GENDER AND POLITICS:
GLOBAL & COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES
Fall 2019 Term I

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Course Description
With the appointment of Canada’s first gender-balanced federal cabinet in 2015, Justin Trudeau’s new government earned international media attention and applause from many at home. Yet today, with women stalled at just 26% of seats in the House of Commons, and a meagre 18% of Canadian cities led by female mayors, there is reason to wonder how egalitarian Canadians and Canada’s political system really are. Meanwhile, south of the border, a record number of American women ran and were elected to office in 2018, many of them motivated by outrage over President Donald Trump’s policies and attitudes. Of course, Hillary Clinton, the first and only woman nominated by a major party to run for the office of US president, was defeated by Trump in 2016. And it is noteworthy that 52% of white women voted for Trump despite his clearly anti-feminist views and accusations of sexual assault. Beyond these two countries that we may be most familiar with, gender is a prevailing factor in politics world-wide. For example, Dilma Rousseff, Brazil’s first female president was impeached and removed from office in 2016 in a campaign that many argue was sexist and discriminatory. Taiwan’s current President Tsai Ing-wen is a virtually unique case among East Asia’s female leaders, as she did not rise to her position of power following a father, brother or husband. Still, she was protested by women’s groups when she named a 40-member cabinet with just four women.

These and other recent events have led many to ask what it means to be a woman in politics today. How have women engaged in politics? Do female politicians think and act differently from male politicians? Do women change politics, and if so, how? Moreover, how might gender intertwine with factors like culture, democratization, economic development/decline, electoral rules and other features of political systems to produce different dynamics and outcomes, in countries around the world? This course addresses these questions by considering the implications of gender (in relation with other identity categories) for politics, power and legitimacy. It applies a gendered lens to central political science questions, such as: “how are power and resources distributed?” “how are office holders recruited and elected?” “what accounts for democratic transformation?” and “how can we build sustainable peace in conflict-prone zones?” The course takes an explicitly global and comparative perspective, which means we will consider how gender implicates power and politics in various ways in countries around the world.

To organize our examination of these issues, the course is divided thematically into three parts. The first includes some introductory theory on gender, and how it relates to public and private sites of power. The second part considers the role of gender in social movements, parties, elections, and public policy decisions at the local, national, and international level. The third part is based on case studies and collaborative group work, in which you will examine gender and politics in specific national and international contexts. Across these topics, we will draw on scholarly research, selected films, and recent news and public commentary to gain deeper insights and inform class discussions. Wherever possible, we will be attentive to the ways in which gender intersects with other social categories and identities, such as nation, race/ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, age, etc.
Course Objectives
Upon successful completion of this course, students should be able to:

- Analyze contemporary debates about gender, power and politics, with the help of various theoretical frameworks learned throughout the course.
- Make effective use of web-based data repositories to compare women’s social-economic status, legal and political rights in countries around the world.
- Describe trends in the political participation and representation of women, and assess women’s impact on politics in Canada and other countries.
- Identify and discuss how features of electoral systems influence women’s access to politics.
- Distinguish among and critically assess gender quotas in electoral politics.
- Draw informed conclusions that reflect an understanding of multiple (and sometimes conflicting) sources of information.
- Effectively communicate orally and in writing your knowledge about gender and politics issues.
- Demonstrate good time management skills, including the ability to balance and complete multiple tasks, as is expected in professional careers.

Required Materials and Texts
There is no required textbook for this course. However, there are two books that you may find useful as secondary references. They are not required, but both are good books that cover many of the topics we address in the course. They are available in the stacks at the library, or for purchase online at Chapters/Indigo or Amazon. They are:


There are also some excellent web-based data repositories that you can find at the end of this outline. These will be particularly useful for your final paper, but there will also be moments in class when we will draw on them.

We will be reading selected articles and chapters over the course of the term, as listed in the pages below. Students are responsible for accessing and reading the material assigned each week, as it will form the basis of class discussion. Also: READ THE SYLLABUS in its entirety. Please. Just read it. It’s worth it.
Class Format
The course meets from 7:00-10:00pm each Monday, during which time we will engage in a mixture of formal lecture, class discussion, and collaborative learning exercises. We will also view a number of films that are essential to understanding core themes and issues.

Part of the course involves reviewing and critiquing fundamental concepts related to gender, patriarchy, sexism, capitalism, colonialism, and racism. As these are issues that implicate all of us in one way or another, it is important that we come to the material prepared to interrogate our own biases and preconceptions, and to engage from a well-informed, thoughtful, and respectful position. We also need to be aware that we may have different experiences that shape how we read and interpret particular texts, arguments and ideas. We are all on a learning journey, and to make the most of this journey it is important that you feel comfortable raising questions. I do not expect you to share the intellectual position of the authors of the course readings, me (the instructor), or your classmates. Instead, I ask you to thoughtfully analyze the arguments of the texts, assume that all of your classmates are doing the same, and engage in considerate and informed discussion. There may very occasionally be topics or readings that could be emotionally triggering. I do not encourage you to skip these topics, but please do let me know if they are leading you to experience any sort of distress. I am available to discuss your needs further.

Finally, as your instructor, I unconditionally reject every form of bigotry, discrimination, hateful rhetoric, and hateful action, whether directed towards one’s race, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, religion, national origin, disability, citizenship, socioeconomic status, immigration status, or any other form of difference, in class and out. I also affirm people of all gender expressions and gender identities. If you prefer to be called a different name than what is indicated on the class roster, please let me know. Feel free to correct me on your preferred gender pronoun. I prefer she/her/hers. If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Course Evaluation – Overview
1. Attendance and participation – 10%
2. Gender in the federal election field log – 10%,
   • Weekly submissions due via ATL Tuesday before midnight
   • Final field log (hard copy) due in class Oct. 28
3. Female leader essay (max. 2,000 words/4-5 pp, single spaced) – 25%
   • Due via ATL Oct. 11
4. Research paper (max. 5,000 words/8-10 pp, single spaced) – 30% (includes 5% for peer evaluation). There are 4 required components of this project:
   • One-page summary of assigned readings & expert group discussion, Nov. 11
   • Draft paper due via ATL before midnight Dec. 1
   • One-page peer review (prepare two hard copies) due in class Dec. 2
   • Final paper due via ATL Dec. 6
5. Final exam – 25%
Course Evaluation – Details

1. Attendance and participation (10%)
Because missing a 3-hour class is equivalent to missing a whole week, and because many of the films will not be available for viewing outside of class, attendance is considered mandatory. While (very occasional) absence due illness cannot be avoided, please bear in mind that you cannot expect to do well in this course if you miss class regularly. Further, you are expected to prepare for class by having completed and thought about the assigned readings. To incentivize this, I will keep attendance throughout the course, and will keep notes on whether or not you are an active and thoughtful participant. These notes may be used to determine your final grade in borderline cases.

2. Gender in the federal election field log (10%), weekly entries + final log due Oct. 28
You will keep a weekly “field log” of your own observations and reflections on the role of gender in Canadian politics, as we head towards this fall’s federal election. Each log entry should be a reflective document that provides thoughtful analysis, including some self-appraisal of your own ideas and perceptions. The more connections you make between what you are learning in this (and other) classes, and your reflections, the better your entries will be and the easier they will be to write. You will submit log entries weekly, using the ATL blog function (you can choose to make this private or public). Each entry should be given a title with the format: Your Name Log Entry #1 and must be submitted by Tuesday at midnight following each class. You must submit 5 entries in total, but have a choice of 6 due dates: Sept. 17, Sept. 24, Oct. 1, Oct. 8, Oct. 15, Oct. 22. Then, on Oct. 28, you will submit in hard copy your full, aggregated collection of entries so that your “final” field log covers the entire period leading up to and including the election. Your full collection may be comprised of your original entries, or you may choose to revise some or all of them based upon feedback from me, or from others in the class (assuming you make them public). Your complete field log will be graded. Please note that failure to submit weekly entries that demonstrate thoughtful assessment and reflection will result in a penalty that will substantially lower the grade you receive on your final submission.

3. Female leader essay (25%), due Oct. 11
Choose a significant female political leader, and write an analytical essay that assesses her path to power and impact, drawing on key theories developed in the course. Your paper should be maximum 2,000 words (4-5 single-spaced pages) in length, excluding references. Further instructions on this assignment will be provided in class. Due via ATL Friday, Oct. 11.

4. Research paper (30%), due in draft form Dec. 1, in final form Dec. 6
You will write a research paper (max. 5000 wds) that discusses and explains some aspect of women’s political representation in a country of your choice. There will be opportunities in class to work collaboratively on developing initial ideas and sharing resources for the development of your paper, but each paper must be individually authored and original in its
framing, focus and write-up. It must read as a coherent research paper, and include a bibliography with at least 10 relevant sources. Prior to submitting your final paper, there are two stages that require both in-class and preparatory work before the class meeting. The first is Nov. 11 (week 9); the second is Dec. 1 & 2 (week 12). Details on the activities and requirements for these stages can be found below. You are to submit your draft paper via ATL no later than midnight on Dec. 1. During the final meeting of the course, time will be set aside for peer review. Specifically, each student will be assigned to read one paper, and prepare a short (max. 1 page) critical and constructive response (a component worth 5 of the 30 points on this assignment). You must bring two hard copies of your review to class on Dec. 2. The final paper is to be submitted via ATL on Friday, Dec. 6.

5. Final exam (25%), date TBA (December 2019)

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (Sept. 9)

Introduction & the state of women in politics today
Introduction to studying gender and politics, course expectations, and getting to know each other.

Readings:
CAWP. Current Numbers.
Shannon Proudfoot. 2016. “Women in politics: We’re not as equal as we think we are.” Maclean’s (July 31).

Week 2 (Sept. 16)

Women’s political leadership and paths to power
Under what conditions have women attained top political leadership positions? What factors still prevent women from cracking “the highest glass ceiling?” Do women in positions of leadership govern differently? Among other examples, we will consider the leadership of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the first female president of Liberia – a country we will revisit in Week 5.

Readings:
Read Ch. 1 “Introduction: Gender Stereotypes and Media Coverage of Women Candidates” (e-book available via Mills Library).


**Watch film:** Iron Ladies of Liberia

**Week 3 (Sept. 23)**

**Theoretical perspectives: Gender, power & patriarchy**

Feminist theory offers an emancipatory critique of power relations that permeate social and political system. Here we examine different versions of feminist political theory (liberal, Marxist, maternal, democratic), and consider whether/how capitalism and the power of the state oppress women (and other minorities), or can be harnessed to advance gender equality and improve women’s status?

**Readings:**


Nolen, Stephanie (2013). “In Brazil, domestic worker laws rattle middle class families.” *The Globe & Mail* (Nov. 21)

**Week 4 (Sept. 30)**

**Intersectionality: Theory and practice**

Examination of the intersecting dynamics of gender, race, and class and consideration of how this may differ in the United States, compared to other countries.

**Readings:**


Frederick, Angela Howard (2010). “Practicing Electoral Politics in the Cracks: Intersectional Consciousness in a Latina Candidate's City Council Campaign.” 

**Watch film:** Time for Ilhan

**Week 5 (Oct 7)**

**Case Study: Liberia’s road to peace and democracy**

After having learned a bit about Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (Week 2), we will now look at the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace, a women’s peace movement that eventually ended the Second Liberian Civil War (1999-2003), fought between the army controlled by then-President Charles Taylor, and rebelling forces loyal to a variety to warlords. The women’s movement also contributed to the reconstruction of Liberia, including transition to a functioning multi-party democracy headed by Africa’s first democratically elected woman president. Yet many have questioned whether these gains will be permanent, and what challenges remain for this country. We will use this case study to explore Liberia in a focused way, and draw more general lessons about gender, social movement strategies, and the process of peacebuilding and reconstruction. To examine the current status of women in Liberia we will be using WomanStats and the UNDP Public Data Explorer. Prior to class, you will need to create a free account at WomanStats Registration.

**Readings:**


**Watch film:** Pray the Devil Back to Hell

- Female leader assignment due via ATL Fri. Oct. 11

**Reading Week (Oct 14-20)**

**Week 6 (Oct. 21)**

**Assessing gender in the federal election: voters, parties, candidates, leaders and media**

What is the role of gender in Canadian elections? Are there differences in how Canadian men and women vote, in parties’ propensity to choose male or female candidates or party leaders, or in the way they are viewed by voters and portrayed in the media?

**Readings:**


CBC. 2016. “50% population, 25% representation. Why the parliamentary gender gap?”

**Week 7 (Oct. 28)**

**Theories of political representation**

Theories of political representation: formalistic, descriptive, substantive and symbolic representation.

**Readings:**


- **Final federal election field log due in class Oct. 28**

**Week 8 (Nov. 4)**

**Assessing gender quotas**

What are gender quotas? What are the normative arguments for and against them? What leads countries to adopt them? How are they implemented, across different political contexts? What impact do they have, and what practical problems do they raise?

**Readings:**


Week 9 (Nov. 11)

Explaining the Political Representation of Women (stage 1 of research paper)

We will spend all of this class session engaged in a collaborative learning exercise aimed at assessing and explaining country-level differences in women’s political representation. To ensure this runs smoothly, you will need to prepare by doing some background research. Prior to class, you will establish a “country group” (5-6 people max.) for which the aim is to assess trends and explanations regarding women’s political representation. You should address the legislative branch (lower/upper house of parliament), but feel free to also consider the executive, judicial branches as well as the bureaucracy. You can also consider various dimensions of representation (descriptive, substantive, symbolic, etc.). Each member of your group will be assigned a particular sub-topic, for which a set of readings has been assigned. In addition, each member must find at least two additional sources that pertain to their country and sub-topic. These readings must be completed before class. During the first half of class, you will leave your country group and break out into “expert groups” based on each sub-topic. Each expert group will discuss the readings, and each member will contribute what they have researched about their country and how this relates to the readings. Each member should write a short one-page summary (single-spaced, max. 500 wds) consolidating their background research with the discussion of their expert group. It would be a good idea to prepare some of this ahead of time, but ideally you will add new insights that grow out of the expert group discussion. In the second half of the class, the country groups will re-assemble and each member will present their one-page contribution. You must upload/share your individual summary via ATL by the end of class (it will be marked complete/incomplete and count towards the participation component of your grade).

The expert group sub-topics and assigned readings are:

(i) Social structure and economic factors.

(ii) Political culture, ideology, gender norms and attitudes.


(iii) The role of women’s movements in advancing democracy.


(iv) Quota rules and implementation in recent elections.


(v) Political parties, legislative recruitment and electoral systems.


(vi) Substantive gender-related policy issues and the impact of women’s descriptive representation.


**Week 10 (Nov. 18)**

**Do women legislators make a difference?**

What evidence is there that women make a difference when elected to the legislature, appointed to cabinet, or acting in other policy or decision-making roles?

**Readings:**
Week 11 (Nov. 25)
Gender and the International Criminal Court
This case tracks the development of international legal protections against serious gender-based crimes in the context of war. Please come to class having read all of the assigned material, and prepared to discuss the background and specifics of this case. We will break into groups and use the whiteboards to address key themes and questions arising from this case.

Readings:

Frey, Barbara A. 2004. "A Fair Representation: Advocating for Women's Rights in the International Criminal Court." Center of Women, Gender and Public Policy, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota. ATL

International Criminal Court, Office of the Prosecutor. 2014. “Policy Paper on Sexual and Gender-Based Crimes.”

Week 12 (Dec. 2)
Course wrap up and peer review (stage 2 of research paper)
You must submit your draft paper via ATL by midnight Dec. 1. Working in assigned groups, each person will do a 5-minute oral presentation of their paper, and will serve as a respondent on another paper. Respondents must prepare one-page of substantive written feedback on their assigned paper, and bring two hard copies of this to class. This component will be graded out of 5 points. Time during this final class meeting will also be allotted to reviewing course themes, and discussing expectations for the final exam.

- Draft paper due via ATL Dec. 1
- 1-page peer review due in class, Dec. 2 (prepare two hard copies)
- Final paper due via ATL Friday, Dec. 6.
Appendix – Web-based resources:

There are many excellent web-based research resources and data repositories on gender and women in politics. Some focus on particular countries: for example, the Centre for American Women in Politics is a leading source of scholarly research and current data about U.S. women’s political participation. Others are global in scope. We will use some of these in the context of classroom learning exercises:

- The Inter-Parliamentary Union maintains data on women’s parliamentary representation in countries around the world.
- The Gender Quotas Database provides worldwide information on electoral quotas for women in parliament.
- The United Nations Human Development Project (UNHDP) tracks gender inequality over time in countries around the world, using indicators such as the ratio or girls to boys in school and women’s labour force participation. Its public data explorer facilitates customized data analysis and visualization.
- Freedom House produces annual reports and scores countries around the world on their level of democracy, including analysis of women’s rights and freedoms.
- Another useful source of global gender data is WomanStats. It includes some 350 variables in 175 countries, addressing issues such as rape, sex trafficking, maternal and child mortality, family law, women in government and the military, and many others. Please ensure that you create a free account at WomanStats Registration.
- UN Women is the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. It supports Member States in setting standards for achieving gender equality, works with governments and civil society to design laws, policies, programs and services to guarantee effective implementation of those standards, and coordinates and promotes the UN system’s work to advance gender equality.
- iKNOW Politics is a joint project of International IDEA, the Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). It provides up-to-date analysis of women’s leadership and participation in politics worldwide.
- The World Values Study consists of nationally representative surveys conducted in almost 100 countries which contain almost 90 percent of the world’s population, using a common questionnaire. Conducted since 1981, the data collected through this survey allows us to understand differences and changes in the beliefs, values and motivations of people throughout the world. You can find the most recent (Wave 6) survey instrument here, and use the data analysis tool to explore differences across countries in attitudes regarding gender and other issues.
Course Policies

Submission of Assignments
This course uses ATL for submission and return of assignments. Please do not e-mail your assignments to me.

Grades
Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

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Late Assignments
The expectation for this course is that all components will be completed. Requests for extensions should be submitted through the MSAF process. In the event of an approved extension for the Female Leader Paper, the assignment will be due one week from the original due date. Otherwise, late papers may be subject to a one letter grade per day deduction. For example, an A- paper received one day late may be reduced to a B+.

Opinion-based essays will not be accepted after the due date. You have a choice of topics and due dates, so plan accordingly. No assignments will be accepted after April 12.

Absences, Missed Work, Illness
Regular attendance is expected of all students. Much of your participation grade will be based on attendance and discussion, especially during the Thursday sessions. No ‘make-up’ assignments will be provided, however there will be opportunities to participate via ATL and your submissions and engagement there will be noted.

Avenue to Learn
In this course we will be using Avenue to Learn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in this course will be deemed consent to
this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

**Turnitin.com**

In this course we will be using a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal plagiarism. Students will be expected to submit their work electronically to Turnitin.com and in hard copy so that it can be checked for academic dishonesty. Students who do not wish to submit their work to Turnitin.com must still submit a copy to the instructor. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to Turnitin.com. All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, etc.). For more information please refer to the [Turnitin.com Policy](#).

**Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)**

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the RISO policy. Students requiring a RISO accommodation should submit their request to their Faculty Office normally within 10 working days of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests.

**University Policies**

**Academic Integrity Statement**

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behavior in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity.

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behavior can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: “Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty”), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university.

It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

1. Plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one’s own or for which credit has been obtained.
2. Improper collaboration in group work.
3. Copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

**Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities**

Students who require academic accommodation must contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or e-mail sas@mcmaster.ca. For further information, consult McMaster University’s Policy for Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities.

**Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy**

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student’s own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student’s responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

**Course Modification**

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.