

PSCI 4006A / 5006S
Legislatures and Representation in Canada
Thur. 14:35-17:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Professor: Jonathan Malloy
Office: Loeb B696
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This course studies legislatures as vehicles of political representation in Canada. We ask what roles legislatures play and whether they perform them well, looking at them in the context of the Canadian political system and other modes of democratic representation and policy-making.

Texts: Required

Peter Russell, *Two Cheers for Minority Government* (Emond Montgomery, 2008) (@ \$20)

Sylvia Bashevkin, *Women, Power, Politics: The Hidden Story of Canada's Unfinished Democracy* (Oxford University Press: 2009) (@\$20)

Peter Russell and Lorne Sossin, ed., *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis* (University of Toronto Press, 2009) (@\$25)

Online Readings and Reserve Readings – I have tried to use as many online readings as possible. Some readings are only available in paper, and are on library reserve or can be borrowed from me.

Books have been ordered through Haven Books, 43 Seneca Street.

Grading:

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|--------------------|-----|------------------------|
| First Book Review | 15% | Due October 8 |
| Second Book Review | 15% | Due October 29 |
| Research Paper | 30% | Due November 19 |
| Presentation | 20% | |
| Participation | 20% | |

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

Book Reviews

Write critical reviews of two books – first, *Two Cheers for Minority Government* by Peter Russell and second, *Women, Power and Politics* by Sylvia Bashevkin. The reviews should be at least 1500

words long and will:

- Briefly summarize the main argument of the book (no more than a third of the review)
- Analyze the arguments and give your own reactions to them
- Compare and contrast the arguments with the course readings covered so far

For the Russell book, also:

- Say whether Russell's support of minority government and his criticism of "false majorities" is right or wrong, and why
- Discuss whether developments since early 2008 might change Russell's views in any way

For the Bashevkin book, also:

- Say whether she is right or wrong to argue that "women plus power equals discomfort"
- Discuss whether she overstates the issue of "media framing" of women's appearances and families and its significance

Reviews are due at the beginning of class on **October 8** and **October 29**. Extensions until November 5 for the second review only will be considered. E-mail submissions will not be accepted. If necessary, reviews can be left in the political science essay drop box outside Loeb B640, but the drop box is only opened at 4 PM every day, papers received after 4pm will be dated for the following day. Late reviews will lose one-third of a letter grade every day, each "day" starting at 11:35 AM (e.g., a review received at 4 PM on Thursday October 8 will lose one-third of a letter grade).

As per Early Feedback guidelines, grades for the First Book Review will be available by Nov 6th.

The class that day will be devoted to discussing the book under review.

Research Paper

Choose a topic and write a research paper exploring an aspect of Canadian legislatures.

By **Tuesday November 10**, all students must e-mail a one-page summary of their topic and ideas to the instructor

On **Thursday, November 12**, all students will give a short presentation to the class about their topic

- The paper must argue a clear thesis, not simply describe some aspect of legislatures.
- The paper must be primarily about legislatures and representation, not just "politics."
- It can look at federal, provincial or territorial legislatures. Non-Canadian comparisons are also welcome as long as there is significant Canadian content.
- Undergraduate papers should be 3000-4000 words long.
- Graduate papers should be 4000-6000 words long and utilize some primary sources, such as Hansard, parliamentary and legislator websites and other documents

- Any standard citation format (MLA, APA, footnotes, endnotes) may be used. Be particularly careful to give full Internet citations. For further guidance see: <http://www.library.carleton.ca/howdol/citing.html>

Papers are due on **Thursday November 19** at the beginning of class, 2:35 PM. E-mail submissions will not be accepted; paper copies are required. If necessary, papers can be left in the political science essay drop box outside Loeb B640, but the drop box is only opened at 4 PM every day, papers dropped off after 4pm will be stamp dated for the following day. Late papers will lose one-third of a letter grade every day, including weekends, as of 4 PM (e.g., a paper received at 4 PM on Fri Nov 20 will lose one-third of a letter grade; the next pickup time is Monday Nov 23 and the penalty will be a full letter grade).

Presentations

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

Before the presentation, presenters should submit a written text, slide deck or similar summaries of their presentation to the instructor, primarily for his own records.

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

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

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

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

Participation

Participation grades are awarded based on both **quantity** and **quality** of participation throughout the term. Students are expected to be familiar with the readings and contribute regularly in class.

Schedule

Sept 10 Introduction

Sept 17 Parliament and Parliamentary Reform

C. E.S. Franks, Chapter 1, "Parliament in an Age of Reform" in Franks, *The Parliament of*

Canada (University of Toronto Press: 1987)

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

Sept 24 **Government and Citizens**

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

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

Oct 1 **MPs and Parties**

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

Barry Campbell, "Politics as Unusual: A Legend is Born" *The Walrus*, March 2008 and "Darkness Visible: The continuing saga of Barry Campbell, MP" April 2008

<http://www.walrusmagazine.com/articles/2008.03-politics-canada-election-barry-campbell/>
<http://www.walrusmagazine.com/articles/2008.04-politics-canada-election-ottawa-backbench-mp-barry-campbell/>

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

Jonathan Dignan, "(Less) Male, (Even Less) Educated, (Even Less) Experienced & (Even more) White" (Public Policy Forum, 2009)

<http://www.ppforum.com/publications/lessmale-even-less-educated-even-less-experienced-%0Beven-more-white>

Oct 8 **First Reviews Due and Discussion of *Two Cheers for Minority Government***

Oct 15 **The 2008 Crisis**

All Readings taken from Russell and Sossin, eds., Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis

Michael Valpy, "The 'Crisis': A Narrative"

Gary Levy, "A Crisis Not Made in a Day"

C.E.S. Franks, "To Prorogue or Not to Prorogue: Did the Governor-General Make the Right Decision?"

Andrew Heard, "The Governor-General's Suspension of Parliament: Duty Done or A Perilous Precedent?"

Graham White, "The Coalition That Wasn't: A Lost Opportunity"

David Cameron, "Ultimately The System Worked"

Oct 22 The Senate

David E Smith ['Why Redesign the Senate? The Goals of Reformers Since 1867'](http://democracy.ubc.ca/fileadmin/template/main/images/departments/CSDI/conferences/DavidSmithUBCSenateConferencePaper.pdf)
<http://democracy.ubc.ca/fileadmin/template/main/images/departments/CSDI/conferences/DavidSmithUBCSenateConferencePaper.pdf>

Graham White ['A Powerful Canadian Senate: Implications for Parliamentary Government'](http://democracy.ubc.ca/fileadmin/template/main/images/departments/CSDI/conferences/GrahamWhiteUBCSenateConferencePaper.pdf)
<http://democracy.ubc.ca/fileadmin/template/main/images/departments/CSDI/conferences/GrahamWhiteUBCSenateConferencePaper.pdf>

"Referendum on the Future of the Senate: A Round Table" *Canadian Parliamentary Review* (Spring 2008) http://www2.parl.gc.ca/Sites/LOP/Infoparl/31/1/31n1_08e_roundtble.pdf

Brian O'Neal, James R. Robertson, Sebastian Spano, "*British House of Lords Reform: Recent Developments*" Library of Parliament
(<http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/prb0840-e.htm>)

**Oct 29 Technology and Parliament
 Second Review Due (see note above)**

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

Ross A. Ferguson, "Parliament 2.0— Harnessing Participatory Media to Counter Disengagement" *Canadian Parliamentary Review* (August 2008)
http://www2.parl.gc.ca/Sites/LOP/Infoparl/31/3/31n3_08e_Ferguson.pdf

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

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

Nov 5 Discussion of *Women, Power, Politics*

Additional Reading:

Jerome H. Black, "Ethnoracial Minorities in the 38th Parliament: Patterns of Change and Continuity" in Caroline Andrew et al, eds., *Electing A Diverse Canada: The Representation of*

Immigrants, Minorities and Women (UBC Press: 2008)

- Nov 12** **Presentation of Essay Topics**
- Nov 19** **TBA - Essays Due**
- Nov 26** **Territorial and Provincial Legislatures**

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

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

Other readings TBA

- Dec 3** **The Future - Essays Returned**

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 16, 2009 for December examinations** and **March 12, 2010 for April examinations**.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

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

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day’s date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

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

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

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events,

debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.