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## **Women in Politics in Comparative Perspective UC Berkeley – Spring 2020**

Class Meetings: 10:00 am - 11:00 am (MWF) in Barrows 126

### **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 is 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 July 10th having read the articles under its header.

### Course Requirements:

|                      |               |
|----------------------|---------------|
| <b>Participation</b> | 15%           |
| <b>Midterm Exam</b>  | 20%           |
| <b>Final Exam</b>    | 20%           |
| <b>Peer Reviews</b>  | 15% (5% each) |
| <b>Final Paper</b>   | 30%           |

**Attending** lectures and section is essential to your success in this course. Your **participation (15%)** grade will be based on your attendance and engagement during lecture and section. This class is small, and your absence will be noticed. A short breakdown of participation expectations and grades can be found on bcourses.

There will be ***no make-ups of exams or activities***. Students missing an exam 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.

**Both the Midterm (20%) and Final Exam (20%)** will be two-parts. The first component will be short answer and term questions. Example of previous exams from the summer session of this course can be found on bcourses. The second component will be an in-class essay. Potential prompts for the exam will be given a week ahead of time. A study guide has been posted on bcourses.

**Final Paper (30%):** Students will write a 3500-word research paper organized along the following sections: Introduction, Existing Explanations, Theoretical Argument, Case Study, and Conclusion. 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 lecture 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:

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. Office hours are there for you—so you should feel free to take advantage of them.

### 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.***

## **Technology in the Classroom:**

You are welcomed to use your computer or tablets to aid in note taking during lecture and section. However, cell phone use is not allowed. Use of them during lecture or section will result in a penalty in your participation grade. If any technology accommodations are needed, please come to me to discuss them.

## **Grade Disputes:**

Requests for regrades come straight to me, not your GSI. Regrades by me are subject to an increase or a decrease in your grade and must be justified with an explanation on why you believe you deserve a regrade. Regrade requests must be received within a week of when the assignment was returned.

## **Course Schedule:**

### **Week 1:**

Wednesday, January 22: Introduction

1. Please email me, [melaniephillips@berkeley.edu](mailto:melaniephillips@berkeley.edu), a brief introduction. Include your year, major, and reason for taking this class.
2. Read the **entire** syllabus.

### **Orienting Theories: Power, Gender, Patriarchy, and Intersectionality**

Friday, January 24: What is feminism, gender, and the feminist movement?

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

### **Week 2:**

Monday, January 27<sup>th</sup>: What was first Wave Feminism? Critiques of First 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.

Wednesday, January 29<sup>th</sup>: 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> Wave Feminism?

1. Four Waves of Feminism By Martha Rampton
2. Ehrenreich, Barbara. 1994. "[Sorry, Sisters, This is Not the Revolution.](#)"
3. McConaughy, Corrine. 2017. "Layers of Activism: Women's Movements and Women in Movements Approaching the Twentieth Century."

Friday, January 31<sup>st</sup>: International Conventions on Women in Politics and Descriptive Statistics

1. Paxton, Pamela, and Melanie M Hughes. 2017. *Women, politics, and power: A global perspective*. CQ Press. Chapter 3
2. Reynolds, A. (2013). 'Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective', *American Political Science Review*, 107:2, 259–274.
3. Dovi, Suzanne. 2002. "Preferable descriptive representatives: Will just any woman, black, or Latino do?" *American Political Science Review* 96 (4):729-743.

### **Political Representation of Women and Political Institutions**

#### **Week 3**

Monday, February 3<sup>rd</sup>: 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).

Wednesday, February 5<sup>th</sup>: Electoral Systems

1. Lindberg, Staffan I. 2005. "Consequences of electoral systems in Africa: a preliminary inquiry." *Electoral studies* 24 (1):41-64.
2. Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2 & Chapter 8

Friday, February 7<sup>th</sup>: 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.

#### **Week 4**

Monday, February 10<sup>th</sup>: Candidate Selection and Recruitment

1. Gallagher, Michael and Michael Marsh (eds). 1988. Candidate selection in comparative perspective: the secret garden of politics. Introduction and Conclusion
2. Lundell, Krister (2004) 'Determinants of Candidate Selection', *Party Politics* 10(1): 25-47

Wednesday, February 12<sup>th</sup>: 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. (2006) 'Quota Problems' in Politics and Gender. & Mikki Caul Kittilson (2006) 'In Support of Gender Quotas' in Politics and Gender.

See also: Global Database of Quotas for Women, <http://www.quotaproject.org>.

Friday, February 14<sup>th</sup>: 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, Rainbow. 2010. "Second Among Unequals? A Study of Whether France's 'Quota Women' Are Up to the Job." *Politics & Gender* 6 (1): 93-118

### **Week 5:**

Monday, February 17<sup>th</sup>: *Holiday*

### **Political Representation of Women: Social Structure**

Wednesday, February 19<sup>th</sup> : Money Work and Time - Economic Power

1. Sen, Amartya. 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.

Friday, February 21: Education and Child 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

### **Week 6:**

Monday, February 24<sup>th</sup>: Reproductive Rights

1. Freedman, Lynn P. and Stephen L. Isaacs. 1993. "Human Rights and Reproductive Choice." *Studies in Family Planning* 24, no. 1: 18-30.
2. Cook, Rebecca J. and Bernard M. Dickens. 2003. "Human Rights Dynamics of Abortion Law Reform." *Human Rights Quarterly* 25: 1-59

Wednesday, February 26<sup>th</sup>: Political Participation: Voting

1. A Second Look: Is There a Latina/o Gender Gap? Lisa García Bedolla, Jessica L. Lavariega Monforti & Adrian D. Pantoja
2. The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women's and Men's Voting Behavior in Global Perspective Ronald Inglehart; Pippa Norris
3. Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2012. [The Quest for Women's Votes in Election](#) 2012. (SSN)

Friday, February 28<sup>th</sup>: Political Participation: More than just voting

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. 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

### **Political Representation of Women: Culture and Socialization**

#### **Week 7:**

Monday, March 2<sup>nd</sup>: A Woman’s Place in History and A Woman’s Place 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

Wednesday, March 4<sup>th</sup>: 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

Friday, March 6<sup>th</sup>: Political Ambition in United States

1. Fox, Richard L., and Jennifer L. Lawless. (2014). [Uncovering the Origins of the Gender Gap in Political Ambition](#). *American Political Science Review* 108 (3): 499–519.
2. Lawless, Jennifer L, and Richard L Fox. 2013. "Girls just wanna not run: The gender gap in young Americans' political ambition." *Washington, DC: Women & Politics Institute*.

#### **Week 8:**

Monday, March 9<sup>th</sup>: Midterm – Terms and Short Answers

Wednesday, March 11<sup>th</sup>: Midterm – Essay

### **When Women Do Participate, what is their Experience?**

Friday, March 13<sup>th</sup>: Political Ambition in Comparative

1. Galais, C., Öhberg, P., & Coller, X. (2016). Endurance at the Top: Gender and Political Ambition of Spanish and Swedish MP's. *Politics & Gender*, 12, 596–621
2. 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

## **Week 9:**

Monday, March 16<sup>th</sup>: Campaigning While Female

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.

Wednesday, March 18<sup>th</sup>: **Paper Outline Peer Review Due**

Friday, March 20<sup>th</sup>: The Media and Biases [Video Lecture]

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.
2. Steiner, K. (2017). Pitied Women, Aggressive Men. Images of Muslims in Swedish Christian and Secular News Discourse. In M. Köttig, R. Bitzan, & A. Petö (Eds.), *Gender and Far Right Politics in Europe* (pp. 253-270). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

***SPRING BREAK – Enjoy and be Safe***

## **Week 10:**

Monday, March 30<sup>th</sup>: Violence in Politics [Video Lecture]

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.

### **Do Women Make a Difference?**

Wednesday, April 1<sup>st</sup>: Female Executives and Female Ministers [Video Lecture]

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.

Friday, April 3<sup>rd</sup>: **Theoretical Argument Peer Review DUE**

## **Week 11**

Monday, April 6<sup>th</sup>: Women and Ideology

1. Lizotte, Mary-Kate. 2017. "Investigating the Origins of the Gender Gap in Support for War."

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

Wednesday, April 8<sup>th</sup>: The Positive Impact of 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, April 10<sup>th</sup>: **Empirical Analysis Peer Review**

### **Week 12**

Monday, April 13<sup>th</sup>: The Moderators of Women in Office

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

Wednesday, April 15<sup>th</sup>: Symbolic Representation

1. Reynolds, A. (2013). 'Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective', *American Political Science Review*, 107:2, 259–274.
2. 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.
3. Beaman, Lori, et al. "Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124.4 (November 2009), pp.1497-1540.

*Note: The Patriot Act with Hasan Minhaj: Don't ignore the Asian American Vote in 2020 is a good take on the importance of symbolic representation. It is also an extra credit assignment.*

### **Regional Exploration of Women in Politics**

Friday, April 17<sup>th</sup>: Women in the 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.

### **Week 13**

Monday, April 20<sup>th</sup>: Regional Focus Asia

1. 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.
2. 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](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4417361)



Wednesday, April 22<sup>nd</sup>: 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.

Friday, April 24<sup>th</sup>: 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)

***Did you make it this far in reading the syllabus? If so, send me an email with a cute animal image by January 25<sup>th</sup> and receive an extra point on your midterm.***

#### **Week 14:**

Monday, April 27<sup>th</sup>: 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](https://doi.org/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, April 29<sup>th</sup>: Regional Focus Europe East and West

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, May 1<sup>st</sup>: Where do we go from here? **RESEARCH PAPER DUE** *No Readings*