

**Spring 2023**  
**POS 6933, WTS 6935**  
**Gender & Comparative Politics**

Professor: Juliana Restrepo Sanín, Ph.D.

Class Meeting Times: Thursday 11:45 to 2:45

Room: Psychology 0129

Office Hours: Tuesday, 12:30-2:30; Grinter Hall 331 , and by appointment.

Contact: via Canvas

### **Course description and learning goals**

In what ways has the inclusion of gender and intersectional perspectives changed the study of comparative politics? How is our understanding of politics transformed by adopting an intersectional feminist perspective? This course evaluates the contributions of feminist scholars to the study of diverse topics in political science. In particular, the course will analyze how the adoption of a gender and an intersectional approach transforms how we understand and measure democracy, the state, institutions, social movements, among other topics. The course draws examples from various world regions, including the United States. This course aims to introduce students to basic concepts and debates in gender and politics.

## **Assessment**

Summary of assessment, due dates, and percentage

<b>Item</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Due date</b>
Participation and engagement	20%	Throughout the semester
Peer review	10%	March 30
Research presentation	20%	April 20
Research paper	40%	April 25

Working title and abstract	Pass/fail	January 26
Working reading list	Pass/fail	February 16
Paper Draft	10%	March 23

## **Participation and engagement (20%)**

As a graduate seminar, this class will be driven by students' thoughtful and active participation. Students are expected to participate in all sessions. You must come to class prepared to discuss the readings. To get full participation credit, students must post discussion questions about the readings at least five times during the semester. There is a forum on Canvas for this purpose. Questions can be about specific readings or the topic for the week. We will discuss these questions during the class meeting. You are free to choose which weeks you will post questions (and it is okay if you post simultaneously as other students) as long as you post on at least five weeks. You should post discussion questions to Canvas BEFORE class.

## **Research paper Draft (10%)**

### **Due March 23**

Prior to submitting your final paper, you will submit a draft. This draft should not be an outline but a finished, if imperfect, paper. The paper should have a clear goal, review of the literature, data (quantitative or qualitative) you are drawing evidence from, analysis, and conclusions (this is just a broad sketch, you need to have these elements but the paper may have additional sections or be organized differently). You should submit your paper draft for peer review.

## **Peer review (10%)**

### **Due March 30**

Providing constructive criticism and doing peer reviews is a fundamental part of academics' job. You will serve as a peer reviewer for one of your classmates' final paper. You will receive the paper in advance and should evaluate its scholarly strengths and weaknesses. Then you should write a peer review (2-3 pages) in which you

1) Briefly explain what the paper is about. This is important as it gives the author and editor of a journal a sense of how readers are understanding the paper – it might be the case that the author thinks the paper is about X but readers think it is about Y ,

2) Highlight the strengths of the paper and main contributions. Peer reviewers generally share some areas of expertise with the authors but often are experts in topics that are only tangentially related to the paper they are assessing. This makes them uniquely well positioned to understand how the author is framing the contributions to the literature, and also assess whether the paper may benefit from looking at other different topics or analyzing the problem/question from a different perspective.

3) Make recommendations for improvements. These should include theoretical, methodological, recommendations, as well as ‘missed opportunities’ for example, ideas, concepts, or contributions the author is missing and should highlight. This is probably the most important job of peer reviewers: rather than just tearing down the paper, they should provide the author with actionable recommendations for improvement.

Your review should be kind and constructive but should give the author suggestions for improvement, note parts of the argument that are unclear, not very original (for example, other authors have already made that argument), or that may not be supported by the data provided. The discussant should also note issues with the research design or overall organization of the paper. Again, these comments should be constructive in nature --not just note where the paper falls short, but suggest ways to improve it. You should also highlight parts of the paper where you think the author did a good job. Receiving enthusiastic support from other academics -- because the topic is important and the research is interesting, even when there is room for improvement, helps academics move projects forward.

## **Research presentation (20%)**

**Due April 20**

The last class of the semester all students will present their final research paper. The presentations will emulate academic conference presentations. Each student will have 10 minutes to present (no more than 10 minutes because we will have no time). In this presentation you should summarize your research question, methods, and findings.

## **Research paper (40%)**

**Due April 25**

Your final paper is a research paper.

You will work on your paper in stages:

You should discuss the topic and approach with me in advance. Please meet with me during office hours. During this meeting, you should present a plan for writing your paper that includes working on the literature review, research design, and what you think your argument will be.

After this meeting, you should submit the following sections of the paper:

- Working title and abstract: Due Jan. 26
- Working reading list for the literature review: Due Feb. 16
- Paper draft: Due Mar. 26
- Final paper: Due Apr. 25

These assignments (except the draft and final paper) will be graded pass/fail. No late submissions are accepted. Failing to submit all sections in a timely manner will affect the grade of your final paper.

## Grading Scale

>=93 A  
90-92 A-  
87-89 B+  
83-86 B  
80-82 B-  
77-79 C+  
73-76 C  
70-72 C-  
67-69 D+  
63-66 D  
60-62 D-  
<= 60 E

## Books

The *recommended* book for this class is:

Krook, Mona Lena; and Sarah Childs. 2010. *Women, Gender, and Politics: A Reader*. Oxford University Press.

The book has summarized versions of many of the articles and book chapters we will read for the class. You can find the articles and books through the library if you do not want to buy the book. However, because this seminar requires substantial reading every week, I highly encourage you to get the book as they are significantly shorter than the full-length versions. Articles available from this book are marked with \*.



We will also read a few chapters from:

Disch, Lisa; and Mary Hawkesworth. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*. Oxford University Press.

Because it is a handbook, the chapters from this book present overviews of different topics. They are particularly important in presenting the major debates and contributions of feminist theory regarding these topics but, by themselves, do not present new contributions to the field. This book is available from the library so you do not need to buy it. Articles available from this book are marked with \*\*.



Many of the assigned articles and book chapters are available in Canvas. However, there may be some missing. You are still responsible for readings those documents that have not been uploaded to Canvas, you can find these documents through the library

## Topics & readings

These readings are subject to change. Please check the syllabus frequently.

### January 12 – Introduction - The study of Gender & Comparative Politics

Introduction, presentation of course, discussion of syllabus

#### **Pick two**

- Beckwith, Karen. 2005. "A Common Language of Gender?" *Politics & Gender* 1 (1): 128-137. Hawkesworth, Mary. 2005. "Engendering Political Science: An Immodest Proposal." *Politics & Gender* 1(1): 141-156
- Tripp, Aili Mari. 2006. "Why So Slow? The Challenges of Gendering Comparative Politics." *Critical Perspectives. Politics & Gender* 2 (2): 249-263.
- Caraway, Teri L. 2010. "Gendering Comparative Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 169-175.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2011. "Gendering Comparative Politics: Achievements and Challenges." *Politics & Gender* 7 (1): 99-105
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2008. "The Norm of Tradition: Gender Subordination and Women's Exclusion in International Relations". *Politics & Gender*. 4 (1). 173-180.

### January 19 – Gender, intersectionality, and Politics

What are the challenges of studying gender and politics in comparative perspective? In international relations? What does it mean to study gender and politics? In what ways have Black feminist in the U.S. and scholars from the Global South challenged the study of gender and politics? What does it mean to adopt an 'intersectional perspective'?

- \*\*Viveros Vigoya, Mara. "Sex/Gender" in Disch, Lisa; and Mary Hawkesworth. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*. Oxford University Press. 852-873.
- Hawkesworth, Mary. 2013. "Sex, Gender, and Sexuality: From Naturalized Presumption to Analytical Categories. In Waylen, Georgina; Celis, Karen; Kantola, Johana; and Weldon, S. Laurel. *The Oxford handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford University Press. p. 31-56
- Crenshaw, K., 1991. Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, p. 1241
- King, Deborah K. "Multiple jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a Black feminist ideology." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14.1 (1988): 42-72.

#### Recommended

- Yuval-Davis, N., 2006. Intersectionality and feminist politics. *European journal of women's studies*, 13(3), pp.193-209.
- Mügge, L., Montoya, C., Emejulu, A. and Weldon, S.L., 2018. Intersectionality and the politics of knowledge production. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 1(1-2), pp.17-36.
- Weldon, Laurel. 2006. "The Structure of Intersectionality: A Comparative Politics of Gender" *Politics & Gender*, 2 (2006), 235-248.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (2015). Situated Intersectionality and Social Inequality. *Raisons politiques*, 58, 91-100. <https://doi.org/10.3917/rai.058.0091>
- IN FRENCH Viveros Vigoya, Mara. « L'intersectionnalité au prisme du féminisme

latino-américain », *Raisons politiques*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2015, pp. 39-54.

- IN SPANISH Mara Viveros Vigoya. "La interseccionalidad: una aproximación situada a la dominación" *Debate feminista* 52 (2016): 1–17.
- Crenshaw, K., 1989. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *u. Chi. Legal f.*, p.139
- Alexander-Floyd, Nikol G. "Disappearing Acts: Reclaiming Intersectionality in the Social Sciences in a Post—Black Feminist Era." *Feminist Formations*, 24, (1) 2012, pp. 1–25
- Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2012. "Intersectionality in Time: Sexuality and the Shifting Boundaries of Intersectional Marginalization". *Politics & Gender*. 8 (30), 386-396.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "Intersectionality as a normative and empirical paradigm." *Politics & Gender* 3(2): 248-254.

## January 26 - Feminist methods

What are the main feminist critiques to traditional perspectives on knowledge production in political science? Is there a 'feminist' way of doing political science?

- Kantola, Johanna; Lombardo, Emanuela. 2017. *Gender & Political Analysis*. Red Globe Press. Introduction and Ch. 2.
- Ackerly, Brooke; True, Jacqui. 2020. *Doing feminist research in political and social science*. Palgrave Ch. 2 "A feminist research ethic explained". I highly recommend you read the whole book.
- D'ignazio, Catherine, and Lauren F. Klein. Data feminism. MIT press, 2020. Ch 1 The Power Chapter and Ch. 3 On Rational, Objective, Viewpoints from Mythical, Imaginary, Impossible Standpoints. Highly Recommended book, especially if you are interested in quantitative and computational methods.

### Recommended:

- Hanson, Rebecca, and Patricia Richards. "Harassed." In *Harassed*. University of California Press, 2019.
- Goertz, Gary and Amy G. Mazur, eds. 2008. *Politics, Gender, and Concepts: Theory and Methodology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hawkesworth, Mary. 2006. *Feminist Inquiry*. Rutgers University Press. Ch. 3-5 Ackerly, Brooke; Stern, Maria; True, Jacqui. 2006. *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*. Cambridge University Press.

## February 2 Social movements

- Beckwith, Karen. 2011. "Interests, Issues, and Preferences: Women's Interests and Epiphenomena of Activism." *Politics & Gender* 7 (3): 424–29. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X11000195>.
- \*Beckwith, Karen. 2000. "Beyond Compare? Women's Movements in Comparative Perspective." *European Journal of Political Research* 37 (4): 431-468.
- \*Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." *Journal of Politics* 68 (4): 894-910
- Montoya, C. (2021). Intersectionality and social movements: Intersectional challenges and imperatives in the study of social movements. *Sociology Compass*, 15( 8), e12905. <https://doi-org.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/10.1111/soc4.12905>
- Evans, E., & Lépinard, E. (Eds.). (2019). *Intersectionality in Feminist and Queer Movements: Confronting Privileges* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429289859> – This book is open access (at least if you connect through UF's VPN). Pick one chapter to read and

share in class.

### Recommended:

- Weldon, S. Laurel, and Mala Htun. 2013. "Feminist Mobilisation and Progressive Policy Change: Why Governments Take Action to Combat Violence against Women." *Gender & Development* 21 (2): 231-47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2013.802158>.
- Basu, Amrita. 1995. *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective*. Boulder: Westview Press, 131-162, 276-301, 374-404.
- Baldez, Lisa. 2002. "Why Women Protest: Tipping, Timing, and Framing." In *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-20.
- Bouvard, Marguerite Guzman. 2002. *Revolutionizing Motherhood: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield
- Weldon, S. Laurel. 2006. "Inclusion, Solidarity, and Social Movements: The Global Movement against Gender Violence." *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (1): 55-74.
- Wright, Robin. 2011. *Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion Across the Islamic World*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 138-159
- Weldon, S. Laurel. 2011. *When Protest Makes Policy: How Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- \*Alvarez, Sonia E. 2000. "Translating the Global: Effects of Transnational Organizing on Latin American Feminist Discourses and Practices." *Meridians* 1 (1): 29-67.
- \*Molyneux, Maxine. 1985. "Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua." *Feminist Studies* 11 (2): 227-254.
- Tripp, Aili. 2001. "Women's Movements and Challenges to Neopatrimonial Rule: preliminary Observations from Africa." *Development and Change* 32 (1): 33-54.
- \*Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod. 1998. *Faithful and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest inside the Church and Military*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3-22.
- \*Banaszak, Lee Ann, Karen Beckwith, and Dieter Rucht, eds. 2003. *Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-29
- Sonia E. Alvarez, Elisabeth Jay Friedman, Ericka Beckman, Maylei Blackwell, Norma Stoltz Chinchilla, Nathalie Lebon, Marysa Navarro, and Marcela Ríos Tobar. 2003. "Encountering Latin American and Caribbean Feminisms" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. (28):2, 537-579
- Al-Ali, Nadje. 2012. "Gendering the Arab Spring." *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 5 (1): 26-31.

## February 9 - Gender & the State

In what ways have feminist scholars contributed to our understanding of the state as an object of study in political science and as a structure? What does adopting a 'gender lens' mean for the study of the state?

- Htun, Mala. 2005. "What It Means to Study Gender and the State". *Politics & Gender*. 1(1). 157-166.
- \*\*Kantola, Johanna. 2016. "State/Nation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, edited by M. E. Hawkesworth and Lisa Jane Disch, 915-33. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Stachowitsch, Saskia. "Beyond 'Market' and 'State' Feminism: Gender Knowledge at the



Intersections of Marketization and Securitization." *Politics & Gender* 15, no. 1 (2019): 151-73. doi:10.1017/S1743923X18000351.

- Piscopo, Jennifer M. 2015. "States as Gender Equality Activists: The Evolution of Quota Laws in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 57 (3): 27-49.

### Recommended

- \*MacKinnon, Catharine A. 1989. "The Liberal State." In *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 157-170.
- \*Orloff, A., 1996. Gender in the welfare state. *Annual review of sociology*, 22(1), pp. 51-78. \*Chappell, L., 2000. Interacting with the state: Feminist strategies and political opportunities. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 2(2), pp. 244-275.
- \*Stetson, D.M. and Mazur, A., 2010. Introduction to Comparative State Feminism. *Women, Gender, and Politics. A Reader*, pp. 319-325.
- Towns, Ann E. 2010. *Women and States: Norms and Hierarchies in International Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press. Introduction.
- Charrad, Mounira. 2001. *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Introduction & Ch. 1.
- Kantola, Johanna. 2007. "The Gendered Reproduction of the State in International Relations." *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 9 (2): 270-283
- \*Htun, Mala. 2003. *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce, and the Family Under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction
- Townsend-Bell, Erica. 2013. "Intersectional Advances? Inclusionary and Intersectional State Action in Uruguay." In *Situating Intersectionality: Politics, Policy, and Power*, 43-61. Springer. <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10800133>.
- \*Kantola, Johanna. 2006. "Gender and the State: Theories and Debates." In: *Feminists Theorize the State*. New York: Palgrave, 1-21.

## February 16 Democracy & Democratization

How have feminist political scientists challenged our understanding of democratization? of democracy?

- Pateman, Carole. 1989. "Feminism and Democracy." In *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory*. Stanford University Press, 210-225.
- Paxton, Pamela. 2000. "Women's Suffrage in the Measurement of Democracy: Problems of Operationalization." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35 (3): 92-111
- Waylen, Georgina. "Women and democratization conceptualizing gender relations in transition politics." *World politics* 46.3 (1994): 327-354.

### Pick two

- Cornwall, Andrea and Anne Marie Goetz. 2005. "Democratizing Democracy: Feminist Perspectives." *Democratization* 12 (5): 783-800.
- Comparative Perspectives Symposium: Democratization. 2006. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. (31): 4. 915-923.
- Lovenduski, Joni. 2019. "Feminist Reflections on Representative Democracy". In: Gamble, A; Wright, T. *Rethinking Democracy*. Wiley.
- Wang, Yi-Ting, Patrik Lindenfors, Aksel Sundström, Fredrik Jansson, Pamela Paxton, and Staffan

I. Lindberg. "Women's Rights in Democratic Transitions: A Global Sequence Analysis, 1900-2012: WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS." *European Journal of Political Research* 56, no. 4 (2017): 735-56. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12201>.

### Recommended

- Ríos Tobar, Marcela. 2003. "Chilean Feminism(s) in the 1990s Paradoxes of an Unfinished Transition." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5:2, 256-280
- Watson, Peggy. 2000. "Re-thinking Transition: Globalism, Gender and Class." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. (2)2. 185-213.
- Phillips, Anne. 1991. *Engendering Democracy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1-22.
- Caraway, Teri L. 2004. "Inclusion and Democratization: Class, Gender, Race, and the Extension of Suffrage." *Comparative Politics* 36 (4): 443-460.
- Waylen, Georgina. 1994. "Women and Democratization: Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics." *World Politics* 46 (3): 327-354.
- Johansson-Nogués, Elisabeth. 2013. "Gendering the Arab Spring? Rights and (In)security of Tunisian, Egyptian, and Libyan Women." *Security Dialogue* 44 (5-6): 393-409.

## **February 23 Political institutions & feminist institutionalism**

In what ways are political institutions gendered/raced? How can political scientists measure and understand gender/race within political institutions?

- Mackay, Fiona, and Mona Lena Krook. 2011. *Gender, Politics and Institutions: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Waylen, Georgina. 2014. "Informal Institutions, Institutional Change, and Gender Equality." *Political Research Quarterly* 67 (1): 212-223
- \*Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of RacedGendered Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 97 (4): 529-550

## **March 2 Feminist theory and Political Representation**

What is representation? How can gender and race issues be represented? In what ways are women represented in politics?

- \*Phillips, Anne. 1995. "Quotas for Women." In *The Politics of Presence: The Political Representation of Gender, Ethnicity, and Race*. New York: Oxford University Press, 57-83.
- \*Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" *Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 628-657.
- \*Dovi, Suzanne. 2002. "Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black, or Latino Do?" *American Political Science Review* 96 (4): 729-743.
- Childs, Sarah and Mona Lena Krook. 2009. "Analyzing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors." *Government and Opposition* 44 (2): 125-145

- \*Weldon, S. Laurel. 2002. "Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policymaking." *Journal of Politics* 64 (4): 1153-1174.
- Celis, Karen, Sarah Childs, Johanna Kantola, and Mona Lena Krook. 2008. "Rethinking Women's Substantive Representation." *Representation* 44 (2): 99-110.

### Recommended

- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. and William Mishler. 2005. "An Integrated Model of Women's Representation." *Journal of Politics* 67 (2): 407-428.
- Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The Politics of Presence: The Political Representation of Gender, Ethnicity, and Race*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- \*Childs, Sarah and Mona Lena Krook. 2006. "Should Feminists Give Up on Critical Mass? A Contingent Yes." *Politics & Gender* 2 (4): 522-530.

### **March 9 - No Class**

Work on your final paper draft

### **March 16 - Spring Break**

Work on your final paper draft

## **March 23 Gender quotas**

### **Final paper draft due**

In what ways does representation theory translate into research on representation? How do we measure women and other identity-based interests?

- [APSA Comparative Politics Section Newsletter Fall 2022](#).
- Tripp, Aili Mari and Alice Kang. 2008. "The Global Impact of Quotas: On the Fast Track to Increased Female Legislative Representation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (3): 338-361.
- Hughes, Melanie M. 2011. "Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide." *American Political Science Review* 105 (3): 604-620.

### **Please select one of these readings (depending on your regional interest)**

- Latin America: Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2018. *Gender and Representation in Latin America*. Oxford University Press. Read the Introduction and select one chapter from the first part and one country-case chapter.
- Latin America: Htun, Mala. 2016. *Inclusion without Representation in Latin America: Gender Quotas and Ethnic Reservations*. Cambridge Studies in Gender and Politics. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Latin America: Wylie, Kristin. 2018. "Brazil's Quota Law and the Challenges of Institutional Change Amidst Weak and Gendered Institutions". In: *Party Institutionalization and Women's Representation in Democratic Brazil*. Cambridge University Press.

- United States: Dittmar, Kelly; Sanbonmatsu, Kira; Carroll, Susan J. 2018. *A Seat at the Table: Congresswomen's Perspectives on Why Their Presence Matters*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 2.
- United States: Wineinger, Catherine N. 2022. *Gendering the GOP: Intraparty Politics and Republican Women's Representation in Congress*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Africa: Kang, Alice J., and Aili Mari Tripp. 2018. "Coalitions Matter: Citizenship, Women, and Quota Adoption in Africa." *Perspectives on Politics* 16 (1): 73–91.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592717002225>.
- Comparative: Valdini, Melody Ellis. 2019. *The Inclusion Calculation: Why Men Appropriate Womens Representation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- 

### Recommended

- Reynolds, Andrew. 2019. *The Children of Harvey Milk. How LGBTQ Politicians Changed the World*. Oxford University Press.
- Besley, T., Folke, O., Persson, T. and Rickne, J., 2017. Gender quotas and the crisis of the mediocre man: Theory and evidence from Sweden. *American Economic Review*, 107 (8), pp. 2204-42.
- Franceschet, Susa; Krook, Mona Lena; Piscopo, Jennifer. 2012. *The Impact of Gender Quotas*. Oxford University Press. Introduction.
- \*Sainsbury, Diane. 2004. "Women's Political Representation in Sweden: Discursive Politics and Institutional Presence." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27 (1): 65-87
- \*Goetz, Anne Marie. 2003. "The Problem with Patronage: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda." In *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making*, ed. Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim. New York: Zed, 110-139.
- \*Yoon, Mi Yung. 2004. "Explaining Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29 (3): 447-466

### **March 30 - No class Peer Review Due**

### **April 6 Resistance to women's inclusion**

- Krook, Mona Lena. 2016. "Contesting Gender Quotas: Dynamics of Resistance." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4 (2): 268-283.
- Bardall, Gabrielle, Elin Bjarnegård, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2020. "How Is Political Violence Gendered? Disentangling Motives, Forms, and Impacts." *Political Studies* 68 (4): 916–35.  
<https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1177/0032321719881812>.
- Krook, Mona Lena, and Juliana Restrepo Sanín. 2020. "The Cost of Doing Politics? Analyzing Violence and Harassment against Female Politicians." *Perspectives on Politics* 18 (3): 740–55.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592719001397>.
- Kuperberg, Rebecca. 2021. "Incongruous and Illegitimate: Antisemitic and Islamophobic Semiotic Violence against Women in Politics in the United Kingdom." *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, March. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlac.00055.kup>.

## Recommended

- Collier, Cheryl N. and Tracey Raney. 2018. "Understanding Sexism and Sexual Harassment in Politics: A Comparison of Westminster Parliaments in Australia, the United Kingdom, and Canada." *Social Politics* 25 (3): 432-455.
- Håkansson, Sandra. 2020. "Do Women Pay a Higher Price for Power? Gender Bias in Political Violence in Sweden." *Journal of Politics*.
- Rheault, Ludovic, Erica Rayment, and Andreea Musulan. 2019. "Politicians in the Line of Fire: Incivility and the Treatment of Women on Social Media." *Research & Politics* 6 (1): 1-7.
- Collier, Cheryl N. and Tracey Raney. 2018. "Canada's Member-to-Member Code of Conduct on Sexual Harassment in the House of Commons: Progress or Regress?" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 51 (4): 795-815.
- Dalton, Emma. 2017. "Sexual Harassment of Women Politicians in Japan." *Journal of Gender-Based Violence* 1 (2): 205-219.
- Och, Malliga. 2019. "Maninterrupting in the German Bundestag: Gendered Opposition to Female Members of Parliament?" *Politics & Gender*.
- Piscopo, Jennifer M. 2016. "State Capacity, Criminal Justice, and Political Rights: Rethinking Violence against Women in Politics." *Política y Gobierno* 23 (2): 437-458.
- Strolovitch, Dara Z., Janelle S. Wong, and Andrew Proctor. 2017. "A Possessive Investment in White Heteropatriarchy? The 2016 Election and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Sexuality." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5 (2): 353-363.

## **April 13 - Gender, Backlash, and Global Populisms**

- Rowley, Michelle V. 2020. "Anything but Reactionary: Exploring the Mechanics of Backlash." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 45 (2): 278-87. <https://doi.org/10.1086/704951>.
- Mansbridge, Jane, and Shauna L. Shames. 2008. "Toward a Theory of Backlash: Dynamic Resistance and the Central Role of Power." *Politics & Gender* 4 (04): 623. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X08000500>.
- Kantola, Johanna, and Emanuela Lombardo. 2021. "Introduction: Populism and Feminist Politics." *International Political Science Review* 42 (5): 561-64. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512120972609>.
- Korolczuk, Elżbieta, and Agnieszka Graff. 2018. "Gender as 'Ebola from Brussels': The Anticolonial Frame and the Rise of Illiberal Populism." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 43 (4): 797-821. <https://doi.org/10.1086/696691>.

### **Pick one based on your regional/country interests**

- Brazil: Jalalzai, Farida, Brianna Kreft, Lizbet Martinez-Port, Pedro Dos Santos, and Brigid Smith. 2022. "A Tough Woman around Tender Men: Dilma Rousseff, Gendered Double Bind, and Misogynistic Backlash." *Frontiers in Political Science* 4. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2022.926579>.
- Colombia: Corredor, Elizabeth S. 2021. "On the Strategic Uses of Women's Rights: Backlash, Rights-Based Framing, and Anti-Gender Campaigns in Colombia's 2016 Peace Agreement." *Latin American Politics and Society* online first: 1-23. <https://doi.org/10.1017/lap.2021.24>.
- Kenya: Berry, Marie E., Yolande Bouka, and Marilyn Muthoni Kamuru. 2020.

"Implementing Inclusion: Gender Quotas, Inequality, and Backlash in Kenya." *Politics & Gender*, 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X19000886>.

- **Italy:** Donà, Alessia. 2021. "Radical Right Populism and the Backlash against Gender Equality: The Case of the Lega (Nord)." *Contemporary Italian Politics* 13 (3): 296–313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23248823.2021.1947629>.
- **Western Europe:** Meret, Susi, and Birte Siim. 2013. "Gender, Populism and Politics of Belonging: Discourses of Right-Wing Populist Parties in Denmark, Norway and Austria." In *Negotiating Gender and Diversity in an Emergent European Public Sphere*, edited by Birte Siim and Monika Mokre, 78–96. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137291295\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137291295_5).
- **Poland:** Gwiazda, Anna. 2021. "Right-Wing Populism and Feminist Politics: The Case of Law and Justice in Poland." *International Political Science Review* 42 (5): 580–95. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512120948917>.
- **Spain:** Caravantes, Paloma. 2021. "Tensions between Populist and Feminist Politics: The Case of the Spanish Left Populist Party Podemos." *International Political Science Review* 42 (5): 596–612. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512120931209>.
- **Eastern Europe:** Minkenberg, Michael, Anca Florian, Zsuzsanna Végh, and Malisa Zobel. 2021. "Depleting Democracy? The Radical Right's Impact on Minority Politics in Eastern Europe." *International Political Science Review* 42 (5): 649–71. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512120972883>.
- **China:** Guan, Tianru, and Yilu Yang. 2021. "Rights-Oriented or Responsibility-Oriented? Two Subtypes of Populism in Contemporary China." *International Political Science Review* 42 (5): 672–89. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512120925555>.
- **Latin America:** Zarembek, Gisela, Constanza Tabbush, and Elisabeth Jay Friedman. "Feminism (s) and anti-gender backlash: lessons from Latin America." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 23, no. 4 (2021): 527-534.

### Recommended

- Corredor, Elizabeth S. "Unpacking "gender ideology" and the global right's antigender countermovement." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 44, no. 3 (2019): 613-638.
- Symposium: Backlash And The Future Of Feminism. *SignsJournal of Women in Culture and Society*. Volume 45, Number 2. 2020.
- Symposium: Populism and feminist politics. *International Political Science Review* Volume 42, Issue 5, November 2021

## **April 20 - Final research paper presentations & class evaluations**

### **Final Paper Due April 25**



## Additional recommended topics & readings

### Elections & Electoral systems

- O'Brien, Diana Z. 2015. "Rising to the Top: Gender, Political Performance, and Party Leadership in Parliamentary Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (4): 1022-1039
- Hughes, Melanie M. 2009. "Armed Conflict, International Linkages, and Women's Parliamentary Representation in Developing Nations." *Social Problems* 56 (1): 174-204
- \*Norris, Pippa and Joni Lovenduski. 1995. "Puzzles in Political Recruitment." In *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race, and Class in the British Parliament*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-19.
- \*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.
- \*Niven, David. 1998. "Party Elites and Women Candidates: The Shape of Bias." *Women & Politics* 19 (2): 57-80.
- \*Caul, Miki. 1999. "Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties." *Party Politics* 5 (1): 79-98.
- Mc Allister, Ian and Donley T. Studlar. 2001. "Electoral Systems and Women's Representation: A Long Term Perspective." *Representation* 39 (1): 3-14

### Gender & violence

How do feminist scholars think about violence? How are feminist conceptualizations of violence different from mainstream definitions of violence?

- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2018. "Rape as a Practice of War: Toward a Typology of Political Violence" *Politics & Society*. 46(4) 513-537
- Pain, Rachel. 2014. "Everyday terrorism: Connecting domestic violence and global terrorism". *Progress in Human Geography*. 38: (4) 531-550.
- Engle-Merry, Sally. "Measuring Violence against Women". In *The Seduction of Quantification*. University of Chicago Press. 44-74.
- Krook, Mona Lena, and Juliana Restrepo Sanin. Forthcoming "The Cost of Doing Politics? Analyzing Violence and Harassment against Female Politicians". *Perspectives on Politics*.

### Gender, War & Peace

- Sjoberg, Laura. 2013. *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War*. Columbia University Press.
- Cynthia Cockburn (2010) Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 12:2, 139-157
- Berry, M. E. 2018. *War, women, and power: From violence to mobilization in Rwanda and Bosnia Herzegovina*. Cambridge University press

## Policies

### Plagiarism and Academic Integrity:

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Honor Code specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor in this class.

### Attendance

For successfully passing this course, your attendance is expected. Students must be prepared to discuss the readings listed for that day. You should substantively and critically engage the topics. To be prepared for class discussion, you should take notes, ask questions, and find similarities and points of contention between the different readings.

### Technology

I highly recommend that you bring a digital or hard copy of the weekly readings as well as your notes to class. Although taking notes by hand is better for retention and overall learning, you are welcome to take class notes on your laptop or tablet. Please abstain from using your digital devices for anything not related to the class.

### Online Evaluation

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing online evaluations at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students here.



## Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities requesting accommodations should first register with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565, [www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/](http://www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/)) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter, which must be presented to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Students with disabilities should follow this procedure as early as possible in the semester.

## Communications

Please let me know of any issues you have with the class or that can be affecting your academic performance. If you have questions, you are encouraged to schedule office hours (Wednesday 1-3 or by appointment). Please use Canvas for all communications with me and your teaching assistant. Please allow 24 hours for us to respond and until Monday if you contact us over the weekend.

## Technology

For succeeding in this class, you need to have access to Canvas. Please consult these guides if you are unsure about how to use this application:

For Canvas: <https://elearning.ufl.edu/keep-learning/quickstart-guide-for-students/>

## Class Recording

Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor. A “class lecture” is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session. Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To “publish”

means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

### **Other Recommendations**

**Masks.** The College of Liberal Arts and Sciences emphasizes that, in light of CDC recommendations, face coverings, though not required, are welcome in all UF facilities, including your classrooms. Regardless of vaccination status, mask usage is a responsible and vital way of preventing transmission of COVID-19. Faculty may also ask for mask usage in their offices during one-on-one meetings (with a provision for remote office hour meetings as an alternative).

**Vaccination.** If you have not been vaccinated, please consider starting the process immediately. If you are currently at home, you can obtain a first dose where you are and receive a second dose here in Gainesville. If you are already in Gainesville, you can schedule a vaccination appointment at ONE.UF. Please keep in mind that being vaccinated for COVID-19 is the best way to protect yourself and others from the potentially life-threatening effects of the virus. Your action in this regard may help ensure the health and safety of yourself, your fellow CLAS students, and the faculty and staff with whom you interact.