

WOMEN AND POLITICS
POS 598
Coor Hall 6607
Thursdays 9:40 AM -12:30 PM

Dr. Magda Hinojosa
Office: Coor Hall 6774
Office Hours: Tuesdays 9:30-11:00 AM, 2:45-4:15 PM, or by appointment
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Course Description

This course will serve as an introduction to the comparative study of women and politics. Please be advised that this is not a course on feminist theory. Instead, we will be focused on questions such as: Does the descriptive representation of women guarantee their substantive representation? Which electoral rules favor the election of women? Do the negative effects of gender quotas outweigh their impressive ability to increase the number of women in office? Have the news media helped or harmed female candidacies? Once in power do women govern differently than men? The majority of our time in the course will be spent on the obstacles that women face in obtaining positions of power.

Course Goals

The goal of the course is to have students well-versed in the ever-growing literature on women and politics. Students will also be expected to make their own small contribution to the field by writing an original research paper.

Course Policies

Students with special needs should identify themselves to the instructor during the first 10 days of the semester. Students with disabilities that require academic accommodations should present a letter from the Disability Resource Center to the instructor in order for special accommodations to be made.

Those students who will need to be absent due to religious observance should talk to the instructor within the first 10 days of the semester. Students should discuss any other expected absences with the instructor. Students are responsible for notifying the instructor in a timely manner of any situation that is interfering with their academic performance.

Students who violate the tenets of academic honesty will face disciplinary action and will automatically receive a failing grade in this course. Students are expected to abide by the Student Academic Integrity Policy. You can read more at: <http://provost.asu.edu/academicintegrity>. Arizona State University has asked that the following statement appear in this syllabus:

In the "Student Academic Integrity Policy" manual, ASU defines "Plagiarism" [as] using another's words, ideas, materials or work without properly acknowledging and documenting the source. Students are responsible for knowing the rules governing the use of another's work or materials and for acknowledging and documenting the source appropriately." Academic dishonesty, including inappropriate collaboration, will not be tolerated. There are severe sanctions for cheating, plagiarizing and any other form of dishonesty. You can find this definition at:

http://www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/studentlife/judicial/academic_integrity.htm#definitions.

Course Requirements

Course grades will be based on your participation in course discussions, your weekly discussion questions, your role as a discussion leader, your research presentation, and your final research paper.

Your participation in class discussions and your weekly discussion questions will count for 25% of your final course grade. Weekly attendance is expected and unexcused absences will figure into final course grades. Participation in discussions will be judged on the quantity and quality of comments that you make. Your questions and comments should reflect thoughtful analysis of the readings and intellectual engagement not only with the authors that we will read each week but with your fellow classmates. You will also be graded on the weekly discussion questions that you submit. Each week, you will be expected to post 3-5 questions on Blackboard that can then be used by the discussion leader to spur an interesting and fruitful discussion. These discussion questions are due no later than 9 AM on the Tuesday preceding our weekly meeting. The discussion leader is responsible for carefully considering the suggested questions for that week. I will grade these discussion questions using a check plus, check, check minus system. Discussion questions which arrive after the stated deadline will receive a grade of zero. You will be allowed to skip discussion questions on two occasions.

You will be asked to serve as a discussion leader for two weeks of the semester, and you will have some choice in deciding which weeks you would like to be our discussion leader. This assignment will be worth 20% of your final course grade. The discussion leader will be able to access discussion questions on the Tuesday before class, and should consider using these questions to formulate topics that can stimulate an interesting class discussion. The discussion leader should not simply read the questions that his/her classmates submitted. The discussion leader is not expected to do any further reading or research into that week's topic.

During our final course meeting, all students will have an opportunity to present their research. Your research presentation should be 15 minutes in length and will be followed by a brief question and answer period. You should prepare as if for a professional conference, like a meeting of the American Political Science Association. Your research presentation will be 20% of your final grade.

The research paper for this course is due by 5 PM on December 13. This assignment will be worth 35% of your final course grade. I encourage you to use this research paper to pursue a subject of inquiry that will be useful for your dissertation; for that reason, you will be allowed to choose any topic relevant to the study of women and politics. Your paper should have a clearly stated research question, a literature review, a thesis, and evidence/data. Further instruction on this assignment will be provided during class. Late papers will be accepted; however, unless the student has previously obtained approval from the instructor, late papers will be docked half a letter grade for every 2 days that they are late.

The vast majority of the readings listed below are available via online databases that can be accessed through our library website. Nearly all readings will also be available electronically for you (on a CD-ROM) to borrow from the department office. The books have been placed on reserve at Hayden Library. I suggest that you purchase or borrow the following books:

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie. 2010. *Political Power and Women's Representation in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press. (available electronically through our library)

Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (available electronically through our library)

Baldez, Lisa. 2002. *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (available electronically through our library)

Inglehart, Ronald, and Norris, Pippa. 2003. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (on reserve)

Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (available electronically through our library)

Norris, Pippa, and Joni Lovenduski. 1995. *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race and Class in the British Parliament*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (on reserve)

Swers, Michele L. 2002. *The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. (on reserve)

WEEK 1: (8/23)

Introduction to Women and Politics

WEEK 2: (8/30)

Research Day

WEEK 3: (9/6)

Issues in Representation

Celis, Karen, and Sarah Childs. 2008. "Introduction: The Descriptive and Substantive Representation of Women: New Directions." *Parliamentary Affairs* 61 (3): 419-425.

Dovi, Suzanne. 2002. "Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black, or Latino Do?" *American Political Science Review* 96 (4): 729-743.

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" *The Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 628-657

Lovenduski, Joni. 2001. "Women and Politics: Minority Representation or Critical Mass?" *Parliamentary Affairs* 54 (4): 743-758.

WEEK 4: (9/13)

Issues in Representation

Htun, Mala. 2004. "Is Gender Like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (3): 439-458.

Celis, Karen. 2007. "Substantive Representation of Women: The Representation of Women's Interests and the Impact of Descriptive Representation in the Belgian Parliament (1900-1979)." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 28 (2): 85-114.

Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2008. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics and Gender* 4 (3): 393-425.

Dahlreup, Drude. 1988. "From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 11 (4): 275-298.

WEEK 5: (9/20)

Issues in Representation

Ayata, Ayşe Günes and Fatma Tütüncü. 2008. "Critical Acts Without a Critical Mass: The Substantive Representation of Women in the Turkish Parliament." *Parliamentary Affairs* 61 (3): 461-75.

Devlin, Claire and Robert Elgie. 2008. "The Effect of Increased Representation in Parliament: The Case of Rwanda." *Parliamentary Affairs* 61 (2): 237-254.

Tremblay, Manon and Rejean Pelletier. 2000. "More Feminists or More Women? Descriptive and Substantive Representation of Women in the 1997 Canadian Federal Election." *International Political Science Review* 21 (4): 381-405.

Reingold, Beth and Michele Swers. 2011. "An Endogenous Approach to Women's Interests: When Interests are Interesting in and of Themselves." *Politics & Gender* 7(3): 429-435.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie. 2010. *Political Power and Women's Representation in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

WEEK 6: (9/27)

The Political Participation of Women

Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Staudt, Kathleen, and Carlota Aguilar. 1992. "Political Parties, Women Activists' Agendas and Household Relations: Elections on Mexico's Northern Frontier." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 8 (1): 87-106.

Clark, Cal, Janet Clark, and Bih-er Chou. 1993. "Ambition, Activist Role Orientations, and Alienation among Women Legislators in Taiwan: The Impact of Countersocialization." *Political Psychology* 14 (3): 493-510.

WEEK 7: (10/4)

Women's Movements

Baldez, Lisa. 2002. *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Paxton, Pamela, Melanie Hughes, and Jennifer Green. 2006. "The International Women's Movement and Women's Political Representation, 1893-2003." *American Sociological Review* 71 (6): 898-923.

Kostova, Dobrinka. 1998. "Women in Bulgaria: Changes in Employment and Political Involvement." In *Women and Democracy: Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Jane S. Jaquette and Sharon L. Wolchik. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

WEEK 8: (10/11)

Political Culture: Obstacle to Women's Representation?

Inglehart, Ronald, and Norris, Pippa. 2003. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Black, Jerome H., and Lynda Erickson. 2003. "Women Candidates and Voter Bias: Do Women Politicians Need to be Better?" *Electoral Studies* 22: 81-100.

Kenski, Kate, and Erika Falk. 2004. "Of What Is the Glass Ceiling Made? A Study of Attitudes About Women and the Oval Office." *Women and Politics* 26 (2): 57-80.

Huddy, Leonie, and Nadya Terkildsen. 1993. "The Consequences of Gender Stereotypes for Women Candidates at Different Levels and Types of Office." *Political Research Quarterly* 46 (3): 503-25.

WEEK 9: (10/18)

The Effects of Electoral Systems

Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Selected readings.

Reynolds, Andrew. 1999. "Women in the Legislature and Executive: Knocking at the World's Highest Glass Ceiling." *World Politics* 51 (4): 547-72.

Matland, Richard. 1998. "Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23 (1): 109-25.

Hinojosa, Magda and Susan Franceschet. "Separate but Not Equal: The Effects of Municipal Electoral Change on Female Representation in Chile." (Published online, doi: 10.1177/1065912911427449; Forthcoming in print March 2013)

Beckwith, Karen. 1989. "Sneaking Women into Office: Alternative Access to Parliament in France and Italy." *Women & Politics* 9 (3): 1-15.

Carroll, Susan J., and Krista Jenkins. 2001. "Unrealized Opportunity? Term Limits and the Representation of Women in State Legislatures." *Women & Politics* 23 (4): 1-30.

WEEK 10: (10/25)

Party Politics: Do Parties Keep Women Out?

Matland, Richard E., and Donley T. Studlar. 1996. "The Contagion of Women Candidates in Single-Member District and Proportional Representation Electoral Systems: Canada and Norway." *The Journal of Politics* 58 (3): 707-733.

Paxton, Pamela, and Sheri Kunovich. 2003. "Pathways to Power: the Role of Political Parties in Women's National Political Representation." *American Journal of Sociology* 11 (2): 505-552.

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

Murray, Rainbow. 2007. "How Parties Evaluate Compulsory Quotas: A Study of the Implementation of the 'Parity' Law in France." *Parliamentary Affairs* 60 (4): 568-584.

WEEK 11: (11/1)

Gatekeepers: The Recruitment and Selection of Female Candidates

Norris, Pippa, and Joni Lovenduski. 1995. *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race and Class in the British Parliament*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Selected readings.

Studlar, Donley T., and Ian McAllister. 1991. "Political Recruitment to the Australian Legislature: Toward an Explanation of Women's Electoral Disadvantage." *Western Political Quarterly* 44: 467-485.

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): 262-280.

Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2006. "Do Parties Know That "Women Win"? Party Leader Beliefs about Women's Electoral Chances." *Politics & Gender* 2 (4): 431-450.

Niven, David. 2006. "Throwing Your Hat Out of the Ring: Negative Recruitment and the Gender Imbalance in State Legislative Candidacy." *Politics & Gender* 2 (4): 473-489.

WEEK 12: (11/8)

Gender Quotas

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

Baldez, Lisa. 2004. "Elected Bodies: The Gender Quota Law for Legislative Candidates in Mexico." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 2: 239-258.

Tripp, Aili M., and Alice Kang. 2008. "The Global Impact of Quotas: On the Fast Track to Increased Legislative Representation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (3): 338-361.

Schmidt, Gregory D., and Kyle L. Saunders. 2004. "Effective Quotas, Relative Party Magnitude, and the Success of Female Candidates: Peruvian Municipal Elections in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (6): 704-724.

Bhavnani, Rikhil R. 2009. "Do Electoral Quotas Work after They Are Withdrawn? Evidence from a Natural Experiment in India." *American Political Science Review* 103: 23-35.

WEEK 13: (11/15)

A Different Lens: Media Coverage

Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1992. "Does Being Male Help: An Investigation of Gender and Media Effects in U.S. Senate Races." *Journal of Politics* 54 (2): 497-517.

Shames, Shauna. 2003. "The "Un-Candidates": Gender and Outsider Signals in Women's Political Advertisements." *Women & Politics* 25 (1/2): 115-147.

Bystrom, Dianne G., Terry A Robertson, and Mary Christine Banwart. 2001. "Framing the Fight: An Analysis of Media Coverage of Female and Male Candidates in Primary Races for Governor and Senate in 2000." *American Behavioral Scientist* 44 (12): 1999-2013.

Van Acker, Elizabeth. 2003. "Media Representations of Women Politicians in Australia and New Zealand: High Expectations, Hostility or Stardom." *Policy and Society* 22 (1): 116-136.

Banwart, Mary Christine. 2006. "Webstyles in 2004: The Gendering of Candidates on Campaign Websites?" *The Internet Election: Perspectives on the Web in Campaign 2004.* In *The Internet Election: Perspectives on the Web in Campaign 2004*, edited by John C. Tedesco. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

WEEK 14: (11/22)
Thanksgiving Break

WEEK 15: (11/29)
Women in Power

Swers, Michele L. 2002. *The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Selected readings.

High-Pippert, Angela, and John Comer. 1998. "Female Empowerment: The Influence of Women Representing Women." *Women & Politics* 19 (4): 53-66.

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.

Taylor-Robinson, Michelle M., and Roseanna M. Heath. 2003. "Do Women Legislators Have Different Policy Priorities Than Their Male Colleagues? A Critical Case Test." *Women & Politics* 24 (4): 77-101.

Swers, Michele. 1998. "Are Women More Likely to Vote for Women's Issues Bills than Their Male Colleagues?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23 (3): 435-448.

WEEK 16: (12/6)
Class Presentations