

## 2018 POLS X3402 Comparative Politics of Gender Inequality

Fall Semester 2018  
Tuesdays 2:10-4:00

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### **Description:**

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.

The course is taught as a seminar and limited in size to 20 students. Attendance at every class is required except in the case of an excused absence.

### **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 and 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 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;
- Gain improved writing and analytical skills through close work with the instructor on regular writing assignments.

### **Grading and Requirements**

Class participation: 15%. I will be grading you on reasoned, informed, respectful, and useful contributions to the seminar discussions. Quality matters more than quantity. Effort and evidence that you did the reading carefully count for a lot.

Weekly Discussion Papers: 20%. During the course of the semester, you must hand in three short (approximately 3-4 double-spaced pages) summaries of the week's readings. Please see the Weekly Discussion Papers Guidelines in Files on Canvas for more information on how to write and submit these papers. You may choose which weeks to write discussion papers.

Research paper: 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 Files section on Canvas for more information on what to include in the paper proposals.

Paper Proposals: 5%

Paper Draft: 15%

Paper presentation: 5%

### **Course Readings**

I have ordered one book at Book Culture: Torben Iverson and Frances Rosenbluth, *Women, Work, and Politics* (Yale University Press, 2010). We will read five out of the seven chapters of the book in the course of the semester. Please note that this book is also available as an e-book through CLIO. Additionally, there is one copy on reserve in the Barnard Library. Other course readings are either available on Canvas in Files (noted on syllabus) or online through CLIO.

I recommend that you consider purchasing the following book (if you do not already have it) to guide you in writing your research paper: Diana Hacker and Nancy Sommers, *Rules for Writers*, 7th edition (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2011).

**NOTE:** I strongly recommend reading each week's readings in the order that they are listed on the syllabus. Some weeks the order doesn't matter, but in some the readings build on one another sequentially as listed.

## **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 why it matters, and we will go over the structure and requirements of the course.*

World Economic Forum, "The Global Gender Gap Report 2015"

<https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2015/>

Especially note this section: <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2015/the-case-for-gender-equality/>

Liz Ford, "What is the millennium development goal on gender equality all about?" *The Guardian*, March 26, 2015

<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/mar/26/millennium-development-goal-three-gender-equality-explainer>

Sophie McBain, "Gender inequality is costing the global economy trillions of dollars a year." *The New Statesman*, February 12, 2014

<http://www.newstatesman.com/economics/2014/02/gender-inequality-costing-global-economy-trillions-dollars-year>

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

## **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.)*

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

Torben Iversen and Frances Rosenbluth, "Gender Socialization: How Bargaining Power Shapes Social Norms and Political Attitudes" (August 20015 APSA paper) – just pages 1-22

<http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~iversen/PDFfiles/IversenRosenbluth2005APSA.pdf>

Nancy Folbre, "Chicks, Hawks, and Patriarchal Institutions," in Morris Altman, ed., *The Handbook of Behavioral Economics* (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 2006), pp. 499-516 [Pdf in Files on Canvas]

Joan Huber, *On the Origins of Gender Inequality* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2007), pp. 1-11 (Introduction) [Pdf in Files on Canvas]

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

*Do women and men choose different paths in life? If so, why? Can we trace the different degrees of access that men and women (on average) have to political and economic power to either intrinsic preferences or discrimination born of gender schemas? [Note that if you are writing a discussion paper for this week you do not have to include the chapter by Ackerman.]*

Virginia Valian, *Why So Slow? The Advancement of Women* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), pp. 1-22 and 103-144 (chapters 1, 6, and 7) [Pdf of each chapter in Files on Canvas]

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

Erin Ackerman, "'Analyze This': Writing in the Social Sciences," in Gerald Graff and Cathy Birkenstein, eds., *They Say, I Say: The Moves that Matter in Academic Writing* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2010), pp. 175-192 [Pdf in Files on Canvas]

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

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

*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?*

Mary Daly, "A Fine Balance: Women's Labor Market Participation in International Comparison," in Fritz W. Scharpf and Vivien A. Schmidt, eds., *Welfare and Work in the Open*

*Economy*, Vol. II, *Diverse Responses to Common Challenges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 467-510 [Available as an e-book on CLIO.]

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

Torben Iversen and Frances Rosenbluth, *Women, Work, and Politics: The Political Economy of Gender Inequality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), Chapters 3 and 4 (pp. 54-107)

### **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, *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 1-38 and 334-386 [Available as an e-book on CLIO.]

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

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

**Extended paper proposals are due by midnight at the end of today. Please consult the Research Paper Handout for detailed instructions on how to write this proposal, which will be graded.**

*Do women and men 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?*

Torben Iversen and Frances Rosenbluth, *Women, Work, and Politics: The Political Economy of Gender Inequality* (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." *International Political Science Review* 21 (2000): 441-463

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., *Voting the Gender Gap* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), pp. 141-169 [Pdf in Files on Canvas]

## **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, *Women, Work, and Politics: The Political Economy of Gender Inequality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 134-159 (Chapter 6)

Lawless, Jennifer, and Richard Fox, "Men Rule: The Continued Under-Representation of Women in U.S. Politics." Washington, DC: Women & Politics Institute, January 2012  
<http://www.american.edu/spa/wpi/upload/2012-Men-Rule-Report-web.pdf>

Richard Matland, "Enhancing Women's Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems" in Azza Karam and Julie Ballington, eds., *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, 2nd edition (Stockholm, Sweden: IDEA Publishing, 2005)  
[http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/3\\_Enhancing\\_Women%27s\\_Political\\_Participation.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/3_Enhancing_Women%27s_Political_Participation.pdf)

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

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/14/us/politics/women-candidates-midterms.html>

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

*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?*

Frances Rosenbluth and Torben Iversen, *Women, Work, and Politics: The Political Economy of Inequality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 162-169 (Chapter 7)

Ann Shola Orloff, "From Maternalism to Employment for All: State Policies to Promote Women's Employment Across Affluent Democracies," in Jonah D. Levy, ed., *The State After Statism: New State Activities in the Age of Liberalization* (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.) [Pdf in Files on Canvas]

Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Why We Need a New Welfare State* (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!) [Available as an e-book on CLIO.]

Jennifer Hook, “Care in Context: Men’s Unpaid Work in 20 Countries, 1965-2003.” *American Sociological Review* 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, “Forging the Frontiers between State, Church, and Family: Religious Cleavages and the Origins of Early Childhood Education and Care Policies in France, Sweden, and Germany” *Politics & Society* Vol 30 no 1 (March 2002): pp. 113-148

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

## **Part II: Solutions, Attempted and Proposed**

### **Week Ten (11/13): Quotas for Women in Politics**

**DRAFT PAPERS ARE DUE AT MIDNIGHT TODAY. Please consult the Final Paper Guidelines for how this will be graded.**

*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 and Lenita Friedenvall, “Quotas as a ‘fast track’ to equal representation for women: Why Scandinavia is no longer the model” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* Vol 7 Issue 1 (2005): pp. 26-48

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

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

Drude Dahlerup and Lenita Freidenvall, "Judging gender quotas: predictions and results" *Policy & Politics* vol 38 no 3 (2010): pp. 407-425

### **Week Eleven (11/20): Mainstreaming Gender**

*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, *Mainstreaming Equality in the European Union: Education, Training and Labour Market Policies* (Routledge, 1998), pp. 26-42 [Pdf in Files on Canvas]

Jacqui True, "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Public Policy" *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5:3 November 2003, 368-396

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

Alison Woodward, "European Gender Mainstreaming: Promises and Pitfalls of Transformative Policy," *The Review of policy research* Vol 20 no 1 (March 1, 2003): 65-88

### **Week Twelve (11/27): Toward Gender Equality in Parenthood and Employment**

*Much of the disparity between women and men in public life can be traced to the disparity in their roles in private life. Are there ways in which the family division of labor can be transformed so that political and economic inequality can be reduced or eliminated? Is there evidence that the electorate and politicians might be willing to move in that direction?*

Janet C. Gornick and Marcia K. Meyers, eds., *Gender Equality: Transforming Family Divisions of Labor* (New York: Verso, 2009), Chapter 1 (Gornick and Meyers, pp. 3-66) and Chapter 19 (Gornick and Meyers, pp. 435-450). [Pdf in Files on Canvas]

Janet C. Gornick and Marcia K. Meyers, *Families that Work: Policies for Reconciling Parenthood and Employment* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003), pp. 95-99 ("A Thought Experiment") [Pdf in Files on Canvas]

Kimberly J. Morgan, "Path Shifting of the Welfare State: Electoral Competition and the Expansion of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe" *World Politics* vol 65 no 1 (January 2013), pp. 73-115

### **Week Thirteen (12/4): Paper Presentations**



**FINAL PAPER IS DUE BY MIDNIGHT 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.**