

## Political Representation in Canada Course: POLI 3236 Term: Fall 2021 Tuesday and Thursday 2:35-3:55pm LSC-COMMON AREA C206

**Instructor:** Dr. Scott Pruysers

Office: Henry Hicks Building, Room 360

**Office Hours:** Monday and Wednesday at 10:00am – 11:00am

Email: scott.pruysers@dal.ca

On weekdays, I will generally respond to your emails within 24 hours. Substantive questions are best discussed in person during office hours. Feel free to email me or to drop by during office hours to see me with any questions you may have or simply to chat about your progress in the course. This time is for you so I hope that you will use it. I look forward to getting to know you better. If these times do not work for you (or you'd rather speak online), please get in touch and we can arrange an alternative time to meet or see Brightspace for a virtual office hours option.

#### **Course Description**

This course explores questions of political representation in contemporary Canadian politics. While the overwhelming focus will be on the Canadian case, we will often draw upon examples and readings from other countries/institutional contexts to highlight important differences and similarities. The organization of the course is divided into three parts. First – where do our political representatives come from? During this section of the course we will explore topics related to political ambition, candidate recruitment, nomination, and ultimately election. Second – how representative are our political institutions? Here we will look at the descriptive outcomes of elections in Canada (federally and provincially) to consider the extent to which our democratically elected bodies are reflective of broader society. Are our legislatures and cabinets becoming more inclusive over time? Have we 'plateaued' in recent years? Third, and finally – we will end the course by exploring what our representatives do. In other words, how well do our representatives represent the diversity of interests that can be found across the country? Here we will consider the work of Members of Parliament including policy development (substantive representation) and constituency service (geographic representation).

#### **Required Texts**

There is no assigned textbook for this class. Instead, we will draw on a variety of readings – journal articles, book chapters, popular media accounts, and documentaries. See course schedule for assigned readings each week. These will be posted on Brightspace as either a pdf (in the case of book chapters) or hyperlinks (in the case of journal articles).

#### **Course Learning Outcomes**

- 1. Provide students with an introduction to, and deeper understanding of, the following:
  - a. Different conceptions of representation (i.e., difference between descriptive and substantive representation).



- b. The 'political pipeline' that is the process and machinery a prospective candidate must go through before being elected (ambition, recruitment, nomination, etc.).
- c. The challenges or obstacles associated with increasing the inclusivity
- 2. Assist students in rooting their arguments in the relevant theoretical and empirical literature and expose them to the fundamental arguments of scholars in the field.
- 3. Help students develop and practice critical reading and writing skills.

#### **Course Assignments**

Requirement/Assessment	Date	Weighting
Reflection	October 18	15%
Midterm	October 25 & 27	20%
Essay	December 1	30%
Essay Poster	November 29 & December 1	10%
Final Exam	During exam period	25%

## Reflection/Response Paper (15%)

In week five of the course we will be watching two National Film Board documentaries ("The Right Candidate for Rosedale" and "Flora"). For this assignment, students will choose **one** of the two documentaries and write a short (4 pages double spaced) reflection/response. The purpose of the assignment is to 1) review the documentary in light of course themes/readings; and 2) discuss the importance and implications of the subject as it relates to political representation in Canada. The reflection is due October 18 and should be submitted via Brightspace. See Brightspace for additional information on this assignment.

## **Midterm (20%)**

There will an in-class midterm during week 8 of the course. The midterm will cover all assigned readings, lectures, and any videos assigned during the first seven weeks of the class. The midterm will consist (primarily) of two parts: a section in which students will be asked to define and explain the significance of key terms/concepts, and an essay question. Students are expected to integrate course readings, key authors, and relevant examples/illustrations into their answers. To ensure ample time for writing, the midterm will be separated into two parts. Part A will be administered on Tuesday and Part B will be administered on Thursday.

#### Essay (30%)

The primary written assignment for the course is a final essay (10-12 pages double spaced). While the assignment is broad enough to encourage students to take ownership over the essay, there are two key requirements. First, the primary focus of the essay must be related to a key topic of theme of the course (candidate recruitment, quotas, voting bias, policy responsiveness, etc.) as it relates to political representation. Second, the essay must adopt a comparative analysis where Canada is compared to another country. Essay is due December 1 and should be submitted via Brightspace. See Brightspace for additional information and requirements for this assignment.

#### Poster Presentation (10%)

Every semester students write excellent essays that no one (but the instructor) ever gets to read. To address this, we will be holding a poster session during the final week of class (November 29 and December 1) where students will **briefly** (8-10 minutes maximum) present the main argument and



findings of their essay to their peers and answer a few questions. This assignment provides students practice in important skills such as summarizing material and communicating findings. Importantly, it allows students to share their hard work with their classmates. See Brightspace for more details.

## Final Exam (25%)

A final exam will be scheduled during the regular exam schedule. The format of the exam will follow a similar format as the midterm (short answer and essay questions) though there will be some additional questions. The final exam will be cumulative – covering material pre and post midterm (including all lectures, readings, videos, etc.). Students are expected to integrate course readings, key authors, and relevant examples/illustrations into their answers.

#### COVID-19

All students are required to comply with health and safety requirements on campus and should be considerate of others' health concerns. The fall semester still holds some uncertainty. We may be required to "go online" either for a short or extended period (with relatively short notice). Please monitor your email and Brightspace for updates throughout the semester.

## **Course Schedule and Readings**

#### Week 1: Introduction to the course

September 6 & 8

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

#### Week 2: What is 'Representation'?

September 13 & 15

- Pitkin, Hanna. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Chapter 4.
- Dovi, Suzanne. 2020. "What's Missing? A Typology of Political Absence." *The Journal of Politics* 82(2):559-571.

## Week 3: The Political Pipeline (Ambition, Recruitment, and Nomination) September 20 & 22

- Cross, William, and Lisa Young. 2013. "Candidate Recruitment in Canada: The Role of Political Parties." In Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner (eds.) *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Cross, William and Scott Pruysers. 2019. "The Local Determinants of Representation: Constituency Associations, Candidate Nomination, and Gender." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52(3): 557-574.
- Tolley, Erin. 2019. "Who you know: Local party presidents and minority candidate emergence." *Electoral Studies* 58: 70-79.

# Week 4: Party Leaders & Leadership Selection (and removal)

September 27 & 29



- Thomas, Melanee. 2018. "In Crisis or Decline? Selecting Women to Lead Provincial Parties in Government." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 379–403.
- O'Neill B, Pruysers S, Stewart DK. 2021. "Glass Cliffs or Partisan Pressure? Examining Gender and Party Leader Tenures and Exits." *Political Studies* 69(2): 257-277. Wauters, Bram and Jean-Benoit Pilet. 2015. "Electing Women as Party Leaders: Does the Selectorate Matter?" in William Cross and Jean-Benoit Pilet (eds.) *The Politics of Party Leadership: A Cross-national Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

#### **Week 5: Documentaries shown in Class**

October 4 & 6

- National Film Board: "Flora: Scenes from a Leadership Convention."
- National Film Board: "The Right Candidate for Rosedale."

#### **Week 6: Electoral Systems & Quotas**

October 11 & 13

- Thomas, Melanee and Marc Andre Bodet. 2013. "Sacrificial Lambs, Women Candidates, and District Competitiveness in Canada." *Electoral Studies* 32(1): 153-166.
- Tolley, Erin. 2017. "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? Evaluating Canada's Electoral System.* Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Besley, Timothy, Olle Folke and Johanna Rickne. 2017. "Gender Quotas and the Crisis of the Mediocre Man: Theory and Evidence from Sweden." *American Economic Review* 107(8): 2204–2242.

# Week 7: Voter Bias, Affinity Voting & Personalization

October 18 & 20

- Dabin, Simon, Jean François Daoust, and Martin Papillon. "Indigenous Peoples and Affinity Voting in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 39–53.
- Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth, and Julie Croskill. 2011. "Gender affinity effects in vote choice in Westminster systems: Assessing 'flexible' voters in Canada." *Politics & Gender* 7 (2): 223–50.
- Allen Stevens, Benjamin, Md Mujahedul Islam, Roosmarijn De Geus, Jonah Goldberg, John R. McAndrews, Alex Mierke-Zatwarnicki, Peter John Loewen, and Daniel Rubenson. 2019. "Local Candidate Effects in Canadian Elections." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 83-96.

#### Week 8: MIDTERM

October 25 & 27

## Week 9: Legislatures & Cabinets

November 1 & 3

- Kerby, Matthew. 2009. "Worth the Wait: Determinants of Ministerial Appointment in Canada, 1935–2008." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42(3): 593–11.
- Krook, Mona Lena and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2012. "All the President's Men? The



- Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide." *The Journal of Politics* 74(3):840-855.
- Poffenroth, Kim. 2005. "Raîche vs. Canada: A new direction in drawing electoral boundaries?" *Commonwealth Law Bulletin* 31(2): 53-60

#### **FALL BREAK**

## Week 10: Representation in Action

November 15 & 17

- Blidook, Kelly, Koop, Royce and Bastedo, Heather. 2018. *Representation in Action: MPs in the Constituencies*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Chapters 1 & 5.
- Loewen, P. and MacKenzie, M. K. 2019. "Service Representation in a Federal System: A Field Experiment." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 6(2): 93-107.
- Koop, Royce, Blidook, Kelly and Fuga, Lesley Anne. 2020. "Has the COVID-19 Pandemic Affected MPs' Representational Activities?" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 287-291.

#### **Week 11: Substantive Representation?**

November 22 & 24

- Tremblay, Manon. 1998. "Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 31(3): 435–65.
- Langford, Brynne, Levesque, Mario. "Symbolic and Substantive Relevance of Politicians with Disabilities: A British Columbia Case Study." *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 40(2): 8-17.
- Morden, Michael. 2018. "Parliament and the Representation of Indigenous Issues: The Canadian Case." *Parliamentary Affairs* 71(1):124-143.
- Tremblay, Manon. 2020. "Representation: The Case of LGBTQ People." In Manon Tremblay (ed.) *Queering Representation: LGBTQ People and Electoral Politics in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

#### Week 12: Essay Posters & Review

November 29 & December 1

- Griffith, Andrew. 2017. "Diversity in the Public Service's Executive Rank's." *Policy Options*.
- Griffith, Andrew. 2017. "Diversity in the Senate." *Policy Options*.
- Griffith, Andrew. 2016. "Diversity among federal and provincial judges." *Policy Options*.



**University Grading Policy** 

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#### SECTION B: UNIVERSITY STATEMENTS

## **Territorial Acknowledgement:**

Dalhousie University is located in Mi'kma'ki, the ancestral and unceded territory of the Mi'kmaq. We are all Treaty people.

#### Internationalization

At Dalhousie, "thinking and acting globally" enhances the quality and impact of education, supporting learning that is "interdisciplinary, cross-cultural, global in reach, and orientated toward solving problems that extend across national borders."

#### **Academic Integrity**

At Dalhousie University, we are guided in all of our work by the values of <u>academic integrity</u>: honesty, trust, fairness, responsibility and respect. As a student, you are required to demonstrate these values in all of the work you do. The University provides policies and procedures that every member of the university community is required to follow to ensure academic integrity.

#### Accessibility

The Student Accessibility Centre is Dalhousie's centre of expertise for matters related to student accessibility and accommodation. If there are aspects of the design, instruction, and/or experiences within this course (online or in-person) that result in barriers to your inclusion please contact:

• the <u>Student Accessibility Centre</u> (for all courses offered by Dalhousie with the exception of Truro)

#### **Conduct in the Classroom – Culture of Respect**

Substantial and constructive dialogue on challenging issues is an important part of academic inquiry and exchange. It requires willingness to listen and tolerance of opposing points of view. Consideration of individual differences and alternative viewpoints is required of all class members, towards each other, towards instructors, and towards guest speakers. While expressions of differing perspectives are welcome and encouraged, the words and language used should remain within acceptable bounds of civility and respect.

# **Diversity and Inclusion – Culture of Respect**

Every person at Dalhousie has a right to be respected and safe. We believe inclusiveness is fundamental to education. We stand for equality. Dalhousie is strengthened in our diversity. We are a respectful and inclusive community. We are committed to being a place where everyone feels welcome and supported, which is why our Strategic Direction prioritizes fostering a culture of diversity and inclusiveness (Strategic Priority 5.2).

#### **Code of Student Conduct**

Everyone at Dalhousie is expected to treat others with dignity and respect. The <u>Code of Student Conduct</u> allows Dalhousie to take disciplinary action if students don't follow this community expectation. When appropriate, violations of the code can be resolved in a reasonable and informal manner—perhaps through a restorative justice process. If an informal resolution can't be reached, or would be inappropriate, procedures exist for formal dispute resolution.



## Fair Dealing policy

The Dalhousie University <u>Fair Dealing Policy</u> provides guidance for the limited use of copyright protected material without the risk of infringement and without having to seek the permission of copyright owners. It is intended to provide a balance between the rights of creators and the rights of users at Dalhousie.

#### **Originality Checking Software**

The course instructor may use Dalhousie's approved originality checking software and Google to check the originality of any work submitted for credit, in accordance with the <u>Student Submission of Assignments and Use of Originality Checking Software Policy</u>. Students are free, without penalty of grade, to choose an alternative method of attesting to the authenticity of their work, and must inform the instructor no later than the last day to add/drop classes of their intent to choose an alternate method.

#### **Student Use of Course Materials**

These course materials are designed for use as part of the Course Code at Dalhousie University and are the property of the instructor unless otherwise stated. Third party copyrighted materials (such as books, journal articles, music, videos, etc.) have either been licensed for use in this course or fall under an exception or limitation in Canadian Copyright law. Copying this course material for distribution (e.g. uploading to a commercial third-party website) may lead to a violation of Copyright law.

# SECTION C: UNIVERSITY POLICIES, GUIDELINES, AND RESOURCES FOR SUPPORT

Dalhousie courses are governed by the academic rules and regulations set forth in the University Calendar and the Senate. (<a href="https://academiccalendar.dal.ca/catalog/viewcatalog.aspx">https://academiccalendar.dal.ca/catalog/viewcatalog.aspx</a>) Important student information, services and resources are available as follows:

#### **University Policies and Programs**

- Important Dates in the Academic Year (including add/drop dates) http://www.dal.ca/academics/important\_dates.html
- Classroom Recording Protocol <a href="https://www.dal.ca/dept/university\_secretariat/policies/academic/classroom-recording-protocol.html">https://www.dal.ca/dept/university\_secretariat/policies/academic/classroom-recording-protocol.html</a>
- Dalhousie Grading Practices Policy <a href="https://www.dal.ca/dept/university\_secretariat/policies/academic/grading-practices-policy.html">https://www.dal.ca/dept/university\_secretariat/policies/academic/grading-practices-policy.html</a>
- Grade Appeal Process <a href="https://www.dal.ca/campus\_life/academic-support/grades-and-student-records/appealing-a-grade.html">https://www.dal.ca/campus\_life/academic-support/grades-and-student-records/appealing-a-grade.html</a>



- Sexualized Violence Policy <a href="https://www.dal.ca/dept/university\_secretariat/policies/health-and-safety/sexualized-violence-policy.html">https://www.dal.ca/dept/university\_secretariat/policies/health-and-safety/sexualized-violence-policy.html</a>
- Scent-Free Program https://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/occupational-safety/scent-free.html

## **Learning and Support Resources**

- General Academic Support Advising
  <a href="https://www.dal.ca/campus\_life/academic-support/advising.html">https://www.dal.ca/campus\_life/academic-support/advising.html</a> (Halifax)
  <a href="https://www.dal.ca/about-dal/agricultural-campus/ssc/academic-support/advising.html">https://www.dal.ca/about-dal/agricultural-campus/ssc/academic-support/advising.html</a> (Truro)
- Student Health & Wellness Centre: <a href="https://www.dal.ca/campus life/health-and-wellness.html">https://www.dal.ca/campus life/health-and-wellness.html</a>
- On Track (helps you transition into university, and supports you through your first year at Dalhousie and beyond) <a href="https://www.dal.ca/campus">https://www.dal.ca/campus</a> life/academic-support/On-track.html
- Indigenous Student Centre <a href="https://www.dal.ca/campus life/communities/indigenous.html">https://www.dal.ca/campus life/communities/indigenous.html</a>

See also: Indigenous Connection: <a href="https://www.dal.ca/about-dal/indigenous-connection.html">https://www.dal.ca/about-dal/indigenous-connection.html</a>

- Elders-in-Residence (The Elders in Residence program provides students with access to First Nations elders for guidance, counsel and support. Visit the office in the Indigenous Student Centre or contact the program at elders@dal.ca or 902-494-6803.)
- $\verb| https://cdn.dal.ca/content/dam/dalhousie/pdf/academics/UG/indigenous-studies/Elder-Protocol-July2018.pdf| \\$
- Black Student Advising Centre <a href="https://www.dal.ca/campus\_life/communities/black-student-advising.html">https://www.dal.ca/campus\_life/communities/black-student-advising.html</a>
- International Centre https://www.dal.ca/campus life/international-centre.html
- South House Sexual and Gender Resource Centre https://southhousehalifax.ca/about/
- LGBTQ2SIA+ Collaborative <a href="https://www.dal.ca/dept/hres/education-campaigns/LGBTQ2SIA-collaborative.html">https://www.dal.ca/dept/hres/education-campaigns/LGBTQ2SIA-collaborative.html</a>
- Dalhousie Libraries <a href="http://libraries.dal.ca">http://libraries.dal.ca</a>
- Copyright Office https://libraries.dal.ca/services/copyright-office.html
- Dalhousie Student Advocacy Services <a href="https://www.dsu.ca/dsas?rq=student%20advocacy">https://www.dsu.ca/dsas?rq=student%20advocacy</a>
- Dalhousie Ombudsperson https://www.dal.ca/campus life/safety-respect/student-rights-and-



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- Human Rights and Equity Services <a href="https://www.dal.ca/dept/hres.html">https://www.dal.ca/dept/hres.html</a>
- Writing Centre <a href="https://www.dal.ca/campus">https://www.dal.ca/campus</a> life/academic-support/writing-and-study-skills.html
- Study Skills/Tutoring http://www.dal.ca/campus life/academic-support/study-skills-and-tutoring.html

#### **Safety**

- Biosafety http://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/biosafety.html
- Chemical Safety https://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/chemical-safety.html
- Radiation Safety <a href="http://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/radiation-safety.html">http://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/radiation-safety.html</a>
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