Political Science
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

POL491H1F/ POL2103H1F: Topics in Canadian Politics II:
Women and Representation: Who gets Elected?
Fall 2023: Wednesdays, 9AM-11AM, University College

Instructor: Prof. Semra Sevi
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Overview

This course explores questions of political representation in contemporary Canadian politics. While the overwhelming focus will be on the Canadian case, we will often draw upon examples and readings from other countries/institutional contexts to highlight important differences and similarities. The organization of the course is largely divided into three parts. First – where do our political representatives come from? During this section of the course we will explore topics related to political ambition, candidate recruitment, nomination, and ultimately election. Second – how representative are our political institutions? Here we will look at the descriptive outcomes of elections in Canada (federally and provincially) to consider the extent to which our democratically elected bodies are reflective of broader society. Are our legislatures and cabinets becoming more inclusive over time? Have we 'plateaued' in recent years? Third, and finally – we will end the course by exploring what our representatives do. In other words, how well do our representatives represent the diversity of interests that can be found across the country? Here we will consider the work of Members of Parliament including policy development (substantive representation) and constituency service (geographic representation).

Course Format

Attendance and active participation in all classes is required. This is a reading-intensive and discussion-centered seminar.

Required Texts and Materials

In this class, we will draw on a variety of readings – journal articles, book chapters, popular media accounts, and documentaries. See course schedule for assigned readings each week. These will be posted on Quercus. It is your responsibility to download all readings from the appropriate location. Students must complete all required readings before the lecture.

Some of the readings make use of quantitative statistical methods. For an introduction, you can read "A guide to interpreting regression tables" by Semra Sevi.

Course webpage. This course will use Quercus to disseminate all course-related information and assignments. It is your responsibility to log on to Quercus regularly and obtain relevant information. All written assignments must be submitted through Quercus.

Grading and Assessed Coursework

Assignment	Due Date	Percentage of Overall Grade
Participation	All lectures	25%
3 Knowledge Mobilization Assignments	October 4, November 1, and November 29	45%
Leading two in-class discussions	Will vary based on sign-up sheet	30%

Class Participation (25%)

As a seminar, regular attendance and active discussion is essential to everyone's learning and the success of this course. The majority of the class will be led by you. I expect you to regularly and actively engage in class discussion, having prepared the readings ahead of time.

Participation will be awarded for both attending class (1% per class) and participating in class discussions (1.5% per class). Excellent participation is not simply about the quantity of your engagement, but the quality of that engagement. Beginning on week 2, I will take attendance. You get one free absence (no questions asked/ no justification!).

Knowledge Mobilization Assignment (45%)

One of the key public goods produced by academics is peer-reviewed academic research. Articles in reputable journals and books ask important research questions, develop and apply social science theories, and make use of sophisticated quantitative and qualitative methods to generate results that add to our collective knowledge about the political, social, and economic world.

The purpose of this assignment is to introduce you to knowledge mobilization, which is an important skillset to have, whether you plan to do graduate school or seek employment in the public or private sectors in the future.

Your task is to take THREE of the readings below and translate its findings into accessible knowledge that policymakers, journalists and citizens can understand and use to tackle a real-world problem. You need to identify an important political issue or problem and use the article to help policymakers, journalists and/or citizens analyze and solve that problem. The problem could be something directly or indirectly related to the article's focus and so you may be simply extending the analysis offered in the paper (e.g. can findings about politicians at one level of government be applied to politicians at another level of government?); or it could be a problem that is distantly related or completely different from the one in the article: you might take ideas from one (policy/political) domain to solve a problem in a different domain (e.g. are there lessons to be learned about gender policies or political practices that might be applied to racial diversity?)

To complete this assignment, you must choose and focus on THREE of the following peer-reviewed academic articles:

- Butler, Daniel M. et al. 2022. "Constituents ask female legislators to do more." *The Journal of Politics* 84.4: 2278-2282.
- Dassonneville, Ruth, et al. 2021. "How citizens want their legislator to vote." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 46.2: 297-321.
- Green, Donald P., et al. 2023. "Revisiting a Natural Experiment: Do Legislators With Daughters Vote More Liberally on Women's Issues?" *Journal of Political Economy Microeconomics* 1.3.
- Preece, Jessica Robinson et al. 2016. "Run, Jane, run! Gendered responses to political party recruitment." *Political Behavior* 38: 561-577.

Your task is to write three 500–750-word (2-3 pages, double-spaced) op-ed's, which is an opinion piece published in a newspaper and written by experts to convince readers to adopt a position on some issue. Authors use op-eds to draw attention and provide solutions to real world events or problems. Please review the op-ed sections in the Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star, the National Post, Policy Options, or the Conversation for examples. As much as possible, your op-ed should link (using embedded links) to supporting sources and articles, including the academic papers you choose from the above list.

Assignments are to be submitted electorally through Quercus by **October 4, November 1, and November 29.**

Leading In-Class Discussions (30%)

One of the ways in which you will set the agenda for the course is by leading two in-class discussions sometime during the semester.

On Week 2, you will select two readings from a future week in the syllabus for which to lead two in-class discussions. Any of the readings in the class schedule is available for you to choose. Please review the syllabus carefully and come up with list of dates/ readings that you are interested in; you may not get your first preferences.

Leading in-class discussions consists of two graded components:

- First, begin with a 5-minute overview and critical analysis of the readings. Do not try to summarize the reading in all its detail. For your remarks, answer the following questions: What is the puzzle, or motivating question, underlying the reading? What is the argument, or answer, that the author provides? What evidence is used to support the argument, and is it persuasive? Why or why not are you convinced? How does the reading illustrate, contradict, or extend other readings in class? What did you find more or less compelling or clear, and why? The more cogent your overview and critical comments on the readings, the higher your grade.
- Second, prompt classmates into discussion with one thoughtful and thought-provoking opening question. Make sure your question is not one that can be easily answered with a "yes/no;" think of a question that set the agenda for a conversation or debate relevant to the

topic of the week. The more thoughtful your question and lively the discussion it prompts, the higher your grade.

Each in-class discussion is worth 15% of your grade.

Course Schedule and Readings

Note: You are expected to have read all the readings before class to prepare for in-class discussions. I may make and communicate small revisions to the selection readings over the course of the semester.

September 13: Introduction
- Read the syllabus!

September 20: Representation Matters
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *The Journal of Politics* 61(3):628–657.

September 27: What is Representation?
- Pitkin, Hanna. 1967. *The Concept of Representation.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Chapter 4.
- Dovi, Suzanne. 2020. "What's Missing? A Typology of Political Absence." *The Journal of Politics* 82(2):559-571.

October 4: The Political Pipeline (Ambition, Recruitment, and Nomination)
- Cross, William, and Lisa Young. 2013. "Candidate Recruitment in Canada: The Role of Political Parties." In Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner (eds.) *Parties, Elections, and the Future of Canadian Politics.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Cross, William and Scott Pruysers. 2019. "The Local Determinants of Representation: Constituency Associations, Candidate Nomination, and Gender." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52(3): 557-574.
- Tolley, Erin. 2019. "Who you know: Local party presidents and minority candidate emergence." *Electoral Studies* 58: 70-79.

October 11: Party Leaders & Leadership Selection (and removal)
- Thomas, Melanee. 2018. "In Crisis or Decline? Selecting Women to Lead Provincial Parties in Government." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 379–403.
- O'Neill B, Pruysers S, Stewart DK. 2021. "Glass Cliffs or Partisan Pressure? Examining Gender and Party Leader Tenures and Exits." *Political Studies* 69(2): 257-277.
- Astudillo, Javier, and Andreu Paneque. 2021. "Do Party Primaries Punish Women? Revisiting the Trade-off between the Inclusion of Party Members and the Selection of Women as Party Leaders." *Party Politics.* Online First.

October 18: Documentary shown in Class
- National Film Board documentary shown in class followed by a discussion on the importance and implications of the subject as it relates to political representation in Canada.

October 25: Electoral Systems & Quotas
- Thomas, Melanee and Marc Andre Bodet. 2013. "Sacrificial Lambs, Women Candidates, and District Competitiveness in Canada." *Electoral Studies* 32(1): 153-166.
- Tolley, Erin. 2017. "The Electoral System and Parliament's Diversity Problem: In Defense of the Wrongfully Accused." In Andrew Potter, Daniel Weinstock, and Peter Loewen (eds.) *Should We Change How We Vote? Evaluating Canada's Electoral System.* Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Everitt, Joanna, and Manon Tremblay. 2023. "Are Openly LGBTQ2 the New Sacrificial Lambs? Campaign Contexts and the Gendered Implications for LGBTQ2 Candidates." *Canadian Journal of Political Science.* Online First.

November 1: Voter Bias, Affinity Voting & Personalization
- Dabin, Simon, Jean François Daoust, and Martin Papillon. "Indigenous Peoples and Affinity Voting in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 39–53.
- Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth, and Julie Croskill. 2011. "Gender affinity effects in vote choice in Westminster systems: Assessing 'flexible' voters in Canada." *Politics & Gender* 7 (2): 223–50.
- Allen Stevens, Benjamin, Md Mujahedul Islam, Roosmarijn De Geus, Jonah Goldberg, John R. McAndrews, Alex Mierke-Zatwarnicki, Peter John Loewen, and Daniel Rubenson. 2019. "Local Candidate Effects in Canadian Elections." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 83-96.
- Sevi, Semra, Vincent Arel-Bundock, and André Blais. 2019. "Do Women Get Fewer Votes? No." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 201–10.

November 8: Reading week

November 15: Legislatures & Cabinets
- Kerby, Matthew. 2009. "Worth the Wait: Determinants of Ministerial Appointment in Canada, 1935–2008." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42(3): 593–11.
- Krook, Mona Lena and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2012. "All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide." *The Journal of Politics* 74(3):840-855.
- Poffenroth, Kim. 2005. "Raîche vs. Canada: A new direction in drawing electoral boundaries?" *Commonwealth Law Bulletin* 31(2): 53-60

November 22: Representation in Action
- Blidook, Kelly, Koop, Royce and Bastedo, Heather. 2018. *Representation in Action: MPs in the Constituencies.* Vancouver: UBC Press. Chapters 1 & 5.
- Loewen, P. and MacKenzie, M. K. 2019. "Service Representation in a Federal System: A Field Experiment." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 6(2): 93-107.
- Koop, Royce, Blidook, Kelly and Fuga, Lesley Anne. 2020. "Has the COVID-19 Pandemic Affected MPs' Representational Activities?" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 287-291.

November 29: Substantive Representation?
- Tremblay, Manon. 1998. "Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 31(3): 435–65.

- Morden, Michael. 2018. "Parliament and the Representation of Indigenous Issues: The Canadian Case." *Parliamentary Affairs* 71(1):124-143.
- Carrière, Réal, and Royce Koop. 2023. "Indigenous Political Representation in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science.* Online First.

December 6: Review
- Tremblay, Manon. 2020. "Representation: The Case of LGBTQ People." In Manon Tremblay (ed.) *Queering Representation: LGBTQ People and Electoral Politics in Canada.* Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Langford, Brynne, Levesque, Mario. "Symbolic and Substantive Relevance of Politicians with Disabilities: A British Columbia Case Study." *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 40(2): 8-17.
- Magni, Gabrielle and Elliot Imse. 2023. "When We Run: The Motivations, Experiences and Challenges of LGBTQ+ Canadidates in the United States" LGBTQ+ Victory Institute: https://victoryinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/When-We-Run-Report-2023.pdf

Course Policies

Please familiarize yourself with the following policies for this course.

Contacting the Course Instructor

I strongly recommend asking substantive questions about course content and requirements in scheduled office hours or by appointment. Email should be reserved strictly for time sensitive questions or quick points of clarification. I will usually respond to email within 48 hours (excluding weekends). When corresponding by e-mail, please put the course code at the beginning of the subject line, followed by the subject of your e-mail.

Possible Changes to the Syllabus

I reserve the right to make adjustments to the course syllabus. I will give you notice in the event of any changes, and amended syllabi will be posted on Quercus.

Re-grading or Appeals

I will not discuss your assignment for at least 48 hours after the assignment is returned to you. If you would like anything re-graded, you must prepare a single-page memo outlining your case for re-grading. The memo needs to be serious and specific. Please be aware that grades may go up, **down** or remain the same.

Missing Class and Late Assignments

Attendance and participation are required at all class sessions. Late assignments will be penalized 2% per day (including weekends).

Accommodation for Emergency Situations

Students who need additional time for an assignment or will miss a lecture for a medical or serious personal reason **must contact me before the due date /lecture date** and as soon as the problem arises. All requests for accommodation must be made to me directly via email.

Some documentation will usually be required to make accommodation. Please note that accommodations will not be made for foreseeable circumstances, such as having multiple papers due in the same week. Accommodations are reserved for unforeseeable events that are outside a student's control (e.g., illness, a death in the family).

Requests for accommodation **made on or after an assignment's due date, or lecture will not be considered.** Due date extensions will not usually be granted for work lost due to computer crashes or the loss of a computer file. There are simple and free ways of regularly and automatically backing up your work. Students are strongly advised to backup copies of their essays and assignments before submitting via Quercus. These backups should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned.

Medical Accommodations

If you become ill and it affects your ability to do your academic work, consult me right away. Normally, I will ask you for documentation in support of your specific medical circumstances. This documentation can be an Absence Declaration (via ACORN) or the University's Verification of Student Illness or Injury (VOI) form. The VOI indicates the impact and severity of the illness, while protecting your privacy about the details of the nature of the illness. If you cannot submit a VOI due to limits on terms of use, you can submit a different form (like a letter from a doctor), as long as it is an original document, and it contains the same information as the VOI (including dates, academic impact, practitioner's signature, phone and registration number). For more information on the VOI, please see http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca. For information on Absence Declaration Tool for A&S students, please see https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/absence. If you get a concussion, break your hand, or suffer some other acute injury, you should register with Accessibility Services as soon as possible.

Other Accommodations

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations or have any accessibility concerns, please visit http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility as soon as possible.

The University provides academic accommodations for students with disabilities in accordance with the terms of the Ontario Human Rights Code. This occurs through a collaborative process that acknowledges a collective obligation to develop an accessible learning environment that both meets the needs of students and preserves the essential academic requirements of the University's courses and programs.

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. If you have a disability that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the Accessibility Services office.

The University provides reasonable accommodation of the needs of students who observe religious holidays other than those already accommodated by ordinary scheduling and statutory holidays. Students have a responsibility to alert members of the teaching staff in a timely fashion to upcoming religious observances and anticipated absences and instructors will make every reasonable effort to avoid scheduling tests, examinations or other compulsory activities at these times. Please reach out to me as early as possible to communicate any anticipated absences related to religious observances, and to discuss any possible related implications for course work.

Equity and Harassment

The University of Toronto is committed to equity, human rights and respect for diversity. All members of the learning environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect where all members of our community can express themselves, engage with each other, and respect one another's differences. U of T does not condone discrimination or harassment against any persons or communities.

Academic Integrity and Responsibility

Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university, and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student's individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor in all relevant courses
- Making up sources or facts
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment

On tests and exams:

- Using or possessing unauthorized aids
- Looking at someone else's answers during an exam or test
- Misrepresenting your identity

In academic work:

- Falsifying institutional documents or grades
- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following procedures outlined in the *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or appropriate research and citation methods, please reach out to me. Note that you are expected to seek out additional information on academic integrity from me or from other institutional resources (for example, the University of Toronto website on Academic Integrity).

Plagiarism Detection

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (https://uoft.me/pdt-faq)

Artificial Intelligence Policy

The use of generative artificial intelligence tools or apps for assignments in this course, including tools like ChatGPT and other AI writing or coding assistants, is prohibited. Representing as one's own an idea, or expression of an idea, that was AI-generated may be considered an academic offense in this course. Students may not copy or paraphrase from any generative artificial intelligence applications, including ChatGPT and other AI writing and coding assistants, for the purpose of completing assignments in this course. This course policy is designed to promote your learning and intellectual development and to help you reach course learning outcomes.

Support

Students can visit www.writing.utoronto.ca for information and advice on all aspects of academic writing. Students are encouraged to make use of the college writing centers for individualized consultations on their written assignments. Interested students should book their appointments with the writing centers early, as they fill up fast. Information about the writing centers is available at http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/arts-andscience. Students can also take advantage of the Library's free "Writing Plus" academic skills workshop series, described at http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-plus. International students can find information about the English Language Learning program (ELL), which includes practice opportunities for improving oral communication and critical reading skills, at http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/current/advising/ell. Registrar Support: Students are encouraged to contact their registrar promptly if they experience unexpected challenges during the course that may require accommodations.

Health and Wellness

Students can access a wide range of programs and services to support their health and wellbeing. Many of these programs are listed at: https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/health-wellness/ 6 Crisis Support: Students in distress can access a range of free crisis lines available from the University of Toronto and the City of Toronto, as listed below: • University of Toronto: https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/task/support-when-you-feel-distressed/ • City of Toronto: https://www.toronto.ca/311/knowledgebase/kb/docs/articles/311- toronto/information-and-business-development/crisis-lines-suicide-depression-telephonesupport-lines-non-crisis-mental-health-services.html Most of these crisis lines are available 24 hours a day and some address specific problems that students may be experiencing. Immediate assistance is available as follows: • My SSP for University of Toronto Students: 1-844-451-9700. • Good 2 Talk Student Helpline: 1-866-925-5454 • Gerstein Crisis Centre: 416-929-5200 • Distress Centres of Greater Toronto: 416-408-HELP (4357) • The Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH): 250 College Street (walk-in)

Links to Resources

- Need to contact me? Here is a helpful resource on talking to your U of T professors: https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/task/talk-to-your-professors/
- Need help with writing your final paper? Seek the assistance of one of the writing centers on the St. George campus: https://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/arts-and-science/
- Experiencing computer issues? Get IT support here: https://its.utoronto.ca/contact/

- Need academic advice and support? Contact your College Registrar's Office (https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/current/academic-advising-and-support/college-registrars-offices) or book a one-on-one appointment with a peer mentor (https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/academic-success/)
- Need support for your mental health? Get counselling and therapy services via the Health and Wellness Office: https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/service/mental-health-clinical-services/
- Are you a student parent or have family care responsibilities? Get support from the Family Care Office: https://familycare.utoronto.ca/