2020 is the most exciting year to date in studying gender and diversity in the three North American countries of Mexico, Canada and the US. As of this year, there is a record representation of women in the US Congress, the Canadian Parliament and the Mexican lower and upper houses. In 2018, largely based in part on previous changes to the electoral system, Mexico elected a record number of women to both the national Chamber of Deputies (49%) and Senate (51%), and the first woman elected mayor of Mexico City in the 2018 elections. In the 2019 elections, the Canadian parties saw a record number of women candidates and women elected (29% of the House of Commons), and in the 2018 mid-term Congressional elections in the US, the House of Representatives increased to 24% women elected and the Senate 26%. The first woman of colour, Kamala Harris, has been named a VP nominee for the Democratic Party, and a record number of women ran in the Democratic presidential primaries from February-July 2020.

These promising numbers are the results of decades of women and progressive groups fighting for the notion that women and the racially- and economically-marginalized should be able to hold subnational and national office in these three federations. The US just celebrated the 100th anniversary of women’s suffrage, achieved through the 19th Amendment to the US Constitution. In 1918, the Canadian Parliament passed legislation for women to vote at the federal level, and the Mexican legislature passed a Constitutional amendment to include women’s voting at the federal level. In all three countries, there has been a long struggle between national and subnational laws in terms of framing voting eligibility and processes, and women of colour and/or indigeneity were not able to vote until the mid-20th century at least.

In this most exciting time for women to be voters, candidates and officeholders, we will study the various barriers which women have had to overcome to get to their record levels of representation in 2020. In these three countries, a combination of attitudes and socialization, formal structures of power, including nominations, funding, and the single-member constituencies used by all three countries, and exclusion
from the policy-making process have all hindered women’s formal representation over time. These factors have affected the supply side of politics regarding women’s willingness to be candidates, and the demand side of recruitment by parties and other networks.

**Course Objectives**

By the end of this course, students should be able to:

1. Understand key concepts, actors, institutions, and processes that have affected women’s eligibility to run for office and successes in that realm.
2. Identify and understand the evolution of the concepts relating to diversity in representation.
3. Evaluate scholarly writing and develop clear arguments about representational diversity.
4. Write and research effectively about specific topics relating to women’s representation mainly, but not solely, in formal representation in the three countries.

**CuLearn:**

On-line components of this course will be managed through CuLearn. Please visit the CuLearn site regularly to receive the most current information pertaining to important course announcements and materials, and to submit all of your assignments.

**Class format:**

The course is structured as a traditional seminar, through weekly BBB meetings at the regular class time. Students are expected to come to class having read the assigned readings and prepared to discuss them. The instructor will attempt to moderate student exchanges. Some readings are optional and will be denoted with an (O). **NOTE:** in order to participate you will need to unmute yourself. Please use margin comments only as a last resort. Unfortunately you will usually not be able to turn on your video screens to show yourselves since that will require too much bandwidth.

The course will be based on a combination of individual contributions and groupwork. We meet (mostly) each week on BBB to discuss the questions I submit for discussion the week before, AND/OR you will be split into discussion groups which will also work together to prepare a group-based presentation (based on your own papers, up to 15 pp. double-spaced) which are due by December 23. You will need to sign up for one of three groups relating to the progress of women and diverse groups in the politics of Canada, the US or Mexico. We will see that women’s and racial groups’ representation has increased incrementally in the US and Canada, and that women’s representation increased more quickly in Mexico after the 1990s while that of racialized groups has not. Also from time to time we will welcome various visitors remotely to the class, including former and current Canadian politicians and scholars from the US and Canada.

Also, there are many podcasts posted to CU Learn which will round out the weekly assignments, furnish some subjects of response papers and also give you websites to check for your final reports/papers. Relevant podcasts will be noted for each week’s discussion on CU Learn.

Your participation grade will include some responses to CU Learn forums as well as participating in the online seminars (when you are in the same time zone). In the forums, you should submit at least one response to the prompt question and at least two responses to other students. If you cannot participate because you live in a different time zone, you are always able to email me thoughts about the weekly topic/questions.

**Texts**

All course readings are available online via the library search engine or CuLearn.
Assignments:

1) Short assignment-subject “what is my interest in women and politics and what do I think the biggest barrier to representation has been?” (via CU Learn) **5%**  
   **Due 9/16 by 5**

2) Participation (verbal) in weekly seminars and through Three CU Learn forums to be posted **20%**

3) 3 1000 word response papers to podcasts 10% each **30%**  
   NOTE: one each must be submitted in Sept, Oct, Nov.

4) Presentation on paper **20%**
   **Dec. 10**

5) Final paper 15 pages maximum **By Dec. 23**
   double spaced, 12 point font  
   With at least 4 sources consulted from Outside class **25%**

Note: for the short and final papers, the assignment is to 1) describe the issue as presented in the podcast, 2) explain the implications for women’s representation in politics, 3) support your claims with evidence and language. An excellent paper will do the following: 1) present a clear description of the issue; 2) develop the ideas in logical ways where the reader can see the connections; 3) uses evidence to back up claims; 4) makes no errors in grammar, spelling or sentence structure.

The word count does not include sources (two others needed for response papers, can be from in-class). For the final paper, four additional sources from outside class are required.

The course will be divided into modules: 1) overview of women and politics and history of women’s suffrage in the three countries; 2) factors affecting women candidates’ political ambition and selection to run-the supply and demand factors”; 3) women as candidates, political actors, and voters; 4) women’s descriptive and substantive representation (policy influences); 5) the role of women’s movements and conservative women.

Class Outline:

Module I

Sept. 10 Introduction

Central issue: formal political systems typically created by privileged men: how have women worked to change this over time?

Look: at Intro to course on homepage including charts about women’s worldwide representation
Listen:  To US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi podcast (posted on CU Learn)


Sept. 17 History of women’s suffrage in North America and guest appearance

Central issue: governments have given women and other groups the right to vote as they need more votes to support certain issues

3) Karen Kedrowski, Director of the Carrie Chapman Catt Center on Women and Politics, Iowa State University, “Carrie Chapman Catt and Race,” Summer 2020 posted to CU learn.
4) Ana Campoy (September 26, 2016). “Mexico is no longer turning a blind eye to customs that bar indigenous women from voting,” www.quartz.com

Module II

Women’s ambition and selection by parties for candidacy including “supply and demand” factors

September 24 Description of the “supply and demand” model, including women’s political ambition

Central issue: women and social minorities get “socialized” to believe they’re not as strong candidates as the typical white man


October 1 Recruitment issues

Central issue, especially related to single member districts-parties wrongly view women as “riskier” candidates to support-so women are often recruited to make parties “look good”

1) “Elect Her,” pp. 37-48
2) Jo Freeman (from Jo Freeman.com), link on CU learn, “Feminism and Antifeminism in the Democratic and Republican parties,” from We will be Heard (2008) (O)

Module III Women in Elections as Candidates, funders, voters

October 8 Electoral Districts

Central issue: Single-member districts are the worst for women’s election and contribute to “zero sum” (winner vs. loser) behaviour in legislatures

1) “Elect Her,” pp. 53-63

October 15 Fundraising

Central issue: in some elections, women raise just as much as men (due to women’s long-term pressure on parties and funding groups) in others they don’t—what are the cross-country and intra-country patterns? When does money matter and when does it not?

2) Valerie Ouellet and Nial Shab (Sept. 4, 2019), “Set up to Fail,” Radio Canada (saved to homep).

October 22 Voters, Gender Gaps and Stereotypes about Women Candidates

Central issue: do stereotypes about female candidates hurt women? Can they be overcome? What are the patterns of women’s voting for female candidates?

Note: readings will be divided for this class.
1) Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) materials, posted to CU Learn.
   a) Nancy Burns et al., “What’s Happened to the Gender Gap in Political Participation?” Chapter 4.

**Break October 26-30**

**Outcome of US Presidential and Congressional elections November 5**

Central issue: What happened and why?

Some Readings TBA


**Module IV Women in office-substantive and descriptive representation and the differences women make to policy formulation**

Central issue: does descriptive (numbers-based) representation lead to policy representation, especially in single-member systems? Why or Why not?

**November 12 Substantive and Descriptive Representation**


**November 19 Continued**

Readings to be divided among the class

1) Alexander, Bolzendahl and Jalalzai, eds., Chapter 13 (Barnes and Taylor-Robinson).
Module V  Women’s movements and conservative women

Central issue (as above): which women are represented and included in women’s movements? How do they interact with formal political institutions?

November 26


December 3

1) McCammon and Banaszak, eds., (2018), Ch. 13, Kathleen Blee, “Women in the White Supremacist Movement in the Century after Women’s Suffrage.”


December 10 Group presentations on paper contributions-Papers due
**Academic Accommodations**

**Requests for Academic Accommodation**
You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

**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](https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19_Self-declaration.pdf)

**Pregnancy 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](https://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](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

**Academic Accommodations for 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](mailto: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. [carleton.ca/pmc](https://carleton.ca/pmc)

**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](https://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support)

**Accommodation for 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](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](https://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;
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.

Grading

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