

## GENDER AND COMPARATIVE POLITICS

790:593

FALL 2017

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Course Time: Tuesdays, 3.00-5.40 PM  
Office Hours: By appointment  
Web: <http://mlkrook.org>

### Course Description

This course surveys central topics in the study of gender and comparative politics, covering such issues as comparative methods, social movements, political parties, elections, political representation, states and public policy, and institutions. It seeks to map the trajectory of feminist work in various areas of comparative research, drawing on examples from various world regions and time periods to analyze similarities and differences across cases around the globe.

### Course Requirements

This course aims to introduce students to basic concepts and debates in gender and comparative politics, focusing on developing a variety of analytical skills. Grades for the course will be calculated in the following way:

- **Class participation** (30%) You are expected to come to class prepared and to participate actively in class discussions. Being prepared means doing the readings in advance of class sessions, with notes on issues to raise during the class.
- **Class presentations** (20%) You will be assigned dates to bring in additional readings for presentation and class discussion. These readings can be from the list of 'recommended' readings, but could also be a recently published article or book not on the syllabus. You should present a summary of the piece – including its motivation, methods, and findings – and reflect over how it speaks back to the other readings for that class session.
- **Ph.D. Students: Review essay** (50%) You will write a review essay – approximately 8,000-10,000 words long – that surveys the literature in one particular area in the gendered study of comparative politics. You are not restricted to the topics outlined in the syllabus. The essay should discuss key contributions, evolution of research questions, and ongoing debates within the field. Ideally, this exercise will help serve as the foundation for a literature review in a future doctoral dissertation, but this is not required. Students are advised to consult with me in an ongoing manner over the course of the semester to discuss the topic, potential readings, and any issues that arise in the writing of this essay. Deadline: December 21.
- **M.A. Students: Research paper** (50%) You will write a research paper – approximately 5,000-8,000 words long – applying concepts and theories covered in the course to analyze an event or phenomenon related to gender and politics outside the United States. Students are advised to consult with me in an ongoing manner over the course of the semester to discuss the topic, potential readings, and any issues that arise in the writing of this essay. Deadline: December 21.

## Course Policies

This course seeks to provide a comprehensive introduction to the gendered study of comparative politics. It involves extensive reading prior to class, but also seeks to continue learning and reflection during class periods. To help achieve these aims:

- **Attendance** is required.
- **Bring a copy of the readings** to each class session.
- Rethink, if necessary, your **reading strategy** to maximize absorption of the material.

## Reading Tips

Each week of this course requires students to gain familiarity with a large number of course readings. While students are welcome to read each article and book chapter in great depth, one of the primary skills being cultivated in this course is the ability to quickly identify, condense, and situate the central contributions of each piece in order to gain a broad and nuanced perspective on each week's topic. We will be working through the 'big picture' together during each class. To prepare for each class discussion, students are encouraged to adopt a pragmatic approach for processing the readings:

- **Carefully read the abstract**, if it is an article, **or the introductory section**, if it is a book chapter. These will provide a condensed overview of the main concepts, theories, arguments, data, and findings, enabling you to get a quick basic grasp of the author's approach.
- **Skim the literature review**, which will help you see how the author seeks to build on prior work.
- **Make note** of the **concepts and theories** introduced, as well as the **hypotheses** being tested.
- **Observe** what **data** has been **collected** and what **methods** are being **applied to analyze it**.
- **Closely read the findings, discussion, and conclusion**.
- **Engage in critical reflection**: Are the concepts/theories compelling and/or well-supported? Are the data and methods appropriate for answering the research question? Would different data/methods lead to different conclusions?
- After completing all the readings, try to **map the contributions in relation to one another**, thinking about how each piece speaks to the others (hint: look at the list at the top of each reading list). What is the 'added value' of each piece to larger debates around this topic?

## Required Readings

The majority of the readings are available on the course website. Students are advised to purchase books that may be particularly relevant to their future research, but this is not required. A helpful resource that may be worth purchasing is:

Krook, Mona Lena and Sarah Childs, eds. 2010. *Women, Gender, and Politics: A Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press.

\*Indicates readings from this volume.

\*\*Indicates readings available on my website at <http://mlkrook.org>

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### **September 5: Comparative Methods**

Topics: definitions of 'gender' and 'politics,' gender and research methods, feminist political science, comparative politics of gender

Beckwith, Karen. 2005. "A Common Language of Gender?" *Politics & Gender* 1 (1): 128-137.

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

Carver, Terrell. 1996. "Feminist Theories of Politics and Postmodern Theories of Gender." In *Gender Is Not a Synonym for Women*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 15-36.

Kantola, Johanna and Emanuela Lombardo. 2017. *Gender and Political Analysis*. New York: Palgrave, 1-19.

Lovenduski, Joni. 1998. "Gendering Research in Political Science." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 333-356.

Mazur, Amy. 1999. "Feminist Comparative Policy: A New Field of Study." *European Journal of Political Research* 35 (4): 483-506.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena and Judith Squires. 2006. "Gender Quotas in British Politics: Multiple Approaches and Methods in Feminist Research." *British Politics* 1 (1): 44-66.

\*\*Driscoll, Amanda and Mona Lena Krook. 2012. "Feminism and Rational Choice Theory." *European Political Science Review* 4 (2): 195-216.

Tripp, Aili Mari. 2006. "Why So Slow? The Challenges of Gendering Comparative Politics." *Politics & Gender* 2 (2): 249-263.

Caraway, Teri L. 2010. "Gendering Comparative Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 169-175.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2010. "Comparison and Integration: A Path toward a Comparative Politics of Gender." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 177-182.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena. 2011. "Gendering Comparative Politics: Achievements and Challenges." *Politics & Gender* 7 (1): 99-105.

#### *Recommended:*

\*Krook, Mona Lena and Sarah Childs. 2010. "Women, Gender, and Politics: An Introduction." In *Women, Gender, and Politics: A Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 3-18.

Ackerly, Brooke and Jacqui True. 2010. *Doing Feminist Research in Political and Social Science*. New York: Palgrave.

Goertz, Gary and Amy G. Mazur, eds. 2008. *Gendering Political Concepts*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Scott, Joan W. 1986. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *American Historical Review* 91: 1053-1075.

Critical Perspectives Symposium on "Moving to a Comparative Politics of Gender?" 2006. *Politics & Gender* 2 (2): 221-263.

Symposium on "A Comparative Politics of Gender." 2010. *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 159-240.

### **September 12: NO CLASS**

### **September 19: Social Movements**

Topics: feminist movements, women's movements, women in social movements

\*Beckwith, Karen. 2000. "Beyond Compare? Women's Movements in Comparative Perspective." *European Journal of Political Research* 37 (4): 431-468.

Beckwith, Karen. 2001. "Women's Movements at Century's End: Excavation and Advances in Political Science." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 371-390.

\*Molyneux, Maxine. 1985. "Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua." *Feminist Studies* 11 (2): 227-254.

Basu, Amrita. 1995. *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective*. Boulder: Westview Press, 131-162, 276-301, 374-404.

Baldez, Lisa. 2002. "Why Women Protest: Tipping, Timing, and Framing." In *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-20.

Tripp, Aili. 2001. "Women's Movements and Challenges to Neopatrimonial Rule: Preliminary Observations from Africa." *Development and Change* 32 (1): 33-54.

\*Alvarez, Sonia E. 2000. "Translating the Global: Effects of Transnational Organizing on Latin American Feminist Discourses and Practices." *Meridians* 1 (1): 29-67.

\*Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod. 1998. *Faithful and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest inside the Church and Military*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3-22.

Bouvard, Marguerite Guzman. 2002. *Revolutionizing Motherhood: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Channell, Emily. 2014. "Is Sextremism the New Feminism? Perspectives from Pussy Riot and Femen." *Nationalities Papers* 42 (4): 611-614.

Reif, Linda L. 1986. "Women in Latin American Guerrilla Movements: A Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 18, no. 2: 147-169.

\*Cunningham, Karla J. 2003. "Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 26 (3): 171-195.

Salime, Zakia. 2011. *Between Feminism and Islam: Human Rights and Sharia Law in Morocco*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

\*Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." *Journal of Politics* 68 (4): 894-910.

*Recommended:*

Banaszak, Lee Ann. 1996. *Why Movements Succeed or Fail: Opportunity, Culture, and the Struggle for Woman Suffrage*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Basu, Amrita, ed. 2010. *Women's Movements in the Global Era: The Power of Local Feminisms*. Boulder: Westview Press.

"Dialogue: New Directions in Studying Women's Movement Strength." 2016. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4 (4): 652-701.

Hasso, Frances S., and Zakia Salime, eds. 2016. *Freedom Without Permission: Bodies and Space in the Arab Revolutions*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Luciak, Ilja A. 2001. *After the Revolution: Gender and Democracy in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Roseneil, Sasha. 1995. *Disarming Patriarchy: Feminism and Political Action at Greenham*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Salime, Zakia. 2014. "New Feminism as Personal Revolutions: Microrebellious Bodies." *Signs* 40 (1): 14-20.

Weldon, S. Laurel. 2006. "Inclusion, Solidarity, and Social Movements: The Global Movement against Gender Violence." *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (1): 55-74.

Weldon, S. Laurel. 2011. *When Protest Makes Policy: How Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Wright, Robin. 2011. *Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion Across the Islamic World*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 138-159.

## September 26: Political Parties

Topics: women's movements, party competition, party structures, women's sections, women's parties

\*Young, Lisa. 2000. "Theorizing Feminist Strategy and Party Responsiveness." In *Feminists and Party Politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 11-26.

\*Lovenduski, Joni. 1993. "The Dynamics of Gender and Party." In *Gender and Party Politics*, ed. Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1-15.

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." *Journal of Politics* 58 (3): 707-733.

O'Brien, Diana Z. 2015. "Rising to the Top: Gender, Political Performance, and Party Leadership in Parliamentary Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (4): 1022-1039.

Greene, Zachary and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2016. "Diverse Parties, Diverse Agendas? Female Politicians and the Parliamentary Party's Role in Platform Formation." *European Journal of Political Research* 55 (3): 435-453.

\*Freeman, Jo. 2000. "Building a Base: Women in Local Party Politics." In *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 149-178.

Childs, Sarah and Miki Caul Kittilson. 2016. "Feminizing Political Parties: Women's Party Member Organizations within European Parliamentary Parties." *Party Politics* 22 (5): 598-608.

\*Sainsbury, Diane. 2004. "Women's Political Representation in Sweden: Discursive Politics and Institutional Presence." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27 (1): 65-87.

\*Goetz, Anne Marie. 2003. "The Problem with Patronage: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda." In *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy-Making*, ed. Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim. New York: Zed, 110-139.

Wiliarty, Sarah Elise. 2010. *The CDU and the Politics of Gender in Germany: Bringing Women to the Party*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, Janine Astrid and Jillian Schwedler. 2003. "Who Opened the Window? Women's Activism in Islamist Parties." *Comparative Politics* 35 (3): 293-312.

Cowell-Meyers, Kimberly. 2016. "Women's Political Parties in Europe." *Politics & Gender* 12 (1): 1-27.

### *Recommended:*

Akkerman, Tjitske and Anniken Hagelund. 2007. "'Women and Children First!' Anti-Immigration Parties and Gender in Norway and the Netherlands." *Patterns of Prejudice* 41 (2): 197-214.

- Bashevkin, Sylvia B. 1993. *Toeing the Lines: Women and Party Politics in English Canada*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bruhn, Kathleen. 2003. "Whores and Lesbians: Political Activism, Party Strategies, and Gender Quotas in Mexico." *Electoral Studies* 22 (1): 101-119.
- Celis, Karen and Sarah Childs, eds. 2014. *Gender, Conservatism, and Political Representation*. Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Childs, Sarah and Paul Webb. 2012. *Sex, Gender, and the Conservative Party: From Iron Lady to Kitten Heels*. New York: Palgrave.
- Cowell-Meyers, Kimberly. 2011. "A Collarette on a Donkey: The Northern Ireland Women's Coalition and the Limitations of Contagion Theory." *Political Studies* 59 (2): 411-431.
- \*Dominelli, Lena and Gudrun Jonsdottir. 1988. "Feminist Political Organization in Iceland: Some Reflections on the Experience of Kwenna Frambothid." *Feminist Studies* 30: 36-60.
- Edwards, Julia and Laura McAllister. 2002. "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back? Women in the Two Main Political Parties in Wales." *Parliamentary Affairs* 55 (1): 154-166.
- Holmsten, Stephanie S., Robert G. Moser, and Mary C. Slosar. 2010. "Do Ethnic Parties Exclude Women?" *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (10): 1179-1201.
- Ishiyama, John T. 2003. "Women's Parties in Post-Communist Politics." *East European Politics and Societies* 17 (2): 266-304.
- Kenny, Meryl and Tania Verge. 2013. "Decentralization, Political Parties, and Women's Representation: Evidence from Spain and Britain." *Publius* 43 (1): 109-128.
- Kenny, Meryl, and Fiona Mackay. 2014. "When Is Contagion Not Very Contagious? Dynamics of Women's Political Representation in Scotland." *Parliamentary Affairs* 67 (4): 866-886.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2011. "Women, Parties, and Platforms in Post-Industrial Democracies." *Party Politics* 17 (1): 66-92.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2006. *Challenging Parties, Changing Parliaments: Women and Elected Office in Contemporary Western Europe*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Magnusson, Eva. 2000. "Party-Political Rhetoric on Gender Equality in Sweden: The Uses of Uniformity and Heterogeneity." *NORA* 8 (2): 78-92.
- Levin, Leah Simmons. 1999. "Setting the Agenda: The Success of the 1977 Israel Women's Party." *Israel Studies* 4 (2): 40-63.
- Lovenduski, Joni and Pippa Norris, eds. 1993. *Gender and Party Politics*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

### October 3: Suffrage and Voting

Overview: suffrage campaigns, women's right to vote, gender gaps in voting, voter gender biases

Pateman, Carole. 1994. "Three Questions About Womanhood Suffrage." In *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan. New York: New York University Press, 331-348.

Ramirez, Francisco O., Yasemin Soysal, and Suzanne Shanahan. 1997. "The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship: Cross-National Acquisition of Women's Suffrage Rights, 1890 to 1990." *American Sociological Review* 62 (5): 735-745.

Harvey, Anna. 1998. "The Legacy of Female Disfranchisement." In *Votes Without Leverage: Women in American Electoral Politics, 1920-1970*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-22.

Bourque, Susan C. and Jean Grossholtz. 1974. "Politics an Unnatural Practice: Political Science Looks at Female Participation." *Politics & Society* 4 (2): 225-266.

\*Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2000. "The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women's and Men's Voting Behavior in Global Perspective." *International Political Science Review* 21 (4): 441-463.

Klausen, Jytte. 2001. "When Women Voted for the Right: Lessons for Today from the Conservative Gender Gap." In *Has Liberalism Failed Women? Assuring Equal Representation in Europe and the United States*, ed. Jytte Klausen and Charles S. Maier. New York: Palgrave, 209-228.

Wiris, Daniel. 1986. "Reinterpreting the Gender Gap." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 50 (3): 316-330.

Desposato, Scott, and Barbara Norrander. 2009. "The Gender Gap in Latin America: Contextual and Individual Influences on Gender and Political Participation." *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (1): 141-162.

Blaydes, Lisa, and Safinaz El Tarouty. 2009. "Women's Electoral Participation in Egypt: The Implications of Gender for Voter Recruitment and Mobilization." *Middle East Journal* 63 (3): 364-380.

Black, Jerome H. and Lynda Erickson. 2003. "Women Candidates and Voter Bias: Do Women Politicians Need to Be Better?" *Electoral Studies* 22 (1): 81-100.

Holli, Anne Maria and Hanna Wass. 2010. "Gender-Based Voting in the Parliamentary Elections of 2007 in Finland." *European Journal of Political Research* 49 (5): 598-630.

Aguilar, Rosario, Saul Cunow, and Scott Desposato. 2015. "Choice Sets, Gender, and Candidate Choice in Brazil." *Electoral Studies* 39: 230-242.

#### *Recommended:*

Aidt, Toke S. and Bianca Dallal. 2008. "Female Voting Power: The Contribution of Women's Suffrage to the Growth of Social Spending in Western Europe (1869-1960)." *Public Choice* 134 (3-4): 391-417.



Abrams, Burton A. and Russell F. Settle. 1999. "Women's Suffrage and the Growth of the Welfare State." *Public Choice* 100 (3-4): 289-300.

Banaszak, Lee Ann. 1996. *Why Movements Succeed or Fail: Opportunity, Culture, and the Struggle for Woman Suffrage*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brians, Craig Leonard. 2005. "Women for Women? Gender and Party Bias in Voting for Female Candidates." *American Politics Research* 33 (3): 357-375.

Conover, Pamela Johnston. 1988. "Feminists and the Gender Gap." *Journal of Politics* 50 (4): 985-1010.

Fraile, Marta, and Raul Gomez. Forthcoming. "Why Does Alejandro Know More about Politics than Catalina? Explaining the Latin American Gender Gap in Political Knowledge." *British Journal of Political Science*.

Iversen, Torben and Frances Rosenbluth. 2006. "The Political Economy of Gender: Explaining Cross-National Variation in the Gender Division of Labor and the Gender Voting Gap." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (1): 1-19.

Kaufmann, Karen M. and John R. Petrocik. 1999. "The Changing Politics of American Men: Understanding the Sources of the Gender Gap." *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (3): 864-887.

Matland, Richard E. and Güneş Murat Tezcür. 2011. "Women as Candidates: An Experimental Study in Turkey." *Politics & Gender* 7 (3): 365-390.

McElroy, Gail and Michael Marsh. 2010. "Candidate Gender and Voter Choice: Analysis from a Multimember Preferential Voting System." *Political Research Quarterly* 63 (4): 822-833.

Morgan, Jana, and Melissa Buice. 2013. "Latin American Attitudes toward Women in Politics: The Influence of Elite Cues, Female Advancement, and Individual Characteristics." *American Political Science Review* 107 (4): 644-662.

Mueller, Carol M., ed. 1988. *The Politics of the Gender Gap: The Social Construction of Political Influence*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Mueller, Carol. 1991. "The Gender Gap and Women's Political Influence." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 515 (1): 23-37.

\*\*Murray, Rainbow, Mona Lena Krook, and Katherine A. R. Opello. 2012. "Why Are Gender Quotas Adopted? Parity and Party Pragmatism in France." *Political Research Quarterly* 65 (3): 529-543.

Studlar, Donley T., Ian McAllister, and Bernadette C. Hayes. 1998. "Explaining the Gender Gap in Voting: A Cross-National Analysis." *Social Science Quarterly* 79 (4): 779-798.

Towns, Ann E. 2010. *Women and States: Norms and Hierarchies in International Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 55-121.

Welch, Susan. 1977. "Women as Political Animals? A Test of Some Explanations for Male-Female Political Participation Differences." *American Journal of Political Science* 21 (4): 711-730.

### **October 10: Elections**

Topics: candidate selection, electoral systems, electing women

\*Norris, Pippa and Joni Lovenduski. 1995. "Puzzles in Political Recruitment." In *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race, and Class in the British Parliament*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-19.

\*Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2004. "Entering the Arena? Gender and the Decision to Run for Office." *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (2): 264-280.

\*Niven, David. 1998. "Party Elites and Women Candidates: The Shape of Bias." *Women & Politics* 19 (2): 57-80.

\*Caul, Miki. 1999. "Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties." *Party Politics* 5 (1): 79-98.

Matland, Richard E. 1993. "Institutional Variables Affecting Female Representation in National Legislatures: The Case of Norway." *Journal of Politics* 55 (3): 737-755.

\*Yoon, Mi Yung. 2004. "Explaining Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29 (3): 447-466.

Matland, Richard E. 1998. "Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23 (1): 109-125.

Tremblay, Manon. 2007. "Democracy, Representation, and Women: A Comparative Analysis." *Democratization* 14 (4): 533-553.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena. 2010. "Women's Representation in Parliament: A Qualitative-Comparative Analysis." *Political Studies* 58 (5): 886-908.

Paxton, Pamela, Melanie M. Hughes, and Jennifer L. Green. 2006. "The International Women's Movement and Women's Political Representation, 1893-2003." *American Sociological Review* 71 (6): 898-920.

Gilardi, Fabrizio. 2015. "The Temporary Importance of Role Models for Women's Political Representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (4): 957-970.

Jalalzai, Farida. 2008. "Women Rule: Shattering the Executive Glass Ceiling." *Politics & Gender* 4 (2): 205-231.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2012. "All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide." *Journal of Politics* 74 (3): 840-855.

*Recommended:*

Barnes, Tiffany D. and Emily Beaulieu. 2014. "Gender Stereotypes and Corruption: How Candidates Affect Perceptions of Election Fraud." *Politics & Gender* 10 (3): 365-391.

Heath, Roseanna Michelle, Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. 2005. "Women on the Sidelines: Women's Representation on Committees in Latin American Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 420-436.

Hughes, Melanie M. 2009. "Armed Conflict, International Linkages, and Women's Parliamentary Representation in Developing Nations." *Social Problems* 56 (1): 174-204.

Hughes, Melanie M. and Pamela Paxton. 2008. "Continuous Change, Episodes, and Critical Periods: A Framework for Understanding Women's Political Representation over Time." *Politics & Gender* 4 (2): 233-264.

Kunovich, Sheri and Pamela Paxton. 2005. "Pathways to Power: The Role of Political Parties in Women's National Political Representation." *American Journal of Sociology* 111 (2): 505-552.

McAllister, Ian and Donley T. Studlar. 2001. "Electoral Systems and Women's Representation: A Long-Term Perspective." *Representation* 39 (1): 3-14.

McDonagh, Eileen. 2010. "It Takes a State: A Policy Feedback Model of Women's Political Representation." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 69-91.

\*\*Murray, Rainbow, Mona Lena Krook, and Katherine A. R. Opello. 2012. "Why Are Gender Quotas Adopted? Parity and Party Pragmatism in France." *Political Research Quarterly* 65 (3): 529-543.

Norris, Pippa and Joni Lovenduski. 1993. "If Only More Candidates Came Forward": Supply-Side Explanations of Candidate Selection in Britain." *British Journal of Political Science* 23 (3): 373-408.

O'Brien, Diana Z. 2012. "Gender and Select Committee Elections in the British House of Commons." *Politics & Gender* 8 (2): 178-204.

Paxton, Pamela, Melanie M. Hughes, and Matthew A. Painter. 2010. "Growth in Women's Political Representation: A Longitudinal Exploration of Democracy, Electoral System, and Gender Quotas." *European Journal of Political Research* 49 (1): 25-52.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A., Michael Malecki, and Brian F. Crisp. 2010. "Candidate Gender and Electoral Success in Single Transferable Vote Systems." *British Journal of Political Science* 40 (3): 693-709.

Tremblay, Manon, ed. 2008. *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and Sex Quotas*. New York: Palgrave.

Tripp, Aili Mari. 2015. *Women and Power in Post-Conflict Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press

## October 17: Representation

Topics: theories of representation, critical mass debates, rethinking representation

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. and William Mishler. 2005. "An Integrated Model of Women's Representation." *Journal of Politics* 67 (2): 407-428.

\*Phillips, Anne. 1995. "Quotas for Women." In *The Politics of Presence: The Political Representation of Gender, Ethnicity, and Race*. New York: Oxford University Press, 57-83.

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

\*Dovi, Suzanne. 2002. "Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black, or Latino Do?" *American Political Science Review* 96 (4): 729-743.

\*Tamerius, Karin L. 1995. "Sex, Gender, and Leadership in the Representation of Women." In *Gender Power, Leadership, and Governance*, ed. Georgia Duerst-Lahti and Rita Mae Kelly. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 93-112.

Celis, Karen. 2007. "Substantive Representation of Women: The Representation of Women's Interests and the Impact of Descriptive Representation in the Belgian Parliament (1900-1979)." *Journal of Women, Politics, & Policy* 28 (2): 85-114.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. 1977. "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women." *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (5): 965-990.

\*Dahlerup, Drude. 1988. "From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 11 (4): 275-297.

\*\*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.

Barnes, Tiffany D. 2016. *Gendering Legislative Behavior: Institutional Constraints and Collaboration*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

\*Weldon, S. Laurel. 2002. "Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policymaking." *Journal of Politics* 64 (4): 1153-1174.

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

Haas, Liesl. 2010. *Feminist Policymaking in Chile*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Celis, Karen. 2013. "Representativity in Times of Diversity: The Political Representation of Women." *Women's Studies International Forum* 41 (3): 179-186.

*Recommended:*

Beckwith, Karen. 2007. "Numbers and Newness: The Descriptive and Substantive Representation of Women." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 40 (1): 27-49.

Beckwith, Karen and Kimberly Cowell-Meyers. 2007. "Sheer Numbers: Critical Representation Thresholds and Women's Political Representation." *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (3): 553-565.

Bratton, Kathleen A and Leonard P. Ray. 2002. "Descriptive Representation, Policy Outcomes, and Municipal Day Care Coverage in Norway." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (2): 428-437.

Chaney, Paul. 2006. "Critical Mass, Deliberation and the Substantive Representation of Women: Evidence from the UK's Devolution Programme." *Politics & Gender* 54 (4): 691-714.

\*\*Childs, Sarah and Mona Lena Krook. 2006. "Should Feminists Give Up on Critical Mass? A Contingent Yes." *Politics & Gender* 2 (4): 522-530.

Childs, Sarah, Paul Webb, and Sally Marthaler. 2010. "Constitutively and Substantively Representing Women: Applying New Approaches to a UK Case Study." *Politics & Gender* 6 (2): 199-223.

Childs, Sarah and Julie Withey. 2004. "Women Representatives Acting for Women: Sex and the Signing of Early Day Motions in the 1997 British Parliament." *Political Studies* 52 (3): 552-564.

Childs, Sarah and Julie Withey. 2006. "The Substantive Representation of Women: The Case of the Reduction of VAT on Sanitary Products." *Parliamentary Affairs* 59 (1): 10-23.

Htun, Mala and Timothy J. Power. 2006. "Gender, Parties, and Support for Equal Rights in the Brazilian Congress." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48 (4): 83-104.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena. 2010. "Studying Political Representation: A Comparative-Gendered Approach." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 233-240.

Lausberg, A. K. 2016. "Women and Representation: Cross-Party Collaboration in the Australian Federal Parliament." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (2): 249-268.

Lombardo, Emanuela and Petra Meier. 2014. *The Symbolic Representation of Gender: A Discursive Approach*. Burlington: Ashgate.

Piscopo, Jennifer M. 2011. "Rethinking Descriptive Representation: Rendering Women in Legislative Debates." *Parliamentary Affairs* 64 (3): 448-472.

Saward, Michael. 2010. *The Representative Claim*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2006. "Still Supermadres? Gender and Policy Priorities of Latin American Legislators." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 570-585.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2010. *Political Power and Women's Representation in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Critical Perspectives Symposium on “Do Women Represent Women? Rethinking the ‘Critical Mass’ Debate.” 2006. *Politics & Gender* 2 (4): 491-530.

Critical Perspectives Symposium on “The Meaning and Measurement of Women’s Interests.” 2011. *Politics & Gender* 7 (3): 417-446.

Critical Perspectives Symposium on “Hanna Pitkin’s ‘Concept of Representation’ Revisited.” 2012. *Politics & Gender* 8 (4): 508-547.

Special Section on “Specialised Parliamentary Bodies and Gender Representation.” 2016. *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (4): 745-875.

Symposium on “The Political Representation of Women.” 2008. *Parliamentary Affairs* 61 (3): 419-534.

Symposium on “The Substantive Representation of Women.” 2008. *Representation* 44 (2): 99-204.

\*Young, Iris Marion. 2000. “Representation and Social Perspective.” In *Inclusion and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 121-153.

#### **October 24: Gender Quotas**

Topics: debates, adoption, implementation, impact beyond numbers

Bacchi, Carol. 2006. “Arguing For and Against Quotas: Theoretical Issues.” In *Women, Quotas, and Politics*, ed. Drude Dahlerup. New York: Routledge.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena, Joni Lovenduski, and Judith Squires. 2009. “Gender Quotas and Models of Political Citizenship.” *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (4): 781-803.

\*Dahlerup, Drude and Lenita Freidenvall. 2005. “Quotas as a ‘Fast Track’ to Equal Political Representation for Women: Why Scandinavia is No Longer the Model.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7 (1): 26-48.

Caul, Miki. 2001. “Political Parties and the Adoption of Candidate Gender Quotas: A Cross-National Analysis.” *Journal of Politics* 63 (4): 1214-1229.

Krook, Mona Lena. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. New York: Oxford University Press.

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): 338-361.

Jones, Mark P. 2009. “Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Evidence from the Latin American Vanguard.” *Comparative Political Studies* 42 (1): 56-81.

Hughes, Melanie M. 2011. “Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women’s Political Representation Worldwide.” *American Political Science Review* 105 (3): 604-620.

Franceschet, Susan, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo, eds. 2012. *The Impact of Gender Quotas*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Murray, Rainbow. 2010. "Second Among Unequals? A Study of Whether France's 'Quota Women' Are Up to the Job." *Politics & Gender* 6 (1): 93-118.

Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2009. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics & Gender* 4 (3): 393-425.

O'Brien, Diana Z. and Johanna Rickne. 2016. "Gender Quotas and Women's Political Leadership." *American Political Science Review* 110 (1): 112-126.

Ben Shitrit, Lihi. 2016. "Authenticating Representation: Women's Quotas and Islamist Parties." *Politics & Gender* 12(4): 781-806.

*Recommended:*

Allen, Peter and David Cutts. Forthcoming. "How Do Gender Quotas Affect Public Support for Women as Political Leaders?" *West European Politics*: 1-22.

Barnes, Tiffany D. and Stephanie M. Burchard. 2013. "'Engendering' Politics: The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (7): 767-790.

Bhavnani, Rikhil R. 2009. "Do Electoral Quotas Work After They Are Withdrawn? Evidence from a Natural Experiment in India." *American Political Science Review* 103 (1): 23-35.

Burnet, Jennie E. 2011. "Women Have Found Respect: Gender Quotas, Symbolic Representation, and Female Empowerment in Rwanda." *Politics & Gender* 7 (3): 303-334.

Bush, Sarah Sunn. 2011. "International Politics and the Spread of Quotas for Women in Legislatures." *International Organization* 65 (1): 103-137.

Clayton, Amanda. 2015. "Women's Political Engagement Under Quota-Mandated Female Representation: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment." *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (3): 333-369.

Cowley, Philip and Sarah Childs. 2003. "Too Spineless to Rebel? New Labour's Women MPs." *British Journal of Political Science* 33 (3): 345-365.

Dahlerup, Drude, ed. 2006. *Women, Quotas, and Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Dialogue on "Symbolic Representation: Conceptual, Methodological and Empirical Challenges." 2017. *Politics, Groups, & Identities* 5 (3): 478-511.

Htun, Mala. 2004. "Is Gender Like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (3): 439-458.

Kittilson, Miki Caul, and Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. 2010. "Engaging Citizens: The Role of Power-Sharing Institutions." *Journal of Politics* 72 (4): 990-1002.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena. 2006. "Reforming Representation: The Diffusion of Candidate Gender Quotas Worldwide." *Politics and Gender* 2 (3): 303-327.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena. 2016. "Contesting Gender Quotas: Dynamics of Resistance." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4 (2): 268-283.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2010. "The Politics of Group Representation: Quotas for Women and Minorities Worldwide." *Comparative Politics* 42 (3): 253-272.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena and Jacqui True. 2012. "Rethinking the Life Cycles of International Norms: The United Nations and the Global Promotion of Gender Equality." *European Journal of International Relations* 18 (1): 103-127.

Lovenduski, Joni et al, ed. 2005. *State Feminism and Political Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Murray, Rainbow. 2010. *Parties, Gender Quotas and Candidate Selection in France*. New York: Palgrave.

\*\*Nugent, Mary and Mona Lena Krook. 2016. "All-Women Shortlists: Myths and Realities." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (1): 115-135.

Opello, Katherine A. R. 2006. *Gender Quotas, Parity Reform, and Political Parties in France*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

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.

Critical Perspectives Symposium on "Gender Quotas I." 2005. *Politics & Gender* 1 (4): 621-652.

Critical Perspectives Symposium on "Gender Quotas II." 2006. *Politics & Gender* 2 (1): 101-128.

Special issue on "Gender Quotas and Women's Representation: New Directions in Research." 2014. *Representation* 50 (3): 287-404.

Special issue on "Electoral Quotas and Political Representation: Comparative Perspectives." 2014. *International Political Science Review* 35 (1): 3-118.

Symposium on "Gender Quotas and Parity in European Politics." 2012. *West European Politics* 35 (2): 286-414.

Teigen, Mari. 2000. "The Affirmative Action Controversy." *NORA* 8 (2): 63-77.

Towns, Ann E. 2010. *Women and States: Norms and Hierarchies in International Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 149-183.



Zetterberg, Pär. 2009. "Do Gender Quotas Foster Women's Political Engagement? Lessons from Latin America." *Political Research Quarterly* 62 (4): 715-730.

### **October 31: Democracy and Democratization**

Topics: theories of democracy, defining democracy, democratic transitions

Pateman, Carole. 1989. "Feminism and Democracy." In *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 210-225.

Phillips, Anne. 1991. *Engendering Democracy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1-22.

Paxton, Pamela. 2000. "Women's Suffrage in the Measurement of Democracy: Problems of Operationalization." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35 (3): 92-111.

Caraway, Teri L. 2004. "Inclusion and Democratization: Class, Gender, Race, and the Extension of Suffrage." *Comparative Politics* 36 (4): 443-460.

Alvarez, Sonia E. 1990. *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Waylen, Georgina. 1994. "Women and Democratization: Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics." *World Politics* 46 (3): 327-354.

Nechemias, Carol. 1994. "Democratization and Women's Access to Legislative Seats: The Soviet Case, 1989-1991." *Women & Politics* 14 (3): 1-18.

Friedman, Elisabeth J. 1998. "Paradoxes of Gendered Political Opportunity in the Venezuelan Transition to Democracy." *Latin American Research Review* 33 (3): 87-135.

Waylen, Georgina. 2007. *Engendering Transitions: Women's Mobilization, Institutions, and Gender Outcomes*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Johansson-Nogués, Elisabeth. 2013. "Gendering the Arab Spring? Rights and (In)security of Tunisian, Egyptian, and Libyan Women." *Security Dialogue* 44 (5-6): 393-409.

Cornwall, Andrea and Anne Marie Goetz. 2005. "Democratizing Democracy: Feminist Perspectives." *Democratization* 12 (5): 783-800.

Walsh, Denise. 2011. *Women's Rights in Democratizing States: Just Debate and Gender Justice in the Public Sphere*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

#### *Recommended:*

\*Baldez, Lisa. 2003. "Women's Movements and Democratic Transition in Chile, Brazil, East Germany, and Poland." *Comparative Politics* 35 (3): 253-272.

Bjarnegård, Elin and Erik Melander. 2011. "Disentangling Gender, Peace, and Democratization: The Negative Effects of Militarized Masculinity." *Journal of Gender Studies* 20 (2): 139-154.

Burnet, Jennie E. 2008. "Gender Balance and the Meanings of Women in Governance in Post-Genocide Rwanda." *African Affairs* 107: 361-386.

Corrin, Chris. 2000. "Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Gender Analysis in Kosova." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3 (1): 78-98.

Fallon, Kathleen M., Liam Swiss, and Jocelyn Viterna. 2012. "Resolving the Democracy Paradox: Democratization and Women's Legislative Representation in Developing Nations, 1975 to 2009." *American Sociological Review* 77 (3): 380-408.

Franceschet, Susan. 2001. "Women in Politics in Post-Transitional Democracies." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3 (2): 207-236.

Friedman, Elisabeth J. 2000. *Unfinished Transitions: Women and the Gendered Development of Democracy in Venezuela*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Hassim, Shireen. 2003. "The Gender Pact and Democratic Consolidation: Institutionalizing Gender Equality in the South African State." *Feminist Studies* 29 (3): 504-528.

Hassim, Shireen. 2006. *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa: Contesting Authority*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Marilyn Rueschemeyer, ed. 1998. *Women in the Politics of Post-Communist Eastern Europe*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.

Matland, Richard E. and Kathleen A. Montgomery, eds. 2003. *Women's Access to Political Power in Post-Communist Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Okeke-Ihejirika, Philomina E. and Susan Franceschet. 2002. "Democratization and State Feminism: Gender Politics in Africa and Latin America." *Development and Change* 33 (3): 439-466.

Wordsworth, Anna. 2007. *A Matter of Interests: Gender and the Politics of Presence in Afghanistan's Wolesi Jirga*. Issues Paper Series, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, 7-37.

## **November 7: The State**

Topics: feminist theories of the state, welfare states, state feminism, state reconfiguration

\*MacKinnon, Catharine A. 1989. "The Liberal State." In *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 157-170.

\*Kantola, Johanna. 2006. "Gender and the State: Theories and Debates." In *Feminists Theorize the State*. New York: Palgrave, 1-21.

Sainsbury, Diane, ed. 1994. *Gendering Welfare States*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1-7.

\*Orloff, Ann. 1996. "Gender in the Welfare State." *Annual Review of Sociology* 22: 51-78.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1999. *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 47-94.

\*Chappell, Louise. 2000. "Interacting With the State: Feminist Strategies and Political Opportunities." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 2 (2): 244-275.

\*Stetson, Dorothy McBride and Amy Mazur. 1995. "Introduction." In *Comparative State Feminism*, ed. Dorothy McBride Stetson and Amy Mazu. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1-21.

\*Threlfall, Monica. 1998. "State Feminism or Party Feminism? Feminist Politics and the Spanish Institute for Women." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 5 (1): 69-93.

Charrad, Mounira. 2001. *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

\*Banaszak, Lee Ann, Karen Beckwith, and Dieter Rucht, eds. 2003. *Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-29.

Outshoorn, Joyce and Johanna Kantola, eds. 2007. *Changing State Feminism*. New York: Palgrave.

Piscopo, Jennifer M. 2015. "States as Gender Equality Activists: The Evolution of Quota Laws in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 57 (3): 27-49.

*Recommended:*

Annesley, Claire. 2007. "Women's Political Agency and Welfare Reform: Engendering the Adult Worker Model." *Parliamentary Affairs* 60 (3): 452-466.

Beall, Jo. 2005. "Decentralizing Government and Decentering Gender: Lessons from Local Government Reform in South Africa." *Politics and Society* 33 (2): 253-276.

Franceschet, Susan. 2003. "'State Feminism' and Women's Movements: The Impact of Chile's Servicio Nacional de la Mujer on Women's Activism." *Latin American Research Review* 38 (1): 9-40.

Hausman, Melissa and Birgit Sauer, eds. 2007. *Gendering the State in an Era of Globalization: Women's Movements and State Feminism in Postindustrial Democracies*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hernes, Helga Maria. 1987. *Welfare State and Woman Power: Essays in State Feminism*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.

Jones, Kathleen B. 1990. "Citizenship in a Woman-Friendly Polity." *Signs* 15 (4): 781-812.

Kantola, Johanna. 2007. "The Gendered Reproduction of the State in International Relations." *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 9 (2): 270-283.

Kantola, Johanna and Hanne Marlene Dahl. 2005. "Gender and the State: From Differences Between to Differences Within." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7 (1): 49-70.

McBride, Dorothy E. and Amy G. Mazur, eds. 2012. *The Politics of State Feminism: Innovation in Comparative Research*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Siim, Birte. 1987. "The Scandinavian Welfare States: Towards Sexual Equality or a New Kind of Male Domination?" *Acta Sociologica* 30 (3-4): 255-270.

Siim, Birte and Hege Skjeie. 2008. "Tracks, Intersections, and Dead Ends: Multicultural Challenges to State Feminism in Denmark and Norway." *Ethnicities* 8 (3): 322-344.

Symposium on "Gendering Federalism." 2013. *Publius* 43 (1): 1-150.

### **November 14: Public Policy**

Topics: theorizing public policy, gender equality approaches, gender mainstreaming

Bacchi, Carol Lee. 1999. *Women, Policy, and Politics*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Htun, Mala and S. Laurel Weldon. 2010. "When Do Governments Promote Women's Rights? A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Sex Equality Policy." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 207-216.

\*Htun, Mala. 2003. *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce, and the Family Under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-28.

Norgren, Tiana. 2001. *Abortion Before Birth Control: The Politics of Reproduction in Postwar Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3-21.

Zippel, Kathrin. 2006. *The Politics of Sexual Harassment: A Comparative Study of the United States, the European Union, and Germany*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lombardo, Emanuela, Petra Meier, and Mieke Verloo, eds. 2009. *The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality: Stretching, Bending and Policymaking*. New York: Routledge.

\*Sarvasy, Wendy. 1992. "Beyond the Difference versus Equality Policy Debate: Postsuffrage Feminism, Citizenship, and the Quest for a Feminist Welfare State." *Signs* 17 (2): 329-362.

Jahan, Rounaq. 1995. *The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women in Development*. London: Zed, 1-18.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie and Mark A. Pollack. 2002. "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance." *European Journal of International Relations* 8 (3): 339-373.

\*Squires, Judith. 2005. "Is Mainstreaming Transformative? Theorizing Mainstreaming in the Context of Diversity and Deliberation." *Social Politics* 12 (3): 366-388.

Eveline, Joan and Carol Bacchi. 2005. "What Are We Mainstreaming When We Mainstream Gender?" *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7 (4): 496-512.

Rincker, Meg. 2017. *Empowered by Design: Decentralization and the Gender Policy Trifecta*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

*Recommended:*

Guenther, Katja M. 2008. "Understanding Policy Diffusion across Feminist Social Movements: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming in Eastern Germany." *Politics & Gender* 4 (4): 587-613.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena and Jacqui True. 2012. "Rethinking the Life Cycles of International Norms: The United Nations and the Global Promotion of Gender Equality." *European Journal of International Relations* 18 (1): 103-127.

Ortbals, Candice D. 2008. "Subnational Politics in Spain: New Avenues for Feminist Policymaking and Activism." *Politics & Gender* 4 (1): 93-119.

Rai, Shirin M., ed. 2002. *Mainstreaming Gender, Democratizing the State?: Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Stratigaki, Maria. 2005. "Gender Mainstreaming vs. Positive Action: An Ongoing Conflict in EU Gender Equality Policy." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 12 (2): 165-186.

Symposium on "Comparative Gender Mainstreaming." 2005. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7 (4): 453-606.

Symposium on "Gender, Policy, Politics, and Work: Feminist Comparative and Transnational Research." 2003. *Review of Policy Research* 20 (1): 3-198.

Symposium on "Mainstreaming Gender in European Public Policy." 2002. *Feminist Legal Studies* 10 (3-4): 209-328.

True, Jacqui and Michael Mintrom. 2001. "Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming." *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (1): 27-57.

Towns, Ann. 2010. *Women and States: Norms and Hierarchies in International Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 122-148.

Verloo, Mieke, ed. 2008. *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality: A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe*. Budapest: Central European University Press.

**November 21: NO CLASS**

**November 28: Institutions**

Topics: formal and informal institutions, gendered institutions, feminist institutionalism

Acker, Joan. 1992. "From Sex Roles to Gendered Institutions." *Contemporary Sociology* 21 (5): 565-569.

Kenney, Sally J. 1996. "New Research on Gendered Political Institutions." *Political Research Quarterly* 49 (2): 445-466.

Duerst-Lahti, Georgia and Rita Mae Kelly, eds. 1995. *Gender Power, Leadership, and Governance*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Duerst-Lahti, Georgia. 2002. "Governing Institutions, Ideologies, and Gender: Toward the Possibility of Equal Political Representation." *Sex Roles* 47 (7-8): 371-388.

\*Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 97 (4): 529-550.

Ross, Karen. 2002. "Women's Place in 'Male' Space: Gender and Effect in Parliamentary Contexts." *Parliamentary Affairs* 55 (1): 189-201.

Puwar, Nirmal. 2004. *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*. New York: Berg.

Kenny, Meryl. 2007. "Gender, Institutions and Power: A Critical Review." *Politics* 27 (2): 91-100.

Chappell, Louise. 2006. "Comparing Political Institutions: Revealing the Gendered Logic of Appropriateness." *Politics & Gender* 2 (2): 223-235.

Critical Perspectives Symposium on "Feminist Institutionalism." 2009. *Politics & Gender* 5 (2): 237-280.

Krook, Mona Lena and Fiona Mackay, eds. 2011. *Gender, Politics, and Institutions: Toward A Feminist Institutionalism*. New York: Palgrave.

Waylen, Georgina. 2014. "Informal Institutions, Institutional Change, and Gender Equality." *Political Research Quarterly* 67 (1): 212-223.

Mackay, Fiona. 2014. "Nested Newness, Institutional Innovation, and the Gendered Limits of Change." *Politics & Gender* 10 (4): 549-571.

*Recommended:*

Acker, Joan. 1990. "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations." *Gender and Society*, 4 (2): 139-158.

Allen, Peter, David Cutts, and Madelaine Winn. 2016. "Understanding Legislator Experiences of Family-Friendly Working Practices in Political Institutions." *Politics & Gender* 12 (3): 549-572.

Cockburn, Cynthia. 1991. *In the Way of Women: Men's Resistance to Sex Equality in Organizations*. Ithaca: ILR Press.

Ferguson, Kathy. 1985. *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Goetz, Anne-Marie, ed. 1998. *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development*. London: Zed.

Heath, Roseanna Michelle, Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, and Michelle Taylor-Robinson. 2005. "Women on the Sidelines: Women's Representation on Committees in Latin American Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 420-436.

Kantola, Johanna. 2008. "'Why Do All the Women Disappear?' Gendering Processes in a Political Science Department." *Gender, Work & Organization* 15 (2): 202-225.

Kathlene, Lyn. 1994. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *American Political Science Review* 88 (3): 560-576.

\*\*Krook, Mona Lena. 2010. "Beyond Supply and Demand: A Feminist-Institutionalist Theory of Candidate Selection." *Political Research Quarterly* 63 (4): 707-720.

Lovenduski, Joni. 1998. "Gendering Research in Political Science." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 333-356.

Mackay, Fiona. 2008. "'Thick' Conceptions of Substantive Representation: Women, Gender, and Political Institutions." *Representation* 44 (2): 125-139.

Mackay, Fiona, Meryl Kenny, and Louise Chappell. 2010. "New Institutionalism Through a Gender Lens: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism?" *International Political Science Review* 31 (5): 573-588.

Martin, Patricia Yancey. 2004. "Gender as Social Institution." *Social Forces* 82 (4): 1249-1273.

Rao, Aruna and David Kelleher. 2003. "Institutions, Organisations, and Gender Equality in an Era of Globalisation." *Gender & Development* 11 (1): 142-149.

Symposium on "Institutionalizing Intersectionality." 2009. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11 (4): 459-563.

Thematic Issue on Gendering "New" Institutions. 2014. *Politics & Gender* 10 (4): 489-708.

### **December 5: Research and Professionalization Workshop with Janet Elise Johnson**

### **December 12: New Research Frontiers**

Topics: masculinities, sexuality, intersectionality

*All students are required to bring in an additional reading.*

Fahey, Anna Cornelia. 2007. "French and Feminine: Hegemonic Masculinity and the Emasculation of John Kerry in the 2004 Presidential Race." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 24 (2): 132-150.

McCormack, Matthew. 2007. *Public Men: Political Masculinities in Modern Britain*. New York: Palgrave.

Bjarnegård, Elin. 2013. *Gender, Informal Institutions, and Political Recruitment: Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation*. New York: Palgrave.

Sperling, Valerie. 2015. *Sex, Politics, and Putin: Political Legitimacy in Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rimmerman, Craig A. 2008. *The Lesbian and Gay Movements: Assimilation or Liberation*. Boulder: Westview, 11-29.

Reynolds, Andrew. 2013. "Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 107 (2): 259-274.

Haider-Markel, Donald P. 2010. *Out and Running: Gay and Lesbian Candidates, Elections, and Policy Representation*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 33-65, 118-147.

Canaday, Margot. 2009. *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Weldon, S. Laurel. 2006. "The Structure of Intersectionality: A Comparative Politics of Gender." *Politics & Gender* 2 (2): 235-248.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13 (3): 193-209.

Bassel, Leah and Akwugo Emejulu. 2010. "Struggles for Institutional Space in France and the United Kingdom: Intersectionality and the Politics of Policy." *Politics & Gender* 6 (4): 517-544.

Celis, Karen and Silvia Erzeel. 2017. "The Complementarity Advantage: Parties, Representativeness and Newcomers' Access to Power." *Parliamentary Affairs* 70 (1): 43-61.

*Recommended:*

Awondo, Patrick, Peter Geschiere, and Graeme Reid. 2012. "Homophobic Africa? Toward a More Nuanced View." *African Studies Review* 55 (3): 145-168.

Carver, Terrell. 2005. *Men in Political Theory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Doan, Alesha E. and Donald P. Haider-Markel. 2010. "The Role of Intersectional Stereotypes on Evaluations of Gay and Lesbian Political Candidates." *Politics & Gender* 6 (1): 63-91.

Encarnación, Omar G. 2011. "Latin America's Gay Rights Revolution." *Journal of Democracy* 22 (2): 104-118.

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2009. "Race and Gender in the 2008 Democratic Presidential Nomination Process: An Untraditional Intersectional Analysis of the 2008 Election." *Politics & Gender* 5 (1): 96-105.

Johnson, Janet Elise. 2018. *The Gender of Informal Politics: Russia, Iceland and Twenty-First Century Male Dominance*. New York: Palgrave.

Katz, Jackson. 2016. *Man Enough? Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, and the Politics of Presidential Masculinity*. Northampton: Interlink Publishing.



\*\*Krook, Mona Lena and Mary K. Nugent. 2016. "Intersectional Institutions: Representing Women and Ethnic Minorities in the British Labour Party." *Party Politics* 22 (5): 620-630.

Messner, Michael A. 1993. "'Changing Men' and Feminist Politics in the United States." *Theory and Society* 22 (5): 723-737.

Messner, Michael A. 1997. *Politics of Masculinities: Men in Movements*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Morrell, Robert, Rachel Jewkes, and Graham Lindegger. 2012. "Hegemonic Masculinity/Masculinities in South Africa: Culture, Power, and Gender Politics." *Men and Masculinities* 15 (1): 11-30.

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