

# POLS/WGST 367: WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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Fall 2022

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Class Hours: M/W/F 1:15 - 2:05 pm  
Class Room: ALLN 1016

Office Hours: M/W 12:00 - 1:00 pm  
& by appointment  
Instructor's Office: **ALLN 3109**

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## Catalog Description

Examination of women's representation in government based on comparison across multiple nation-states; focus on legislative and executive branches of democratic governments.

**Prerequisites:** POLS 206; junior or senior classification or approval of department head

## Course Materials

Women are poorly represented in virtually all of the world's governments. From presidents to city councils, the political arena is dominated by men. Over the course of United States history, for example, there have been only **45 female governors** and Kamala Harris is the very first women vice-president. Women comprise just **27% of Congress**. Yet, **many countries around the world**—particularly those in Europe, Latin America, and Africa—have taken steps to increase women's political representation.

This class surveys women in government in comparative perspective to examine three sets of questions. 1) Where are all the women? Why are women underrepresented in politics? Which cultural, structural, and political factors shape women's pathways to power? What challenges (and opportunities) do women face when running for office? Which types of women come to power? 2) Does it matter? Do women have a different governing style? What are the policy consequences of women's representation? Is a representative government important for democratic legitimacy and citizens' perceptions of the state? However, what is this thing that women have in common called "gender" if not an interest or an identity? 3) How does change occur? What steps have policy makers taken to increase women's representation, and have they succeeded? How have women utilized critical junctures such as women's movements, civil wars, and democratic transitions to increase their access to office?

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## Learning Objectives

This class will provide you knowledge about the status of women in national governments worldwide. By the end of the semester, you will also understand the implications of the scarcity of women in office worldwide and how changes in women's numeric representation have occurred in different regions across the globe. Specific learning objectives include:

### Social and Behavior Sciences

- to define, understand, and use concepts and terms relevant to the study of representation of women in politics
- to apply a body of factual knowledge directly relevant to understanding representation of women in government around the world
- to critique and apply major theses directly relevant to analyzing the effects of historical, political, economic, cultural and global forces on the representation of women in governments around the world
- to recognize and formulate testable hypotheses relevant to the study of representation of different groups in politics

### International and Cultural Diversity:

- to apply a body of factual knowledge about the history, society, politics, and economics of countries to facilitate understanding of the diversity of human cultures and how they impact representation of women
- to analyze alternative explanations for differences in representation of women in the national political systems of countries around the world
- to apply alternative explanations for the impact of international forces on the representation of women in countries around the world

## Evaluation

Grades for the course will be calculated as follows:

**Class Participation (10%):** Your participation grade is based on two components: attendance and participation in class. Regular attendance is a key determinant of success in this course. The readings serve as a background, not as a substitute, for the lectures and class discussions. Absences will result in a deduction in your class participation grade and will affect your ability to answer the exam questions. In addition to simply attending class, you are expected to participate actively in all class discussions. Participation will be assessed throughout the semester.

**Short Briefing about Women in Government (5%):** You are expected to keep up with current events in women and politics by reading the news each day before class. During the semester, you will be required to present *one* short briefing about women in government. You will identify

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an important news story related to the class topics, prepare a 1-slide & 2-min presentation along with a short summary (250 words), and present it to the class. You should explain how your briefing relates to the content of the course. At the beginning of the semester, you will sign up for the date of your presentation. I prefer that the briefing is related to the topic of that week, but it is not necessary. Email me (1) your slide (a single page), (2) source of your presentation (e.g., news articles), and (3) a brief summary and explanation of why the article is related to the course materials by 5pm the day before your presentation.

**Reading Quizzes (20%):** *Five* quizzes including a “syllabus quiz” and four reading quizzes will take place at the beginning of some sessions. Quizzes will test whether you do the readings and attend the lectures. There will be five quizzes of which the lowest quiz grade is dropped. If you miss a quiz, you can use that as your dropped quiz grade.

**Short Writing Assignments (20%):** There will be *two* short writing assignments (two pages, double-spaced, 12-point Times Roman font, 1” margins), each worth 10% of the grade. I will give you 4 different topics throughout the semester, and you will select 2 topics and submit these 2 assignments. When we deal with one of topics in class, I will notify you of that topic by announcements in class and on Canvas. The deadline will be the day two weeks after I have published a topic. Upload your writing assignments via Canvas. (e.g., if I publish a topic on Sep 7 in class and on Canvas and you choose to write about the topic, you should submit your writing on that topic via Canvas by 5pm on Sep 21.) They are relatively straightforward so do not miss the chance to submit them and improve your grades and learning process.

**Exam(20%):** There will be a *take-home exam* on September 30. It is an open-book exam based on the content of the readings, lectures, and class discussions. You will have 24 hours to complete the exam.

**Group Project (25%):** A group project will be due by 5pm on December 9. For this assignment, you will work in small teams to author a comprehensive report on an assigned topic. Though the group will produce a single paper, you will be graded individually. Your final grade will be based on my evaluation of the team’s paper, as well as a self and peer assessments of your contribution to the final project. You will complete this project in stages (see course schedule for details). The paper comprises 25% of your final grade (5% for each of the first two stages and 15% for the final draft). Detailed guidelines will be provided in class. Each iteration of the paper must be submitted to me as a MicrosoftWord (.docx) file by email.

## Readings

There are no required textbooks for the course. Students are instead required to read selected academic articles and chapters. All reading materials will be posted online on our Canvas class page.

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## Grading Policy

A = 89.5 or higher, B = 79.5 – 89.4, C = 69.5 – 79.4, D = 59.5 – 69.4, F = below 59.5  
There will be no individual extra credit in this course.

## Attendance and Make-Up Policies

**Attendance Policy:** Regular attendance is a key determinant of success in this course. The readings serve as a background, not as a substitute, for the lectures and class discussions. Absences will result in a deduction in your class participation grade and will affect your ability to answer the exam questions. In addition to simply attending class, you are expected to participate actively in all class discussions.

**Make-up Policy:** If an absence is excused, the instructor will either provide the student an opportunity to make up any quiz, exam or other work that contributes to the final grade or provide a satisfactory alternative by a date agreed upon by the student and instructor. The make-up work must be completed in a time frame not to exceed 30 calendar days from the last day of the initial absence.

The student is responsible for providing satisfactory evidence to the instructor to substantiate the reason for the absence. See **Student Rule 7** for absences that are considered excused.

## Late Work Policy

Late work means submitting a deliverable after the established deadline. Work submitted by a student as makeup work for an excused absence is not considered late work and is exempted from the late work policy (see **Student Rule 7** for details).

Late submission is not allowed unless prior arrangements have been made with the instructor in case of exceptional circumstances or emergencies (e.g. hospitalization, immediate family funeral, etc.). In those cases, the student should submit proper documentation to the instructor. Otherwise, late work will result in one grade down each day after the due date. For example, if a paper is due Sep 9, but submitted on Sep 10, then the total grade for that assignment will start from 90, instead of 100. For calculating late penalties weekends count.

## Academic Integrity

*“An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal, or tolerate those who do.”*

Texas A&M University students are responsible for authenticating all work submitted to an instructor. If asked, students must be able to produce proof that the item submitted is indeed the work of that student. Students must keep appropriate records at all times. The inability to authenticate one’s work, should the instructor request it, may be sufficient grounds to initiate an academic misconduct case” (Section 20.1.2.3, Student Rule 20).

You can learn more about the Aggie Honor System Office Rules and Procedures, academic integrity, and your rights and responsibilities at <https://aggiehonor.tamu.edu>.

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## Intellectual Property

My lectures and course materials, including presentations, tests, exams, outlines, and similar materials, are protected by copyright. I am the exclusive owner of copyright in those materials I create. I encourage you to take notes and make copies of course materials for your own educational use. However, you may not, nor may you knowingly allow others to reproduce or distribute lecture notes and course materials publicly without my express written consent. This includes providing materials to commercial course material suppliers such as CourseHero and other similar services. Similarly, you own copyright in your original papers and exam essays. If I am interested in posting your answers or papers on the course web site, I will request your written permission.

Video and/or audio recording is not permitted during class unless the student obtains permission from the instructor. If permission is granted, any distribution of the recording is prohibited. Students with specific electronic recording accommodations authorized by the Office of Disability Services do not require instructor permission; however, the instructor must be notified of any such accommodation prior to recording. Any distribution of such recordings is prohibited.

## Preferred Gender Pronoun

This course affirms people of all gender expressions and identities. If you prefer to be called a different name than what is indicated on the class roster, please let me know. Feel free to correct me on your preferred gender pronoun. If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me.

## Student Services

Being a university student is stressful, and depression and anxiety is common among college students. It is OK to ask for help. A variety of student resources focused on health and safety are available to you should you need them: <https://wfsc.tamu.edu/additional-info/student-support-resources>.

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student's academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in proper self-care by utilizing the resources and services available from [Counseling and Psychological Services \(CAPS\)](#). Students who need someone to talk to can call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available

## Statement for Student's with Disabilities

Texas A&M University is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. If you experience barriers to your education due to a disability or think you may have a disability, please contact Disability Resources in the Student Services Building or at (979) 845-1637 or visit <https://disability.tamu.edu>. Disabilities may include, but are not limited to attentional, learning, mental health, sensory, physical, or chronic health conditions. All students

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are encouraged to discuss their disability related needs with Disability Resources and their instructors as soon as possible.

## **Title IX and Statement of Limits to Confidentiality**

Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all.

University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking. With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the employee experiences, observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see [University Rule 08.01.01.M1](#)):

- The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.
- The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University.

Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention – including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, you will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University's goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with [Counseling and Psychological Services \(CAPS\)](#).

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University's [Title IX webpage](#).

## **Texas A&M COVID-19 Protocols**

If you are currently sick, think you have been exposed to a person with COVID-19, or have a confirmed positive test, the [Texas A&M COVID-19 Protocols](#) has information on what you should do. Students who **test positive** for COVID-19 and those who **have been exposed** and are unable to wear a mask, may request an excused absence for the required period of self-isolation and quarantine. Documentation must be consistent with [Student Rule 7](#).

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## Tentative Schedule

This schedule should be treated as tentative and flexible. I reserve the right to modify the schedule and the assigned readings in this syllabus at any time. I will notify you of such changes by announcements in class and posting a new syllabus on Canvas.

### I. Introduction



**Week 1:** Aug 24; 26 – Introduction

- Syllabus
- Group Project Introduction & Team Selection
- Academic Writing 101



Supplementary Readings:

- Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2020 “Women in Parliament: 1995-2020: 25 Years in Review.” 
- Barnett, Carolyn, Michael Fitzgerald, Katie Krumbholz, and Manika Lamba. 2022. “Gender Research in Political Science Journals: A Dataset.” 
- McCloskey, Donald. 1985. “Economical writing.” *Economic Inquiry* 23(2): 187-222. 

**Week 2:** Aug 29; 31; Sep 2 – Women in Government and Why Does it Matter?



- Paxton, Pamela M., Melanie M. Hughes, and Tiffany D. Barnes. 2020. *Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Chapter 1. 
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. “Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent “Yes.”” *Journal of Politics* 61(3): 628-657. 

Supplementary Readings:

- “Women Of Color Have Always Been In Politics. Now They Are Changing Congress.” *Five Thirty Eight* 
- “Milestones for Women in American Politics.” *Center for American Women and Politics* 

### II. Where are All the Women?

**Week 3:** Sep 5; 7; 9 – Culture and Women’s Political Representation; **No Class Sep 5 (Labor Day)**

- 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. 
- Paxton, Pamela, and Sheri Kunovich. 2003. “Women’s Political Representation: The Importance of Ideology.” *Social Forces* 82(1): 87-113. 

Supplementary Readings:

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- Masoud, Tarek, Amaney Jamal and Elizabeth Nugent. 2016. "Using the Qur'ān to Empower Arab Women? Theory and Experimental Evidence From Egypt." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(12): 1555-1598. 📖
  - Tulshyan, Ruchika and Jodi-Ann Burey. February 11, 2020. "Stop Telling Women They Have Imposter Syndrome". *Harvard Business Review*. 🌐

**Week 4:** Sep 12; 14; 16 – Social Structures and Women's Political Representation; **No Class Sep 14 & 16 (American Political Science Association conference)**

- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Nancy Burns, and Sidney Verba. 1994. "Gender and the Pathways to Participation: The Role of Resources." *Journal of Politics* 56(4): 963-990. 📖
- Ross, Michael L. 2008. "Oil, Islam, and Women." *American Political Science Review* 102(01): 107-123. *Journal of Politics* 56(4): 963-990. 📖

Supplementary Readings:

- Iversen, Torben and Frances Rosenbluth. 2008. "Work and Power: The Connection Between Female Labor Force Participation and Female Political Representation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 479-495. 📖

**Sep 16, Submit First Stage of Final Project by 5pm**

**Week 5:** Sep 19; 21; 23 – Political Institutions and Women's Political Representation

- Matland, Richard E. 2005. "Enhancing Women's Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems." *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* 2: 93-111. 📖
- 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. 📖

Supplementary Readings:

- Valdini, Melody E. 2013. "Electoral Institutions and the Manifestation of Bias: The Effect of the Personal Vote on the Representation of Women." *Politics and Gender* 9(1):76-92. 📖
- Thames, Frank C. and Margaret S. Williams. 2010. "Incentives for Personal Votes and Women's Representation in Legislatures." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(12):1575-1600. 📖

**Week 6:** Sep 26; 28; 30 – Catch up, Review, and Exam

- No assigned readings

**Sep 30, Take-home Exam**



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**Week 7:** Oct 3; 5; 7 – Beyond Legislatures

- Escobar-Lemmon, Maria and Michelle Taylor-Robinson. 2005. "Women Ministers in Latin American Government: When, Where, and Why?" *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (4): 829-844. 📖
- Barnes, Tiffany D. and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2018. "Defending the Realm: The Appointment of Female Defense Ministers Worldwide." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(2):355–368. 📖

Supplementary Readings:

- O'Brien, Diana Z. and Catherine Reyes-Housholder. 2020. "Women and Executive Politics." *Oxford Handbook of Political Executives*, eds. Rudy Andeweg, Robert Elgie, Ludger Helms, Juliet Kaarbo, and Ferdinand Mueller-Rommel. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 📖
- 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):840–855. 📖

**Week 8:** Oct 10; 12; 14 – Running for Office While Female; **No Class Oct 10 (Fall Break)**

- Barber, Michael, Daniel M. Butler, Jessica Preece. 2016. "Gender Inequalities in Campaign Finance." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 11(2): 219-48. 📖
- Teele, Dawn Langan, Joshua Kalla and Frances Rosenbluth. 2018. "The Ties That Double Bind: Social Roles and Women's Underrepresentation in Politics." *American Political Science Review* 112(3): 525–541. 📖

Supplementary Readings:


- Kittilson, Miki Caul and Kim Fridkin. 2008. "Gender, Candidate Portrayals and Election Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective." *Politics & Gender* 4(3): 371-392. 📖
- Bauer, Nichole M. 2012. "Emotional, Sensitive, and Unfit for Office? Gender Stereotype Activation and Support Female Candidates." *Political Psychology* 36(6): 691-708. 📖
- Fulton, Sarah A. 2014. "When Gender Matters: Macro-dynamics and Micro-mechanisms." *Political Behavior* 36(3): 605-630. 📖
- Fulton, Sarah A. and Kostanca Dhima. 2021. "The Gendered Politics of Congressional Elections." *Political Behavior* 43(4):1611–1637. 📖
- Boussalis, Constantine, Travis G. Coan, Mirya R. Holman and Stefan Müller. 2021. "Gender, Candidate Emotional Expression, and Voter Reactions During Televised Debates." *American Political Science Review* 115(4):1242–1257. 📖

**Week 9:** Oct 17; 19; 21 – Group Project Week; **No Class Oct 21 (Women in Legislative Studies Conference)**

- No assigned readings. Go over papers. Edit papers.
- Citations 101

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- You are supposed to attend the class and have a group meeting. The instructor will be there to help you.

Supplementary Readings:

- “Citing Your Sources.” *Texas A&M University Libraries* 




**Oct 21, Submit Second Stage of Final Project by 5pm**

### III. Do Women Make a Difference?



**Week 10:** Oct 24; 26; 28 – Women in Political Institutions

- O’Brien, Diana Z. and Jennifer Piscopo. 2019. “The Impact of Women’s Political Presence.” *The Palgrave Handbook of Women’s Political Rights*, eds. Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Netina Tan. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 53–72. 
- Betz, Timm, David Fortunato, and Diana Z. O’Brien. 2021. “Women’s Descriptive Representation and Gendered Import Tax Discrimination.” *American Political Science Review* 115(1): 307-315. 



Supplementary Readings:

- Kittilson, Miki C. 2008. “Representing Women: The Adoption of Family Leave in Comparative Perspective.” *The Journal of Politics* 70(2):323–334. 
- Barnes, Tiffany D., Victoria D. Beall, and Mirya R. Holman. 2020. “Pink-Collar Representation and Budgetary Outcomes in US States.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (May):1–36. 
- Kweon, Yesola and Josh M. Ryan. 2021. “Electoral Systems and the Substantive Representation of Marginalized Groups: Evidence from Women’s Issue Bills in South Korea.” *Political Research Quarterly*. 

**Week 11:** Oct 31; Nov 2; 4 – Citizens’ Attitudes and Behaviors

- Homola, Jonathan. 2017. “Are Parties Equally Responsive to Women and Men?” *British Journal of Political Science* 49(3): 957-975. 
- Dassonneville, Ruth, and Ian McAllister. 2018. “Gender, Political Knowledge, and Descriptive Representation: The Impact of Long-Term Socialization.” *American Journal of Political Science* 62(2): 249-265. 

Supplementary Readings:

- Stauffer, Katelyn E. 2021. “Public Perceptions of Women’s Inclusion and Feelings of Political Efficacy.” *American Political Science Review* 115:1226–1241. 
- Kuipers, Nicholas. 2020. “The Effect of Electing Female Candidates on Attitudes toward Intimate Partner Violence.” *The Journal of Politics* 82(4):1590–1595. 

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## Nov 11, Submit Third Stage of Final Project by 5pm

### Week 12: Nov 7; 9; 11 – Institutional Legitimacy

- Clayton, Amanda, Diana Z. O'Brien, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2019. "All Male Panels? Representation and Democratic Legitimacy." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(1): 113-129. 📖
- Barnes, Tiffany D. and Emily Beaulieu. 2014. "Gender Stereotypes and Corruption: How Candidates Affect Perceptions of Election Fraud." *Politics & Gender*, 10(3), 365-391. 📖

#### Supplementary Readings:

- Valdini, Melody E. 2019. *The Inclusion Calculation: Why Men Appropriate Women's Representation*. Oxford University Press. Chap 1. 📖

### Week 13: Nov 14; 16; 18 – Intersectionality

- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm." *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1):63-79. 📖
- Reingold, Beth and Adrienne R. Smith. 2012. "Welfare Policymaking and Intersections of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in U.S. State Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (1): 131-147. 📖

#### Supplementary Readings:

- Weldon, S. Laurel. 2006. "The Structure of Intersectionality: A Comparative Politics of Gender." *Politics & Gender* 2(2): 235-248. 📖
- Dovi, Suzanne. 2002. "Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black, or Latino Do?" *American Political Science Review* 96(4):729-43. 📖
- McCall, Leslie. 2005. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30(3): 1771 – 1800. 📖

## IV. How Does Change Happen?

### Week 14: Nov 21; 23; 25 – Women's Movements; No Class Nov 23 (Reading day) and Nov 25 (Thanksgiving Holiday)

- Kang, Alice and Aili Mari Tripp. 2018. "Coalitions Matter: Citizenship, Women, and Quota Adoption in Africa." *Perspectives on Politics*, 16(1): 73-91. 📖

#### Supplementary Readings:

- Htun, Mala and Laurel S. Weldon. 2012. "The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change: Combating Violence against Women in Global Perspective, 1975-2005" *American Political Science Review* 106(3):548-569. 📖

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- Weldon, Laurel S. 2006. "Inclusion, Solidarity, and Social Movements: The Global Movement against Gender Violence." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(1):55–74. 📖

**Week 15:** Nov 28; 30; Dec 2 – Quota Policies

- Clayton, Amanda, and Pär Zetterberg. 2018. "Quota shocks: Electoral Gender Quotas and Government Spending Priorities Worldwide." *The Journal of Politics* 80 (3):916-932. 📖
- Franceschet, Susan, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2012. "Conceptualizing the Impact of Gender Quotas." *The Impacts of Gender Quotas*, eds. Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook and Jennifer M. Piscopo. New York: Oxford University Press. 3-27. 📖

Supplementary Readings:

- Clayton, Amanda. 2021. "How Do Electoral Gender Quotas Affect Policy?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 24: 235-52. 📖
- O'Brien, Diana Z. and Johanna Rickne. 2016. "Gender Quotas and Women's Political Leadership." *American Political Science Review* 110(1): 112–126. 📖
- Weeks, Ana Catalano. 2022. *Making Gender Salient: From Gender Quota Laws to Policy*. Cambridge University Press. 🌐
- Latura, Audrey and Ana Catalano Weeks. 2022. "Corporate Board Quotas and Gender Equality Policies in the Workplace." *American Journal of Political Science*: 1-17. 📖

**Week 16:** Dec 5; 7 – Catch Up, Review, and Final Project

- No assigned readings.

**Dec 9, Submit Final Project by 5pm**