2021 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, is now the VP, and Congress is now its most diverse ever in terms of representation, with 13% African Americans and 1% Indigenous Americans, reflecting their presence in the population, and 27% women. Latin-descendant and Pacific Islander Americans have not yet gotten to their proportionate percentages in Congress.

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 recently 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 in 1953 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 2021. 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. Overall, we center our discussion around the notion of representational power in these three countries; who has it, who is acquiring it and how it is exercised.

**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.

**Brightspace**

On-line components of this course will be managed through Brightspace. Please visit the Brightspace 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. 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).

Also, there are many podcasts posted to Brightspace 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.

**Texts**

All course readings are available either online or at the MacOdrum Library on reserve. **One book is required** for the course, Susan Page’s 2021 *Madam Speaker: Nancy Pelosi and the Lessons of Power* (Twelve Press). It has been ordered at the Carleton bookstore. This book examines the historic nature of the election of the first woman Speaker of the US House from 2006-2010 and 2018 to the present, an historic achievement for the person second in line to the Presidency. **Note:** you are expected to start reading the Pelosi book (Chs. 3-19 and Epilogue) when it arrives at the CU bookstore-probably late in September. We will be discussing it as we progress through the course.
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?” ungraded

2) Participation (verbal) in weekly seminars 20% and

3) Three CU Learn forums to be posted 700 words each 10% each. In this forum you will respond once to the prompt and then at least once to other students’ observations. 30%

4) A book report on Susan Page’s book bringing in both insights from the book and one other female politician you select, from any of the three countries. The discussion should be centered around the concept of women politicians and how they accessed power and exercise it. This is considered a “take home” and is due at the end of the take home period 50%

Note: for the final paper, 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 the following: 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 factor regarding women’s numerical (descriptive) representation; 3) women as candidates, political actors, and voters; 4) women’s substantive representation (policy influences).

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; Overview about Representation in the three North American national legislatures

Listen: To US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi podcast (posted on Brightspace)

2) Washington Post video from Youtube.com (December 11, 2020) with Congresswomen Sharice Davids (D-KS) and Deb Haaland (D-NM), Later Interior Secretary of the US; “The Power of Representation,” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qS8VuNMT6HM. Also on Brightspace.

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

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 Brightspace.

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 Brightspace “Feminism and Antifeminism in the Democratic and Republican parties,” from We will be Heard (2008)

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

- Forum posts due
Module III On the Campaign Trail

October 15 Intersection of Race and Gender in Media Coverage and On the Campaign Trail

2) Podcasts of Annamie Paul, interview with Jennica Atwin (Brightspace)
5) Steve Colbert interview with Stacey Abrams on “How she Turned Georgia Blue,” youtube.com, (Brightspace) November 10, 2020; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2D_nys3lxW8

October 22 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).
9) Emily’s List (May 17, 2021) “We Are Emily” video (Brightspace); https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RiLG7LeSg0A.
10) Emily’s List (April 4, 2019) post-Nov. 2018 election, “We Are Emily” video (Brightspace); https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iTKFSB2e7TQ.

**November 5 Intra-party differences in the US and Canada—the “Squad” and Justice Democrats vs. the traditional Democrats; discontent in the Canadian House of Commons**

2) Mumilaaq Qaqqaq, “People like Me don’t Belong Here,” www.cbc.ca, June 17, 2021; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gW7jkzRg6vI (Brightspace)
6) Elizabeth Warren, Persist (Holt & Co., New York), Chs. 2, 4, 6 on reserve in Library
9) MSNBC.com, “Why Representative Cori Bush has been Sleeping on the Steps of the Capitol this Week,” August 2, 2021; youtube video on Brightspace, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hGrAdVzKNRE.

*Forum posts due this week*
November 12 LGBT Candidates & Officeholders

2) Beatriz Guillen, “Maria Clemente, the first trans woman in Mexico’s Congress: we have broken the Glass Ceiling,” www.elpais.com, August 21, 2021.

November 19 Discussion of Lessons learned from Pelosi book, entire

Module IV-Policy Outputs

November 26-Substantive Representation 1- The Momnibus Act and Black Maternal Health Care legislative proposals of 2018-2021


December 3 Substantive Representation 2

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


6) “We Are Emily” (May 25, 2021); “Conversation with Congresswoman Sharice Davids (D-KS) and Former Chair of the American Indian Caucus for the Democratic Party of WI, Arvina David, you tube, on Brightspace.
Appendix

Covid-19 Information

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow COVID-19 prevention measures and all mandatory public health requirements (e.g. wearing a mask, physical distancing, hand hygiene, respiratory and cough etiquette) and mandatory self-screening prior to coming to campus daily.

If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately, self-isolate, and complete the mandatory symptom reporting tool. For purposes of contact tracing, attendance will be recorded in all classes and labs. Participants can check in using posted QR codes through the cuScreen platform where provided. Students who do not have a smartphone will be required to complete a paper process as indicated on the COVID-19 website.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow guidelines regarding safe movement and seating on campus (e.g. directional arrows, designated entrances and exits, designated seats that maintain physical distancing). In order to avoid congestion, allow all previous occupants to fully vacate a classroom before entering. No food or drinks are permitted in any classrooms or labs.

For the most recent information about Carleton’s COVID-19 response and required measures, please see the University’s COVID-19 webpage and review the Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca.

Please note that failure to comply with University policies and mandatory public health requirements, and endangering the safety of others are considered misconduct under the Student Rights and Responsibilities Policy. Failure to comply with Carleton’s COVID-19 procedures may lead to supplementary action involving Campus Safety and/or Student Affairs.

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:

Pregnancy accommodation: 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.
**Religious accommodation:** 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.

**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 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, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more information, please visit carleton.ca/pmc.

**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 engage in student activities 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.

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline.

**Sexual Violence Policy**

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. 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.

**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 includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions,
Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

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.

More information on the University’s Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: [https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/](https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/).

**Intellectual property**

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. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

**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:
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Letter grade</th>
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<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Letter grade</th>
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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 Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

**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. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, 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 our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook [https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/](https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/).

**Official Course Outline**

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.