

GENDER AND POLITICS IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE
POL SCI/WGSS/IAS 357 B
SPRING 2012

Professor: Mona Lena Krook
Office: 281 Seigle Hall
Email: mlkrook@wustl.edu

Course Time: Monday/Wednesday, 2.30-4 PM
Office Hours: Monday, 12-2 PM
or by appointment

Teaching Assistants:
Peter Casey (grad), pccasey@wustl.edu

Responsibilities:
-managing Facebook group
-holding office hours: Wednesday, 12:30-2:30 PM
-grading exams
-tracking attendance and participation
-running brainstorming sessions prior to exams
-reading/offering feedback on draft essays

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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 one date to bring in news items to share with the class (please find 2-3 items to avoid overlap with other students), 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. In recognition of the large class size, the participation grade will be based on in-class contributions and/or posts to the class Facebook page.
- **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: February 22 and April 2. Papers are due at the **beginning of class**.
- **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: May 4.

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 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. *To this end, you are encouraged to attend the brainstorming sessions and get feedback on draft essays from the undergraduate TAs.* You are also welcome to come and speak with me or the graduate TA during our office hours.

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 and/or the undergraduate TAs 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.
- **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 ARes (password “gender”), with the exception of two books that are 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).

McGlen, Nancy E., Karen J. O’Connor, Laura Van Assendelft, and Wendy Gunther-Canada. 2011. *Women, Politics, and American Society*. New York: Longman (available in paperback and on-line edition).

Facebook Page

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.

During the first two weeks of the semester, the group will have the status of “closed” in order to assist you in joining the group without having to “friend” me. Once all students have joined, I will change the status to “secret” so that the group is not visible in any way to the outside world. To join the group, enter “Gender and Politics 2012” in the search box at the top of your Facebook account and click “Ask to Join Group” at the top right of the page. I am listed as the “Admin” of the group in case additional groups with this name appear in your search.

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 any or all of the following films (with suggested view dates in parentheses, although you can view them at any time). 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. **Extra credit papers may be turned in at any time during the semester.** (L=library, N=Netflix)

Las Madres: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (1985). Interviews and footage of women who protested their “disappeared” children during military dictatorship in Argentina (week of January 23). [L]

Made in Dagenham (2010). Dramatized account of the 1968 strike at the Ford car plant in Dagenham, England, where female workers walked out in protest against sex discrimination (week of January 23). [N]

Pray the Devil Back to Hell (2008). Documentary of the Muslim and Christian women who came together in the women’s peace movement in Liberia (weeks of January 23 and April 16). [L, N]

The Feminist Initiative (2007). Story of the feminist political party, Feminist Initiative, formed in Sweden in 2005 (week of February 6). [L]

Iron-Jawed Angels (2004). Dramatized account of the events leading to women’s suffrage in the U.S., focusing on the efforts of Alice Paul, Lucy Burns, and the National Woman’s Party (week of February 13). [L, N]

Chisholm ’72: Unbought & Unbossed (2004). Documentary of Brooklyn Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm and her campaign to become the Democratic Party’s presidential nominee in 1972 (weeks of February 20 and 27). [L, N]

Running in High Heels (2005). Coverage of a young woman’s campaign for political office, combined with interviews with women on the left and right on feminism in the U.S. (week of February 20). [L]

The Iron Lady (2011). Dramatized account of the life and career of Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of the United Kingdom between 1979 and 1990 (week of February 27). [In theaters]

Iron Ladies of Liberia (2007). Behind-the-scenes view of the first year in office of President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and the women in her cabinet (week of February 27). [L, N]

Lioness (2008). Story of a group of female Army support soldiers who were part of the first program in U.S. history to send women into direct ground combat (week of April 16). [L]

The Greatest Silence: Rape in the Congo (2007). Film shot in the war zones of the Democratic Republic of Congo focusing on the use of rape as a tool of war (week of April 16). [L, N]

In the Land of Blood and Honey (2011). Story of the relationship between a Serb man and a Muslim woman before and during the 1992-1995 Bosnia war (week of April 16). [In theaters]

Enemies of Happiness (2006). Documentary of the campaign of Malalai Joya, a 28-year-old Afghan woman running in the country’s first democratic elections in 35 years (week of April 23). [L, N]

God Sleeps in Rwanda (2004). Documentary of women’s lives in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide (week of April 23). [L]

Research, Prize, and Internship Opportunities

Students interested in doing further research on women, gender, and politics are welcome to meet with me to discuss possible opportunities for independent and collaborative research.

Course papers may be considered for the William Benton Parshall Prize, awarded each year by the political science department for the outstanding undergraduate paper on women in politics. Papers written for other courses are also eligible for this prize, so please do consider submitting other papers that you may write this year (including last fall), or in the future before graduation.

Students in this course, as well as others I have advised, have participated in several internship opportunities that complement the materials presented in this course. In the St. Louis area, students have interned for Alderwoman Kacie Starr Triplett, the local office of Senator Claire McCaskill, and the Sue Shear Institute for Women in Public Life at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. Other students have spent the summer working in Washington, DC, for EMILY's List and in New York City for the White House Project. Information on these opportunities is often available on individual and organizational websites.

COURSE SCHEDULE

INTRODUCTION TO "GENDER" AND "POLITICS"

January 18: Introduction to Gender and Politics

No assigned reading – discussion of course aims and introduction to developments in gender and politics globally.

January 23: Gendering the Study of Politics

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

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.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

January 25: 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.

McGlen, Nancy E., et al. 2011. *Women, Politics, and American Society*. New York: Longman, 1-17.

January 30: 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.

February 1: 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.

McGlen, Nancy E., et al. 2011. *Women, Politics, and American Society*. New York: Longman, 44-70.

February 6: 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.

February 8: Sexuality and Politics

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

Haider-Markel, Donald P., Mark R. Joslyn, and Chad J. Kniss. 2000. "Minority Group Interests and Political Representation: Gay Elected Officials in the Policy Process." *Journal of Politics* 62 (2): 568-577.

WOMEN, GENDER, AND ELECTIONS

February 13: Women and the Right to Vote

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.

McGlen, Nancy E., et al. 2011. *Women, Politics, and American Society*. New York: Longman, 20-44.

February 15: 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.

McGlen, Nancy E., et al. 2011. *Women, Politics, and American Society*. New York: Longman, 71-85.

February 20: 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.

McGlen, Nancy E., et al. 2011. *Women, Politics, and American Society*. New York: Longman, 95-107.

February 22: 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.

February 27: Women as National Leaders

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

Carroll, Susan J. 2009. "Reflections on Gender and Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign: The Good, the Bad, and the Misogynic." *Politics & Gender* 5 (1): 1-20.

WOMEN, GENDER, AND POLITICAL OFFICE

February 29: 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.

March 5: Panel of Young Local Leaders: Running for and Holding Office

Guest Lecturer: Kacie Starr Triplett, St. Louis Board of Aldermen, and others to be confirmed

Darcy, R., Susan Welch, and Janet Clark. 1994. "Electing Women to Local Government." In *Women, Elections, & Representation*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 30-50.

Palley, Marian Lief. 2001. "Women's Policy Leadership in the United States." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34 (2): 247-250.

March 7: Female Politicians and the Media

Film: *Miss Representation*

Lawrence, Regina G. and Melody Rose. 2010. "Hillary Clinton in Context." In *Hillary Clinton's Race for the White House: Gender Politics and the Media on the Campaign Trail*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 73-108.

Heldman, Caroline and Lisa Wade. 2011. "Sexualizing Sarah Palin: The Social and Political Context of the Sexual Objectification of Female Candidates." *Sex Roles* 65 (3-4): 156-164.

March 19: 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.

Franceschet, Susan. 2010. "Continuity or Change? Gender Policy in the Bachelet Administration." In *The Bachelet Government: Conflict and Consensus in Post-Pinochet Chile*, ed. Silvia Borzutzky and Gregory B. Weeks. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 158-180.

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.

March 21: 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.

March 26: The Impact of Electoral Gender Quotas

Guest Lecturer: Arielle Rothstein, Undergraduate Teaching Assistant

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

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

March 28: Women's Descriptive and Substantive Representation

Class Debate: Are women under-represented in elected office? How and why is it important – or not – to increase the number of female candidates? Are quotas the way forward – and are they good for women? What roles do men play in the descriptive and substantive representation of women?

Mansbridge, Jane. 2005. "Quota Problems: Combating the Dangers of Essentialism." *Politics & Gender* 1 (4): 622-638.

Krook, Mona Lena. 2006. "Gender Quotas, Norms, and Politics." *Politics & Gender* 2 (1): 110-118.

GENDER, THE STATE, AND PUBLIC POLICY-MAKING

April 2: 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.

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

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

April 4: 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.

April 9: State Feminism and Gender Mainstreaming

*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.

Read one of the following:

McGlen, Nancy E., et al. 2011. *Women, Politics, and American Society*. New York: Longman, 148-242.

McGlen, Nancy E., et al. 2011. *Women, Politics, and American Society*. New York: Longman, 244-335.

GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

April 11: International Organizations and Women's Rights

Guest Lecturer: Andrea Messing-Mathie, Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Political Science

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.

April 16: Gender and the Military

Guest Lecturer: Paul Fetter, Former Undergraduate Teaching Assistant

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.

April 18: 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.

April 23: Women in Politics in Post-Conflict Societies

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

Read one of the following:

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

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.

April 25: Conclusions and Recent Developments in Gender and Politics Worldwide

No assigned reading – students bring their own articles for class discussion on recent developments in gender and politics worldwide.