



Gender and Politics

SOC 2350 / PS 2118 (29219)

Fall 2017 (2181)

Time/Place: Mondays 2:00 - 4:25 PM in 2800 Wesley W. Posvar Hall (WWPH)

Instructor: Melanie M. Hughes, PhD

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Office Hours: Mondays 12:30-1:30PM & Wednesdays 10:00-11:00AM & by appointment

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COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This course examines central topics in the study of gender and politics, covering such issues as women's activism in social movements, gender gaps in ideology and partisanship, the ways that government bureaucracies are gendered, the ways that executive leaders "do masculinity," and the roads women take to local and national political office. The course is global in its focus, but students will also be introduced to research on gender and politics in American society. Whenever possible, we will be attentive to the ways in which gender intersects with other social identities, such as race, ethnicity, and social class.

COURSE OBJECTIVES:

This course has four central objectives:

- 1) to expose students to scholarly research about gender and politics;
- 2) to develop students' abilities to understand and critically evaluate research at the intersection of politics and sociology;
- 3) to introduce students to debates, controversies, unresolved questions, and puzzles in the field of gender and politics that require further study; and
- 4) to allow students to develop a research project on a topic related to gender and politics.

COURSE MOTIVATION:

Sociologists interested in gender have long recognized the importance of politics and power. Yet, sociological research on sex and gender began to develop as a field during a time when women's exclusion from formal politics was nearly universal. Many sociologists therefore turned their attention to "politics" and "the political" outside of governments and elections.

Times are changing, however. Women are increasingly serving in all types of political positions, from local councilor to national legislator to president, spurring new and exciting research from across the social sciences. Although the numbers of sociologists engaging in this work are few – especially relative to the size of the sociology of gender subfield – this course will take seriously the notion that sociology has much to offer the study of gender and electoral politics.

Sociological perspectives are able to fully draw upon the intersectional, situated nature of gender identities and processes, and bring to bear theoretical tools from the most micro to the most macro of social conditions. Sociological theories of gender provide a compelling lens to see how gender organizes

political inequalities. Sociology can offer insights into the ways that social institutions such as work and the family shape, and are shaped by, political institutions. And, sociology's efforts to understand manhood and masculinity has much to offer a burgeoning field of men in politics.

COURSEWEB:

Copies of the syllabus, class materials and assignments, articles for critique, and the gradebook-in-progress are available at <https://courseweb.pitt.edu>.

COURSE READINGS:

Required:

- 1) Paxton, Pamela and Melanie M. Hughes. 2016. *Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective*, 3rd Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press.
Note: Royalties to the course instructor from students' purchasing of this text will be refunded to students directly.
- 2) Tripp, Aili Mari. 2016. *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
- 3) Additional articles and/or book chapters will be assigned for most class periods. All materials will be accessible on CourseWeb in the Course Documents folder, online through the University Library, or on the World Wide Web. See "Course Outline" section for a complete list.

Optional:

(We will read only selections from these monographs and/or they are "Supplemental Readings" – works designed to complement what has been assigned each week.)

- Bjarnegard, Elin. 2013. *Gender, Informal Institutions and Political Recruitment: Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation*. Verlag: Springer Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brooks, Deborah Jordan. 2013. *He Runs, She Runs: Why Gender Stereotypes Do Not Harm Women Candidates*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- de Jong, Sara. 2017. *Complicit Sisters: Gender and Women's Issues across North-South Divides*. Oxford University Press.
- Coole, Diana H. 1988. *Women in Political Theory: From Ancient Misogyny to Contemporary Feminism*. Sussex, UK: Wheatsheaf Books.
- Corder, J. Kevin, and Christina Wolbrecht. 2016. *Counting Women's Ballots: Female Voters from Suffrage through the New Deal*. Cambridge University Press.
- Escobar-Lemmon, Maria C. and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. 2016. *Women in Presidential Cabinets: Power Players or Abundant Tokens?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 2000. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. NY: Routledge.
- Iverson, Torben and Frances Rosenbluth. 2010. *Women, Work and Politics: The Political Economy of Gender Inequality*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Jalalzai, Farida. 2013. *Shattered, Cracked, or Firmly Intact? Women and the Executive Glass Ceiling Worldwide*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Krook, Mona. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lorber, Judith. 1994. *Paradoxes of Gender*. Yale University Press.
- Lukes, Steven. 1974. *Power: A Radical View*. Houndmills: MacMillan.
- Okin, Susan Moller. 1979. *Women in Western Political Thought*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Puwar, Nirma. 2004. *Space Invaders*. London: Berg.
- Sperling, Valerie. 2014. *Sex, Politics, and Putin: Gender, Activism, and Political Legitimacy in Russia*. Oxford University Press.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Attendance: Students are expected to attend all classes. Class time will consist of discussion, student presentations, and peer evaluation. Your attendance is important to the success of the course for both you and your classmates. Therefore, you should arrive on time and stay for the entire class period. Chronic absences will negatively affect your participation grade.

Reading: All of the assigned readings are to be completed prior to class on the day scheduled in the Course Outline. Students are expected to bring any problems in understanding the reading to the attention of the instructor.

Participation: As a seminar, this course is organized around the discussion of the assigned reading. You are expected to prepare for class discussions about course topics and readings, and your participation in class discussion will be graded. Explaining theory and research to others can help to facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of course material. You will therefore also be required to work in pairs to lead the class discussion twice during the course. On the days you lead the class, you will be required to prepare a handout (2 page maximum) for the class. You will be graded on your leadership of the class, your handout, and how well you synthesize and present the week's material, raise relevant questions, and facilitate discussion. The final part of your participation grade will come from providing critical feedback on the written work and oral presentations of your classmates. (See more on this in the Final Paper and Presentation sections below.)

Final Project: Over the course, you will compose a project proposal or empirical paper based on the course theme. Students who have not yet completed a Master's degree are advised to complete a proposal. Students who are at the PhD level are advised to complete an empirical paper. Students are encouraged to work on the final project in pairs but must seek approval from the instructor to do so, and must account for their individual contributions to the assignments at each stage.

Students are expected to make progress on the final project across the semester and will be graded along the way. Late work will be penalized by a 10 percent grade reduction for the first day of lateness, beginning 10 minutes after class has begun on the due date, and 10 percent for each additional day of lateness. If you are unable to submit an assignment on time because of something beyond your control (alien abduction, homework in dog's stomach), I must have verifiable proof (alien's or vet's note). Otherwise, you will be docked points for lateness.

The final project involves the following components:

Topic: Students should begin thinking about possible topics for their final project immediately. Students must come up with three possible topics for their final project by the third class meeting on **September 18, 2017**. Topics should be framed as research questions, typed up, printed, and submitted at the beginning of class. Students are then expected to meet with the course instructor outside of regularly scheduled class during the week (September 18-22) to discuss their possible topics. Students must then decide on their final topic and notify the instructor via email by the beginning of class on **September 25, 2017**.

Abstract: A draft abstract for the final project is due on **October 10, 2017**. By this point, students should have a sense of the data and methods they could feasibly use. Students are encouraged to consult with the course instructor regarding potential sources of data and proposed methodologies, although such consultation is not required.

Rough Draft: A rough draft of the entire proposal or empirical paper is due at the beginning of class on **November 13, 2017**. You must bring one hard copy of your draft to class to hand in to the instructor and also exchange a Word (.docx) version of your draft with two assigned peers. Students have one week to provide critical feedback on rough drafts and must email their comments/tracked changes back to the two authors before class on **November 20, 2017**. Please CC the instructor on all correspondence involving peer review, which counts towards your participation grade. Students should also be prepared to provide feedback to authors in person during class on **November 20**.

Final Submission: Papers are expected to be article length (8,500-10,000 words, including references) and follow American Sociological Association guidelines for in-text citations and references. The final project is due one week after our last regularly scheduled class – by **5:00pm on Monday, December 11, 2017**.

Presentation: At the end of the course, students will be required to give a brief conference-style presentation of their research. Presentations will be limited to 12 minutes and will be graded on content and style. Students will also provide constructive feedback to their peers as part of their participation grade. Depending on the number of course projects, presentations may begin as early as **November 27, 2017** and continue through finals week, with no more than 2 presentations per class on **November 27** and **December 4**, to ensure adequate time to discuss course material.

COURSE GRADING:

Participation		Final Project	
Leading Class	10%	Topic & Abstract	10%
Critical Peer Review	15%	Rough Draft	5%
In-Class Participation	15%	Final Submission	40%
		Presentation	10%

If you believe a grading error has occurred at any point during the class, please see me as soon as possible. I will retain all grading materials for two semesters following this one.

Letter Grades and Percent Ranges:

A+ 97-100	B+ 87-89	C+ 77-79	D+ 67-69	F 0-59
A 93-96	B 83-86	C 73-76	D 63-66	
A- 90-92	B- 80-82	C- 70-72	D- 60-62	

Note that for graduate coursework, B- is considered **failing**. Students earning a grade of B- or below may be required to re-take this course.

DISABILITIES:

If you have a disability that requires special testing accommodations or other classroom modifications, **you need to notify both the instructor and the Disability Resources and Services no later than the 2nd week of the term**. You may be asked to provide documentation of your disability to determine the appropriateness of accommodations. To notify Disability Resources and Services, call 648-7890 (Voice or TTD) to schedule an appointment. The Office is located in 216 William Pitt Union.

STUDENT CONDUCT:

Withdrawal: The deadline for monitored withdrawal is **Friday, October 23, 2017.**

Classroom Conduct: Students are expected to be respectful of diverse opinions and present themselves in such ways as to keep the classroom as safe, open environment for learning.

Class Break: Time permitting, I will typically allow a five minute break during class time for you to use the restroom, stretch your legs, etc.

Academic Integrity: Students in this course will be expected to comply with the University of Pittsburgh's Policy on Academic Integrity. Any student suspected of violating this obligation for any reason during the semester will be required to participate in the procedural process, initiated at the instructor level, as outlined in the University Guidelines on Academic Integrity. ANY and ALL forms of suspected academic misconduct will be reported.

Laptops and Electronic Devices: Laptops and cell phones pose a distraction. Even if our intentions are good, it is hard to not text, hop on Facebook, etc. Laptop use may also distract and hinder learning for nearby peers. Even if everyone in class is 100% responsible about using their devices, taking notes in longhand helps you learn and retain course material better. During class, "movie theater" rules apply: no laptops, phones, or other devices with a screen on them should be out during class. Students who continually disrupt the class will be asked to leave. For the science on this, see, for example:

- Helene Hembrooke and Geri Gay. 2003. "The Laptop and the Lecture: The Effects of Multitasking in Learning Environments." *Journal of Computing in Higher Education* 15(1):46-64.
- Faria Sana, Tina Weston, and Nicholas J. Ceped. 2013. "Laptop Multitasking Hinders Classroom Learning for Both Users and Nearby Peers." *Computers and Education* 62:24-31.
- Pam A. Mueller and Daniel M. Oppenheimer. 2014. "The Pen Is Mightier Than the Keyboard: Advantages of Longhand over Laptop Note Taking." *Psychological Science* 25(6):1159-68.

Email Policy: Each student is issued a University e-mail address (username@pitt.edu) upon admittance. This e-mail address may be used by the University for official communication with students. Students are expected to read e-mail sent to this account on a regular basis. Failure to read and react to University communications in a timely manner does not absolve the student from knowing and complying with the content of the communications. The University provides an e-mail forwarding service that allows students to read their e-mail via other service providers (e.g., Hotmail, AOL, Yahoo). Students that choose to forward their e-mail from their pitt.edu address to another address do so at their own risk. If e-mail is lost as a result of forwarding, it does not absolve the student from responding to official communications sent to their University e-mail address.

Gender Inclusive and Non-Sexist Language: Language is gender-inclusive and non-sexist when we use words that affirm and respect how people describe, express, and experience their gender. Just as sexist language excludes women's experiences, non-gender-inclusive language excludes the experiences of individuals whose identities may not fit the gender binary, and/or who may not identify with the sex they were assigned at birth. Identities including trans, intersex, and genderqueer reflect personal descriptions, expressions, and experiences. Gender-inclusive/non-sexist language acknowledges people of any gender (for example, first year student versus freshman, chair versus chairman, humankind versus mankind, etc.). It also affirms non-binary gender identifications, and recognizes the difference between biological sex and gender expression. Students, faculty, and staff may share their preferred pronouns and names, and these gender identities and gender expressions should be honored.

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF TOPICS IN BRIEF (subject to change)

- Week 1* Introduction to Course; Orienting Theories and Concepts
Week 2 Labor Day Holiday; No Class
Week 3 Women's Movements and Suffrage
Week 4 Political Ideology, Partisanship and the Gendering of Political Parties
Week 5 Gendered Interests, Policy Priorities, and Substantive Representation
Week 6 Glass Walls and Ceilings in the Executive Branch
Week 7 Masculinities and Executive Leadership
Week 8 Gender Stereotypes, Double Binds, and Glass Cliffs
Week 9 It Takes a Candidate: Women's Political Underrepresentation in the U.S.
Week 10 Explaining Variation in Women's Political Representation across Countries
Week 11 War, Women's Movements, and Women's Political Representation
Week 12 Merit and Gender Quotas
Week 13 Final Project Workshop
Week 14 TBD (see below for details)
Week 15 TBD (see below for details)

COURSE OUTLINE

This section provides a more detailed outline of course topics and focus questions, required readings, and key deadlines throughout the semester. This schedule is subject to change at my discretion. "Supplementary Readings" are not required but provide: 1) foundational readings for students without prior exposure to course themes; and 2) additional readings to enrich students' understanding of course topics.

Note: Required Readings appear in recommended reading order. Supplementary Readings appear chronologically by year of publication.

I. INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Week 1 (8/28): Introduction to Course; Orienting Theories and Concepts

Required Reading:

- 1) Paxton and Hughes 2016, Ch. 1
- 2) Lukes, Steven. 1974. Pp. 9-25 in *Power: A Radical View*. Houndmills: MacMillan.
- 3) Lorber, Judith. 1994. "'Night to his Day': The Social Construction of Gender." Excerpts from *Paradoxes of Gender*. Yale University Press.

Supplementary Reading:

On Representation:

- Dovi, Suzanne. 2015. "Hanna Pitkin, The Concept of Representation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Classics in Contemporary Political Theory*, edited by Jacob T. Levy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *Journal of Politics* 61:628-57.

On Gender:

- West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender & Society* 1(2):125-51.
- Connell, Raewyn. 1990. "The State, Gender, and Sexual Politics: Theory and Appraisal." *Theory & Society* 19:507-44.

- Risman, Barbara J. 2004. "Gender as a Social Structure: Theory Wrestling With Activism." *Gender & Society* 18:429-50.
- Ridgeway, Cecilia L. 2009. "Framed before We Know It: How Gender Shapes Social Relations." *Gender & Society* 23(2):145-60.

On Intersectionality and Black Feminist Thought:

- Crenshaw, Kimberle W. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity, Politics and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43:1241-99.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 2000. "Rethinking Black Women's Activism." Pp. 201-26 in *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. NY: Routledge.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "Intersectionality as a Normative and Empirical Paradigm." *Politics & Gender* 3(2):248-54.

Week 2 (9/4): Labor Day Holiday; No Class

****THE UNIVERSITY IS CLOSED ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 2017****

****FALL TERM ADD/DROP PERIOD ENDS ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 2017****

Week 3 (9/11): Women's Movements and Suffrage

Required Reading:

- 1) Paxton and Hughes 2016, Ch. 2
- 2) McCammon, Holly J. and Karen E. Campbell. 2001. "Winning the Vote in the West: The Political Successes of the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1866-1919." *Gender & Society* 15:55-82.
- 3) Teele, Dawn. Forthcoming. "How the West Was Won: Competition, Mobilization, and Women's Enfranchisement in the United States." *Journal of Politics*.
- 4) 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):735-45.

Supplementary Reading:

More on the Struggle for Women's Suffrage:

- McCammon, Holly J. 2003. "'Out of the Parlors and Into the Streets': The Changing Tactical Repertoire of the U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements." *Social Forces* 81(3):787-818.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2009. "Conquered or Granted? A History of Suffrage Extensions." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(2):291-321.
- Teele, Dawn. 2014. "Ordinary Democratization: The Electoral Strategy that Won British Women the Vote." *Politics & Society* 42(4):537-61.

II. GENDERED INTERESTS, PRIORITIES, AND POLICYMAKING

Week 4 (9/18): Political Ideology, Partisanship, and the Gendering of Political Parties

****SUBMIT POTENTIAL TOPICS FOR FINAL PROJECT (BRING HARD COPY TO CLASS)****

****MEET INDIVIDUALLY W/ PROFESSOR (OUTSIDE OF CLASS) TO DISCUSS TOPICS****

Required Reading:

- 1) Manza, Jeff, and Clem Brooks. 1998. "The Gender Gap in US Presidential Elections: When? Why? Implications?" *American Journal of Sociology* 103(5):1235-66.

- 2) Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2010. "Masculine Republicans and Feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' Explicit and Implicit Images of the Political Parties." *Political Behavior* 32(4):587-618.
- 3) Bejarano, Christina E. 2014. "Latino Gender and Generation Gaps in Political Ideology." *Politics & Gender* 10:62-88.
- 4) Barnes, Tiffany D., and Erin C. Cassese. 2017. "American Party Women: A Look at the Gender Gap within Parties." *Political Research Quarterly* 70(1):127-41.

Supplementary Reading:

An Historical Perspective

- Corder, J. Kevin, and Christina Wolbrecht. 2016. *Counting Women's Ballots: Female Voters from Suffrage through the New Deal*. Cambridge University Press. (available electronically through the library)

Debate: Does the Sex of First Child Affect Partisanship?

- Conley, Dalton, and Emily Rauscher. 2013. "The Effect of Daughters on Partisanship and Social Attitudes toward Women." *Sociological Forum* 28(4):700-18.
- Lee, Byungkyu, and Dalton Conley. 2016. "Does the Gender of Offspring Affect Parental Political Orientation?" *Social Forces* 94(3):1103-27.
- Hopcoft, Rosemary L. 2016. "Comment on Lee and Conley (2016), 'Does the Gender of Offspring Affect Parental Political Orientation?': Lee and Conley's Null Findings Are Likely Due to Measurement Error in their Measure of Sex of First Child." *Social Forces* 95(2):893-97.

Looking beyond the U.S.:

- 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):441-63.
- Abendschön, Simone, and Stephanie Steinmetz. 2014. "Gender Gap in Voting Revisited: Women's Party Preferences in a European Context." *Social Politics* 21(2):315-44.
- Campbell, Rosie, and Sarah Childs. 2015. "'To the Left, To the Right': Representing Conservative Women's Interests." *Party Politics* 21(4):626-37
- Immerzeel, Tim, Hilde Coffé, and Tanja van der Lippe. 2015. "Explaining the Gender Gap in Radical Right Voting: A Cross-National Investigation in 12 Western European Countries." *Comparative European Politics* 13(3):263-86.

Week 5 (9/25): Gendered Interests, Policy Priorities, and Substantive Representation

****SUBMIT SELECTED TOPIC (VIA EMAIL PRIOR TO CLASS)****

Required Reading:

- 1) Vickers, Jill. 2006. "The Problem with Interests: Making Political Claims for 'Women.'" Pp. 5-38 in *The Politics of Women's Interests: New Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Louise Chappell and Lisa Hill. Routledge.
- 2) Murray, Rainbow. 2015. "Gender Gaps and Gender Stereotypes in Policy Priorities." Paper presented at the European Conference on Politics and Gender, Uppsala, Sweden.
- 3) Smooth, Wendy. 2011. "Standing for Women? Which Women? The Substantive Representation of Women's Interests and the Research Imperative of Intersectionality." *Politics & Gender* 7(3):436-41.
- 4) Celis, Karen, and Sarah Childs. 2012. "The Substantive Representation of Women: What to Do with Conservative Claims?" *Political Studies* 60:213-25.

Supplementary Reading:

Gendered Interests:

- Baldez, Lisa, Karen Beckwith, Beth Reingold, Michele Swers, Wendy Smooth, and Laurel Weldon. 2011. "The Meaning and Measurement of Women's Interests." *Politics & Gender* 7(3):417-46. (full set of commentaries from which only Wendy Smooth's was required)
- Murray, Rainbow. 2015. "Defining and Measuring Men's Interests." Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Warsaw, Poland.

Theorizing Women's Substantive Representation:

- Celis, Karen, Sarah Childs, Johanna Kantola, and Mona Lena Krook. 2008. "Rethinking Substantive Representation." *Representation* 44(2):99-110.
- Childs, Sarah, and Mona Lena Krook. 2009. "Analysing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors." *Government & Opposition* 44(2):125-45.

III. GENDER AND THE EXECUTIVE

Week 6 (10/2): Glass Walls and Ceilings in the Executive Branch

Required Reading:

- 1) Smith, Amy E., and Karen R. Monaghan. 2013. "Some Ceilings Have More Cracks: Representative Bureaucracy in Federal Regulatory Agencies." *The American Review of Public Administration* 43(1):50-71.
- 2) Paxton and Hughes, Ch. 3 Pp. 99-104
- 3) Escobar-Lemmon, Maria C. and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. 2016. "Getting Seats at the Table, and Not Just in the "Women's Seat." Pp. 153-74 in *Women in Presidential Cabinets: Power Players or Abundant Tokens?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (available electronically through the library)
- 4) Connell, Raewyn. 2006. "Glass Ceilings or Gendered Institutions? Mapping the Gender Regimes of Public Sector Worksites." *Public Administration Review* 66(6):837-49.

Supplementary Reading:

Theorizing Gendered Organizations and Institutions:

- Acker, Joan. 1990. "Hierarchies, Jobs, and Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations." *Gender & Society* 4:139-58.
- Britton, Dana. M. 2000. "The Epistemology of the Gendered Organization." *Gender & Society* 14(3):418-34.
- Chappell, Louise and Georgina Waylen. 2013. "Gender and the Hidden Life of Institutions." *Public Administration* 91(3):599-615.

On Glass Walls and Ceilings in Public Administration:

- UNDP. 2014. *Global Report on Gender Equality in Public Administration*. (http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/public_administration/gepa.html).
- Anestaki, Aikaterini, Meghna Sabharwal, Kenneth Connelly, and N. Joseph Cayer. 2016. "Race and Gender Representation in Presidential Appointments, SES, and GS Levels, During Clinton, Bush, and Obama Administrations." *Administration & Society*. doi:10.1177/0095399716655376.

On Gender and Cabinets:

- 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):840-55.

- Crage, Suzanna M., Melanie M. Hughes, Peter Mohanty, and Terri E. Givens. 2013. "Gendered Jobs: Integrating Immigrants vs. Controlling Immigration in the European Union." *Politics & Gender* 9(1):31-60.
- Barnes, Tiffany D., and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2015. "Defending the Realm: The Appointment of Female Defense Ministers Worldwide." Paper presented at the 4th European Conference on Politics & Gender. Uppsala, Sweden. Forthcoming in *American Journal of Political Science*. (<http://cpd.berkeley.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/AJPSBarnesOBrien2016RR.pdf>)

Week 7 (10/10): Masculinities and Executive Leadership

****MONDAY IS FALL BREAK (NO CLASSES); CLASS MEETS ON TUESDAY****

****ABSTRACT DUE (BRING HARD COPY TO CLASS)****

Required Reading:

- 1) Messner, Michael. 2007. "The Masculinity of the Governor: Muscle and Compassion in American Politics." *Gender & Society* 21:461-81.
- 2) Cooper, F. R. 2010. "Our First Unisex President?: Black Masculinity and Obama's Feminine Side." Pp. 153-72 in *The Obama Effect: Multidisciplinary Renderings of the 2008 Campaign*, edited by Heather E. Harris, Kimberly R. Moffitt and Catherine R. Squires. Albany, NY: SUNY Press. (available electronically through the library)
- 3) Duerst-Lahti, Georgia. 2014. "Presidential Elections: Gendered Space and the Case of 2012." Pp. 12-42 in *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*, edited by Susan J. Carroll and Richard L. Fox. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 4) Sperling, Valerie. 2014. "Putin the Sex Back in Politics: Gender Norms, Sexualization, and Political Legitimization in Russia." Pp. 29-79 in *Sex, Politics, and Putin: Gender, Activism, and Political Legitimacy in Russia*. Oxford University Press. (available electronically through the library)

Supplementary Reading:

Theorizing Masculinities:

- Carrigan, Tim, Bob Connell, and John Lee. 1985. "Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity." *Theory & Society* 14(5):551-604.
- Connell, Raewyn, and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19(6):829-59.

On Masculinities and the Presidency:

- Kimmel, Michael. 1987. "The Cult of Masculinity: American Social Character and the Legacy of the Cowboy." Pp. 235-48 in *Beyond Patriarchy: Essays by Men*, edited by Michael Kaufman. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Gutterman, David S. and Danielle Regan. 2007. "Straight Eye for the Straight Guy." Pp. 63-86 in *W Stands For Women: How the George W. Bush Presidency Shaped a New Politics of Gender*, edited by Michael L. Ferguson and Lori Jo Marso. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Katz, Jackson. 2016. Pp. 1-58 in *Man Enough? Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, and the Politics of Presidential Masculinity*. Northampton: Interlink.
- Yates, Elizabeth A. and Melanie M. Hughes. 2017. "Cultural Explanations for Men's Dominance of National Leadership Worldwide." Pp. 101-22 in *Women Presidents and Prime Ministers in Post-Transition Democracies*, edited by Verónica Montecinos. Palgrave Macmillan.

Week 8 (10/16): Gender Stereotypes, Double Binds, and Glass Cliffs

Required Reading:

- 1) Goetz, Ann Marie. 2007. "Political Cleaners: Women as the New Anti-Corruption Force?" *Development and Change* 38(1):87-105.
- 2) Murray, Rainbow. 2010. "Introduction: Gender Stereotypes and Media Coverage of Women Candidates." Pp. 3-28 in *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling: A Global Comparison of Women's Campaigns for Executive Office*, edited by Rainbow Murray. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- 3) Macaulay, Fiona. 2016. "Dilma Rousseff (2011–2016): A Crisis of Governance and Consensus in Brazil." Pp. 123-40 in *Women Presidents and Prime Ministers in Post-Transition Democracies*, edited by Verónica Montecinos. Palgrave Macmillan. (available electronically through the library)
- 4) O'Brien, Diana Z. 2015. "Rising to the Top: Gender, Political Performance, and Party Leadership in Parliamentary Democracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4):1022-39.

Supplemental Reading:

On Gender and Corruption:

- Dollar, D., R. Fisman, and R. Gatti. 2001. "Are Women Really the 'Fairer' Sex? Corruption and Women in Government." *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 26(4):423-29.
- Esarey, Justin, and Gina Chirillo. 2013. "Fairer Sex or Purity Myth? Corruption, Gender, and Institutional Context." *Politics & Gender* 9(4):361-89.

On Women Leaders:

- Paxton and Hughes 2016. Ch. 3, pp. 90-98
- Jalalzai, Farida. 2013. *Shattered, Cracked, or Firmly Intact? Women and the Executive Glass Ceiling Worldwide*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

On Gender Stereotypes and Double Binds:

- Brooks, Deborah Jordan. 2013. *He Runs, She Runs: Why Gender Stereotypes Do Not Harm Women Candidates*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Johnson Carew, Jessica. 2016. "Stereotyping of Black Women and How It Affects Them in an Electoral Context." Pp. 95-115 in *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*, edited by Sarah Allen Gershon and Nadia E. Brown. New York: Routledge. (available electronically through university library)

On Glass Cliffs:

- Ryan, Michelle K., and S. Alexander Haslam. 2007. "The Glass Cliff: Exploring the Dynamics Surrounding the Appointment of Women to Precarious Leadership Positions." *Academy of Management Review* 32(2):549-72.
- Sabharwal, Meghna. 2015. "From Glass Ceiling to Glass Cliff: Women in Senior Executive Service." *Journal of Public Administrative Research and Theory* 25(2):399-426.

IV. THE POLITICAL PIPELINE AND WOMEN'S LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION

Week 9 (10/23): Why Don't Women Run? Gender and Political Ambition in the U.S.

****DEADLINE FOR MONITORED WITHDRAWAL ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27****

Required Reading:

- 1) Lawless, Jennifer L., Richard L. Fox, and Gail Baitinger. 2014. "Women's Underrepresentation in U.S. Politics: The Enduring Gap in Political Ambition." Pp. 27-45 in *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Clyde Wilcox and Sue Thomas.
- 2) Kanthak, Kristin, and Jonathan Woon. 2014. "Women Don't Run? Election Aversion and Candidate Entry." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3):595-612.
- 3) 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.
- 4) Campbell, David E., and Christina Wolbrecht. 2006. "See Jane Run: Women Politicians as Role Models for Adolescents." *Journal of Politics* 68(May):233-47.

Supplemental Reading:

Overview of Women in Politics in the U.S.:

- Paxton and Hughes 2016, Ch. 10, pp. 273-98

On Political Ambition:

- Lawless, Jennifer L. 2012. "Barack Obama and 18 Million Cracks in the Glass Ceiling: Sex, Race, and Political Ambition." Pp. 49-76 in *Becoming a Candidate: Political Ambition and the Decision to Run for Office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

On Party Recruitment:

- Fox, Richard L., and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2010. "If Only They'd Ask: Gender, Recruitment, and Political Ambition." *Journal of Politics* 72(2):310-26.
- Crowder-Meyer, Melody. 2013. "Gendered Recruitment without Trying: How Local Party Recruiters Affect Women's Representation." *Politics & Gender* 9(4):390-413.
- Butler, Daniel M., and Jessica Robinson Preece. 2016. "Recruitment and Perceptions of Gender Bias in Party Leader Support." *Political Research Quarterly* 69(4):842-851.

Week 10 (10/30): Explaining Variation in Women's Representation across Countries

Required Reading:

- 1) Paxton and Hughes 2016, Ch. 4-6
- 2) Ross, Michael. 2008. "Oil, Islam, and Women." *American Political Science Review* 102(1):107-23.
- 3) Charrad, Mounira, Pippa Norris, Alice Kang, Teri L. Caraway, and Michael Ross. 2009. "Debate: Does Oil Wealth Hurt Women?" *Politics & Gender* 5(4):545-82.

Supplemental Reading:

On Women in Political Thought:

- Okin, Susan Moller. 1979. *Women in Western Political Thought*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Coole, Diana H. 1988. *Women in Political Theory: From Ancient Misogyny to Contemporary Feminism*. Sussex, UK: Wheatsheaf Books.

On Gender Stratification:

- Blumberg, Rae Lesser. 1984. "A General Theory of Gender Stratification." *Sociological Theory* 2:23-101.

Developmental / Structural / Political Economy Approaches:

- Iverson, Torben and Frances Rosenbluth. 2010. *Women, Work and Politics: The Political Economy of Gender Inequality*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Stockemer, Daniel, and Maeve Byrne 2011. “Women’s Representation around the World: The Importance of Women’s Participation in the Workforce.” *Parliamentary Affairs* 65(4):802-21.

On Gender, Democracy, and Democratization:

- Viterna, Jocelyn, and Kathleen M. Fallon. 2008. “Democratization, Women’s Movements, and Gender-Equitable States: A Framework for Comparison.” *American Sociological Review* 73(4):668-89.
- Paxton, Pamela, Melanie M. Hughes, and Matthew Painter. 2010. “The Difference Time Makes: Latent Growth Curve Models of Women’s Political Representation.” *European Journal of Political Research* 49(1):25-52.
- 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.

On Gender, Politics, and the Middle East / North Africa:

- Paxton and Hughes 2016, Ch. 13
- Moghadam, Valentine M. 2014. “Democratization and Women’s Political Leadership in North Africa.” *Journal for International Affairs* 68(1):59-78.
- Benstead, Lindsay J., Amaney Jamal, and Ellen Lust. 2015. “Is it Gender, Religion or Both? A Role Congruity Theory of Candidate Electability in Transitional Tunisia.” *Perspectives on Politics* 13(1):74-94.
- Al Subhi, Ahlam Khalfan and Amy Erica Smith. 2017. “Electing Women to New Arab Assemblies: The Roles of Gender Ideology, Islam, and Tribalism in Oman.” *International Political Science Review*. doi: 10.1177/0192512117700949
- Bush, Sarah Sunn, and Amaney A. Jamal. 2015. “Anti-Americanism, Authoritarian Politics, and Attitudes about Women’s Representation: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Jordan.” *International Studies Quarterly* 59(1):34-45.

Week 11 (11/6): War, Women’s Movements, and Women’s Political Representation

Required Reading:

- 1) Tripp, Aili Mari. 2016. *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

Supplemental Reading:

On War’s Influence on Women’s Political Representation

- Hughes, Melanie M. and Aili Mari Tripp. “Civil War and Trajectories of Change in Women’s Political Representation in Africa, 1985-2010.” *Social Forces* 93(4):1513-40.

Do Women Politicians Prolong Peace?

- Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah, and Reed M. Wood. 2017. “Governing Well after War: How Improving Female Representation Prolongs Post-conflict Peace.” *Journal of Politics* 79(3):995-1009.

Week 12 (11/13): Merit and Gender Quotas

****FULL DRAFT OF PAPER FOR PEER REVIEW****

Required Reading:

- 1) Murray, Rainbow. 2015. “What Makes a Good Politician? Reassessing the Criteria Used for Political Recruitment.” *Politics and Gender* 11(4):770-76.
- 2) Fulton, Sarah A. 2012. “Running Backwards and in High Heels: The Gendered Quality Gap and Incumbent Electoral Success.” *Political Research Quarterly* 65(2):303-14.

- 3) Besley, Timothy J., Olle Folke, Torsten Persson, and Johanna Rickne. 2013. "Gender Quotas and the Crisis of the Mediocre Man: Theory and Evidence from Sweden." IFN Working Paper No. 985. [Forthcoming in *American Economic Review*]
- 4) Murray, Rainbow. 2014. "Quotas for Men: Reframing Gender Quotas as a Means of Improving Representation for All." *American Political Science Review* 108(3):520-32.

Supplementary Reading:

On Gender Quotas:

- Dahlerup, Drude, Editor. 2006. *Women, Quotas and Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Krook, Mona. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hughes, Melanie M., Pamela Paxton, and Mona Lena Krook. "Gender Quotas for Legislatures and Corporate Boards." *Annual Review of Sociology* 43:331-52.

On Gender Quotas and Politician Quality:

- Allen, Peter, David Cutts, and Rosie Campbell. 2014. "Measuring the Quality of Politicians Elected by Gender Quotas – Are They Any Different?" *Political Studies*. Published online September 24. doi:10.1111/1467-9248.12161.
- Balrunaite, Audinga, Piera Bello, Alessandra Casarico, and Paola Profeta. 2014. "Gender Quotas and the Quality of Politicians." *Journal of Public Economics* 118(October):62-74.

V. CLASS CHOICE

Week 13 (11/20): Workshopping Final Projects

****PEER REVIEW COMMENTS DUE****

****THANKSGIVING BREAK NOVEMBER 22-26****

Week 14 (11/27): Topic of Class Choosing (Selected in Class 9/11)

****PRESENTATIONS BEGIN****

A. Men's Political Overrepresentation

- 1) Bjarnegard, Elin. 2013. "Clientelist Networks and Homosocial Capital." Pp. 151-181 in *Gender, Informal Institutions and Political Recruitment: Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation*. Verlag: Springer Palgrave Macmillan.
- 2) Dahlerup, Drude, and Monique Leyenaar. 2013. "Breaking Male Dominance in Politics." In *Breaking Male Dominance in Old Democracies*, edited by Drude Dahlerup and Monique Leyenaar. Oxford University Press.
- 3) Adams, Melinda, Elin Bjarnegård, Sarah Childs, Natalie Galea, Barbara Gaweda, Melanie M. Hughes, Janet Johnson, Rainbow Murray, Darren Rosenblum, and Michal Smrek. Forthcoming. Critical Perspectives on "Men and Masculinities in Politics." *Politics & Gender*.

B. Gender and Ethnic Quotas: Collaboration, Competition, and Intersectionality

- 1) Krook, Mona Lena, and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2010. "The Politics of Group Representation: Quotas for Women and Minorities Worldwide." *Comparative Politics* 42(3):253-72.
- 2) Htun, Mala, and Juan Pablo Ossa. 2013. "Political Inclusion of Marginalized Groups: Indigenous Reservations and Gender Parity in Bolivia." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 1(1):4-25.
- 3) Hughes, Melanie M. 2011. "Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide." *American Political Science Review* 105(3):604-20.

- 4) Celis, Karen, Silvia Erzeel, Liza Mügge, and Alyt Damstra. 2014. "Quotas and Intersectionality: Ethnicity and Gender in Candidate Selection." *International Political Science Review* 35(1):41-54.

C. Pressure for and Resistance against Social and Political Change

- 1) Selection from: Puwar, Nirma. 2004. *Space Invaders*. London: Berg.
- 2) Krook, Mona Lena. 2017. "Violence against Women in Politics." *Journal of Democracy* 28(1):74-88.
- 3) Worthen, Holly. 2015. "Indigenous Women's Political Participation: Gendered Labor and Collective Rights Paradigms in Mexico." *Gender & Society* 29(6):914-36.
- 4) Hughes, Melanie M., Mona Lena Krook, and Pamela Paxton. 2015. "Transnational Women's Activism and the Global Diffusion of Gender Quotas." *International Studies Quarterly* 59(2):357-72.

D. Do Women 'Make a Difference'? Critical Mass and Women's Impact on the Social Welfare State

- 1) Paxton and Hughes, Ch. 8
- 2) Bratton, Kathleen A. 2005. "Critical Mass Theory Revisited: The Behavior and Success of Token Women in State Legislatures." *Politics & Gender* 1(1):97-125.
- 3) Swiss, Liam, Kathleen M. Fallon, and Giovani Burgos. 2012. "Does Critical Mass Matter? Women's Political Representation and Child Health in Developing Countries." *Social Forces* 91(2):531-58.
- 4) Bolzendahl, Catherine. 2014. "Beyond the Big Picture: Gender Influences on Disaggregated and Domain-Specific Measures of Social Spending, 1980-1999." *Gender & Society* 28(6):847-76.

E. Women's Transnational Activism: North and South

- 1) Ellerby, Kara. 2017. Ch. 1 in *No Shortcut to Change: An Unlikely Path to a More Gender Equitable World*. New York University Press.
- 2) Selection from: de Jong, Sara. 2017. *Complicit Sisters: Gender and Women's Issues across North-South Divides*. Oxford University Press.
- 3) Hughes, Melanie M., Pamela Paxton, Sharon Quinsaat, and Nicholas Reith. Forthcoming. "Does the Global North Still Dominate the International Women's Movement? A Network Analysis of Women's International Nongovernmental Organizations, 1978-2008." *Mobilization*.

F. Gender and the 2016 Elections

Readings TBA

Week 15 (12/4): Second Topic of Class Choosing (Selected in Class 9/11)

****PRESENTATIONS CONTINUE****

See Week 14 for potential topics and associated reading required.

Week 16 (12/11): Presentations

****FINISH PRESENTATIONS****

****FINAL PROJECT DUE. EMAIL WORD FILE (.DOCX) TO INSTRUCTOR BY 5:00PM ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, 2017****

****SCHEDULED EXAM PERIOD IS SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16 8-9:50AM****