

PAI7032

GENDER, POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY

Convenor: Professor Yvonne Galligan

Autumn Semester 2011-2012

Module Convenor:

Room: 22G.04
Email address: y.galligan@qub.ac.uk
Consultation Hours: Tuesdays 2-3 and 5-6 or by arrangement

Timetable

Lectures: One two-hour seminar per week, comprising a mix of lecture and presentation/group discussion

Assessment:

Coursework: 2 essays of 1250-1500 words each
Deadlines: Essay 1: Friday 18 November 2011 at 12 noon
Essay 2: Friday 13 January 2012 at 12 noon
Examination: There is no end of semester examination

**School of Politics, International Studies and Philosophy
Student Handbook**

This module guide should be read in conjunction with the Postgraduate Student Handbook which contains important details of School policies. A copy of the Postgraduate Student Handbook can be obtained from the School Office (21 University Square) or downloaded from the resources section of any PAI or PHL module on Queen's Online.

MODULE DESCRIPTION

This module analyses the link between gender, politics and democracy in a comparative context. It begins by discussing approaches to researching gender in a social science context. It takes political representation as the core theoretical prism through which patterns of gender presence and interest representation are explored. It takes numerical representation as a starting point, and discusses the role of parties, electoral systems and gender quotas in addressing women's under-representation in politics. The module also interrogates the issue of an increased presence of women in legislative office producing gender-sensitive politics.

MODULE AIMS:

In this module, we aim to impart an understanding of the connections between gender and democratic politics. In some respects, the political field has been strongly resistant to the inclusion of women, perpetuating a strong gender imbalance among public decision-makers. Yet, there are other instances in which this imbalance has been addressed with varying levels of success through the deployment of a range of strategies. This module is designed to provide students with a basis for developing their own critical and gender-aware appraisal of democratic institutional arrangements in a comparative context.

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

On successful completion of this module, students will:

- ✓ Provide a multi-dimensional analysis of the connections between gender, politics and modern democratic practices;
- ✓ Understand and evaluate a range of feminist research methods appropriate to the social sciences;
- ✓ Have an understanding of normative thinking on gender and democracy;
- ✓ Understand current analyses of political representation;
- ✓ Offer a comparative analysis of gender balances in parliaments;
- ✓ Address the utility of quota measures as a tool for redressing under-representation;
- ✓ Have an understanding of the gendered nature of parliaments as institutional organisations;
- ✓ Have the capacity to analyse the effectiveness of parliamentarians in addressing gender matters in a range of democracies;
- ✓ Evaluate the importance of gender mainstreaming and state feminism as routes to raising gender concerns in contemporary political systems.

SKILLS

This module will assist in developing students' skills in a number of important areas. These include:

Intellectual skills

- *Managing & Prioritizing Knowledge:* identify relevant and subject-specific knowledge, sources and data; manage such information in an independent manner
- *Analytical Thinking:* identify, understand, interpret and evaluate relevant subject-specific arguments made by others; construct independent arguments

- *Critical & Independent Thinking*: ability to think critically and construct one's own position in relation to existing and ongoing debates in the field

Professional and career development skills

- *Communication Skills*: ability to communicate clearly with others, both orally and in writing
- *Teamwork*: ability to work with others in a team, negotiate conflicts and recognize different ways of learning
- *Diversity*: ability to acknowledge and be sensitive to the range of cultural differences present in the learning environment
- *Self-Reflexivity*: ability to reflect on one's own progress and identify and act upon one's own development needs with respect to life-long learning and career development
- *Time Management*: ability to negotiate diverse and competing pressures; cope with stress; and achieve a work / life balance

Technical and practical skills

- *Information Technology*: demonstrate the knowledge and ability to use contemporary and relevant ICT

Organizational skills

- *Efficient and effective work practice*: demonstrate ability to work efficiently to deadlines
- *Clear organisation of information*: show efficiency in the organisation of large amounts of complex information and the ability to identify, describe and analyse the key features of the information
- *Organisation and communication*: demonstrate ability to use evidence to develop logical and clear argument; show aptitude for the effective use of information in a direct and appropriate way
- *Enterprising thinking*: Demonstrate ability to think and argue in novel and enterprising ways, to display originality of thought and argument and the ability to clearly support arguments in innovative ways

Assessment

The assessment structure for this module is as follows:

Coursework 1: 50%

Coursework 2: 50%

Each essay shall be between 1250-1500 words.

The word count shall include all references in the text, all footnotes and all endnotes but exclude the bibliography.

The word count shall be indicated following the title of assignment.

Where the word count exceeds the upper limit of the specified range a penalty shall be imposed. Where the word count exceeds the upper limit of the specified range:

- by up to 25% a penalty of 10 percentage points shall be imposed;
- by up to 50% a penalty of 15 percentage points shall be imposed;
- by up to 75% a penalty of 20 percentage points shall be imposed;
- by up to 100% a penalty of 25 percentage points shall be imposed;
- by more than 100% a penalty of 30 percentage points shall be imposed.

The submission deadlines are: 1200 noon on Friday 18 November 2011 (essay 1) and 12 noon on Friday 13 January 2012 (essay 2)

For details on submission arrangements see below

Assignment Questions

Students choose one of the themes below for their first essay:

1. Can democracy flourish in the 21st century without women's participation equally with men?
3. What is the future for the women's movement?
4. Can the veil liberate women?

For Essay 2, the interest of the individual student in a gender and politics subject will determine the substance of this piece of work. The subject matter must be agreed with the module convenor, Professor Galligan, by Week 10 at the latest. Research on Essay 2 can commence at any time during the module.

Submission of assignments

A single copy of each assessed assignment must be submitted to the School Office (21 University Square) on or before 1200 noon on the due date indicated above.

When submitting an assessed assignment, you must complete and sign an 'Essay Cover Sheet' available from the School Office. The School uses a system of anonymous marking so do not include your name on the assignment.

All assignments are retained by the School for scrutiny by internal and external examiners.

All assignments submitted after the deadline will be penalized 5 percentage points per day after 12 noon.

Conceptual Equivalents Marking Scale

The School of Politics, International Studies and Philosophy uses the University's conceptual equivalent marking scheme for all postgraduate assessment. For further information on the University's conceptual equivalent marking scheme and the marks used, see the School's Postgraduate Student Handbook. This is available from the School Office and will be posted

on the resources page on QOL for each module. The University's conceptual equivalent marking scale can also be accessed on line via:
www.qub.ac.uk/pisp/Education/Postgraduates

Feedback

The School is committed to return feedback to students within three weeks of the deadline for submission of coursework.

It is important that students who submit their essays by the deadline receive feedback in a timely fashion so that they can properly prepare for their exams or further assignments. Students can therefore expect to receive feedback on their essays within no later than *3 weeks* of the submission deadline (this policy does not apply to students who submit their coursework *after* the deadline). Students will receive their essay report sheets individually by email. If students have not received feedback within 3 weeks of the deadline, they should contact their module convenor directly. Students who wish to discuss their grade should do so with the convenor during her office hours, or at an agreed time.

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Plagiarism

The School takes a very severe line on students who plagiarise work. Students who attempt to pass off another's work as their own will receive a mark of **ZERO**. In some cases, acts of plagiarism can result in the student failing the entire degree. Remember, plagiarism includes information from books, newspapers, journals and the Internet. All suspected cases of plagiarism will be investigated in line with University procedures.

For details of University Regulations on Academic Offences, see:
www.qub.ac.uk/pisp/Education.

The page also provides a link to guidance on how to identify and so avoid plagiarism. Please also refer to the School's Student Handbook Guide for more information about referencing and plagiarism, as well as general advice on essay-writing:

www.qub.ac.uk/pisp/FileStore/PDFfiles/Filetoupload,38127,en.pdf

Postgraduate Student Resource Centre

The Student Resource Centre is situated on the ground floor of 63 University Rd. The centre is for the exclusive use of PISP postgraduate taught students, and offers a quiet place for study, areas for collaborative work, and a suite of 15 pcs with a networked printer and photocopier. Please feel free to call into the Resource Centre at any time. PISP postgraduate students have 24 hour access – with a unique personal access code available from the Postgraduate Secretary, Caroline McNeill (c.mcneill@qub.ac.uk).

Seminar Schedule

The standard structure at MA level is one two-hour seminar per week with a balance of lecture inputs and class discussion. All seminars for this module will begin at 3pm and end at 5pm.

Week	Date	Topic
1 (26–30 Sept)	27 Sept	Introduction and Administration
2 (3–7 Oct)	04 Oct	Politics, Gender and Concepts 1: democracy and representation
3 (10–14 Oct)	11 Oct	Politics, Gender and Concepts 2: welfare state, governance and development
4 (17–21 Oct)	18 Oct	Gender, civic engagement and political participation
5 (24–28 Oct)	25 Oct	State feminism
6 (31 Oct–4 Nov)	01 Nov	Parties and electoral politics: gender bias?
7 (7–11 Nov)	-	Reading Week – No Lecturers, Seminars or Tutorials
8 (14–18 Nov)	15 Nov	Breaking the representation glass ceiling: are quotas the answer?
9 (21–25 Nov)	22 Nov	Making a difference? Gendered outcomes in democratic politics
10 (28 Nov–2 Dec)	29 Nov	Women and globalization
11 (5–9 Dec)	06 Dec	Transnational politics, gender, and democracy
12 (12–16 Dec)	13 Dec	Summary and Conclusion

Week 1

Date

Introduction to Module

27 September

Outline: This first session will be used to outline the module content and discuss arrangements regarding assessment. It will also include a preliminary discussion of gender politics and democracy in order to tease out the dimensions of this subject matter.

Required Readings:

Rasmussen, Claire E., 2009. Some theoretical perspectives on women in the modern world, in Joyce Gelb and Marian Lief Palley (eds) *Women and Politics Around the World: a Comparative History and Survey*, Vol I, pp. 3-15, HQ1236.

Lovenduski, Joni, 1998. Gendering research in political science, *Annual Reviews in Political Science* 1(1), 333-56.

Mazur, Amy, 2002. *Theorizing Feminist Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 1. HQ 1236/MAZU

Additional readings:

Petersen, V. Spike and Runyan, Anne Sisson, 1999. *Global Gender Issues*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Chapter 1 Introduction: the gender of world politics; chapter 2 Gender as a lens on world politics.

Week 2

Date

**Politics, Gender and Concepts 1:
Democracy and Representation**

4 October

Outline: This session provides an overview of some of the main issues in doing gender research in a political context. It reflects on two fundamental concepts in the study of politics – democracy and representation – and explores how these concepts have excluded women, and gender. It also discusses how women/gender has been brought back into the study of democracy and representation and explores a feminist research methodology developed during the course of a study on reconstituting democracy in Europe.

Required readings:

Goertz, Gary and Mazur, Amy G. 2008. *Politics, Gender and Concepts: theory and methodology*, New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3 and 4. HQ1236

NOTE: This book is available as print copy and as an e-book in the library catalogue. It can also be purchased as an e-book at the following website:

<http://www.cambridge.org/uk/catalogue/catalogue.asp?isbn=9780511460838>

It also has a useful free, downloadable appendix that gives brief reviews and readings for a number of other gender politics concepts such as gender quotas and feminist public policy.

Galligan, Yvonne and Clavero, Sara 2008. *Assessing gender democracy in the EU: a methodological framework*, RECON working paper #16, available at www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers.htm.

Also available as pdf file from authors.

Mazur, Amy, 2002. *Theorizing Feminist Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 2.

Additional readings:

Kenny, Meryl, 2007. Gender, institutions and power: a critical review, *Politics* 27:2, 91-100

Krook, Mona Lena and Squires, Judith, 2006. Gender quotas in British politics: multiple approaches and methods in feminist research, *British Politics* 1: 44-66.

Grey, Sandra. 2006. Numbers and beyond: the relevance of critical mass in gender research, *Politics & Gender* 2(4): 492-501.

Liddle, Joanna and Michelsens, Elisabeth, 2007. „NQOC“: Social identity and representation in British politics, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9(4): 1369-1481.

Okin, Susan Muller, 1991/1998. Gender, the public and the private in Anne Phillips (ed.) *Feminism and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Randall, Vicki, 1991. Feminism and political analysis, *Political Studies* 39, 513-532.

Ritter, Gretchen, 2007. Gender and politics over time, *Politics and Gender* 3:3, 386-397.

Sapiro, Virginia, 1995/1998. Feminist studies and political science and vice versa in Anne Phillips (ed.) *Feminism and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Galligan, Yvonne, Clavero, Sara and Calloni, Marina, 2007. *Gender politics and democracy in post-socialist Europe*, chapter 2.

Holst, Cathrine, 2008. *Gender Justice in the European Union: the normative subtext of methodological choices*, RECON paper # 18, available to download from the publications section of www.reconproject.eu

Bourque, Susan and Grossholz, Jean, 1984/1998. Politics an unnatural practice: political science looks at female participation“, in Anne Phillips (ed.) *Feminism and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. HQ1236/PHIL

Mansbridge, Jane, 1991/1998. Feminism and Democracy in Anne Phillips (ed.) *Feminism and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Week 3

Politics, Gender and Concepts 2: the Welfare State and Governance

Date

11 October

Outline: This seminar focuses on the core concepts of the welfare state and governance. It continues the critique of widely-used conceptual frameworks in political science from a gender-sensitive perspective.

Required readings:

Gary Goertz and Amy G. Mazur, 2008. *Politics, Gender and Concepts: theory and methodology*, New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5 gendering the welfare state and chapter 6 gendering governance.

Galligan, Yvonne and Clavero, Sara, 2007. Gender equality and multi-level governance in East Central Europe, in Joan de Bardeleben and Achim Hurrelmann (eds) *Democratic Dilemmas of Multilevel Governance: Legitimacy, Representation and Accountability in the European Union*, London: Palgrave (available as word file from authors).

Marques-Pereira, Berengere and Siim, Birte (2002) Representation, agency and empowerment, in B.Hobson, J. Lewis and B. Siim (eds) *Contested Concepts in Gender and Social Politics*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, HQ 1190/HOBS.

Additional readings:

As for week 2.

Week 4

Gender, civic engagement and political participation

Date

18 October

Outline: This session explores the interaction of gender and politics in a real world context. It discusses the concept of the gender gap and its manifestation in civic and political activity,

including voting behaviour, attitudes and political participation. It compares a wide variety of countries on these measures.

Required readings:

- Atkeson, L. R., 2003. Not all cues are created equal: the conditional impact of female candidates on political engagement *Journal of Politics* 65, 1040-1061.
- Burns, Nancy, Schlozman, Kay L. and Verba, Sidney, 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality and Political Participation*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, JK1764
- Karp, Jeffrey A. and Banducci, Susan, 2008. When politics is not just a man's game: women's representation and political engagement *Electoral Studies* 27, 105-115.
- Koch, J., 1997. Candidate gender and women's psychological engagement in politics. *American Politics Research* 25, 118-133.
- Norris, Pippa, Lovenduski, Joni and Rosie Campbell. 2004. *Closing the Activism Gap: Gender and Political Participation*. Research Report. London: The Electoral Commission.
- Seppala, Nina. 2004. Women and the Vote in Western Europe. In Rafael Lopez Pintor and Maria Gratschew (eds.), *Voter Turnout In Western Europe since 1945: A Regional Report*. Sweden: IDEA., pp. 33-35 (available from convenor).

Additional readings:

- Banducci, Susan and Karp, Jeffrey A., 2000. Gender, leadership and choice in multiparty systems, *Political Research Quarterly* 53, 815-848.
- Hayes, Bernadette C. and Ian McAllister. 2003. Women, Electoral Volatility and Political Outcomes in Britain. *European Journal of Marketing*. 35: 971-983.
- Jelen, T.D., Thomas, S., Wilcox, C., 1994. The gender gap in comparative perspective. gender differences in abstract ideology and concrete issues in Western Europe. *European Journal of Political Research* 25, 171-186.
- Liebert, Ulrike (1999) Gender politics in the European Union: The return of the public *European Studies* 1(2): 197-239
- Matland, R., 1998. Women's representation in national legislatures: developed and developing countries, 1945-1990. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23, 109-125.
- Mattinson, Deborah. 2000. Worcester Woman's Unfinished Revolution: What is Needed to Woo Women Voters? In Anna Coote (ed.), *New Gender Agenda: Why Women Still Want More*. London: IPPR, pp. 49-57.
- Welch, Susan, 1977. Women as political animals? A test of some explanations for male-female political participation differences. *American Journal of Political Science* 2, 711-730.
- Wolbrecht, Christina and Campbell, David, 2005. Leading by example: Female members of parliament as role models. QOL.

Week 5

State feminism

Date

25 October

Outline: This session will consider a relatively new aspect of gender representation, that of state bureaucracies and institutions created to focus on gender interests, issues and policies. Accompanying this development is a rise in the gender-proofing method of gender mainstreaming in public policy. These interlinked developments have been the subject of considerable study over the last decade. This session seeks to describe and evaluate the impact of state feminism on engendering democratic decision-making.

Required readings:

- Gary Goertz and Amy G. Mazur, 2008. *Politics, Gender and Concepts: theory and methodology*, New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 11: State Feminism

Galligan, Yvonne, Clavero, Sara and Calloni, Marina, 2007. *Gender politics and democracy in post-socialist Europe*, chapter 6.

Mazey, Sonia, 1995. The development of EU equality policies: bureaucratic expansion on behalf of women? *Public Administration* 73(4): 591-610.

Mazur, Amy and McBride, Dorothy, 2007. State feminism since the 1980s: From loose notion to operationalised concept, *Politics & Gender* 3(4): 501-513.

Outshoorn, Joyce and Kantola, Johanna (eds), 2007. *Changing State Feminism*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, HQ1190/OUTS

Stetson, Dorothy McBride and Mazur, Amy (eds), 1995. *Comparative State Feminism*, London: Sage, HQ1236/STET

Verloo, Mieke, 2001. *Another Velvet Revolution? Gender Mainstreaming and the Politics of Implementation* IWM Working Paper 5, available at <http://www.iiv.nl/epublications/2001/anothervelvetrevolution.pdf>

Additional readings:

Baldez, Lisa, 2001. Coalition politics and the limits of state feminism in Chile, *Women & Politics* 22(4): 1-28

Booth, C. and Bennett, C., 2002. Gender mainstreaming in the European Union Towards a new conception and practice of equal opportunities?, *The European Journal of Women's Studies* 9 (4): 430-446

Borchorst, Annette and Siim, Birte, 2008. Women-friendly policies and state feminism, *Feminist Theory* 9 (2): 207-224.

Daly, Mary, 2005. Gender mainstreaming in theory and practice *Social Politics* 12(3): 433-450.

Eveline, Joan and Carol Bacchi. 2005. What are we Mainstreaming When We Mainstream Gender? *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(4): 496-512

Liebert, Ulrike 2002. Europeanising gender mainstreaming: Constraints and opportunities in the multilevel euro-polity, *Feminist Legal Studies*, 10 (3/4): 241-256.

Kantola, Johanna and Squires, Judith (2008) From state feminism to market feminism? Paper presented at the ISA Annual Convention, 26-29 March, http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/5/1/8/4/pages251845/p251845-1.php

Mazey, Sonia, 2002. Gender mainstreaming strategies in the EU: delivering on the agenda? *Feminist Legal Studies* 10(3): 227-240.

Pollack M. and Hafner-Burton, E. 2000. Mainstreaming gender in the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy* 7 (3): 432- 56.

Rees, Teresa 2005. Reflections on the Uneven Development of Gender Mainstreaming in Europe *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(4): 555-574

Rai, Shirin (ed.) 2002. *Mainstreaming gender, democratising the state? Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. Also available as an e-book in the library.

Stratigaki, Maria, 2005. Gender mainstreaming vs positive action: an ongoing conflict in EU gender equality policy, *European Journal of Women's Studies* 12 (2): 65-86.

Weldon, S.L 2002. „Beyond bodies: institutional sources for representation of women in democratic policy-making“, *The Journal of Politics* 64 (4): 1153-1164.

Week 6

Parties and electoral politics: gender bias?

Date

1 November

Outline: In this seminar we explore the political opportunity structure for women's representation as it is shaped and mediated by political parties and electoral systems. Given

that these are critical in shaping democratic politics, the extent to which parties and electoral systems are open to women's inclusion is an important consideration in any assessment of gender and democracy.

Required readings:

Mateo-Diaz, Mercedes, 2005. *Representing Women?*, Part 1 (Introduction and 3 chapters)
Galligan, Yvonne, Clavero, Sara and Calloni, Marina, 2007. *Gender Politics and Democracy in post-socialist Europe*, chapter 5.
Sawer, Marian, Tremblay, Manon and Trimble, Linda, 2006. *Representing Women in Parliament: a comparative study*. London: Routledge, selection of case studies from Part 1.
Tremblay, Manon (ed) 2008. *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and Sex Quotas*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Selection case studies.
Campbell, Rosie and Lovenduski, Joni, 2005. Winning women's votes? The incremental track to equality, *Parliamentary Affairs* 58(4): 837-853.

Additional readings:

Galligan, Yvonne and Clavero, Sara, 2005. A Job in Politics is not for Women: Analysing barriers to women's political representation in Central and Eastern Europe", *Czech Sociological Review* 6: 979-1004.
Galligan, Yvonne and Clavero, Sara, 2008. Prospects for women's legislative representation in postsocialist Europe: the views of women politicians, *Gender & Society* 22(2): 149-171.
Rule, W., 1987. Electoral systems, contextual factors and women's opportunity for election to parliament in twenty-three democracies. *Western Political Quarterly* 40:477-498.
Rule, W., 1994. Women's underrepresentation and electoral systems. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 27, 689-692.
Chappel, Louise. 2006. Comparing political institutions: revealing the gendered "Logic of Appropriateness". *Politics & Gender* 2(2): 223-234.
Krook, Mona Lena. 2006. Is there a Europe effect? Women and elections to European and national parliaments 1979-2004, IPSA World Congress, Fukuoka, available at <http://krook.wustl.edu/conference-papers.php>
Llanos, Beatriz and Sample, Kirstin, 2008. *30 Years of Democracy, Riding the Wave?: Women's Political Participation in Latin America*. Stockholm: IDEA, available at http://www.idea.int/publications/30_years_of_democracy/upload/30-years-of-democracy-2.pdf
Lovenduski, Joni (ed), 2005. *State Feminism and Political Representation*, especially chapter 4, Finland.
Sanbonmatsu, Kira, 2006. „Do parties know that "women win"? Party leader beliefs about women's electoral chances, *Politics & Gender* 2(4): 431-450.

Week 7

Reading Week

Week 8

Breaking the representation glass ceiling: are quotas the answer?

Date

15 November

Outline: In this seminar we explore the political opportunity structure for women's representation as it is shaped and mediated by political parties and electoral systems. Given that these are critical in shaping democratic politics, the extent to which parties and electoral systems are open to women's inclusion is an important consideration in any assessment of gender and democracy.

Required readings:

Dahlerup, Drude (ed), 2005. *Women, Quotas and Politics*, London: Taylor & Francis.
Murray, Rainbow, 2010. *Parties, Gender Quotas and Candidate Selection in France*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Tremblay, Manon (ed) 2008. *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and Sex Quotas*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Selection case studies.
Krook, Mona Lena, 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*, New York: Oxford University Press

Additional readings:

Krook, Mona Lena, 2007. Candidate gender quotas: a framework for analysis, *European Journal of Political Research* 46, 367-394
Baldez, Lisa, 2004. Elected Bodies: the gender quota law for legislative candidates in Mexico, *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29:2, 231-258.
Davidson-Schmich, Louise K. 2006. Implementation of political party gender quotas: evidence from the German Lander, *Party Politics* 12:2, 211-232
Dubrow, Joshua K, 2010. The importance of party ideology: Explaining parliamentary support for political party gender quotas in Eastern Europe, *Party Politics* 17:5, 561-579
Krook, Mona Lena, 2008. Quota laws for women in politics: implications for feminist practice, *Social Politics* 15:3, 345-368.

Week 9**Making a difference: gendered outcomes in democratic politics**

Date

22 November

Outline: The study of gender politics has consistently engaged with the question of „do women make a difference“. This seminar focuses on the substantive representation of women and the claim that a gender-balanced legislature is likely to produce a more varied, and more woman-friendly, range of policy decisions than a male-dominated legislature. In this context, the concept of „critical mass“ becomes important in analysing relative success in engendering policy decisions.

Required readings:

Bratton, Kay and Ray, L., 2002. Descriptive representation, policy outcomes and municipal day-care coverage in Norway. *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 428-437.
Freedman, J. (2002) Women in the European Parliament *Parliamentary Affairs* 55 :179-188.
Galligan, Yvonne and Tremblay, Manon. 2005. *Sharing Power: Women, Parliament, Democracy*. Sections from various chapters.
O'Regan, Valerie, 2000. *Gender Matters: Female Policymakers' Influence in Industrialized Nations*. Westport, CT: Praeger . This is a library e-book.
Grunenfelder, Rita and Bachtiger, Andre (2007) Gendered deliberation? How men and women deliberate in legislatures, ECPR Joint Sessions, Helsinki, available online at http://www.bids.unibe.ch/content/working_papers/.
Sawer, Marian, Tremblay, Manon and Trimble, Linda, 2006. *Representing Women in Parliament: a comparative study*. London: Routledge, selection of case studies from Part 2.

Additional readings:

Studlar, D.T., McAllister, I., 2002. Does a critical mass exist? a comparative analysis of women's legislative representation since 1950. *European Journal of Political Research* 41: 233-253.

Swers, Michele (2002) *The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lawless, Jennifer L., 2004. Politics of presence? Congresswomen and symbolic representation. *Political Research Quarterly* 57: 81-99.

Tremblay, Manon. 2006. The substantive representation of women and PR: some reflections on the role of surrogate representation and critical mass, *Politics & Gender* 2(4):502-510.

Childs, Sarah and Krook, Mona Lena. 2006. Should feminists give up on critical mass? A contingent Yes, *Politics & Gender* 2(4): 522-530.

Madison, Sarah and Partridge, Emma (2004) How well does Australian democracy serve women? Report Number 9 for the Democratic Audit of Australia, Australian National University, Canberra, <http://www.democraticaudit.anu.edu.au/focus.htm>

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie, 2006. Still Supermadres? Gender and the policy priorities of Latin American legislators, *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 570-585.

Weldon, S.L (2002) Beyond bodies: institutional sources for representation of women in democratic policy-making, *The Journal of Politics* 64 (4): 1153-1164.

Week 10

Date

Women and globalization

29 November

Outline: Globalization has become an important concept in political studies in the last decade, and is generally understood as the increasing interactions between countries and individuals in terms of politics, economics and society. Driven by new communication technologies, these interactions have affected women's lives in complex ways, through the global markets for goods and labour, immigration, security, and the spread of political ideologies, to name but a few. This lecture will focus on two aspects of the effects of globalization on women: changes in the labour market, and immigration/movement of people.

Required readings:

Archer, Candace C, 2009. Women and globalization in Joyce Gelb and Marian Lief Palley (eds) *Women and Politics Around the World: a Comparative History and Survey*, Vol I, pp. 3-15, HQ1236.

Women and globalization section of Women & the Economy, available at <http://www.unpac.ca/economy/introglob.html>

Acker, Joan, 2003 Gender, capitalism and globalization, available at <http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/mdevault/Critical%20Soc.Nov.03.pdf> or from the convenor.

The Globalization Website, available at

<http://www.sociology.emory.edu/globalization/issues.html>

Bishop, Beverley, 2002. Globalization and women's labour activism in Japan, available at <http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/articles/Bishop.html>

Additional readings:

Parrenas, Rachel S. 2001. *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Acquilar, Delia D and Lacsamana, Anne E. (eds) 2004. *Women and Globalization*, Amherst NY: Humanity Books.

Gunewardena, Nandini and Kingsolver, Ann, 2008. *The Gender of Globalization: Women Navigating Cultural and Economic Marginalities*, Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.

Week 11**Transnational politics and gender democracy**

Date

7 December

Outline: Debates on women's political representation have filtered beyond the nation state to the supra-state level. In this context, globalization and multi-level democratic arrangements exert a particular influence on gender questions and on who gets to speak for women in these arenas. This seminar explores the nature of transnational gender politics, asks how relevant it is to promoting the inclusion of gender in the democratic discourse at supra-national level and assesses the impact of globalised activism on national feminist political agendas.

Required readings:

Zippel, Kathrin, 2004. Transnational advocacy networks and policy cycles in the European Union: The case of sexual harassment, *Social Politics*, 11(1): 55-87.
True, Jacqui and Michael Mintrom, 2001. Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming, *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.45, pp.27-57.
Walby, Sylvia 2005. Introduction: Comparative Gender Mainstreaming in a Global Era, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(4): 453-470
Dufour, Pascale and Giraud, Isabelle. 2007. Globalization and political change in the women's movement: the politics of scale and political empowerment in the World March of Women, *Social Science Quarterly* 88(5): 1152-1173.

Additional readings

Cichowski, R. 2002. No discrimination whatsoever: women's transnational activism and the evolution of European sex equality policy in N. Naples and A. Desai (eds.) *Women's Community Activism and Globalization*. London: Routledge.
Helfferich, B. and Kolb, F. 2001. Multilevel action coordination in European contentious politics: the case of the European Women's Lobby in D. Imig and S. Tarrow (eds.), *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity*. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield.
Hoskyns, C. 1996. *Integrating Gender: Women, Law and Politics in the European Union*, London: Verso.
Lang, S. 1997. The NGOization of feminism, in Kaplan, C., Keates, S., Wallach, J. Scott. (eds), *Transitions, Environments, Translations. Feminisms in International Politics*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 101-120.
Moghadam, Val, 2005. *Globalizing Women: Transnational Feminist Networks*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Week 12**Summary and Conclusions**

Date

16 December

Outline: This seminar will review the course, pulling out the main themes as discussion points.

Summary of Module Review (2010-11)

Students found this module enjoyable and challenging. They found that the readings and class discussions fostered a feminist critique of democratic politics. They found that they were encouraged to think about these issues in new ways.

**School of Politics, International Studies and Philosophy
Student Handbook**

This module guide should be read in conjunction with the Postgraduate Student Handbook which contains important details of School policies.
A copy of the Postgraduate Student Handbook can be obtained from the School Office (21 University Square) or downloaded from the resources section of any PAI or PHL module on Queen's Online.