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 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: the Gender and Public Policy Concentration, the Global Policy Concentration, the Politics and Governance Concentration, and the Social Policy Concentration. For more on the concentrations see: [https://www.hhh.umn.edu/masters-degrees/master-public-policy](https://www.hhh.umn.edu/masters-degrees/master-public-policy). You are also 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 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 learn how to write succinctly and powerfully for a broad, policy-oriented audience.

5. 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% Biography of a Cabinet Nominee
25% Descriptive Representation Policy Brief
25% Substantive Representation Policy Analysis

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

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. You may post one question for a Monday and one question for a Wednesday, or two questions for a Monday or Wednesday. 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 NOON 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. Biography of a Trump Cabinet Nominee. (15%) You will write a 500-700 word biography of a nominee for President Trump’s cabinet. Your biography will be based on research on the nominee’s descriptive characteristics and their past substantive record. You will highlight how this nominee might be expected to represent gender and race concerns in the new presidential administration. Names and posts of known nominees will be distributed to the class. Only one student may write on any one nominee. 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 Analysis Memo. (25%) In this 6-8 page policy memo you will choose a particular policy issue in a particular country or subnational state that is desired by a historically politically marginalized group, but has not passed. (For example, racial affirmative action in public University admissions in a country that does not have this; violence against women legislation; gender identity recognition; state-level paid family leave, etc.) The paper will analyze how that policy might succeed by outlining impediments to passage, elements that may aid in its passage, and a proposal for the best strategy to achieve passage.

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 60-100 pages per class meeting, generally two articles or book chapters per class meeting.

All 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://ay16.moodle.umn.edu/course/view.php?id=8627
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, except those marked ‘recommended’.

Part I: Gender, Race and Political Representation

Wed. Jan 18: Introduction to the Course
Monday Jan 23: Democracy and Political Representation


Wednesday Jan 25: Gender, Race and Partisan Politics in the 45th Presidential Administration

Panel Event hosted by the CWGPP. Attendance required at this event in the Humphrey Forum during our class time. (No readings today)

* Asking a question at the Forum can count as a question for the week. Due to the likelihood that there will not be time for two questions one individual, you may only be able to do one.

Monday Jan 30: Diversity and Political Representation


Today in Class: Selection of your Trump Cabinet member for the biography assignment.

Wed Feb 1: Sex, Gender and Women


Recommended if you want more background:
Monday Feb 6: Race, Biology and Social Constructions


*Recommended if you want more background:*

Wed Feb 8: Gender and Racial Orders in the Formation of National Policies


*Draft of Biography Assignment Due in Moodle today before class starts.*

II. Gender, Race and Political Executives

Monday Feb 13: Gender, Race and Cabinet Appointments


*Feedback in Class on Draft Biographies.*

**Wed. Feb 15: Women Heads of States**


*Policy Brief Assignment Distributed.*

**Monday Feb 20: Racial/Ethnic Minority Heads of State**


*Final Copy of Biography Assignment Due on Moodle.*

**III. Descriptively Representative Legislatures**

**Wed Feb 22: What leads to greater descriptive representation of women?**


Selection of Policy Brief Country and Group due Today – submit on Moodle before class.

Monday Feb 27: What leads to greater descriptive representation of racial/ethnic minorities?


Wed. March 1: Intersectional Implications?


Mon March 6: Complications of Implementation


Draft of policy brief due on Moodle by the start of class. Bring two paper copies to class.

Wed March 8: Policy Brief Workshop in Class.

SPRING BREAK!
IV. The Relationship between Descriptive and Substantive Representation

Monday March 20: What is Substantive Representation?


Final Policy Briefs due on Moodle before class today.

Wednesday March 22: Argentina and the USA: Women and Substantive Representation


Substantive Policy Memo Assignment Distributed in Class

Monday March 27: India: Ethnicity/Caste and Substantive Representation


Submit your issue topic & place for the substantive representation policy memo via Moodle before class today.

Wednesday March 29: Ni Una Menos Event!

Please attend special event before class: Ni Una Menos: The Activists behind the Global Movement against Gender Violence. 1:00-2:30 PM, HHH Forum. We will have a discussion of the event afterwards, in class, with María Pía López of Argentina.

Monday April 3: USA: Race and Substantive Representation


**Wednesday April 5: Social Movements and Substantive Representation**


**Monday April 10: Social Movements and Substantive Representation**


**VI. Representative Bureaucracy**

**Wednesday April 12: Passive and Active Representation in the Bureaucracy**


**Monday April 17: Global Comparisons**


**Wednesday April 19: State Feminism**


**V. Effects of Descriptive Representation on Symbolic Representation**

**Monday April 24: Women and Symbolic Representation**


**Wednesday April 26: Race and Symbolic Representation**


**May 1-3: No Class. Time to Work on Substantive Policy Analysis Papers.**

**Friday May 5: Final Substantive Policy Analysis Memos Due via Moodle.**