

PSCI 4506A
Women and Politics in North America
Mondays 11:35-2:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

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Office Hours: Monday 9:30 am-11:30 and Tuesday 12:00-2:00 pm.

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In this seminar, we bring together a number of puzzles concerning women's political representation within North American countries and in their relationships with the world. We look at both "supply" factors (why women often choose not to run or how they are thwarted in it), vs. "demand" factors (the difference women make to political systems when they are elected). The course will be split up into areas representing the major divisions in global electoral systems, which happily reflect the experiences of the three North American countries around which we are focused. We will discuss the barriers and opportunities of Westminster systems, separation of powers systems with equal constitutional roles (US) and those without such equality (Latin America, specifically Mexico). The second type of electoral system is the pr list system such as used by Belgium, Germany for some elections and the Scandinavian democracies. In between these two endpoints on the spectrum lie the "hybrid", in between states and electoral systems, since many countries in both Global North and South have been experimenting with changed electoral rules (for candidates and voters) since at least 1990 if not before. For example, New Zealand has used the Mixed Member proportional system (some seats in the House are elected through First Past the Post as in England and Canada) and then there are "top-up" seats which are apportioned based on proportion of votes received by the different parties. Mexico adopted this for 200 seats of the 500-seat lower House in 1988. While Australia adopted the non-proportional "instant runoff voting" based on First Past the Post balloting rules in the 1890s for its House, it adopted proportional voting ("group ticket," single transferable vote) for its Senate in 1948. Since the 1990s, many post-conflict African Sub-Saharan states have adopted some form of quotas or reserved seats for women, as have Asian countries such as Bangladesh and Pakistan.

Other electoral systems “reserve” seats for women. For example, in post-conflict Uganda with 112 national electoral districts, each district must have one woman representative at a minimum (elected from 238 slots). In India, there has been a system of randomized seat reservations applied to municipalities on a changing basis since 1993. At the national level, while the Upper House has passed a seat reservations bill for women, the lower house has consistently defeated it for more than ten years.

In the first part of the course, we will consult scholarly works and more public works as found on the website quotaproject.org to assess the state of women in the world’s legislative systems, centered on the three North American ones. The second part will focus on the quality of representation obtained in various systems under various electoral rules.

Two exciting new additions to the course this year include: 1) the presence of a “job-shadowing” requirement (potential placements for typically a one-half day experience in February or March) with a woman in politics at various levels; and 2) setting up your course requirements as being presented through an “e portfolio” (as pioneered by Teaching and Learning Services at EDC). These two additions are to help you bridge the experience of being a student with that of being an actor in the outside world. Your job-shadowing experience will be reflected upon critically as a major requirement of the course, and you can also enter it into your co-curricular record. Carleton has designed the e-portfolio as a “test run” for presenting your work to potential employers. You will be required to add to your e portfolio on a regular basis over the term.

Readings:

All required. One book has been ordered; the rest are on reserve for the course and available at the reserve desk. Reserves are marked with an “*” in the text.

1. Manon Tremblay, ed., *Women and Legislative Representation* (Palgrave, 2008).

Requirements: Since this is a seminar course, the number one requirement is to have access to all the readings and be prepared to discuss them in class. This also assumes you will attend class; attendance is taken and there are two excused absences allowed per semester. Otherwise, the seminar cannot function without the learned participation of all its members. You are also required to notify me the day before your planned absence.

All written work must be turned in and all requirements completed to pass this course. In addition, requirements are as follows:

- 1) Preparation and presentation of a one-two page “sketch” about your home page on the e-portfolio, what you are looking for in the job shadowing program, what you expect, what you can contribute based on your own skills, experiences, knowledge
15% **Due Jan. 25**

- 2) Preparation of your e portfolio for a midterm analysis-which will include responses to weekly readings (2-3 pages each) and a 5-page analysis of a woman’s campaign-either with respect to the recently-completed Canadian elections or the current Presidential primary elections in the US

25% **Due Feb. 22**

- 3) Satisfactory completion of the job shadowing requirement in person (must be done to pass the course)

20%

- 4) Final to be turned in last day of class, second half of e portfolio (similar requirements to mid term, but will include reflection on job shadowing experience as well)
25% **Due April 4**

- 5) Presentation on portfolio, was the job shadowing experience what you expected, and general class participation based on readings 15% **Last two weeks of class**

Course schedule:

Week 1 Jan. 11 First meeting; course expectations and film, “The Makers: Women in Politics” (PBS)

Part I Women and Electoral Systems: Challenges and Opportunities

Week 2 Jan. 18 Overview of Challenges faced by women in politics in North America; class visit by Lorraine Anderson, second half of class to discuss Job Shadowing

Read: *Trimble, Arscott and Tremblay, eds., *Stalled* (UBC: 2013), Foreword and Introduction

Also Krook and Childs, "Critical Mass Revisited," *Political Studies* 2008, 56, 725-736

*Kathleen Dolan, Ch. 8, in Wohlbrecht et al., eds., *Political Women and American Democracy*

Week 3 Jan. 25 Some considerations of Westminster systems-UK, Canada

Read: Tremblay, UK, Canada

**Stalled*, Chs. 13-14

Cheng and Tavits, "Informal Influences in Selecting Female Candidates," *Political Research Quarterly* (2011): 64, 2, 460-471.

UK chapter in Tremblay, 2008.

Week 4 February 1 Hybrid former "Pure" First past the Post Westminster systems

McAllister and Curtin chs. in Tremblay, ed.

Karp, Party Politics, NZ 2002 and Cross re: party selection in NZ, TBA

Week 5 February 8 Outlier of all Outliers US

Studlar chapter in Tremblay, ed., re: US

Other readings TBA

Week 6 Feb. 22 Majoritarian electoral system with quotas for women (France); Mixed MMP systems with quotas for women (Mexico)

Other readings TBA

Chapters by Sineau, Hinojosa in Tremblay, ed.

*Other Mexican readings by Kerevel etc. TBA

Week 7- Feb. 29- MMP Systems without Quotas for Women (Hungary, Japan, Germany-voluntary in parties)

Chapters by Ilonszk, Christensen in Tremblay

Davidson-Schmich (Party Politics, 2012) and Catherine Bolzendahl articles, TBA

*Others TBA

Week 8-March 7 PR systems

Chapters on Peru, Ireland, Spain, Belgium in Tremblay

*Celis TBA

*others TBA

Week 9 March 14 PR with quotas South Africa (legislated quotas at sub-national level only),

Britton Chapter in Tremblay

*Gouws TBA

Gisela Geisler, "Parliament is Another Terrain of Struggle," *Journal of Modern African Studies* (2000): 38, 4, 605-630.

Week 10 March 21 Reserved Seats for Women (Nationally, Uganda, Afghanistan, subnationally, India)

Chapters by Bauer, Fleschenberg in Tremblay

Articles by Pande etc TBA

Krook, "Military Invasion and Women's Political Representation," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (2010): 12, 1, 66-79

Laura Jenkins, "Competing Inequalities: the Struggle over Reserved Legislative Seats in India," *International Review of Social History* (1999): 44, Supp. 7, 53-75.

Part II Representation

Week 11 March 28 Africa and India

*chapters by Bauer, Disney, Hassim in Britton and Bauer, *Women in African Legislatures* (Lynne Rienner, 2006)

Chattopadhyay and Duflo, "Women as Policy Makers," *Econometrica* (2004), 72, 5, 1409-1443

Anne Mari Goetz, "No Shortcuts to Power," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40, 4 (2002): 549-575

*chapters 2, 3, 8, 9 in Aili Mari Tripp, ed., *Women and Power in Post-Conflict Africa* (2015)

*India article TBA

Week 12 April 4

Diana O'Brien, "Rising to the Top," *American Journal of Political Science* (2015): 59, 4, 1022-1039

Childs and Krook, "Analysing Women's Substantive Representation," *Government and Opposition* (2009): 44, 2, 125-145.

Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and 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 me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

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 may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

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 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. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

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 |

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.

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

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 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, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/>

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.

