

Melanie L. Phillips
Email: melaniephillips@berkeley.edu

GSI: Cat Benson
Email: cat_benson@berkeley.edu

GSI: Rachel Fisher
Email: rachelfisher@berkeley.edu

Women in Politics in Comparative Perspective UC Berkeley – Fall 2020

Class Meetings: 10:00 am - 11:00 am (MWF)

Course Description:

Women make up around 49.5% of the global population, yet they are strikingly underrepresented when it comes to political office. Looking at the global average, women only hold 24% of seats at the parliamentary level. The percent of women in office varies drastically between countries. For example, quota-based countries like Rwanda have 60% women in parliament, whereas countries with unique electoral systems like Lebanon only have 4.7%. This course looks to explain this variation, and further understand the consequences of it. We will focus on questions such as: How do electoral systems affect women's access to elected office? What, if any, are the negative effects of imposing gender quotas? If elected, do women promote greater substantive representation? We will look into the potential for gender-based discrimination among socialized gender roles, voters, political parties, campaign policies, and the media. Please be advised that this is not a course on feminist theory, but rather an investigation of the barriers to women's representation and political participation.

Course Objectives:

With an intensive investigation into the field of women in politics, this course is designed to:

- a.) Familiarize students with the past, current, and future trends of women's political participation.
- b.) Illustrate the dominant arguments for underrepresentation in political office.
- c.) Increase a student's ability to incorporate the study of women in politics into other courses of political sciences.

Course Readings:

There are no required books or reader for this class. All readings will be available online through bCourses. It is important that you read all assigned materials, as some content from your readings may not be covered in lecture. This is a reading intensive course. I encourage you to

take notes and ask questions about readings during lectures, in section, and during office hours. You are responsible for reading the assigned content on or by the day of the associated lecture. For instance, you should come to lecture on August 28th having read the articles under its header.

Course Requirements:

Participation	20%
Reading Quizzes	25% (6 quizzes, 5% each, drop lowest)
Peer Reviews	25% (5%each)
Final Paper	30%

Attending lectures and section is essential to your success in this course. Your participation grade (20%) will be based on your attendance and engagement during lecture and section. Classes will occur synchronously at the time of the allotted lecture times, but lectures will be recorded. If you have concerns about being able to attend lecture, please contact me immediately. If you cannot attend synchronously, you will need to submit a response for the lecture with your reactions, comments, or questions through the a google form before the Monday of the following week. Sections will take the form of workshops (schedule posted on bcourses). There will be two workshops a week and you can choose which topic interest you. Out of the total 28 workshops offered, you must attend 13 of them. Attendance will be recorded through google form which you will need to fill out.

Quizzes will assess student's understanding of readings and lectures every two weeks (5% each quiz). Your lowest score will be dropped. These quizzes are closed note and are meant to be quick assessments. You will be given a 24-hour period in which to take the exam. Quizzes are meant to help you keep up with readings and lecture.

There will be *no make-ups of quizzes or activities*. Students missing a quiz will receive a score of zero, except in cases of documented emergencies or illnesses, observance of a religious holiday, or properly documented University-sponsored planned activities. Except in cases of emergency, I must be notified PRIOR to your expected absence from class.

Final Paper (35%): Students will write a 3500-word research paper organized along the following sections: Introduction, Existing Explanations, Theoretical Argument, Case Study, and Conclusion. Students will be allowed to chose a country and argue what they perceive as the largest barrier to women in politics in that country. A detailed instruction sheet on how to write the final paper will be handed out in class. Given the grading deadlines by the university, no late papers will be accepted, and those not turned in during the final time will be given a zero. The paper prompt can be found on bCourses and if you believe you should need extended time, please begin early.

Office Hours:

Office hours are scheduled via appointment. Please feel free to reach out to schedule an appointment whenever needed. I encourage you to come to my office hours to introduce yourself,

to discuss the course readings, to explore ideas for your papers, ask for help with your writing or discuss ways to participate in section.

Academic Misconduct and Plagiarism:

Per Appendix II of the Campus Code of Student Conduct, cheating is defined as “fraud, deceit, or dishonesty in an academic assignment, or using or attempting to use materials, or assisting others in using materials that are prohibited or inappropriate in the context of the academic assignment in question”. If you are uncertain, at all, about whether something is plagiarism or academic misconduct, please come to me or your GSI, before, you turn in an assignment.

Accommodations:

I want everyone to do well in this course. Therefore, please speak to me after class or during office hours if you require any learning accommodations, or if there are specific things I can do to help facilitate your learning. Please do note, however, that extensions cannot be given on the final paper.

Grade Disputes:

Requests for regrades come straight to me, not your GSI. Regrades by me are subject to an increase, a decrease, or no change in your grade and must be justified with an explanation on why you believe you deserve a regrade. Regrade requests must be received within ONE week of when the assignment was returned.

Course Schedule:

Week 1:

Wednesday, August 26th – Introduction

1. Please fill out Introduction [Survey](#)
2. Read **the entire** syllabus.

Friday, August 28th - What is feminism, gender, and the feminist movement?

1. Beckwith, Karen. 2005. A Common Language of Gender? *Politics & Gender* 1 (1): 128–37.
2. Runyan, A. S., & Peterson, V. S. (2014). *Global gender issues in the new millennium*: Routledge. (Pg. 1-8)
3. Weldon, S. (2006). The Structure of Intersectionality: A Comparative Politics of Gender. *Politics & Gender*, 2(2), 235-248. doi:10.1017/S1743923X06231040

Week 2:

Monday, August 31st - First and Second Wave Feminism

1. Paxton, Pamela, and Melanie M Hughes. 2017. Women, politics, and power: A global perspective: CQ Press. Chapter 2
2. Paxton, Pamela. 2008. "Gendering Democracy." Pp. 47-70 in Politics, Gender, and Concepts: Theory and Methodology, edited by Gary Goetz and Amy Mazur. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
3. Ondercin, H. L., & Key, E. M. (2020). Introduction to Women's Political Involvement in the 100 Years since the Nineteenth Amendment. PS: Political Science & Politics, 53(3), 465-469.
4. McConaughy, Corrine. 2017. "Layers of Activism: Women's Movements and Women in Movements Approaching the Twentieth Century."

Wednesday, September 2nd - Third and Fourth Wave Feminism

1. Ehrenreich, Barbara. 1994. "Sorry, Sisters, This is Not the Revolution."
2. Haider-Markel, D. P., Gauding, P., Flores, A., Lewis, D. C., Miller, P. R., Tadlock, B., & Taylor, J. K. (2020). LGBTQ State Legislative Candidates in an Era of Backlash. PS: Political Science & Politics, 53(3), 453-459.

Friday, September 4th - International Conventions on Women in Politics and Descriptive Statistics

1. Dovi, Suzanne. 2002. "Preferable descriptive representatives: Will just any woman, black, or Latino do?" American Political Science Review 96 (4):729-743.
2. Reynolds, A. (2013). 'Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective's American Political Science Review, 107:2, 259-274.
3. Fraga, B., Shah, P., & Juenke, E. (2020). Did Women and Candidates of Color Lead or Ride the Democratic Wave in 2018? PS: Political Science & Politics, 53(3), 435-439. doi:10.1017/S1049096520000268

Reading and Lecture Quiz #1: Quiz opens at 11:30am Friday and closes 11:30am on Saturday.

Week 3:

Monday September 7th Academic Holiday

Wednesday, September 9th - Constitutions

1. Brenda Oppermann, The Impact of Legal Pluralism on Women's Status: An Examination of Marriage Laws in Egypt, South Africa, and the United States, Hastings Women's L.J. 65 (2006).

Friday, September 11th – No Class American Political Science Association Meeting

Week 4:

Monday, September 14th – Electoral Systems pt.1

1. Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2 & Chapter 8

Wednesday, September 16th - Electoral Systems pt. 2

1. Lindberg, Staffan I. 2005. "Consequences of electoral systems in Africa: a preliminary inquiry." *Electoral studies* 24 (1):41-64.

Friday, September 18th – Political Parties

1. Caul, Miki (1999) 'Women's representation in Parliament: the role of political parties' *Party Politics*, 5(1) 79–98
2. Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2011. "Women, Parties, and Platforms in Post-Industrial Democracies." *Party Politics* 17 (1): 66-92.

Reading and Lecture Quiz #2: Quiz opens at 11:30am Friday and closes 11:30am on Saturday.

Week 5:

Monday, September 21st - Candidate Selection and Recruitment

1. Melusky, B., Loepf, E., & Kanthak, K. (2020). Candidate Emergence and the Success of Women. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 53(3), 440-446.
2. Gallagher, Michael and Michael Marsh (eds). 1988. *Candidate selection in comparative perspective: the secret garden of politics. Introduction and Conclusion*
3. Lundell, K. (2004). Determinants of candidate selection: The degree of centralization in comparative perspective. *Party Politics*, 10(1), 25-47.

Wednesday, September 23rd - Two Approaches to Increasing Women in Politics

1. Dahlerup, D. (Ed.). (2006). *Women, Quotas and Politics*. London: Routledge, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203099544> Chapter 3 and Chapter 5
2. Mansbridge, J. (2005). Quota problems: Combating the dangers of essentialism. *Politics & Gender*, 1(4), 622.

Friday, September 25th - Gender Quotas and Consequences

1. Hassim, S. (2010). "Perverse consequences? The impact of quotas for women on democratization in Africa." In I. Shapiro, S. Stokes, E. Wood, & A. Kirshner (Eds.), *Political Representation* (pp. 211-235). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2. Murray, R. (2010). Second Among Unequals? A Study of Whether France's "Quota Women" are Up to the Job—ERRATUM. *Politics & Gender*, 6(4), 643-669.

Week 6:

Monday, September 28th - Socio-economic Institutions and Barriers [Economic]

1. Sen, A. (2001). The many faces of gender inequality. *New republic*, 35-39.

2. Chiara Capraro. (2017). "Rights and Realities: a briefing on women and the economy." *Womankind Worldwide*.
3. Jordan-Zachary, J. S., & Wilson, S. (2017). "Talking" about Gender While Ignoring Race and Class: A Discourse Analysis of Pay Equity Debates. In M. Mitchell (Ed.), *Black Women in Politics* (pp. 65-82): Routledge.

Wednesday, September 30th - Socio-economic Institutions and Barriers [Education and Marriage]

1. DiPrete, Thomas A, and Claudia Buchmann. (2013). *The rise of women: The growing gender gap in education and what it means for American schools*: Russell Sage Foundation. Chapter 2 and Chapter 3

Friday, October 2nd – Socio-economic Institutions and Barriers [Reproductive Rights]

1. Reading TBA
2. Paper Outline Due on bCourses by 11:59pm.

Reading and Lecture Quiz #3: Quiz opens at 11:30am Friday and closes 11:30am on Saturday.

Week 7:

Monday, October 5th – Political Participation [Voting]

1. Bedolla, L. G., Monforti, J. L. L., & Pantoja, A. D. (2007). A second look: Is there a Latina/o gender gap? *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 28(3-4), 147-171.
2. Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (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.
3. Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2012. *The Quest for Women's Votes in Election 2012*. (SSN)

Wednesday, October 7th Political Participation [Informal]

1. Chhibber P. (2002). Why are some women politically active? The household, public space, and political participation in India. *Int. J. Comp. Sociol.* 43(3–5):409–29 2.
2. Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Sidney Verba. (1997). "The Public Consequences of Private Inequality: Family Life and Citizen Participation." *American Political Science Review*. 91:2, pp. 373-389

Friday, October 9th - A Woman's Place in History and Today

1. Watch We should all be feminists | Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie | TEDxEuston
2. Bahrapour, Tara. 2018. "Crossing the divide: Do men really have it easier? These transgender guys found the truth was more complex." *Washington Post*, July 20.
3. Teele, D., Kalla, J., & Rosenbluth, F. (2018). The Ties That Double Bind: Social Roles and Women's Underrepresentation in Politics. *American Political Science Review*, 112(3), 525-541. doi:10.1017/S0003055418000217
4. Paper outline Feedback Due on bCourses by 11:59pm.

Week 8:

Monday, October 12th – Gender Stereotyping

1. Watch Miss Representation <https://documentarylovers.com/film/miss-representation/>
2. Schneider, Monica and Angela Bos. 2014. "Measuring Stereotypes of Female Politicians." *Political Psychology* 35:2, pp. 245-266

Wednesday October 14th – Political Ambition

4. Bos, A. L., Holman, M. R., Greenlee, J. S., Oxley, Z. M., & Lay, J. C. (2020). 100 Years of Suffrage and Girls Still Struggle to Find their "Fit" in Politics. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 53(3), 474-478.

Friday, October 16th – Campaigning

1. Lawrence, R. G., & Rose, M. (2010). *Hillary Clinton's race for the White House: Gender politics and the media on the campaign trail*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Chapter 3 and Chapter 6
2. Sanbonmatsu, Kira. "Women Candidates and their Campaigns" Political Parity.
3. Outline due on bCourses by 11:59pm

Reading and Lecture Quiz #4: Quiz opens at 11:30am Friday and closes 11:30am on Saturday.

Week 9:

Monday, October 19th – Media

1. 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.

Wednesday, October 21st – Violence in Politics

1. Krook, M. L. (2017). *Violence Against Women in Politics*. *Journal of Democracy* 28(1), 74-88. Johns Hopkins University Press. Retrieved June 30, 2019, from Project MUSE database.
2. Pande, Rohini. 2015. "Keeping Women Safe: Addressing the Root Causes of Violence Against Women in South Asia." *Harvard Magazine*.

Friday, October 23rd – Women Ideology

1. Koepl-Turyna, M. (2020). Gender gap in voting: Evidence from actual ballots. *Party Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068820934677>
2. Schwandt-Bayer, L. A. (2006). Still supermadres? Gender and the policy priorities of Latin American legislators. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(3), 570-585.
3. Lizotte, M.-K. (2019). Investigating the origins of the gender gap in support for war. *Political Studies Review*, 17(2), 124-135.
4. Outline Feedback due on Bcourses by 11:59pm.
5. Theoretical Argument Outline due on bCourses by 11:59pm

Week 10:

Monday, October 26th – Women Executives

1. Jalalzai, Farida. (2013). Shattered, cracked, or firmly intact?: Women and the executive glass ceiling worldwide: Oxford University Press. Chapter 3 & 4.
2. Arriola, Leonardo R, and Martha C Johnson. (2014). "Ethnic Politics and Women's Empowerment in Africa: Ministerial Appointments to Executive Cabinets." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (2):495-510.

Wednesday, October 28th – Women in Office

1. Anzia and Berry (2011) "The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect: Why Do Congresswomen Outperform Congressmen?"
2. Powley (2006) "Rwanda: The Impact of Women Legislators on Policy Outcomes Affecting Children and Families"

Friday, October 30th – Women in Office [Moderators]

1. Volden, Craig, Alan E. Wiseman and Dana Wittmer. 2013. "When Are Women More Effective Lawmakers Than Men?" *American Journal of Political Science*, 57 (2): 326-341.
2. Mirya R. Holman , Jennifer L. Merolla & Elizabeth J. Zechmeister (2011) Sex, Stereotypes, and Security: A Study of the Effects of Terrorist Threat on Assessments of Female Leadership, *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 32:3, 173-192, DOI: 10.1080/1554477X.2011.589283

Reading and Lecture Quiz #5: Quiz opens at 11:30am Friday and closes 11:30am on Saturday.

Week 11:

Monday, November 2nd – Symbolic Representation

1. Wolbrecht, C. and Campbell, D. E. (2007), Leading by Example: Female Members of Parliament as Political Role Models. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51: 921-939.
2. Beaman, Lori, et al. "Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124.4 (November 2009), pp.1497-1540.
3. Recommended: The Patriot Act with Hasan Minhaj: Don't ignore the Asian American Vote in 2020

Wednesday, November 4th – Women in Judiciary

1. Hoekstra, V., Kittilson, M., and Bond, E. 2014. "Gender, high Courts, and Ideas about Representation in Western Europe." In *Representation: The Case of Women*, edited by Maria Escobar-Lemmon and Michelle Taylor-Robinson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 103 – 117.

Friday November 6th – Regional Focus Asia

2. L. Beaman, E. Duflo, R. Pande, and P. Topalova. 2012. "Female Leadership Raises Aspirations and Educational Attainment for Girls: A Policy Experiment in India." *Science* 335(6068): 582-586.
3. Omvedt, G. (2005). Women in Governance in South Asia. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(44/45), 4746-4752. Retrieved January 9, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/4417361

4. Empirical Analysis Outline due on bCourses by 11:59pm.

Week 12:

Monday, November 9th – Regional Focus Latin America

1. Htun, M. (2014). “Political Inclusion and Representation of Afrodescendant Women in Latin America.” In *Representation: The Case of Women*, edited by Maria Escobar-Lemmon and Michelle Taylor-Robinson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 118 – 137.
2. S. Desposato and B. 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.

Wednesday, November 11th Academic Holiday

Friday, November 13th – Regional Focus Africa

1. Johnson, M., Phillips, M. (2019). Gender politics. In *Routledge Handbook of Democratization in Africa*, edited by Gabrielle Lynch and Peter VonDoep. London: Routledge Press.
2. Watch Iron Ladies of Liberia (Why Democracy? Series)
3. Feedback on Empirical Analysis due on bCourses by 11:59pm

Reading and Lecture Quiz # 6: Quiz opens at 11:30am Friday and closes 11:30am on Saturday.

Week 13:

Monday, November 16th – Regional Focus Middle East

1. Wright, Robin. 2011. *Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion Across the Islamic World*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 138-159.
2. Valentine M. Moghadam (2003) Engendering Citizenship, Feminizing Civil Society, *Women & Politics*, 25:1-2, 63-87, DOI: 10.1300/J014v25n01_03
3. ROSS, M. (2008). Oil, Islam, and Women. *American Political Science Review*, 102(1), 107- 123. doi:10.1017/S0003055408080040

Wednesday, November 18th – Regional Focus East and Western Europe

1. Köttig, M., & Blum, A. (2017). Introduction. In M. Köttig, R. Bitzan, & A. Petö (Eds.), *Gender and Far Right Politics in Europe* (pp. 1-10). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
2. Blum, A., & Köttig, M. (2017). Postscript. In M. Köttig, R. Bitzan, & A. Petö (Eds.), *Gender and Far Right Politics in Europe* (pp. 369-375). Cham: Springer International Publishing

Friday, November 20th – Catch up Lecture

Week 14:

Monday, November 23rd – No Class
Wednesday, November 25th Academic Holiday
Friday, November 27th Academic Holiday

Week 15:

Monday, November 30th – Catch up Lecture
Wednesday, December 2nd – Jobs and Careers in Political Science
Friday, December 4th – Where do we go from here?

RRR Week December 9th-13th
Finals Week December 16th-20th