode One “The Problem” - No Second Chances Podcast. https://soundcloud.com/canada2020/part-one-the-problem</p> <p>Everitt, Joanna. “The Complicated Web of Stereotypes LGBTQ Candidates Face.” <i>Policy Options</i>. 2019. https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/march-2019/the-complicated-web-of-stereotypes-lgbtq-candidates-face/</p>
<p>10 November</p>	<p>8. Does Parliament Represent the People? Part Two:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the experiences of underrepresented groups in Parliament? • How does a lack of diversity affect representation? 	<p>Collier, Cheryl and Raney, Tracey. “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>. Vol. 51, no. 4. 2018, pp. 795-815</p> <p>Langford, Brynne, Levesque, Mario. “Symbolic and Substantive Relevance of Politicians with Disabilities: A British Columbia Case Study.” <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i>. 2017. Vol.40. no. 2. p.8-17.</p> <p>Arneil, Barbara. “Lactating Mothers in Parliament.” <i>Mothers and Others: The Role of Parenthood in Politics</i>. Edited by Melanie Thomas and Amanda Bittner. UBC Press, 2017.</p> <p>Morden, Michael. “Parliament and the Representation of Indigenous Issues: The Canadian Case.” <i>Parliamentary Affairs</i>, 2018, Vol. 71, no.1. pp.124-143</p> <p>“Racialized Women in Politics.” IRPP Podcast. https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/march-2019/racialized-women-in-politics/.</p>
<p>17 November</p>	<p>9. The Work World of MPs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Delving deeper into the institutional culture of Parliament 	<p>Chapter Four – “Arriving in Ottawa: New Politicians, Old Rules.” Docherty, David C. <i>Mr. Smith Goes to Ottawa: Life in the House of Commons</i>. UBC Press, 1997.</p> <p>Norton, Phillip. “Power behind the Scenes: The Importance of Informal Space in Legislatures.” <i>Parliamentary Affairs</i>, vol. 72, Apr. 2018, pp. 245-66.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A look at parliamentary careers 	<p>Snagovsky, Feodor, and Kerby, Matthew. "Political Staff and the Gendered Division of Political Labour in Canada." <i>Parliamentary Affairs</i>, vol. 72, no. 3, Aug. 2018, pp. 616–37.</p> <p>Jowhari, Majid. "What it's like to be a Rookie MP in a Place that Fetishizes Exhaustion." <i>The Hill Times</i>. https://www.hilltimes.com/2018/10/03/like-rookie-mp-workplace-fetishizes-exhaustion/171079</p>
24 November	<p>10. Legislatures in Crisis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The COVID-19 pandemic and Parliament • Minority Parliaments • Prorogation 	<p>Hyson, Stewart and Desserud, Don. "New Brunswick's 'Hung Legislature' of 2018: Completing the Trilogy of Legislative Oddities." <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i>. Vol. 42, no. 1.</p> <p>Malloy, Jonathan. "The Adaptation of Parliament's Multiple Roles to COVID-19." <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i>. <i>Science</i>. Advance Online Publication. https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1017/S0008423920000426</p> <p>Chapter One in Aucoin, Peter, Jarvis, Mark, Turnbull, Lori. <i>Democratizing the constitution: Reforming Responsible Government</i>. Emond Montgomery Publications, 2012.</p> <p>Thomas, Paul. Measuring the Effectiveness of a Minority Parliament. <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i>. 30 (1). http://www.revparl.ca/english/issue.asp?param=180&art=1229</p>
1 December	<p>11. Parliamentary Reform</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are proposals for parliamentary reform realistic? 	<p>Marland, Alex. "The Politics of Seat Reductions in Canadian Legislative Assemblies." <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i>. Vol. 42, no.3.</p> <p>Chapter Six in in Aucoin, Peter, Jarvis, Mark, Turnbull, Lori. <i>Democratizing the constitution: Reforming Responsible Government</i>. Emond Montgomery Publications, 2012.</p> <p>Stanton, Bruce. "A Parallel Chamber for Canada's House of Commons?" <i>Canadian Parliamentary Review</i>. 41 (2). http://www.revparlcan.ca/en/vol-41-no2-a-parallel-chamber-for-canadas-house-of-commons/</p>

		"The Reform Act." <i>The Samara Centre for Democracy</i> . https://www.samaracanada.com/research/political-leadership/the-reform-act
8 December	12. The future of legislative studies, graduate student presentations & course wrap-up	No readings this week, just be present to support your peers who are giving presentations.

Accommodations during COVID

Due to COVID, instructors will not request or require a doctor's note when students seek accommodation for missed term work or exams due to illness. Instead, students will be asked to complete the self-declaration form available here: https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19_Self-declaration.pdf

Academic Accommodations

Pregnancy

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

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.

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

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.

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).