

Gender and Politics in Comparative Perspective
GOV 345C (#38284)

Fall 2023: T/Th 3:30-5:00
MEZ 1.216

Dr. Stephanie S. Holmsten (she/her/hers)
E-mail: ssholmsten@austin.utexas.edu

Office: MEZ 3.214

Office hours: Monday 3 – 4:30pm, Wednesday 10:30am – 12pm
appointments scheduled on canvas calendar
optional conducted through zoom

Course Description:

While women's representation in politics has improved in recent years, the representation of women, minority women, and non-binary people, still lags behind the representation of men in political institutions. This course will study the patterns of gender representation over time, and in different regions of the world. We will consider what explains the difference in gender representation, as well as variation in the election of women and non-binary communities across country cases. We will ask why is it important to have gender equality in political institutions, tracing the evolution of activism over time. We will then consider historical and cultural obstacles to women and queer representation. Tackling a few country case studies, we will also learn about institutional responses to women and queer representation, and ways that electoral rules can affect such representation. Throughout the course we will also keep in mind other forms of social division, particularly religion and ethnicity, and the interaction of various forms of identity with gender.

The course grade will be based on team-based assignments that propose policy solutions to real-life challenges, individual writing assignments, and three written exams.

Required Texts:

- Paxton, Pam; Melanie Hughes and Tiffany Barnes. 2020. *Women, Politics and Power: A Global Perspective*. 4th Ed. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Articles marked with “C” are posted on the class canvas page. If you are not successful downloading the articles from canvas, you can also use the library website to find the articles. I reserve the right to adjust the readings on a limited basis in response to classroom discussions and current events. Any changes will be updated through canvas on the syllabus and daily modules. Students should always consult the syllabus posted on canvas, and the daily modules, for the most current readings.

- International news coverage. I recommend the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post* or *Financial Times*. You can also keep track of current events through magazines including the *Economist* and *Foreign Policy*. All of these resources are available to you through the UT library website.

Course Objectives:

- 1) Assess the broad array of research on diverse representation around the world. This course will enable students to do so through reading and responding to a number of scholarly articles that engage with the broad field of women and queer representation, as well as by devoting significant time to class discussion.
- 2) Become familiar with using university resources in academic research. This course will encourage students to benefit from individual consultation with the instructor and fellow students in narrowing and sharpening topics and arguments, as well as offer guidance from library and writing center specialists.
- 3) Through the research and writing of a major paper, this course will require students to become conversant with the existing literature on gender and politics. Working through project teams, students will also strengthen professional skills for working with other people to produce a collaborative piece of research.

Grading Breakdown:

- **Attendance and participation (5 percent):** Attendance and meaningful class participation are important aspects of our work together. Attendance will be taken regularly, and participation in team activities in necessary. Excused absences will be allowed for family and medical emergence. Students must communicate with me about absences within five days of the absence.
- **Reading Quizzes (15 percent):** After reading the assigned articles and discussing the topic in class, we will conduct two forms of knowledge assessment. The first form is a quiz that you will take individually to assess your comprehension of the reading material and topic. After taking the individual quiz, you will take the same quiz again in your group, needing to come to a consensus about the right answer. The answers will then be discussed in class. The goal of both exercises is to confirm that students have grasped the central ideas of the topic. Attendance for the quiz and discussion are required to receive a grade for the assessment.
- **Topic Statement (10 percent):** Students will submit a 250-word description of the scope of their country report (see description of complete project below). Choose a country of the world and investigate the status of gender equality in that country. Identify the opportunities and barriers that women, minoritized women or LGBTQIA+ individuals face in that country. The description will include a clear identification of the country and a description of what you are curious to find in this region. What key characteristics might matter for studying gender equality in this country? What is your initial assumption about the barriers and

opportunities in this country? Project statements will be submitted electronically on canvas.

- **Country Reports (30 percent):** Students will write a country report on the status of gender equality. A strong *country report* will describe the status of women, minoritized women, or LGBTQIA+ people in the country. The report should also explore possible explanations for the level of diverse representation, considering current barriers and opportunities. The final paper should be 7 pages long (double-spaced, 12-point Times New Roman font). A bibliography/works cited page (exclusive of page count) should follow the paper. Papers will be docked one letter grade for each day (including Saturday and Sunday) they are late. Reports will be submitted electronically on canvas.
- **Special Journal Issue (20 percent):** After submitting topic statements, students will be assigned project groups, based on their country topics. Project groups will meet throughout the semester to support each country report. In addition, each regional group will present the collective work from the region. Like introductions in published special journal issues, your presentation will describe the broad goal of the collection of papers, discuss overlapping themes and provide a brief description of the individual projects. There are three class periods designated for group meetings. You may choose to meet more often.
- **Exam (20 percent):** Students will take two exams during the semester. The material for the exams will be drawn from the lectures, readings and knowledge assessments. Exams will include short answer questions (about 100 words each), covering the broader themes of the class. The exams will be take-home writing assignments, where students are allowed to use notes and course materials.
- **Overall semester averages** will earn the following letter grades:

93-100: A	90-92: A-	
87-89: B+	83-86: B	80-82: B-
77-79: C+	73-76: C	70-72: C-
67-69: D+	63-66: D	60-62: D- 0-59: F

Paper Format: All written assignments should be typed, double-spaced, 12-point Times New Roman font. Your name and the deadline of the assignment should be posted on the first page, along with the title of your writing. Page numbers should appear on each page. All material that you use to support your paper should be cited. We are using Chicago-style citations from Kate L. Turbian's *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses and Dissertations* (8th ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Undergraduate Writing Center: Because writing is an important part of this class, as well as a necessary skill for the job market, students are strongly encouraged to make use of the Undergraduate Writing Center, FAC 211, 471-6222: <http://www.uwc.utexas.edu/>). The Undergraduate Writing Center offers free, individualized, expert help with writing

for any UT undergraduate, by appointment. Any undergraduate enrolled in a course at UT can visit the UWC for assistance with any writing project. They work with students from every department on campus, for both academic and non-academic writing. Their services are not just for writing with "problems." Getting feedback from an informed audience is a normal part of a successful writing project. Consultants help students develop strategies to improve their writing. The assistance they provide is intended to foster independence. Each student determines how to use the consultant's advice. The consultants are trained to help you work on your writing in ways that preserve the integrity of your work.

University of Texas Honor Code: The core values of The University of Texas at Austin are learning, discovery, freedom, leadership, individual opportunity, and responsibility. Each member of the university is expected to uphold these values through integrity, honesty, trust, fairness, and respect toward peers and community. Any student found guilty of scholastic dishonesty may receive an "F" in the course and be remanded to the appropriate University of Texas authorities for disciplinary action. For more information, view Student Judicial Services at <http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs>.

Statement on Learning Success

Your success in this class is important to me. We will all need accommodations because we all learn differently. If there are aspects of this course that prevent you from learning or exclude you, please let me know as soon as possible. Together we'll develop strategies to meet both your needs and the requirements of the course. I also encourage you to reach out to the student resources available through UT. Many are listed on this syllabus, but I am happy to connect you with a person or Center if you would like.

Absences

If you are absent, please be in touch with me by email within 24 hours of missing class. We will make a plan to cover the material you missed.

Excused Absence: The only absences that will be considered excused are for religious holidays or extenuating circumstances due to an emergency. If you plan to miss class due to observance of a religious holiday, please let us know at least two weeks in advance. You will not be penalized for this absence, although you will still be responsible for any work you will miss on that day if applicable. Check with us for details or arrangements.

If you have to be absent, use your resources wisely. Ask your classmates to get a run-down and notes on any lessons you miss. If you find there are topics that we covered while you were gone that raise questions, you may come by during office hours or schedule a meeting to discuss. Email specific questions you have in advance so that we can make the most of our time. "What did I miss?" is not specific enough.

Student Rights & Responsibilities

- You have a right to a learning environment that supports mental and physical wellness.
- You have a right to respect.
- You have a right to be assessed and graded fairly.
- You have a right to freedom of opinion and expression.
- You have a right to privacy and confidentiality.
- You have a right to meaningful and equal participation, to self-organize groups to improve your learning environment.
- You have a right to learn in an environment that is welcoming to all people. No student shall be isolated, excluded or diminished in any way.

With these rights come responsibilities:

- You are responsible for taking care of yourself, managing your time, and communicating with the teaching team and with others if things start to feel out of control or overwhelming.
- You are responsible for acting in a way that is worthy of respect and always respectful of others.
- Your experience with this course is directly related to the quality of the energy that you bring to it, and your energy shapes the quality of your peers' experiences.
- You are responsible for creating an inclusive environment and for speaking up when someone is excluded.
- You are responsible for holding yourself accountable to these standards, holding each other to these standards, and holding the teaching team accountable as well.

Personal Pronoun Use (She / He / They / Ze / Etc)

Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, culture, religion, politics, sexual orientation, gender, gender variance, and nationalities. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name, unless they have added a "preferred name" with the Gender and Sexuality Center

(<http://diversity.utexas.edu/genderandsexuality/publications-and-resources/>). I will gladly honor your request to address you by a name that is different from what appears on the official roster, and by the gender pronouns you use (she/he/they/ze, etc). Please advise me of any changes early in the semester so that I may make appropriate updates to my records.

University Resources for Students

Services for Students with Disabilities

This class respects and welcomes students of all backgrounds, identities, and abilities. If there are circumstances that make our learning environment and activities difficult, if you have medical information that you need to share with me, or if you need specific arrangements in case the building needs to be evacuated, please let me know. I am committed to creating an effective learning environment for all students, but I can only do so if you discuss your needs with me as early as possible. I promise to maintain the confidentiality of these discussions. Any student with a documented disability who

requires academic accommodations should contact Services for Students with Disabilities at 471-6259 (voice) or 512-410-6644 (Video Phone) as soon as possible to request an official letter outlining authorized accommodations. For more information, visit <http://ddce.utexas.edu/disability/about/>.

Counseling and Mental Health Center

Do your best to maintain a healthy lifestyle this semester by eating well, exercising, avoiding drugs and alcohol, getting enough sleep and taking some time to relax. This will help you achieve your goals and cope with stress.

All of us benefit from support during times of struggle. You are not alone. There are many helpful resources available on campus and an important part of the college experience is learning how to ask for help. Asking for support sooner rather than later is often helpful.

If you or anyone you know experiences any academic stress, difficult life events, or feelings like anxiety or depression, we strongly encourage you to seek support.

<http://www.cmhc.utexas.edu/individualcounseling.html>

The Sanger Learning Center

Did you know that more than one-third of UT undergraduate students use the Sanger Learning Center each year to improve their academic performance? All students are welcome to take advantage of Sanger Center's classes and workshops, private learning specialist appointments, peer academic coaching, and tutoring for more than 70 courses in 15 different subject areas. For more information, please visit

<http://www.utexas.edu/ugs/slc> or call 512-471-3614 (JES A332).

Undergraduate Writing Center: <http://uwc.utexas.edu/>

Libraries: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/>

ITS: <http://www.utexas.edu/its/>

Student Emergency Services: <http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/emergency/>

BeVocal

BeVocal is a university-wide initiative to promote the idea that individual Longhorns have the power to prevent high-risk behavior and harm. At UT Austin all Longhorns have the power to intervene and reduce harm. To learn more about BeVocal and how you can help to build a culture of care on campus, go to:

<https://wellnessnetwork.utexas.edu/BeVocal>.

Important Safety Information:

If you have concerns about the safety or behavior of fellow students, TAs or Professors, call BCAL (the Behavior Concerns Advice Line): 512-232-5050. Your call can be anonymous. If something doesn't feel right – it probably isn't. Trust your instincts and share your concerns.

The following recommendations regarding emergency evacuation from the Office of Campus Safety and Security, 512-471-5767, <http://www.utexas.edu/safety/>

Occupants of buildings on The University of Texas at Austin campus are required to evacuate buildings when a fire alarm is activated. Alarm activation or announcement requires exiting and assembling outside.

- Familiarize yourself with all exit doors of each classroom and building you may occupy. Remember that the nearest exit door may not be the one you used when entering the building.
- Students requiring assistance in evacuation shall inform their instructor in writing during the first week of class.
- In the event of an evacuation, follow the instruction of faculty or class instructors. Do not re-enter a building unless given instructions by the following: Austin Fire Department, The University of Texas at Austin Police Department, or Fire Prevention Services office.
- Link to information regarding emergency evacuation routes and emergency procedures can be found at: www.utexas.edu/emergency

Title IX Reporting

Title IX is a federal law that protects against sex and gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, sexual assault, sexual misconduct, dating/domestic violence and stalking at federally funded educational institutions. UT Austin is committed to fostering a learning and working environment free from discrimination in all its forms. When sexual misconduct occurs in our community, the university can:

1. Intervene to prevent harmful behavior from continuing or escalating.
2. Provide support and remedies to students and employees who have experienced harm or have become involved in a Title IX investigation.
3. Investigate and discipline violations of the university's [relevant policies](https://titleix.utexas.edu/relevant-policies/) (<https://titleix.utexas.edu/relevant-policies/>).

Beginning January 1, 2020, Texas Senate Bill 212 requires all employees of Texas universities, including faculty, report any information to the Title IX Office regarding sexual harassment, sexual assault, dating violence and stalking that is disclosed to them. Texas law requires that all employees who witness or receive any information of this type (including, but not limited to, writing assignments, class discussions, or one-on-one conversations) must be reported. **I am a Responsible Employee and must report any Title IX related incidents** that are disclosed in writing, discussion, or one-on-one. Before talking with me, or with any faculty or staff member about a Title IX related incident, be sure to ask whether they are a responsible employee. If you would like to speak with someone who can provide support or remedies without making an official report to the university, please email advocate@austin.utexas.edu. For more information about reporting options and resources, visit <http://www.titleix.utexas.edu/>, contact the Title IX Office via email at titleix@austin.utexas.edu, or call 512-471-0419.

Although graduate teaching and research assistants are not subject to Texas Senate Bill 212, they are still mandatory reporters under Federal Title IX laws and are required to report a wide range of behaviors we refer to as sexual misconduct, including the types of sexual misconduct covered under Texas Senate Bill 212. The Title IX office has developed supportive ways to respond to a survivor and compiled campus resources to support survivors.

Emergency Evacuation Procedures

The following recommendations regarding emergency evacuation from the Office of Campus Safety and Security, 512-471-5767, <http://www.utexas.edu/safety/>

University Policies

Academic Integrity

Each student in the course is expected to abide by the University of Texas Honor Code: “As a student of The University of Texas at Austin, I shall abide by the core values of the University and uphold academic integrity.” **Plagiarism is taken very seriously at UT.** Therefore, if you use words or ideas that are not your own (or that you have used in previous class), you must cite your sources. Otherwise you will be guilty of plagiarism and subject to academic disciplinary action, including failure of the course. You are responsible for understanding UT’s Academic Honesty and the University Honor Code which can be found at the following web address: <https://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/conduct/standardsconduct.php>

Q Drop Policy

If you want to drop a class after the 12th class day, you’ll need to execute a Q drop before the Q-drop deadline, which typically occurs near the middle of the semester. Under Texas law, you are only allowed six Q drops while you are in college at any public Texas institution. For more information, see: <http://www.utexas.edu/ugs/csacc/academic/adddrop/qdrop>

Student Privacy: The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) requires that student privacy be preserved. Thus the posting of grades, even by the last four digits of the social security number, is forbidden. All communication will remain between the instructor and the student, and the instructor will not be able to share details of the student’s performance with parents, spouses, or any others.

Sharing of Course Materials is Prohibited:

No materials used in this class, including, but not limited to, lecture hand-outs, videos, assessments (quizzes, exams, papers, projects, homework assignments), in-class materials, review sheets, and additional problem sets, may be shared online or with anyone outside of the class unless you have my explicit, written permission. Unauthorized sharing of materials promotes cheating. It is a violation of the University’s Student Honor Code and an act of academic dishonesty. I am well aware of the sites used for sharing materials, and any materials found online that are associated with you, or any suspected unauthorized sharing of materials, will be reported to Student Conduct and Academic Integrity in the Office of the Dean of Students. These reports can result in sanctions, including failure in the course.

Class Recordings:

Class recordings are reserved only for students in this class for educational purposes and are protected under FERPA. The recordings should not be shared outside the class in any form. Violation of this restriction by a student could lead to Student Misconduct proceedings.

COURSE SCHEDULE***Theme one: Studying Gender, History and Theories*****Week 1****Tuesday, August 22: Introduction**

What is gender? What are politics? How will we approach these topics? How is the class organized?

Paxton, Pam; Melanie Hughes and Tiffany Barnes. 2020. *Women, Politics and Power: A Global Perspective*. 4th Ed. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers (henceforth: Paxton, Hughes and Barnes), Chapter 1

Thursday, August 24: Studying gender

How does the global community measure and study gender?

UN Women and UNDP. 2023. "The Paths to Equal: Twin indices on women's empowerment and gender equality." ([link](#))

Week 2**Tuesday, August 29: Feminist social movements**

What was the historical context of the first wave of feminism? What were the main goals of the first wave of feminism? What did this wave accomplish?

Paxton, Hughes and Barnes. Chapter 2.

Teele, Dawn Langan. 2018. "How the West Was Won: Competition, Mobilization, and Women's Enfranchisement in the United States." *Journal of Politics* 80(2): 442-61.

Thursday, August 31: Waves of Feminism

What was the historical contexts of the waves of feminism? What were the main goals of each wave of feminism? What did each wave accomplish?

Rosenstock, Nancy. 2021. "Second-Wave Feminism: Accomplishments and Lessons." *Against the Current* 36 (1): 21–23.

Adichie, Chamamanda. 2015. *We Should all be Feminists*. New York: Anchor Books. Or watch her TedTalk by the same title.

Week 3**Tuesday, Sept. 5: LGBTQIA+ mobilization**

What was the historical context of gender equality for queer and non-binary communities? What parallels and differences do you see with women's mobilization?

Schilt, Kristen and Danya Lagos. 2017. "The Development of Transgender Studies in Sociology" *Annual Review of Sociology* 43:425-43.

Thursday, Sept. 7: LGBTQIA+ representation

When and where are transgender candidates elected? What explains the patterns?

Casey, Logan and Andrew Reynolds. 2015. "Standing Out: Transgender and Gender Variant Candidates and Elected Officials around the world." lgbtqrightsrep.files.wordpress.com

Casey, Logan 2019. "Transgender Candidates." [Logancasey.com/trans-candidates-project](http://logancasey.com/trans-candidates-project).

Week 4**Tuesday, Sept. 12: Academic approaches: feminism**

How has feminism contributed to international relations theory? In what ways does feminism differ from traditional IR theory? What key factors and levels of analysis do feminists consider?

Hawkesworth, Mary. 2005. "Engendering Political Science: An Immodest Proposal," *Politics & Gender* 1(1): 141-156.

Tickner, J. Ann. 2004. "Feminist responses to international security studies." *Peace review* 16(1): 43-48.

Goldstein, Joshua. 2002. "John Wayne and GI Jane." *The Christian Science Monitor* 10.

Enloe, Cynthia. 2011. "The mundane matters." *International Political Sociology* 5(4): 447-450.

Optional: Silvey, Rachel. 2004. "Transnational Domestication: State Power and Indonesian Migrant Women in Saudi Arabia," *Political Geography* 23(3): 245-264.

Optional: Pun Ngai. 2007. "Gendering the Dormitory Labor System: Production, Reproduction, and Migrant Labor in South China," *Feminist Economics* 13(3): 239-258.

Optional: Tickner, J. Ann. 2002. "Feminist perspectives on 9/11." *International Studies Perspectives* 3(4): 333-350.

Optional: Cohn, Carol. 1987. "Sex and death in the rational world of defense intellectuals." *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society* 12(4): 687-718.

Optional: Cohn, Carol, and Sara Ruddick. 2004. "A feminist ethical perspective on weapons of mass destruction." *Ethics and weapons of mass destruction: Religious and secular perspectives* pgs 405-435.

Reading Quiz #1: Studying gender and mobilization

Thursday, Sept. 14: Black feminism and intersectionality

What about other aspects of social identity? How does gender interact with ethnicity, race, class and religion?

Paxton, Hughes and Barnes. Chapter 4.

Truth, Sojourner. 1851. "Ain't I a Woman?" Achron, Ohio as performed by Kerry Washington ([link](#))

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 2016. "The urgency of intersectionality." ([link](#))

In class: University of Michigan activity. ([link](#))

In the news: "The Quiet Coronation of Joe Biden". New York Times The Run-Up. April 13, 2023 ([link](#))

Optional: Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm." *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1): 63-79.

Optional: Hughes, Melanie. 2011. "Intersectionality, Quotas and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide." *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 604-620.

Optional: Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2009. "An Untraditional Intersectional Analysis of the 2008 Election." *Politics & Gender* 5 (March): 96-105.

Week 5

Tuesday, Sept. 19: Exam #1: Studying Gender due

NO CLASS meeting

Thursday, Sept. 21: Library resources and assignment details for country report.

What is a case study? What are the expectations for the country report assignments? What resources does the library offer to help with this project?

Paxton, Hughes and Barnes. Preface.

Skim US State Department reports ([link](#)).

Theme Two: Key pressures and dynamics

Week 6

Tuesday, Sept. 26: Election of women

What is the status of women's representation around the world? How do we measure it and what are the trends over time and place?

Paxton, Hughes and Barnes. Chapter 3.

Thursday, Sept. 28: Descriptive and Substantive Representation

What is descriptive representation? What is substantive representation? Why is it important to study the election of women?

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

Celis Karen and Sarah Childs. 2018. "Good Representatives and Good Representation." *Political Science & Politics* 51 (2): 314–317.

Celis, Karen, Sarah Childs, Johanna Kantola, and Mona Lena Krook. 2008. "Rethinking Women's Substantive Representation," *Representation* 44(2): 99-110.

Optional: Childs, Sarah and Mona Lena Krook. 2009. "Analyzing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors". *Government and Opposition* 44 (2): 125–145.

Optional: Allen, Peter, and Sarah Childs. 2019. "The Grit in the Oyster? Women's Parliamentary Organizations and the Substantive Representation of Women." *Political Studies* 67 (3): 618–38.

Week 7

Tuesday, Oct. 3: Political, institutional explanations (demand side)

Are there institutional mechanisms that support women's representation? What are the roles of electoral systems and political parties in the election of women?

Paxton, Hughes and Barnes. Chapter 7.

Norris, Pippa. 1985. "Women's legislative participation in Western Europe." *West European Politics* 8(4): 90-101.

Matland, Richard E., and Donley T. Studlar. 1996. "The contagion of women candidates in single-member district and proportional representation electoral systems: Canada and Norway." *The Journal of Politics* 58(3): 707-733.

Optional: Golder, Sona N., Laura B. Stephenson, Karine Van der Straeten, Andr Blais, Damien Bol, Philipp Harfst, and Jean-Francois Laslier. 2017. "Votes for Women: Electoral Systems and Support for Female Candidates." *Politics & Gender* 13(1): 107-131.

Optional: Valdini, Marco E. 2013. "Electoral Institutions and the Manifestation of Bias: The effect of the Personal Vote on the Representation of Women." *Politics & Gender*, 9(1), 76-92.

Thursday, Oct. 5: Gender Quotas

How do scholars explain the remarkable election of women in countries that do not have progressive cultural attitudes toward women or socioeconomic development? How do gender quotas overcome these barriers to women's representation? What unintended problems might gender quotas create?

Dahlerup, Drude, and Lenita Freidenvall. 2005. "Quotas as a 'fast track' to equal representation for women: Why Scandinavia is no longer the model." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7(1): 26-48.

Piscopo, Jennifer. 2020. "When Do Quotas in Politics Work? Latin America Offers Lessons" *Americas Quarterly* ([link](#))

Krook, Mona Lena. 2006. "Reforming representation: The diffusion of candidate gender quotas worldwide." *Politics & Gender* 2(3): 303-327.

Optional: Bratton, Kathleen A. 2005. "Critical mass theory revisited: The behavior and success of token women in state legislatures." *Politics & Gender* 1(1): 97-125.

Optional: Dahlerup, Drude. 2007. "Electoral gender quotas: Between equality of opportunity and equality of result." *Representation* 43(2): 73-92.

Optional: Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2009. "Making quotas work: The effect of gender quota laws on the election of women." *Legislative studies quarterly* 34(1): 5-28.

Reading Quiz #2: Political representation

Week 8

Tuesday, Oct. 10: Country report topic statement due

Thursday, Oct. 12: Women and economic development

What is the relationship between economic growth, industrialization and development on women's well-being? Does industrialization promote women's well-being? Are women in low-income countries more vulnerable than women in high-income countries?

Paxton, Hughes and Barnes. Chapter 6.

Dilli, Selin, Sarah G. Carmichael, and Auke Rijpma. 2019. "Introducing the Historical Gender Equality Index." *Feminist Economics* 25 (1): 31–57.

"Women in Agrifood Systems". 2023. Food and Agricultural Organization ([link](#))

Branisa, Boris, Stephan Klasen, and Maria Ziegler. 2013. "Gender Inequality in Social Institutions and Gendered Development Outcomes." *World Development* 45: 252–68.

Optional: Klasen, Stephan, and Francesca Lamanna. 2009. "The Impact of Gender Inequality in Education and Employment on Economic Growth: New Evidence for a Panel of Countries." *Feminist Economics* 15(3): 91–132

Optional: Doepke, Matthias, Michèle Tertilt, and Alessandra Voena. 2012. "The Economics and Politics of Women's Rights." *Annual Review of Economics* 4: 339–72.

Week 9

Tuesday, Oct. 17: Exam #2 Political and socioeconomic barriers due

Thursday, Oct. 19: Country Report working group meeting #1

Goal: Describe the country reports proposed by each group member. Discuss data you intend to collect. Identify the specific sources of information. Consider political, socioeconomic and cultural indicators that might enhance your project.

Week 10

Tuesday, Oct. 24: Cultural explanations

In what ways does culture matter? Which "cultural" factors promote women's representation?

Paxton, Hughes and Barnes. Chapter 5.

Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. 2001. "Cultural obstacles to equal representation." *Journal of Democracy* 12(3): 126-140.

Lawless, Jennifer L. 2009. "Sexism and gender bias in election 2008: A more complex path for women in politics." *Politics & Gender* 5(1): 70-80.

Teele, Dawn Langan, Joshua Kalla, and Frances Rosenbluth. 2018. "The Ties That Double Bind: Social Roles and Women's Underrepresentation in Politics." *American Political Science Review* 112(3): 525-541.

Optional: Fulton, Sarah A. 2014. "When Gender Matters: Macro-Dynamics and Micro-Mechanisms." *Political Behavior* 36(3): 605-30.

Optional: Jayachandran, Seema. 2021. "Social Norms as a Barrier to Women's Employment in Developing Countries." *IMF Economic Review* July: 1–20.

Optional: Dewi, Kurniawati Hastuti. 2020. "Motherhood Identity in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Elections: Populism and Political Division in the National Women's Movement." *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International & Strategic Affairs* 42 (2): 224–50.

Thursday, Oct. 26: Why women don't run, updated (supply side cont.)

Even among developed countries, many countries still experience low levels of women's representation. Are there factors at the candidate level that affect the likelihood that women will run for office? What prevents women from choosing to run for office?

Fox, Richard L., and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2011. "Gendered perceptions and political candidacies: A central barrier to women's equality in electoral politics." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(1): 59-73.

Fox, Richard and Jennifer Lawless. 2014. "Uncovering the Origins of the Gender Gap in Political Ambition." *American Political Science Association* 108(3): 499-519.

Week 11

Tuesday, Oct. 31: Media coverage of women

Does the media treat women differently than men during campaigns? How does the coverage of women affect voter choices? Does media coverage affect women's willingness to run for office?

Ward, Orlanda. 2017. "Intersectionality and Press Coverage of Political Campaigns." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 22 (1): 43–66.

Carroll, Susan J. 2009. "Reflections on Gender and Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign: The Good, the Bad, and the Misogynic." *Politics and Gender* 5(1): 1-20.

Heldman, Caroline, Susan J. Carroll, and Stephanie Olson. 2005. "'She Brought Only a Skirt': Print Media Coverage of Elizabeth Dole's Bid for the Republican Presidential Nomination." *Political Communication* 22: 315-335.

Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2015. "A non-gendered lens? Media, voters, and female candidates in contemporary congressional elections." *Perspectives on Politics* 13(1): 95-118.

"There's much less gender bias in the media than you think. Here's why." by Jennifer Lawless. *Washington Post*, [Monkey Cage](#), May 24, 2016.

Optional: Kira Sanbonmatsu. 2002. "Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (1): 20–34.

Optional: Dolan, Kathleen, and Timothy Lynch. 2014. "It Takes a Survey: Understanding Gender Stereotypes, Abstract Attitudes, and Voting for Women Candidates." *American Politics Research* 42(4): 656-676.

Reading Quiz #3: Socioeconomic and cultural dynamics

Thursday, Nov. 2: Country Report working group meeting #2

Goal: Describe the country reports proposed by group members. Discuss political, socioeconomic and cultural indicators that might enhance your project. Where can you find that information?

Tuesday, Nov. 7: Ambition, emotion and anger

Cosslett, Rhiannon Lucy. 2023. "Female Ambition Isn't a Reason Relationships End. Toxic Patriarchal Culture is." *Vogue* April 18, 2023. ([link](#))

"Women Know Exactly What They're Doing When They Use 'Weak Language'" *New York Times* Guest Essay. July 31, 2023. ([link](#))

Kessler, Ben. 2023. "Gone are 'Daddy' Days. There are 'Mother' Times" *New York Times* May 13, 2023. ([link](#))

Friedman, Vanessa. "Kaitlan Collins, in a White Suit, Takes on Trump" *New York Times*. May 11, 2023.

"Companies pull back from Pride campaigns after backlash, and threats toward employees" *Weekend Edition Sunday, NPR News*. May 28, 2023 ([link](#))

Optional (TRIGGER WARNING, this article explores women's experiences after sexual assault) Lithwick, Dahlia. 2023. "The Full Life of a Woman" *Slate* May 1, 2023. ([link](#))

Week 12

Thursday, Nov. 9: Country examples: India

Paxton, Hughes and Barnes. Chapter 14.

"Can India Become the Next Global Superpower?" April 27, 2023. *The Daily*, New York Times ([link](#))

Tuesday, Nov. 14: Country examples: Colombia

Paxton, Hughes and Barnes. Chapter 12.

Week 13

Thursday, Nov. 16: Final country report due

Nov. 21 and 23 THANKSGIVING BREAK

Week 14

Tuesday, Nov. 28: Country Report working group meeting #3

Goal: Discuss main findings from the country reports. Consider overlapping themes among your individual reports. Discuss how your individual country reports draw on our course themes.

Thursday, Nov. 30: Special Journal Issue Presentation