

GENDER AND POLITICS IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE
790:360:01
FALL 2016

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Course Time: Tuesdays, 12.35-3.35 PM
Office Hours: Mondays, 1.00-3.00 PM or by appt
using Chat Room on Sakai

Course Description

This course surveys central topics in the study of gender and politics, covering such issues as women's participation in political parties and social movements, women as voters and candidates in political elections, feminism and the state, and gender and international politics. It will draw 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 politics, focusing on developing a variety of analytical skills. Grades for the course will be calculated in the following way:

- **Class participation** (20%) Although this is primarily a lecture-style course, you are expected to come to class prepared and to participate actively in class discussions. You will be assigned dates to bring in news items to share with the class, but you are welcome to come to every class with items to discuss. You should reflect on how the news item relates to class and, as far as possible, provide background for understanding its significance. Everyone is required to bring items on the last day of class. The participation grade will be based on in-class contributions and/or posts on Facebook and Twitter.
- **Two short take-home "midterms"** (20% each) You will write two short papers – approximately five to six pages long – on questions stemming from the readings and class discussions. I will distribute a list of questions – of which you will answer one – a week before the assignment is due. Deadlines: October 4 and November 15. Papers are due at the **before class** and should be submitted **via the Dropbox on Sakai**.
- **One final take-home exam** (40%) You will write one final exam – approximately ten to twelve pages long – in which you answer two questions from the readings and class discussions. You will have some choice in terms of the questions, but the first will address materials from the third part of the course, while the second will integrate concepts and debates from the course as a whole. Deadline: December 22 at 11.59 PM, submitted **via the Dropbox on Sakai**.

Learning Goals

This course employs a variety of formats – lectures, video clips, films, debates, student presentations, and class exercises – to make things more interesting and accommodate different learning styles. The overarching goal is to expose you to a wide range of materials, concepts, and empirical examples and – through the course assignments – help you make sense of the "bigger picture" in terms of how we can better understand the political world through the lens of gender. Each set of assignments, in addition, seeks to help you develop a broader set of analytical and life skills:

- The **participation grade** is intended to encourage your attendance and active engagement with the class materials – and through the news items, to help you to make links between classroom concepts and the political world outside. *You cannot do well in this course without attending to this component of the overall grade: in addition to being worth the same as an exam, the exams themselves require you to integrate materials from the readings, the lectures, and the news.*
- The **take-home exams** present an opportunity to revisit the materials covered in each section of the class, giving you a week to process how various parts might fit together in a coherent whole. Students might therefore provide very different answers to the same question.

Course Policies

This course seeks to promote active learning and foster a positive classroom environment. To help achieve these aims, you should take note of the following policies:

- **Attendance** is required. The readings serve as a background, not as a substitute, for the lectures and class discussions. Missing sessions will result in a deduction in your class participation grade and will affect your ability to answer the exam questions.
- If you are **absent or late to class**, you are responsible for the news items, announcements, handouts, and notes from the portion or session you missed. Please consult your classmates or me for these materials.
- **Bring a copy of the readings** to each class session. Although we will not necessarily draw extensively from the readings in each class, they will be a useful reference from time to time. *Open-book quizzes may be held occasionally during the first few minutes of class and will be factored into the participation grade.*
- **Late papers** and **email submissions** will not be accepted. Any requests for exceptions to these rules must be made in advance of the due date (i.e., at least the day before).

Required Readings

All of the readings will be available on the course website, with the exception of one book that is available for purchase at the campus bookstore:

Krook, Mona Lena and Sarah Childs, eds. 2010. *Women, Gender, and Politics: A Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press (available in paperback; *indicates readings from this volume).

Facebook and Twitter

I have created a class page on Facebook as a way to post video clips that I show in class and for students to have additional opportunities to improve their participation grade. You are encouraged to post news items as well as to comment on the posts of other students – but are only required to post a news item on the day that you are responsible for bringing a news item to class. To join the group, enter “RU Gender and Politics 2016” in the search box at the top of your Facebook account and click “Ask to Join Group” at the top right of the page.

If you are on Twitter, another option is to post news items and include the hashtag #RUGenPol16 . You will be able to see the full feed of posts when searching this hashtag in the search box at the top right of your Twitter page.

Extra Credit Assignments

Occasionally throughout the semester, I will offer opportunities for extra credit assignments. While doing these may or may not influence your final grade, I encourage you to do at least one, as it gives you a chance to further explore the topics introduced in class (you may also incorporate these materials in your exam answers). I will announce possibilities from time to time, as I learn about invited speakers and other special events planned on campus. Please do forward any announcements you receive regarding relevant events so that I can pass them along to the class. In addition, I am also happy to recommend that you view various films (list to be uploaded to the class Sakai page). To get the extra credit, you should write a one- to three-page reflection of how the event you attended, or the film you watched, touched on themes raised in the course; it must go beyond simply summarizing the event or film. **Extra credit papers may be turned in at any time during the semester.**

COURSE SCHEDULE

INTRODUCTION TO "GENDER" AND "POLITICS"

September 6

Introduction to Gender and Politics

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

Gendering the Study of Politics

Wright, Katharine AM, and Jack Holland. 2014. "Leadership and the Media: Gendered Framings of Julia Gillard's 'Sexism and Misogyny' Speech." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 455-468.

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.

Gesualdi, Maxine. 2013. "Man Tears and Masculinities: News Coverage of John Boehner's Tearful Episodes." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 37 (4): 304-321.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

September 13

Feminist and Women's Movements

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

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

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

Women, Men, and Social Movements

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

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

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

September 20

Women's Movements and Political Parties

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

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

*Dominelli, Lena and Gudrun Jonsdottir. 1988. "Feminist Political Organization in Iceland: Some Reflections on the Experience of Kwenna Frambothid." *Feminist Review* 30: 36-60.

Women and Political Parties

*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.

*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.

*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.

WOMEN, GENDER, AND ELECTIONS

September 27

Women's Suffrage Campaigns

Film: One Woman, One Vote

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.

Women, Gender, and Voting

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.

*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.

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.

October 4

Women as Elected Representatives

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

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

Hughes, Melanie M. 2013. "Diversity in National Legislatures around the World." *Sociology Compass* 7 (1): 23-33.

Women and Men as Candidates

*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.

October 11

Women as National Leaders

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

Carlin, Diana B. and Kelly L. Winfrey. 2009. "Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage." *Communication Studies* 60 (4): 326-343.

Women's Leadership Opportunities

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.

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.

WOMEN, GENDER, AND POLITICAL OFFICE

October 18

Normative Arguments for Women's Representation

*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.

Women Representing Women in Political Office

*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.

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.

Celis, Karen, and Sarah Childs. 2012. "The Substantive Representation of Women: What to Do with Conservative Claims?" *Political Studies* 60 (1): 213-225.

October 25

NO CLASS

November 1

Gender Quotas and Female Candidates Worldwide

*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.

Krook, Mona Lena. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. New York: Oxford University Press, 161-205.

The Impact of Electoral Gender Quotas

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

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

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

November 8

Female Politicians and the Media

Film: Miss Representation

Kittilson, Miki Caul, and Kim Fridkin. 2008. "Gender, Candidate Portrayals and Election Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective." *Politics & Gender* 4 (3): 371-392.

Heflick, Nathan A., and Jamie L. Goldenberg. 2011. "Sarah Palin, A Nation Object (if)ie)s: The Role of Appearance Focus in the 2008 US Presidential Election." *Sex Roles* 65 (3-4): 149-155.

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.

Resistance and Backlash to Female Politicians

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

Eagly, Alice H., and Steven J. Karau. 2002. "Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice Toward Female Leaders."

Psychological Review 109 (3): 573-598.

Krook, Mona Lena. Forthcoming. "Violence against Women in Politics: A Rising Threat to Democracy Worldwide." *Journal of Democracy*.

November 15

Sexuality and Politics

Film: Milk

Tebble, Adam James. 2011. "Homosexuality and Publicness: Towards a Political Theory of the Taboo." *Political Studies* 59 (4): 921-939.

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.

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

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

GENDER, THE STATE, AND PUBLIC POLICY-MAKING

November 22

Women, Gender, and the State

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

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

Women, Gender, and Public Policies

*Bacchi, Carol Lee. 1999. "Taking Problems Apart." In *Women, Policy, and Politics*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1-13.

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.

*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.

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

GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

November 29

International Organizations and Women's Rights

Berkovitch, Nitza. 1999. *From Motherhood to Citizenship: Women's Rights and International Organizations*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1-17.

Gaer, Felice. 2009. "Women, International Law, and International Institutions: The Case of the United Nations." *Women's Studies International Forum* 32 (1): 60-66.

Connell, R. W. 2005. "Change among the Gatekeepers: Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality in the Global Arena." *Signs* 30 (3): 1801-1825.

The 1995 Beijing Conference

Film: Once and For All

Peters, Julie and Andrea Wolper. 1995. *Women's Rights, Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives*. New York: Routledge, 11-35.

UN Women. 2015. "Voices and Profiles: Beijing +20?!" At <http://beijing20.unwomen.org/en/voices-and-profiles/beijing-20>

December 6

Gender and the Military

Hunter, Mic. 2007. "'A Band of Brothers': The Code of Hypermasculinity." In *Honor Betrayed: Sexual Abuse in America's Military*. Fort Lee: Barricade, 33-44.

Sasson-Levy, Orna. 2003. "Feminism and Military Gender Practices: Israeli Women Soldiers in 'Masculine' Roles." *Sociological Inquiry* 73 (3): 440-465.

Belkin, Aaron. 2003. "Don't Ask, Don't Tell: Is the Gay Ban Based on Military Necessity?" *Parameters* 33 (2): 108-119.

Femininity, Masculinity, and War

Carpenter, R. Charli. 2003. "'Women and Children First': Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans, 1991-95." *International Organization* 57 (4): 661-694.

Kaufman-Osborn, Timothy. 2005. "Gender Trouble at Abu Ghraib?" *Politics & Gender* 1 (4): 597-619.

December 13

Women in Politics in Post-Conflict Societies

Film: Iron Ladies of Liberia

Hunt, Swanee. 2002-2003. "The Critical Role of Women Waging Peace." *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 41: 557-572.

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.

Reilly, Niamh. 2007. "Seeking Gender Justice in Post-Conflict Transitions: Towards a Transformative Women's Human Rights Approach." *International Journal of Law in Context* 3 (2): 155-172.

Conclusions on Gender and Politics Worldwide

Student news articles for class discussion