



# Women and Politics: A Global Perspective

## Sociology 670

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Winter 2008

*Professor:* Pamela Paxton  
*Class Meetings:* Tuesdays and Thursdays 1:30-3:18  
*Classroom:* 60 Derby Hall  
*Office Hours:* Tuesdays and Thursdays 10:00-12:00 or by appointment  
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*“Daddy, on television today they said that a man was Prime Minister.  
Is it possible that a man can be Prime Minister?”*

-Reportedly asked by the child of a news correspondent after Gro Brundtland, Norway’s former female Prime Minister, was ousted from office (Solheim 2000:75)

### *Course Description:*

Why have women succeeded in obtaining substantial political power in some countries and not in others? What cultural, structural, and political factors shape women’s access to political power worldwide? How do we assess women’s impact in the political arena? These questions, as well as others related to women, politics, and power, will be the focus of this course. The course is global in its focus and considers women’s acquisition of political power in countries around the world. But students will also be introduced to research on women in politics in American society.

Overall, this course provides a comprehensive introduction to the history of women’s entry into politics internationally, the current state of women’s political representation across countries and regions, and contemporary debates on why and how women’s access to political power varies across countries. Drawing on scholarly research, selected films, and classroom discussion, we explore not only women’s voting rights, but also the roads women take to local and national political office. We also consider special topics such as the importance of the United Nations and the international women’s movement to women in politics. Whenever possible, we will be attentive to the ways in which gender intersects with other social identities, such as race, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation.

### *Course Materials:*

Paxton and Hughes. 2007. *Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective*. Sage Publications: Pine Forge Press.

Additional readings are available as a coursepak from Zip Publishing, available at Long's Bookstore. Coursepak readings are noted as "CP" on the course outline.

### *Course Requirements and Grading:*

**Class Participation (10%).** Students should come to class having read and thought about the assigned readings. Regular and thoughtful contributions to classroom discussions are essential to the success of the class.

**Female Leader Assignment (15%).** There are numerous biographies of powerful women across the world. Students must choose one such individual and write a brief summary of that individual's life. The summaries should be approximately 2-3 pages and should include (when available) a summary of the female leader's upbringing, the leader's rise to power and the context under which it occurred, and important events, policy decisions, etc. during the leader's tenure in office. There are many sources of information about female leaders. A list of sources will be distributed in class and can be supplemented with other sources such as newspaper articles. Leaders do not need to be presidents or prime ministers, although more information may be available for such highly-visible women. Due **January 22<sup>nd</sup>**

**Midterm (25%)** The Midterm will take place in class on **January 31<sup>st</sup>**. The midterm will consist of multiple choice, short answer, and essay questions covering all readings, lectures and class discussion to that date.

**Paper (25%).** This 10 page paper is due **March 4<sup>th</sup>**. The paper must be on a topic related to women in politics and students must obtain approval for their project before beginning. The format of the paper includes a justification for the importance of the chosen topic and a review of existing literature. More information on the paper will be distributed during the second week of class.

**Final (25%).** The final will be an essay exam of 4 questions, drawn from 8 possible, covering readings, lectures and class discussion from the entire course. The eight possible questions will be distributed on March 6<sup>th</sup>. The final exam is scheduled for **March 10<sup>th</sup> 1:30-3:19**.

### *Outline of Course:*

**Note on Reading:** Several debates will become immediately obvious as you begin to read. Keep the following questions in mind throughout the course:

- Who can represent whom?
- Do women have to act differently than men to justify their inclusion in politics?
- Are there women's issues? Are there women's interests? If so, what are they?

- What are the different paths to power for women? What helps women gain political power? What hurts?
- Do women legislate differently than men? Do women lead differently than men?
- How does women's experience vary across the countries of the world?
- Can we facilitate or legislate increased representation of women in politics? Should we?

**January 3:** Introduction to the course

**January 8:** Arguments for Women's Representation in Politics: Formal, Descriptive, and Substantive Representation

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 1, pp.1-19

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *Journal of Politics* 61:628-57. (CP)

Selections from Pitkin, Hanna. 1972. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California. (CP)

**January 10:** Orienting Theories: Power, Gender, Patriarchy, and Intersectionality

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 1, pp.19-28

Lorber, Judith. 2005. "Night to His Day: the Social Construction of Gender." In *Feminist Frontiers*, Sixth edition, edited by Laurel Richardson, Verta Taylor, and Nancy Whittier. (CP)

Crenshaw, Kimberlé W. 1994. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." Pp. 93-118 in *The Public Nature of Private Violence*, Editors Martha A. Fineman and Rixanne Mykitiuk. New York: Routledge. (CP)

**January 15:** The Suffrage Movement in the United States

In-class: Selections from film, *Iron-Jawed Angels*

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 2, pp.29-46

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 and Society* 15:55-82. (CP)

**January 17:** Suffrage Movements outside the United States

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 2, pp.47-62

Selections from Chafetz, Janet S. and Anthony Gary Dworkin. 1986. *Female Revolt: Women's Movements in World and Historical Perspective*. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld. (CP)

**January 22:** Female National Leaders and Women in the Cabinet

*Female leader assignment due*

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 3, pp. 80-95

Jalalzai, Farida. 2004. "Women Political Leaders: Past and Present." *Women and Politics* 26: 85-108. (CP)

Selections from Davis, Rebecca. 1997. *Women and Power in Parliamentary Democracies: Cabinet Appointments in Western Europe, 1968-1992*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. (CP)

**January 24:** Explanations – Culture

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 4, pp.101-120

Arceneaux, Kevin. 2001. "The 'Gender Gap' in State Legislative Representation: New Data to Tackle an Old Question." *Political Research Quarterly* 54:143-60. (CP)

**January 29:** Explanations – Social Structure

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 4, pp.121-132

Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Nancy Burns, and Sidney Verba. 1994. "Gender and the Pathways to Participation: The Role of Resources." *The Journal of Politics* 56(4): 963-990. (CP)

Selected statistical tables, United Nations and World Bank. (CP)

**January 31: Midterm**

**February 5:** Explanations – Politics

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 5, pp.133-150

Yoon, Mi Yung. 2001. "Democratization and Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Democratization* 8(2):169-190. (CP)

Selections from Miki Caul Kittilson. 2006. *Challenging Parties, Changing Parliaments: Women and Elected Office in Contemporary Western Europe*. Ohio State University Press. (CP)

### **February 7:** Explanations – Politics – Quotas

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 5, pp. 151-166

Aili Mari Tripp and Alice Kang. 2007. "The Global Impact of Quotas: The Fast Track to Female Representation." *Comparative Political Studies*. (CP)

Selections from Drude Dahlerup (ed.). 2006. *Women, Quotas and Politics*. Routledge. (CP)

### **February 12:** Explanations – Overarching Factors

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 6, pp. 167-190

United Nations. 1995. "The Revolution for Gender Equality." *Human Development Report*. [http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr\\_1995\\_overview1.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_1995_overview1.pdf)

Text of CEDAW, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm>

### **February 14:** Do Women Make a Difference?

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 7, pp. 191-216

Kathlene, Lyn. 1995. "Alternative Views of Crime: Legislative Policymaking in Gendered Terms." *Journal of Politics* 57: 696-723. (CP)

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

### **February 19:** Regional Difference – Introduction and the West

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 3, pp.63-79

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 8, pp. 217-223

Selections from Bergqvist, C. (ed.) 1999. *Equal Democracies: Gender and Politics in Nordic Countries*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press. (CP)

**February 21:** Regional Differences – Eastern Europe and Latin America

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 8, pp. 223-237

Selections from Matland, Richard E. and Kathleen A. Montgomery, editors. 2003. *Women's Access to Political Power in Post-Communist Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (CP)

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

**February 26:** Regional Differences – Africa, Asia, and the Middle East

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 8, pp. 237-256

Selections from Bauer, Gretchen and Hannah Evelyn Britton (eds.). 2006. *Women in African Parliaments*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. (CP)

**February 28:** the United States, day 1

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 9, pp. 257-308

**March 4:** the United States, day 2

*Paper due*

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):264-80. (CP)

Dolan, Deckman and Swers. *Women and Politics: Paths to Power and Political Influence*, chapter 6, "Women in Local Politics and Government." (CP)

**March 6:** Where Do We Go From Here?

*Final questions distributed*

Paxton and Hughes: chp. 10, pp. 309-317

**Final: Monday, March 10<sup>th</sup> 1:30-3:19.**