

PA 5690: Gender, Race and Political Representation

Spring 2018

Class Meetings: Humphrey Center 35, Tuesdays 5:30-8:15

Professor Christina Ewig

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Office Hours: Tuesdays 2-4PM

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A central tenet of democracy is the equal and just representation of its citizens. Yet, democracies around the world only unevenly represent their citizens - whether measured by the make-up of their political representatives or by the substance of their political agendas. This course is global in scope; it approaches the intersecting issues of gender, race and political representation through the study of cross-national evidence and comparative country studies from around the world in order to identify the best practices for strengthening the representation of under-represented groups. This course begins with an introduction to alternative theories of representation in a democratic society; including what constitutes representation and how an ideal democratic society should represent its citizens. The course then asks students to grapple with the concepts of gender and race; both what these are and how these have historically shape political representation. The course offers students the opportunity to engage with scholarship on how and why most democratic systems unevenly represent women and racial and ethnic minorities in political office, and the consequences of this under representation for political agendas. The core of the course focuses on the individual, structural factors and institutional factors that have been attributed to increasing the election and appointment of underrepresented groups as well as the representation of their interests on policy agendas at a variety of levels of governance.

This course fulfills an optional course requirement for four concentrations for Master of Public Policy students: Gender and Public Policy, Global Policy, Politics and Governance, and Social Policy. For more see: <https://www.hhh.umn.edu/masters-degrees/master-public-policy>. You are invited to talk to Professor Ewig about pursuing the Gender and Public Policy concentration.

Learning Outcomes:

1. to develop a better understanding of how and why different groups, in particular women and racial or ethnic minorities, are often represented unevenly in democratic societies and the normative and ethical implications of uneven representation.
2. to understand the individual, structural and institutional factors that that have been key to improved political representation of traditionally underrepresented groups.
3. to understand the role of cultural and political context as well as global position for patterns of political representation and the options available to change these patterns.
4. to analyze, synthesize, and think critically about problems of democratic representation.

Class Assignments and Evaluation:

- 25% Participation in Class (a portion of this grade is based on class attendance)
- 10% Substantive Discussion Questions
- 15% Political Meeting Observation – Due Friday Feb. 16
- 25% Descriptive Representation Policy Brief – Due Friday March 23
- 25% Substantive Representation Policy Process Analysis – Due Tuesday May 8

PhD students enrolled in the course may opt for an alternative assignment scheme that includes a substantial research paper.

1. In-class participation (25%). This course will be run seminar-style. Discussion will be our primary mode of learning in our weekly meetings. For this to work well, students are expected to carefully read each of the assigned readings before class and come prepared to contribute to discussion. Reading and note-taking, and the required substantive questions (below) will help you to prepare, but active participation goes beyond what you have prepared prior to class – including being ready to change your mind, considering alternative viewpoints, and helping to create a respectful environment where everyone feels they have something to contribute, no matter their background or ideological persuasion.

2. Substantive Discussion Questions (10%). Each week you must post 2 effective questions for discussion that you develop based on the assigned readings for that week. Post these directly in that day's discussion thread on Moodle. Everyone one may take one week off of questions, for a total of 12 question posts over the course of 13 weeks (the first week last weeks of class are not included). Questions must be posted 1PM the day of class OR THEY WILL NOT COUNT. These will be graded a on 0-1-2 scale (0 not completed; 1 wrote a question; 2 wrote an especially effective question). You are encouraged to provide a short lead up to your question if needed; for example you might first recap a point made in the article that then leads up to the question. Consider questions that make links among the readings of the course; that connect the materials to other examples you know of; or that are critical of the methods, argument or conclusions of a reading; etc. Effective questions help us to better understand the new ideas, improve our critical thinking skills, and generate debate.

3. Political Meeting Observation (15%). You are required to observe a political meeting of public officials; for example, a city council meeting, legislative session, legislative committee meeting. You will document and assess the gender and racial dynamics that you observe in a two-page reflection paper. Full assignment details will be distributed separately.

4. Descriptive Representation Policy Brief (25%). You will write a 6-8 page policy brief that provides a specific proposal for how to increase women's, ethnic/minority women, LGBT OR ethnic/racial minority descriptive political representation in a specific country. You may choose any country that has a lower level of descriptive political representation of your chosen group than their proportion of the population. You may focus on increasing either national or subnational representation (but not both). Your brief should include: 1) country context that highlights the variables relevant to the political representation of your group 2) an explanation

of the current electoral system and any past experiments with increasing representation 3) your proposal for what specific steps should be taken to increase the descriptive political representation of your chosen group. Full assignment details will be distributed separately.

5. Substantive Representation Policy Process Analysis (25%). For this 6-8 page paper you will choose a specific policy proposal that seeks to substantively represent an historically marginalized group. It can be from any country, subnational state or municipality but you must be able to obtain detailed information about the policy process. (If you choose another country, you should be able to read the language of that country.) For example, you could trace the failed process of achieving paid parental leave in Minnesota, or the success in legalizing gender identity change in Argentina. You will examine the policy process to explain what factors were crucial in determining the policy proposal's success or failure in moving from proposal to policy. Full assignment details will be distributed separately.



Technology in Class: Unless you have an emergency situation, please turn off cell phones during class. Laptops and similar devices are allowed. But please note that a growing body of research suggests that computer-assisted note-taking (and especially open browsers) can increase distractions, encourage rote transcription, and inhibit learning.

Attendance: It should go without saying that you are expected to attend every class. A portion of your participation grade will be calculated based on attendance. I do understand that emergencies happen, and for that reason, everyone will get one day of class automatically excused (save it for when you need it!).

Course Readings: The course reading load will range be from 150-200 pages per class meeting (four to five articles or book chapters).

Two required books are available at University Bookstore (or use your favorite book seller):

- Siim, Birte. 2000. *Gender and Citizenship: Politics and Agency in France, Britain, and Denmark*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Hardy-Fanta, Carol, Pei-te Lien, Dianne Pinderhughes, and Christine Marie Sierra. 2016. *Contested Transformation: Race, Gender, and Political Leadership in 21st Century America*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

All other readings are on library electronic reserve, with direct links on the course Moodle site. You can access our Moodle site through your MyU portal (<http://www.myu.umn.edu>) or directly at: <https://ay17.moodle.umn.edu/course/view.php?id=7785>

Grading: This course uses the Humphrey School grade definitions, which are as follows:

A = superior work

B = satisfactory graduate-level work

C = below Graduate School standards, but worthy of graduate credit

D = unsatisfactory work; no graduate credit

F = fail/no credit given

S = satisfactory (grade of S must be level of C- or above)

N = non-satisfactory/no credit given

Individual assignments will be graded on the following grading scale: A: 100-94 | A- 93-90 | B+ 89-87 | B 86-84 | B- 83-80 | C+ 79-77 | C 76-74 | C- 73-70 | D+ 69-67 | D 66-64 | D- 63-60 | F Below 60

Late Policy: Unless prior arrangements have been made with me, late work will be penalized by a three-point deduction immediately, followed by an additional 3 points for every additional 48 hours late after the due date.

Student Honesty and Academic Integrity: Students are responsible for upholding and maintaining academic and professional honesty and integrity (Student Conduct Code, available at http://regents.umn.edu/sites/regents.umn.edu/files/policies/Student_Conduct_Code.pdf.) If you are unsure how to avoid plagiarism, cheating or academic misconduct, please see me and we can talk about ways to avoid these and succeed in this course.

Universal Access: As an instructor, it is important to me that all students are able to participate fully in this course. Please let me know if you need any special accommodations in the curriculum, instruction, or evaluation procedures in order for you to participate fully. The Disability Resource Center (<https://diversity.umn.edu/disability/>) might be a source of support to you. If you have, or think you may have, a disability (e.g., mental health, attentional, learning, chronic health, sensory, or physical), please contact the DRC at 612-626-1333 to arrange a confidential discussion regarding equitable access and reasonable accommodations. You can also learn more about the broad range of confidential mental health services available on campus at: <http://www.mentalhealth.umn.edu>.

Course Schedule: All the readings listed below each day are required.

Part I: Theoretical and Historical Frameworks

Week 1: (Jan 16) Political Representation

Introduction to the course and preliminary discussion. Read the following and be prepared to discuss in class.

- Pitkin, Hanna F. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Chapter 1 “Introduction” and Chapter 10 “Political Representation”. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Week 2: (Jan 23) Gender and Democratic Citizenship

- Birte Siim. 2000. *Gender and Citizenship*. (Chapters 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6)

Week 3: (Jan 30) Race and Democratic Citizenship

– *Distribution of Political Meeting Observation Assignment* –

- King, Desmond S., and Rogers M. Smith. 2005. “Racial Orders in American Political Development.” *The American Political Science Review* 99 (1): 75–92.
- Hardy-Fanta et. al. Chapter 1, pp. 29-76.
- Telles, Edward, and Stanley Bailey. 2013. “Understanding Latin American Beliefs about Racial Inequality.” *American Journal of Sociology* 118 (6):1559–95.
- Goldberg, David. 2006. “Racial Europeanization.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29 (2):331–64.

Week 4: (Feb 6) Gender, Race and Intersectionality in Political Representation

- Phillips, Anne. 1998. *Feminism and Politics*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 10: “Democracy and Representation: Or, Why Should It Matter Who our Representatives Are?” pp. 224-240.
- Mansbridge, Jane. “Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent ‘Yes.’” *The Journal of Politics* 61, no. 3 (August 1, 1999): 628–57.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble*. 1999. Chapter 1 “Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire.” New York: Routledge. p. 3-44.
- Young, Iris Marion. 1994. “Gender as Seriality: Thinking about Women as a Social Collective.” *Signs* 19 (3): 713–38.

Week 5: (Feb 13) Electoral Systems & Observing Race-Gendering in Action

- *Political Meeting Observation Assignment Due on Moodle by 5PM this Friday Feb 16–*

We’ll have a two-part discussion today: part one on electoral systems in preparation for your second assignment and part two on race-gender and political office based on your first assignment due this week.

- Reynolds, Andrew et. al. 2008. *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*. Stockholm: IDEA International.

<https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/electoral-system-design-the-new-international-idea-handbook.pdf> (Chapters 1, 2, 3 pp. 1-127)

- Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions." *The American Political Science Review* 97 (4): 529–50.

Part II. Descriptively Representative Legislatures and Bureaucracies

Week 6: (Feb 20) Running for Office

- Krook, Mona Lena, and Pippa Norris. 2014. "Beyond Quotas: Strategies to Promote Gender Equality in Elected Office." *Political Studies* 62 (1): 2–20.
- Hardy Fanta et. al. Chapters 3, 4 and 5
- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2011. "Women Who Win: Social Backgrounds, Paths to Power, and Political Ambition in Latin American Legislatures." *Politics & Gender* 7 (01):1–33.

Friday February 23: Please consider attending all or part of the day-long symposium tribute to former Minneapolis Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton on Women of Color and Elected Office.

Week 7: (Feb 27) Political Institutions and Descriptive Representation

- Murray, Rainbow. 2014. "Quotas for Men: Reframing Gender Quotas as a Means of Improving Representation for All." *American Political Science Review* 108 (03):520–532.
- Tripp, Aili Mari, and Alice Kang. 2008. "The Global Impact of Quotas on the Fast Track to Increased Female Legislative Representation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (3): 338–61.
- Bird, Karen. 2014. "Ethnic Quotas and Ethnic Representation Worldwide." *International Political Science Review* 35 (1): 12–26.
- William D. Hicks, Carl E. Klarner, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2017. "Revisiting Majority-Minority Districts and Black Representation." *Political Research Quarterly*, November, 1065912917738574. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912917738574>.
- Bhavnani, Rikhil R. 2009. "Do Electoral Quotas Work after They Are Withdrawn? Evidence from a Natural Experiment in India." *The American Political Science Review* 103 (1):23–35.

Week 8: (March 6) Intersectional Implications of Institutional Arrangements?

- Htun, Mala. 2004. "Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (3):439–58.
- Bjarnegård, Elin; Zetterberg, Pär. 2014. "Why are Representational Guarantees Adopted for Women and Minorities?: Comparing Constituency Formation and Electoral Quota Design Within Countries" *Representation* Vol.50(3), pp.307-320
- Bird, Karen. 2016. "Intersections of Exclusion: The Institutional Dynamics of Combined Gender and Ethnic Quota Systems." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4 (2): 284–306.

SPRING BREAK

Week 9: (March 20) Parties as Gatekeepers

- *Descriptive Representation Policy Briefs Due on Moodle by 5PM this week Friday March 23–*

- Hinojosa, Magda. 2009. "'Whatever the Party Asks of Me': Women's Political Representation in Chile's Unión Demócrata Independiente." *Politics & Gender* 5 (3):377–407.
- Davidson-Schmich, Louise K. 2016. *Gender Quotas and Democratic Participation: Recruiting Candidates for Elective Offices in Germany*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. (Introduction pp. 1-25 and Conclusion 219-238)
- Caul Kittlson, Miki and Katherine Tate. 2005. "Political Parties, Minorities and Elected Office: Comparing Opportunities for Inclusion in the United States and Britain." In: *The Politics of Democratic Inclusion*. Christina Wolbrecht and Rodney Hero, eds. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Pp. 163-
- Madrid, Raúl L. 2011. "Ethnic Proximity and Ethnic Voting in Peru." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 43 (2):267–97.
- Mügge, Liza M. 2016. "Intersectionality, Recruitment and Selection: Ethnic Minority Candidates in Dutch Parties." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (3): 512–30.

Part III. From Descriptive to Substantive Representation

Week 10: (March 27) Substantive Representation

- Dahlerup, Drude. 2014. "Representing Women: Defining Substantive Representation of Women." Escobar-Lemmon, Maria C., and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson, eds. *Representation: The Case of Women*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Pp. 58-75.
- Smooth, Wendy. 2011. "Standing for Women? Which Women? The Substantive Representation of Women's Interests and the Research Imperative of Intersectionality." *Politics & Gender* 7 (03): 436–41.
- Hardy-Fanta et. al., Chapter 7

Week 11: (April 3) Case Studies of Substantive Representation of Women

- Beckwith, Karen, and Kimberly Cowell-Meyers. 2007. "Sheer Numbers: Critical Representation Thresholds and Women's Political Representation." *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (3):553–65.
- Bratton, Kathleen A. 2002. "The Effect of Legislative Diversity on Agenda Setting Evidence from Six State Legislatures." *American Politics Research* 30 (2):115–42.
- Blofield, Merike, Jennifer Piscopo and Christina Ewig. 2018 "The Reactive Left: Gender Equality and the Latin American Pink Tide." *Social Politics*. Forthcoming, Winter.
- Keiser, Lael R., Vicky M. Wilkins, Kenneth J. Meier, and Catherine A. Holland. 2002. "Lipstick and Logarithms: Gender, Institutional Context, and Representative Bureaucracy." *American Political Science Review* 96 (3): 553.

Week 12: (April 10) Case studies of Substantive Representation of Racial and Ethnic Groups

- Cameron, Charles, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1996. "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?" *The American Political Science Review* 90 (4): 794–812.
- Wallace, Sophia J. 2014. "Representing Latinos: Examining Descriptive and Substantive Representation in Congress." *Political Research Quarterly* 67 (4):917–29.
- Chin, Aimee, and Nishith Prakash. 2011. "The Redistributive Effects of Political Reservation for Minorities: Evidence from India." *Journal of Development Economics* 96 (2):265–77.
- Bradbury, Mark, and J. Edward Kellough. 2011. "Representative Bureaucracy: Assessing the Evidence on Active Representation." *The American Review of Public Administration* 41 (2): 157–67.

Part IV. Getting Things Done

Week 13: (April 17) Parliamentary Committees and Caucuses

- Escobar-Lemmon, Maria, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. 2009. "Getting to the Top Career Paths of Women in Latin American Cabinets." *Political Research Quarterly* 62 (4):685–99.
- Celis, Karen, Sarah Childs, and Jennifer Curtin. 2016. "Specialised Parliamentary Bodies and the Quality of Women's Substantive Representation: A Comparative Analysis of Belgium, United Kingdom and New Zealand." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (4):812–29.
- Minta, Michael D. 2009. "Legislative Oversight and the Substantive Representation of Black and Latino Interests in Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34 (2):193–218.

Week 14: (April 24) Mainstreaming

- Lovenduski, Joni and Marila Guadagnini. "Political Representation." In: McBride, Dorothy, and Amy Mazur, eds. 2010. *The Politics of State Feminism: Innovation in Comparative Research*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. Pp. 164-192
- Sawyer, Marion. 1995. "Femocrats in Glass Towers: The Office of the Status of Women in Australia" in Dorothy McBride Stetson and Amy Mazur, eds. *Comparative State Feminism*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Cott, Donna Lee Van. 2002. "Constitutional Reform in the Andes: Redefining Indigenous-State Relations." In *Multiculturalism in Latin America*, 45–73. Institute of Latin American Studies Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Elson, Diane. 1998. "Integrating Gender Issues into National Budgetary Policies and Procedures: Some Policy Options." *Journal of International Development* 10 (7):929–41.

Week 14: (May 1) Substantive Policy Process Paper Presentations

Tuesday May 8: Final Substantive Policy Analysis Papers Due via Moodle.