



**SPS Seminar 2<sup>nd</sup> term 2018-2019**

## Gender & Politics

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### Description

This course focuses on the comparative study of women and politics and on the barriers that women face in obtaining positions of power in the political realm. Historically, politics has been a male-dominated sphere from which women have been largely excluded. The participation of women in politics however has extended over the last decades around the world. Not only women have attained the right to vote and stand for office in many countries, they have also mobilized, organized, affiliated to women's movement, and have won offices in national, regional, and local governments.

Women entering the political realm have contributed to shifting the way politics is done and the type of policies that are given priority across the world. Yet the extent to which this happens greatly vary across countries and regions around the world. What explain these differences? Why have some political systems more fruitfully integrated women into politics than others? Do men and women substantively differ in the way they understand and get involved in politics? Is there a gender gap in political engagement and ambition? Have the news media helped or harmed female candidacies? Once in power, do women govern differently than men?

Readings include chapter books and articles published in political science, sociology, media, economics, and women study journals. Consequently, the course is multidisciplinary and is not located solely on the specific niche of women studies/feminist studies. Students from other disciplines apart from SPS (History, Law and Economics) are welcomed too.

The course will cover a variety of methodological approaches for the comparative study of women and politics. We will discuss work using observational data, given the predominance of this type of evidence in the literature. So previous knowledge about survey research, and basic quantitative and qualitative techniques will help. We will also cover recent developments in the field with the use of alternative research designs to approach the experimental benchmark using observational data. Studies enjoying a historical perspective (employing archives to create their evidence), using fieldwork and qualitative interviews, or implementing experiments will also be discussed.

Finally, during the course I will ask students to keep current with worldwide news related to women and politics. It might happen that a particular news story or commentaries about women in the world become relevant for the topic of discussion of a given week. We will provide additional space for this kind of discussions too.

### Requirements

Classroom discussion is central to this course. Students are expected to have read the assigned readings and to actively participate in class discussion based on that work. They are also expected to engage in respectful listening and to respond to the contributions of others. We will create an open, inclusive, and engaging learning environment in which students feel comfortable expressing their own opinions as well as being exposed to opinions different from their own.

Students doing this course are also expected to submit three response papers (maximum 500 words) to the readings for a given session (they are free to choose which one) and post that paper on the course website by 9.00am on the day before the session takes place (normally on Wednesdays, but see exceptions). These response papers are helpful to boost class discussions. They must include a pensive reflection on the main debates in which the proposed readings engage: which are the key points, what are the most and less convincing findings, how those questions can be further developed in future studies. Finally, students are also expected to make at least one presentation of the main arguments of the debates covered. They are free to choose in which session they will present but will have to choose it no later than the second session of the course.

Those who wish to write a term paper should contact me in advance (not later than the 8th session of the course). I expect students to write an original research paper on any of the topics discussed during the sessions of the course. Please see the 2018-19 Researchers' Guide for more information regarding the term paper and the deadlines for submission.

Students who wish to take this seminar for credit must meet SPS Department attendance requirements, complete all required readings, and participate actively in seminar discussions. Anyone wishing to audit the class must fulfil all requirements expected of other students

(Final note: Please be advised that although we of course will use gender analytical lens in our discussions, this is not a course on feminist theory)

### Schedule

**This seminar will start on the 17<sup>th</sup> of January 2019.** It takes place on **Thursdays at 11.00-13.00**, with the exception of the third, fifth and eighth sessions, which will take place on Wednesday the 30<sup>th</sup> of January, on Wednesday the 13<sup>th</sup> of February, and on Wednesday the 6<sup>th</sup> of March. Moreover, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of February the session will take place at 14:00-16:00, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of February and on the 14<sup>th</sup> of March it will take place at 10:00-12:00, and on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March it will take place at 14:00-16:00.

The full list of seminar sessions is the following:

Thursday	17 January:	Seminar Room 2
Thursday	24 January:	Seminar Room 3
<b>Wednesday</b>	<b>30 January:</b>	Seminar Room 3
Thursday	7 February:	Refettorio 14.00-16:00
<b>Wednesday</b>	<b>13 February</b>	Sala del Capitolo 10:00-12:00
Thursday	21 February:	Seminar Room 2
Thursday	28 February:	Seminar Room 2
<b>Wednesday</b>	<b>6 March:</b>	Emeroteca 14.00-16:00
Thursday	14 March:	Seminar Room 2 10:00-12:00
Thursday	21 March:	Seminar Room 2

### Sessions and readings

1. What is Gender? What is the current status of gender? Course overview: introduction and organizational issues

Questions:

What is “gender”? Does gender matter? How is gender created and reproduced? Identifying gender blindness or the ideology of separate spheres

Choice Readings:

Sandberg, Sheryl. 2013. *Lean in: Women, work, and the will to lead*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Intro and Chapter 1

Valian, Virginia. 1998. *Why so slow? The advancement of women*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Chapter 1.

## PART I-WOMEN AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

### 2. Women franchise: the political origins

Questions:

Why did it take so long for women to win the right to vote? Who supported it and opposed to it and why?  
Did international organizations play a role? When and how?

Required Readings:

Dawn Lagan, Teele. 2018. *Forging the franchise: The political origins of the women's vote*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-3 (all chapters are worth!)

Towns, Ann. 2010. The inter-American commission of women and women's suffrage. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 42: 779-807.

Choice Readings:

Dawn Lagan Teele. 2018. How the West was won: Competition, mobilization, and women's enfranchisement in the US. *The Journal of Politics* 80 (2): 442-461

McCamon, Holly and Karen E. Campbell. 2001. Winning the vote in the West. The political successes of the women's suffrage movements, 1866-1919. *Gender & Society* 15(1): 55-82

Paxton, Pamela and Melanie M. Hughes. 2007. *Women, politics, and power: A global perspective*. Sage Publications: Pine Forge Press. Chapter 2

### 3. The gender gap in voting, ideology and/or partisanship: the origins.

Questions:

How was women's early voting behaviour? Was it really conservative? Where women really voting on their husbands? Is culture so relevant?

Required Readings:

Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2003. *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the world*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 4

Mona Morgan Collins. 2018. *First women at the polls: Examination of women's early voting behavior*. Chapter 4. Manuscript (all chapters are worth!)

Choice Readings:

Amat, Francesc, Carles Boix, Jordi Muñoz and Toni Rodón. 2017. Labor unrest, ideology formation and female participation in the 1930s. Manuscript

Corder, Kevin and Christina Wolbrecht. 2016. *Counting women's ballots: Female voters from suffrage through the new deal*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 3 and 9.

### 4. The modern gender gap in voting

Questions:

Is it really modern? Is it uniform across regions and countries? Is there a generational replacement? Are there other patterns of gender voting in West European politics?

Required Readings:

Erzeel, Silvia and Ekaterina R. Rashkova 2017. Still men's parties? Gender and the radical right in comparative perspective *West European Politics* 40(4): 812-820

Harsgor, Liran. 2018. The partisan gender gap in the US: A generational replacement? *Public Opinion Quarterly* 82(2): 231-251

Shorrocks, Rosalind. 2018. Cohort change in political gender gaps in Europe and Canada: the role of modernization. *Politics & Society* 46(2): 135-175

Choice Readings:

Barnes, Tiffany D. and Erin C. Cassese. 2017. American party women: a look at the gender gap within parties. *Political Research Quarterly* 70(1): 127-141

- Gillion, Daniel Q., Jonathan M. Ladd and Marc Meredith. 2018. Party polarization, ideological sorting and the emergence of the US partisan gender gap. *British Journal of Political Science*. doi:10.1017/S0007123418000285
- Niels Spierings and Andrej Zaslove (2017) Gender, populist attitudes, and voting: explaining the gender gap in voting for populist radical right and populist radical left parties, *West European Politics* 40(4): 821-847

#### 5. The gender gap in political involvement: A myth or a reality?

Questions: Are women really less interested in politics than men? Which are the main factors explaining this finding and the mechanisms behind them? Are there gender differences in the way citizens relate to and identify with the political realm?

##### Required Readings:

- Coffé, Hilde. 2013. Women stay local, men go national and global? Gender differences in political interest. *Sex Roles* 69 (5–6): 323–38.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul and Leslie A. Schwint-Bayer. 2010. Engaging citizens: The role of power-sharing institutions. *Journal of Politics* 72(4): 990-1002.
- Robinson Preece, Jessica. 2016. Mind the gender gap: An experiment on the influence of Self-efficacy on political interest. *Politics & Gender* 12: 198-217

##### Choice Readings:

- Campbell, Rosie, and Kristi Winters. 2008. Understanding Men's and Women's political interests: Evidence from a study of gendered political attitudes. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 18(1): 53–74.
- Carreras, Miguel. 2018. Why no gender gap in electoral participation? A civic duty explanation. *Electoral Studies* 52: 36-45
- Cordova, Abby and Gabriela Rangel. 2016. Addressing the gender gap: the effect of compulsory voting on women's electoral engagement. *Comparative Political Studies* 50(2): 264-290
- Fraile, Marta, and Raul Gómez. 2017. Bridging the enduring gender gap in political interest in Europe: The relevance of promoting Gender Equality. *European Journal of Political Research* 56(3): 601-618

## PART II-WOMEN, LEGISLATURES AND EXECUTIVES

#### 6. The gender gap in political ambition

Questions: The gender gap in running for public office is persistent. Why women are substantially less likely than men to demonstrate ambition to seek elected office? What are the origins of such gender gap? Do really women's pathways to politics conform to a linear process in which nascent ambition precedes the candidacy decision? Will the next generation of political leaders continue to be dominated by men?

##### Required Readings:

- Dittmar, Kelly. 2015. Encouragement is not enough: Addressing social and structural barriers to female recruitment. *Politics & Gender* 11 759–765.
- Lawless, Jennifer L. and Richard L. Fox. 2010. *It still takes a candidate: Why women don't run for office*. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 (the whole book is worth!)
- Preece, Jessica and Olga Stoddard. 2015. Why women don't run: Experimental evidence on gender differences in political competition aversion. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 117: 296-308

##### Choice readings:

- Carroll, Susan J., and Kira Sanbonmatsu. 2013. *More women can run*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press (chapters 3 and 6)
- Foos, Florian and Fabrizio Gilardi. 2018. Can exposure to role models decrease women's political ambition? Manuscript
- 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.
- Kanthak, Kristine and Jonathan Woon. 2015. Women don't run? Election aversion and candidate entry. *American Journal of Political Science* 59:595-612

## 7. How media portrait women candidates

Questions:

Do media cover male and female candidates in the same way? What role does the media play in elections? Does gender matter in campaigns? How do women and men candidates think about gender when they run for office? To what extent should they really think about it? Which specific traits hindrance women candidates and how they have evolved across time?

Required Readings:

- Campus, Donatella. 2013. Women, political leaders and the media. Palgrave. Chapters 3 and 4 (also 5 and 6 are worth)
- Lühiste, Maarja and Susan Banducci. 2016. Invisible women? Comparing candidates' news coverage in Europe. *Politics & Gender* 12: 223-253
- Kittilson, Miki Caul and Kim Fridkin. 2008. Gender, candidate portrayals and election campaigns: A comparative perspective. *Politics & Gender* 4: 371-392

Choice readings:

- Carroll, Susan J., and Richard L. Fox, eds. 2014. *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics, Third Edition*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 7.
- Dittmar, Kelly. 2016. Watching election 2016 with a gender lens. PS: *Political Science and Politics* 49(4): 807-812.
- Haraldsson, Amanda and Lena Wängnerud. 2018. The effect of media sexism on women's political ambition: evidence from a worldwide study. *Feminist Media Studies* doi:10.1080/14680777.2018.1468797

## 8. The difference women make in parliaments

Questions:

Advocating a politics of women's presence: do women represent women's interests and change political style and culture? Does the presence of women contribute to change decision making and policy priorities? Which are the main obstacles on the route from descriptive to substantive representation?

Required Readings:

- Chattopadhyay, Raghabendra and Esther Duflo. 2004. Women as policy makers: Evidence from a randomized policy experiment in India. *Econometrica* 72(5): 1409-1443.
- 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.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2008. Representing women: The adoption of family leave in comparative perspective. *Journal of Politics* 70(2): 323-334.

Choice readings:

- Anzia, Sarah F. and Christopher R. Berry. 2011. The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson effect: Why do congresswomen outperform congressmen?" *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3): 478-93.
- Celis, Karen, Sara Childs, Johanna Kantola, and Mona Lena Krook. 2008. Rethinking women's substantive representation. *Representation* 44(2): 99-110.
- Htun, Mala, and 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.
- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie. 2011. *Political power and women's representation in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 3 and 4

## 9. Women and executives

Questions:

What are the factors contributing to explain the degree of women's representation in cabinets? Are they mainly economic, social, institutional or political? Where are women more likely to be elected chief executive and why? Can women help other women to make it? Are there pending research questions about this topic?

**Required Readings:**

- Claveria, Silvia. 2014. Still a ‘male business’? Explaining women’s presence in executive office. *West European Politics* 37(5): 1156–1176
- Krook, Mona Lena, and Diana Z. O’Brien. 2012. All the president’s men? The appointment of female cabinet ministers worldwide. *The Journal of Politics* 74(3): 840–855.
- Reyes-Housholder, Catherine. 2018. Women mobilizing women: Candidates’ strategies for winning the Presidency. *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 10(1): 69–97.

**Choice readings:**

- Escobar-Lemmon, Maria C., and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. 2005. Women ministers in Latin American government: When, where, and why? *American Journal of Political Science* 49(4): 829–44.
- Jalalzai, Farida, and Pedro G. dos Santos. 2015. The Dilma effect? Women’s representation under Dilma Rousseff’s presidency. *Politics & Gender* 11(01): 117–45.
- Jalalzai, Farida, and Mona Lena Krook. 2010. Beyond Hillary and Benazir: Women’s political leadership worldwide. *International Political Science Review* 31(1): 5–21.

**10. Women and corruption**

**Questions:**

How is gender linked to corruption? Why women in elected office reduce corruption? Is it simply because of women’s higher degree of risk aversion? Or do women present a considerably different political agenda than men? In which direction does the association between women’s representation in legislatures and corruption go? Can we aspire to prove it?

**Required Readings:**

- Baur, Monika, Nicholas Charron, and Lena Wangnerud. 2018. Exclusion or interest? Why females in elected office reduce petty and grand corruption. *European Journal of Political Research*. doi: 10.1111/1475-6765.12300
- Esarey, Justin and Leslie A. Schwint-Bayer. 2017. Women’s representation, accountability, and corruption in democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*. doi:10.1017/S0007123416000478
- Kumar Jha, Chandan and Sudipta Sarangi. 2018. Women and corruption: What positions must they hold to make a difference? *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*

**Choice Readings:**

- Eggers, Andrew C., Nick Vivyan and Markus Wagner. 2018. Corruption, accountability and gender: Do female politicians face higher standards in public life? *Journal of Politics* 80 (1): 321–326
- Esarey, Justin and Leslie A. Schwint-Bayer. 2018. Estimating causal relationships between women’s representation in government and corruption. Manuscript
- Goetz, Anne Marie. 2007. Political cleaners: Women as the new anti-corruption force? *Development and Change* 38 (1): 87–105.