POLS X3402 Comparative Politics of Gender Inequality

Fall Semester 2013 Wednesday 2:10-4:00

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Aim:

This course uses some of the major analytical perspectives in comparative politics to understand the issue of persistent gender inequality in the advanced industrial states. We will consider why men still control more political and economic resources in these countries than women do. We will examine the ways in which labor markets, welfare state policies, and political institutions have a different impact on women than on men. We will look at measures that attempt to bring about greater gender equality in political representation and labor market participation and assess their effectiveness.

Through the lens of gender inequality, students will gain insight into a variety of issues of importance to comparative politics, including political representation and participation, political culture, political economy and varieties of capitalism, the historical development of welfare states, electoral systems and electoral quotas, supranational and international organizations, and the efficacy of social policy.

While the focus of the readings will be on the US and Western Europe, students are welcome focus in their own research papers on other geographic areas.

Learning objectives:

This course will use an analysis of the causes of persistent gender inequality in the polities and economies of the world's affluent democracies to introduce students to a variety of areas of analysis within the field of Comparative Politics, including: political representation and participation; political culture; political economy and varieties of capitalism; the historical development of welfare states; electoral systems and electoral quotas; supranational and international organizations; and the efficacy of social policy.

Students who successfully complete this course will:

- Learn how to evaluate the merits and shortcomings of scholarly arguments about the sources of gender inequality;
- Learn to how to assess the quality of evidence and methods employed by authors in support of their theoretical claims;
- Identify key factors underlying persistent gender inequality in the advanced industrial democracies;
- Learn to apply the methods of research and inquiry of Political Science to the study of human behavior in political and economic life;

- Learn to evaluate the usefulness of evidence for assessing any specific phenomenon to question the nature of the evidence;
- Demonstrate a critical understanding about the social forces that shape opportunity and power in society;
- Demonstrate a critical understanding the of the interplay between individual action and collective social life;
- Gain exposure to the methodologies and findings of six areas within the field of Comparative Politics;
- Apply the analytical constructs learned in the theoretical portion of the class to produce an original study on some aspect of gender inequality;
- Present their findings formally for critique and discussion by their peers;
- Gain improved writing and analytical skills through close work with the instructor on regular writing assignments.

Grading and Requirements

<u>Class participation</u>: 15%. I will be grading you on reasoned, informed, respectful, and useful contributions to the seminar discussions. Quality matters more than quantity, but effort counts for a lot.

<u>Weekly Discussion Papers:</u> 30%. During the course of the semester, you must hand in five short (approximately 2-3 double-spaced pages) analyses of the week's readings. Please see the Weekly Discussion Papers Guidelines in the Assignments section on Courseworks for more information on how to write and submit these papers.

<u>Research paper:</u> 40%. A paper on a topic of your choosing, subject to my approval, of about 15 pages in length. Please see the Research Paper Guidelines in the Assignments section on Courseworks for more information on what to include in the paper proposals and for suggested paper topics.

Paper Proposals: 5%

Paper Draft: 5%

Paper presentation: 5%

Books

You do not need to purchase any books for this class. All readings are available on electronic reserves. However, I recommend that you purchase the following book to guide you in writing your research paper for this class and as a resource to use throughout your college career:

Diana Hacker, <u>Rules for Writers</u>, 7th edition (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2011)

Introduction

Week One (9/4): Introduction to the Course

We will discuss the extent and nature of gender inequality in political and economic life and we will go over the structure and requirements of the course.

World Economic Forum, "The Global Gender Gap Report 2012" http://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2012

Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Why Women Still Can't Have it All," <u>The Atlantic</u> (July/August 2012) http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07/why-women-still-can-8217-t-have-it-all/9020/

Hanna Rosin, "The End of Men." <u>Atlantic Monthly</u> (July/August 2010) <u>http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2010/07/the-end-of-men/8135/</u>

Alexandra Starr, "More Nancy Pelosis, Please: Why the world needs more female lawmakers -and why quota systems won't necessarily get us there." <u>Foreign Policy</u> (March 24, 2010) http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/03/24/more_nancy_pelosis_please?page=0,0

"Women in the Workforce: Female Power." <u>The Economist</u> (January 2, 2010): 49-51

Part I: Describing and Explaining Gender Inequality

Week Two (9/11): The Origins of Patriarchy

What explains why patriarchy characterizes relations between men and women for most of world history? How can we understand patriarchy's origins and staying power? How do these four authors' arguments differ? Do they have a common theme? (Note: The first two readings use game theory to make arguments about the origins of patriarchy. You may not understand all the diagrams and equations if you have not already studied the relevant methods – don't worry about that. Concentrate on the authors' arguments.)

Frances Rosenbluth and Torben Iversen, Women, <u>Work, and Politics: The Political</u> <u>Economy of Inequality</u> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 17-36

Nancy Folbre, "Chicks, Hawks, and Patriarchal Institutions." In Morris Altman, ed., <u>The Handbook of Behavioral Economics</u> (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 2006), pp. 499-516

Joan Huber, <u>On the Origins of Gender Inequality</u> (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2007), pp. 1-11 (Introduction)

Sherry B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" <u>Feminist Studies</u>, Vol. 1, No. 2, (Autumn, 1972), pp. 5-31

Week Three (9/18): Discrimination vs. Lifestyle Preferences

Do women and men choose different paths in life? If so, why? Can we trace women's and men's different degrees of access to political and economic power to either intrinsic preferences or discrimination born of gender schemas?

Virginia Valian, <u>Why So Slow? The Advancement of Women</u> (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), pp. 1-22 and 103-144 (chapters 1, 6, and 7)

Catherine Hakim, "Lifestyle Preferences as Determinants of Women's Differentiated Labor Market Careers." <u>Work and Occupations</u> Vol. 29 no. 4 (November 2002), 428-459

Week Four (9/25): Gender and Labor Markets

How does the structure of a labor market affect the likelihood of women's workforce participation? What role does a country's "variety of capitalism" play? What role does public policy play?

Preliminary paper proposals are due today. Please consult the Research Paper Handout for detailed instructions on how to write this proposal, which will be graded.

Margarita Estevez-Abe, "Gender Bias in Skills and Social Policies: The Varieties of Capitalism Perspective on Sex Segregation." <u>Social Politics</u> 12, 2 (2005): 180-215

Mary Daly, "A Fine Balance: Women's Labor Market Participation in International Comparison," in Fritz W. Scharpf and Vivien A. Schmidt, eds., <u>Welfare and Work in the</u> <u>Open Economy, Vol. II, Diverse Responses to Common Challenges</u> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 467-510

Week Five (10/2): The Gender Gap in Political Participation

Why do women participate less actively in politics than men do? Do the same factors explain women's degree of political participation in all countries, or does context matter?

Nancy Burns, Kay Leman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba, <u>The Private Roots of Public</u> <u>Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation</u> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 1-38 and 334-386

Scott Desposato and Barbara Norrander, "The Gender Gap in Latin America: Contextual and Individual Influences on Gender and Political Participation." <u>British Journal of</u> <u>Political Science</u> 39 (2008): 141-162

Week Six (10/9): The Gender Gap in Political Preferences

Do men and women have, on average, different political preferences? How can we explain this gender gap? Is it based on economic self-interest, attention to issues of specific concern to women, a biologically or socially induced compassion gap, or something else?

Frances Rosenbluth and Torben Iversen, <u>Women, Work, and Politics: The Political</u> <u>Economy of Inequality</u> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 110-130 (Chapter 5)

Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women's and Men's Voting Behavior in Global Perspective." <u>International Political</u> <u>Science Review</u> 21 (2000): 441-463

Nathalie Giger, "Towards a Modern Gender Gap in Europe? A Comparative Analysis of Voting Behavior in 12 Countries," <u>The Social Science Journal</u> 46 (2009) 474–492

Leonie Huddy, Erin Cassese, and Mary-Kate Lizotte, "Sources of Political Unity and Disunity among Women: Placing the Gender Gap in Perspective," in Lois Duke Whitaker, ed., <u>Voting the Gender Gap</u> (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), pp. 141-169

Week Seven (10/16) The Gender Gap in Political Representation

How does the structure of electoral institutions make the election of women to public office more or less likely? How does the structure of the economy affect the level of female political representation? Why does it matter if women are elected to office?

Torben Iversen and Frances Rosenbluth, "Work and Power: The Connection between Female Labor Force Participation and Female Political Representation," <u>Annual Review</u> <u>of Political Science</u> 11 (2008): 479-495

Richard E. Matland, "Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries." <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u> (1998) Volume 23, no. 1: 109-125

Richard Matland, "Enhancing Women's Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems" in Azza Karam and Julie Ballington, eds., <u>Women in Parliament:</u> <u>Beyond Numbers</u>, 2nd edition (Stockholm, Sweden: IDEA Publishing, 2005) <u>http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/3._Enhancing_Women%27s_Political_Part</u> <u>icipation.pdf</u>

Jane Mansbridge, "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes."" Journal of Politics 6, 3 (August 1999): 628-657

Week Eight (10/23): Public Policy's Impact on Gendered Roles

Extended paper proposals are due in class today. Please consult the Research Paper Handout for detailed instructions on how to write this proposal, which will be graded.

What role does public policy play in shaping the gender division of labor in society? What are the consequences of that gender division of labor for political and economic equality between the sexes?

Ann Shola Orloff, "From Maternalism to Employment for All: State Policies to Promote Women's Employment Across Affluent Democracies," in Jonah D. Levy, ed., <u>The State</u> <u>After Statism: New State Activities in the Age of Liberalization</u> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 230-68 (*Note that the author uses the word "liberal" in its international rather than US-specific sense, meaning emphasizing a free market and minimal government intervention.*)

Gosta Esping-Andersen, <u>Why We Need a New Welfare State</u> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 68-95 (Chapter 3, "A New Gender Contract") (*Note that the author incorrectly uses the word "detrimental" in this book when what he really means is "critically important." Do not let this confuse you unnecessarily!*)

Jennifer Hook, "Care in Context: Men's Unpaid Work in 20 Countries, 1965-2003." <u>American Sociological Review</u> 71: 4 (August 2006), 639-660

Week Nine (10/30): The Historical Origins of Differences in Work/Family Policy

If public policy has a profound and predictable influence on women's rates of labor force participation and fertility, how do we explain differences in public policy across countries? What historical factors led welfare states to develop differently? How do welfare state institutions and policies contribute to shaping men's and women's lives in different ways?

Kimberly J. Morgan, "The Religious Foundations of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe, "in Krees Van Kersbergen and Philip Manow, eds., <u>Religion, Class Coalitions</u>, <u>and Welfare States</u> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 56-90

Kimberly J. Morgan, <u>Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics</u> of <u>Work-Family Policies in Western Europe and the United States</u> (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), pp. 53-59, 96-105, 135-156 (all the sections on the United States)

Part II: Solutions, Attempted and Proposed

Week Ten (11/6): Quotas for Women in Politics

What political forces have supported the implementation of gender quotas? What are the benefits and costs of the different types of quotas? Do quotas have the potential to address women's under-representation in politics in a meaningful way? (Note: In writing your weekly discussion paper you do not need to address each individual contribution to the two "Gender Quotas" collections – just highlight some of the most interesting points made.)

Drude Dahlerup, ed., <u>Women, Quotas, and Politics</u> (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 3-21 (part of Introduction) and 293-307 (Conclusion)

"Gender Quotas I," Politics & Gender Vol. 1, no. 4 (2005), 621-652

"Gender Quotas II," Politics & Gender Vol. 2, no. 1 (2006), 101–128

Alexandra Starr, "More Nancy Pelosis, Please: Why the world needs more female lawmakers -- and why quota systems won't necessarily get us there." <u>Foreign Policy</u> (March 24, 2010) <u>http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/03/24/more_nancy_pelosis_please?page=0,0</u>

Week Eleven (11/13): Mainstreaming Gender

DRAFT FINAL PAPER IS DUE TODAY. Please consult the Final Paper Guidelines for how this will be graded.

Gender mainstreaming has taken hold internationally as the newest approach to addressing gender inequality in a wide variety of arenas. Does it have the potential to transform gender relations? How does gender mainstreaming compare to other approaches to promoting equality?

Teresa Rees, <u>Mainstreaming Equality in the European Union: Education, Training and</u> <u>Labour Market Policies</u> (Routledge, 1998), pp. 26-42

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and Mark A. Pollack, "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance." <u>European Journal of International Relations</u> (2002) Volume 8, No. 3: 339-373

Mary Daly, "Gender Mainstreaming in Theory and Practice." <u>Social Politics</u> vol. 12 no. 3 (2005):433-450

Rekha Mehra and Geeta Rao Gupta, "Gender Mainstreaming: Making it Happen," International Center for Research on Women (February 2006)

Week Twelve (11/20): Toward Gender Equality in Parenthood and Employment

Many of the disparity between women and men in public life can be traced to the disparity in their roles in private lie. Are there ways in which family divisions of labor can be transformed so that political and economic inequality can be reduced or eliminated?

Janet C. Gornick and Marcia K. Meyers, eds., <u>Gender Equality: Transforming Family</u> <u>Divisions of Labor</u> (New York: Verso, 2009), Chapter 1 (Gornick and Meyers, pp. 3-66) and Chapter 19 (Gornick and Meyers, pp. 435-450).

Janet C. Gornick and Marcia K. Meyers, Families <u>that Work: Policies for Reconciling</u> <u>Parenthood and Employment (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003)</u>, pp. 95-99 ("A Thought Experiment")

Week Thirteen (11/27): NO CLASS TODAY due to Thanksgiving holiday.

Week Fourteen (12/4): Paper Presentations

FINAL PAPER IS DUE TODAY. Students will make presentations of their papers to the class. These presentations will be graded. Guidelines for the presentations will be provided in advance.