

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

**POL382H1S: Topics in Canadian Politics -  
Democracy and Representation in Canada**

Summer 2019

Monday and Wednesday, 4 - 6 p.m.

Sidney Smith Hall, Room 2111

**Instructors**

Erica Rayment ([erica.rayment@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:erica.rayment@mail.utoronto.ca))

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**Office hours**

Erica Rayment - Sidney Smith Hall, Room 3007, 6 - 7 pm on July 8, July 17, July 22, August 7, and August 12, or by appointment.

Jason VandenBeukel - Sidney Smith Hall, Room 3058, 3 - 4 pm on July 3, July 10, July 15, July 24, July 29, and July 31, or by appointment.

**Course Description**

The goal of this course is to familiarize students with the concept and practice of democratic representation as viewed through the lens of Canadian parliamentary institutions. Part 1 of the course will consist of a discussion of the purpose of representation in a democratic society and the major theories and typologies of representation from Burke through Pitkin to today.

In Part 2, the course moves to a discussion of the major institutions of representative government in Canada, including the electoral system, political parties, the House of Commons, the Senate, and provincial and territorial legislatures. Together, Parts 1 and 2 of the course will demonstrate to students how competing concepts of representation are manifested in Canada and how they are reflected in our representative political institutions.

Part 3 of the course will focus on representation in practice by examining how the representation - or lack thereof - of women, indigenous people, and racialized groups has impacted these groups and the way in which institutions have or can be adapted to reflect these groups' concerns. At the end of the course, we would expect students to have a thorough understanding of the way in which each of the institutions reviewed in the course functions, particularly as regards each institution's ability to represent Canadians.

**Required Texts**

There is no textbook for this course. All required and optional readings will be made available through the course Quercus page. It is essential that you come to class having done the readings and prepared to discuss them, as there will be interactive components in the lecture that will impact your participation mark. The lectures will draw directly on the assigned readings.

**Evaluation:**

Quiz (covering Part 1)	10% ( <i>July 15</i> )
Research Essay (2500 words)	40% ( <i>due August 7</i> )
Participation	10%
Discussion Posts	10%
Final Exam	30% ( <i>held in the exam period</i> )

**Overview of Course Assignments***Quiz*

To ensure students have a solid grasp on the core foundational concepts that will be central to the remainder of the course, the quiz will cover the concepts and readings included in the first section of the course outline. Students will have one hour to answer three (3) short-answer questions from a selection of four (4) questions. The quiz will take place at the beginning of class on July 15.

*Research Essay*

The research essay (2500 words) builds on the learning done over the course of the semester and provides an opportunity to examine an aspect of representation in Canadian parliamentary institutions in greater depth.

Essays must be submitted through Turnitin via the course Quercus site by 4 p.m. on August 7 in order to avoid late penalties. A paper copy must also be handed in at the beginning of class on August 7. Include a title page with your name, the date, the course number, and essay title. We recommend that you keep all draft work until the assignment has been marked and returned.

The topic for the essay is as follows:

Choose ONE representative Canadian political institution (the electoral system, political parties, the House of Commons, Cabinet, or the Senate) and discuss the range of modifications/reforms that have been proposed to address some of its representational shortcomings. How, and how well does the institution represent Canadians and how should it be modified to improve its representative function?

Students are expected to develop a clear argument in response to the essay prompt. A summary of this argument - the thesis statement - should appear in the first paragraph of the essay. The essay must include the following components:

- An evaluation of the type and quality of representation that currently occurs in the institution you have selected, including an identification of its strengths and shortcomings, supported with empirical evidence.
- A clear articulation of the range of modifications that have been proposed, and the criteria you use to assess the effectiveness and appropriateness of the policy solutions.
- An evaluation of the potential impacts (both positive and negative) of the modification(s) you would propose.
- An articulation of why this institution/modification is important.

### *Participation:*

Students are expected to attend every class and participate actively in a variety of in-class activities, including class discussions and small group work. Active participation includes listening to class discussion, sharing your insights and questions, making connections, and drawing others into discussion. Students should continuously reflect on their participation (e.g. Did you initiate discussion? Ask a question? Offer information, an opinion, or reaction? Provide an example? Ask for clarification? Etc.).

The instructors will observe and note these aspects of class participation and assign grades accordingly. If you are unable to participate in class discussions, you must make arrangements with the course instructors during office hours.

### *Discussion Posts:*

To help students think about how the concepts covered in class material relate to practical issues in Canadian politics, students are encouraged to use the Discussion function on the course Quercus site to share news stories, reports, data, etc. related to the course themes.

Five (5) times in the semester, students are required to post any of the following: a story from a reputable newspaper (including online newspaper); a recently released government or non-governmental organization/international organization report; a newsworthy video; or relevant social media thread. Posts should be accompanied by a very brief (1-2 sentences) description of how the posted item relates to the course themes.

Each posting earns one (1) point. Each description of how the posting relates to the course themes earns one (1) point. Irrelevant posts or those from disreputable websites and sources earn 0. The University of Toronto library services has compiled resources that can help you to evaluate news sources: <https://onesearch.library.utoronto.ca/faq/how-do-i-spot-fake-news>

**Students may submit a maximum of two discussion posts for evaluation in a given week.**

**All discussion posts must be submitted by Tuesday, August 13.** Plan the timing of your posts accordingly.

### *Final Exam*

To ensure that students have a strong critical understanding of the course material and the connections between topics, the final exam will cover all the material covered in the course. Students will have two hours to answer two (2) essay questions. Students will select from a total of four (4) questions. Each essay is expected to advance a clear argument that responds to the question and must refer to the course readings.

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## Course and Lecture Schedule

### **Part 1: The Concept of Representation**

#### **Lecture 1- Introduction/ Theories of Representation I- Wednesday, July 3**

- a. What is representation and why does it matter? // Major types of representation

Burke, Edmund. 1999. "Speech to the electors of Bristol" in *Select works of Edmund Burke*, vol. 4 (Miscellaneous Writings). Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.  
<http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/659>.

Pitkin, Hanna. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, chs. 1, 10.

Mill, John Stuart. 1861. *Considerations on Representative Government*. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn, ch. 5.

#### **Lecture 2 - Theories of Representation II- Monday, July 8**

- a. What constitutes "good" representation? // Why does it matter to democracy?

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *The Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 628-657.

Mansbridge, Jane. 2003. "Rethinking representation." *American Political Science Review* 97 (4): 515-528.

Bird, Karen, Thomas Saalfeld, and Andreas M. Wust. 2011. "Ethnic diversity, political participation, and representation: a theoretical framework." In Karen Bird, Thomas Saalfeld, and Andreas M. Wust, eds., *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties, and Parliaments in Liberal Democracies*. New York: Routledge, pp. 1-22.

### **Part 2: Representative Institutions in Canada**

#### **Lecture 3 - Electoral Systems- Wednesday, July 10**

- a. How do different electoral systems facilitate and constrain different types of representation? // What types of representation are prioritized by the Canadian electoral system?

Pilon, Dennis. 2017. "Party Politics and Voting Systems in Canada," in Alain-G. Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay, eds. *Canadian Parties in Transition, Fourth Edition*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 217-249.

Cairns, Alan. 1968. "The Electoral System and the Party System, 1921-1965." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1: 1, pp. 55-80.

Golder, Sona, Laura Stephenson, Karine Van der Straeten, Andre Blais, Damien Bol, Philipp Harfst, and Jean-Francois Laslier. 2017. "Votes for Women: Electoral Systems and Support for Female Candidates." *Politics and Gender* 13, pp. 107-131.

*Optional:*

Farrell, David. 2011. *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, chs. 2 and 5.

#### **Lecture 4 - Quiz/ Political Parties- Monday, July 15**

- a. Quiz- first hour of the course
- b. What representational role do political parties play? // How do they bridge the gap between state and society?

Cross, William. 2010. "Parties" in William Cross, ed. *Auditing Canadian Democracy*. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 143-167.

Cross, William, and Lisa Young. 2013. "Candidate Recruitment in Canada: The Role of Parties," in Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner, eds., *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Democracy*. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 24-45.

Gidengil, Elisabeth, Neil Nevitte, Andre Blais, Joanna Everitt, and Patrick Fournier. 2012. *Dominance and Decline: Making Sense of Recent Canadian Elections*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, ch. 2.

*Optional:*

Cochrane, Christopher. 2010. "Left/Right Ideology and Canadian Politics." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43 (3): pp. 583-605.

Everitt, Joanna. 2017. "Where Are the Women in Canadian Political Parties?" in Alain G. Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay, eds. *Canadian Parties in Transition, Fourth Edition*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 296-315.

#### **Lecture 5 - The House of Commons I- Wednesday, July 17**

- a. What are the representative functions of the House of Commons? // What kinds of representation are facilitated and constrained within the House of Commons?

Franks, C. E. S. 1987. *The Parliament of Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, chs. 1-2.

Docherty, David. 2010. "Legislatures" in William Cross, ed. *Auditing Canadian Democracy*. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 65-92.

Morden, Michael, Jane Hilderman, and Kendall Anderson. 2018. "Flip the script: Reclaiming the legislature to reinstate representative democracy." Toronto: The Samara Centre for Democracy. Access at <https://www.samaracanada.com/docs/default->

source/reports/flip-the-script---by-the-samara-centre-for-democracy.pdf?sfvrsn=2d09002f\_2.

## **Lecture 6 - The House of Commons II- Monday, July 22**

- a. What are the representative functions of an MP? // What is the impact of party discipline on MPs' representational role?

Docherty, David. 1997. *Mr. Smith goes to Ottawa: Life in the House of Commons*. Vancouver: UBC Press, ch. 1.

Blidook, Kelly. 2010. "Exploring the role of 'legislators' in Canada: Do Members of Parliament Influence Policy?" *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 19(1): 32-56.

Soroka, Stuart, Erin Penner and Kelly Blidook (2009). "Constituency Influence in Parliament." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 42(3).

Malloy, Jonathan. 2003. "High discipline, low cohesion? The uncertain patterns of Canadian parliamentary parties." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 9 (4): 116-29.

### *Optional:*

Russell, Meg, Daniel Gover, Kristina Wollter and Meghan Benton. 2017. "Actors, motivations and outcomes in the legislative process: Policy influence at Westminster." *Government and Opposition* 52 (1): 1-27.

Eagles, Munroe. 2013. "Constituency and personal determinants of MPs' positions on social conservative issues in the 37th and 38th Canadian Parliaments" in Amanda Bittner and Royce Koop, eds. *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics*.

Loewen, Peter John, Royce Koop, Jaime Settle, and James H. Fowler. 2014. "A natural experiment in proposal power and electoral success." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (1): 189-96.

## **Lecture 7 - Cabinets and the Executive/ Guest Speaker- Wednesday, July 24**

- a. What are the representative functions of cabinets?

White, Graham. 2012. "The 'Centre' of the Democratic Deficit: Power and Influence in Canadian Political Executives." In Patti Tamara Lenard and Richard Simeon, eds., *Imperfect Democracies: The Democratic Deficit in Canada and the United States*. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 226-247.

Savoie, Donald J. 1999. "The rise of court government in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 32(4): 635-664.

Malloy, Jonathan. 2004. "The Executive and Parliament in Canada." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 10 (2-3): 206-217.

*Optional:*

Tremblay, Manon and Daniel Stockemer. 2013. "Women's ministerial careers in cabinet, 1921-2010: A look at socio-economic demographic traits and career experiences."

*Canadian Public Administration* 56(4): 523-41.

## **Lecture 8 - The Senate- Monday, July 29**

- a. What kind of representation is the Senate meant to provide? // How does the Senate's institutional design reflect this?

Smith, David E. 2003. *The Canadian Senate in Bicameral Perspective*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, chs. 1, 4.

Griffith, Andrew. 2017. "Diversity in the Senate." *Policy Options* (14 February), accessed at <http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/february-2017/diversity-in-the-senate/>.

Thomas, Paul G. 2019. "Moving Toward a New and Improved Senate." *IRPP Study*, No. 69 (March).

*Optional:*

Mullen, Stephanie, Manon Tremblay, and Linda Trimble. 2013. "'Way Past That Era Now?' Women in the Canadian Senate." In Linda Trimble, Jane Arcsott, and Manon Tremblay, eds., *Stalled: The representation of women in Canadian governments*. Vancouver: UBC Press, ch. 14.

## **Part 3- Representation in Practice**

### **Lecture 9 - The Representation of Indigenous Peoples/ Research Essay Due- Wednesday, July 31**

- a. How are Indigenous people represented in Canadian federal institutions? // How/ should their representation in federal institutions be increased?

Turner, Dale. 2006. *This Is Not a Peace Pipe: Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, ch. 1.

Papillon, Martin. 2014. "The Rise (and Fall?) of Aboriginal Self-Government," in James Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon, eds., *Canadian Politics, Sixth Edition*. Toronto: UTP, pp. 113-131.

Durie, Mason. 2003. "Māori in Governance: Parliament, Statutory Recognition, and the State Sector," in *Reforming Parliamentary Democracy*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 128-149.

Morden, Michael D. 2018. "Parliament and the Representation of Indigenous Issues: The

Canadian Case.” *Parliamentary Affairs* 71: pp. 124-143.

*Optional:*

White, Graham. 1991. “Westminster in the Arctic: The Adaptation of British Parliamentarism in the Northwest Territories.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 24(3): 499-523. (Review)

**Lecture 10 - The Representation of Women- Wednesday, August 7**

a. How/how well are women represented in Canadian politics?

Trimble, Linda, Jane Arscott, and Manon Tremblay. 2013. *Stalled: The representation of women in Canadian governments*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Introduction.

Thomas, Melanee. 2013. “Barriers to women’s political participation in Canada.” *UNB Law Journal* 64 (1): 218-232.

Young, Lisa. 2003. “Can Feminists Transform Party Politics? The Canadian Experience.” In Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble, eds., *Women and Electoral Politics in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, pp. 76-91.

Tremblay, Manon. 1998. “Do female MPs substantively represent women? A study of legislative behaviour in Canada’s 35<sup>th</sup> Parliament.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 31(3): 435-465.

*Optional:*

Bashevkin, Sylvia. 2019. *Doing Politics Differently? Women Premiers in Canada’s Provinces and Territories*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Chapter 12.

Young, Lisa. 2013. “Slow to Change: Women in the House of Commons,” in Linda Trimble, Jane Arscott, and Manon Tremblay eds., *Stalled: The representation of women in Canadian governments*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Chapter 13.

**Lecture 11 - The Representation of Racialized Minorities/ Test Review- Monday, August 12**

Black, Jerome and Lynda Erickson. 2006. “Ethno-racial origins of candidates and electoral performance.” *Party Politics* 12 (4): 541-61.

Besco, Randy. 2015. “Rainbow coalitions or inter-minority conflict: Racial affinity and diverse minority voters.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 48 (2): 305-28.

Tolley, Erin. 2019. “Who you know: Local party presidents and minority candidate emergence.” *Electoral Studies* 58: 70-79.

Marwah, Inder, Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, and Stephen White. 2013. “Immigration, Citizenship, and Canada’s new Conservative Party,” in David Rayside and James Farney, eds., *Conservatism in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 95-119.

*Optional:*

Tolley, Erin. "The electoral system and parliament's diversity problem: In defense of the wrongfully accused," in Andrew Potter, Daniel Weinstock, and Peter Loewen, eds.

*Should we change how we vote?* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 111-25.

Wagner, Angelia and Elisabeth Gidengil. 2017. "Addressing representational deficits in Canadian legislatures," in Andrew Potter, Daniel Weinstock, and Peter Loewen, eds.

*Should we change how we vote?* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 139-52.

Harell, Allison. 2013. "Revisiting the 'ethnic' vote: Liberal allegiance and vote choice among racialized minorities," in Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner eds., *Parties, elections and the future of Canadian politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

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## **Course Policies**

### **Late Assignments:**

For any written work submitted after the deadline without valid documentation, there will be a late penalty of 5% per day, (including weekends). Late work will be accepted up to one week (7 days) after the deadline. After this time, late work will not be accepted and will receive a grade of 0.

### **Extensions:**

Extensions for written work will only be granted in exceptional circumstances, at the discretion of the instructors, and with valid written documentation. These exceptional circumstances are limited to illness or severe personal or family crises. Extensions will only be granted prior to the due date of an assignment. If you require an extension, please notify the instructors as soon as possible.

### **Missed Tests and Exams:**

The final exam will be held during the exam period, which is from August 15 to 22. The date and time of the exam for this course will be posted on the University of Toronto website as soon as it is available. Do not make plans that might conflict with the exam until the exam schedule has been announced. A makeup exam or test will *only* be provided in cases of a medically documented emergency.

### **Grade Appeals:**

If you wish to appeal a grade, you must provide a half-page written explanation outlining why you think the grade should be reconsidered. This explanation should be submitted by email to the instructors, along with a copy of the graded assignment, within two weeks of receiving the graded assignment. There is a 48 hour "cooling off" period after getting a graded assignment back in which you may not submit an appeal. Decisions on grade appeals are ultimately at the discretion of the instructors. Note that after reviewing an assignment, the instructors reserve the right to adjust a grade either up or down.

**Turnitin:**

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

**Accessibility Needs:**

The University of Toronto is committed to supporting student accessibility. If you require accommodations or have any accessibility concerns, please contact accessibility services as soon as possible (by email: [accessibility.services@utoronto.ca](mailto:accessibility.services@utoronto.ca), by telephone: 416-978-8060, or online: <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>).

**Course Communications:**

Office hours are usually the best way to get an effective response on an issue from the instructors. We are also available before/after class and by appointment. If you are contacting us by email, please be sure to use your UTOR email address and put POL382 in the subject line. We will try to respond to emails within 48 hours (keep in mind that this is a goal, not a promise!).

**Statement on Academic Integrity:**

Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and achieving course goals. The assignments in this course are designed to give you an opportunity to learn important skills and concepts over the course of your degree by making honest attempts through your own thinking, writing, and hard work.

Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including:
  - working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work;
  - having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing".
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

On tests and exams:

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else's answers
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the Code. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript.

If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, feel free to reach out to the course instructors for additional information. The U of T Writing Website (<https://writing.utoronto.ca>) is also a useful resource, as is this document on how to avoid plagiarism: <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize/>.