



LAKE FOREST
COLLEGE

Department of Politics
and International Relations

Women, Institutions, and Politics

GSW 213 / POLS 213

Spring Semester 2024

Professor:	Diana Davila Gordillo, Ph.D.	Office:	Brown Hall 331
E-mail:	ddavilagordillo@lakeforest.edu	Office Hours:	Thursday 14:00 - 16:00
Class Time:	M-W-R 11:00 - 11:50	Room:	Brown Hall 315

Course description: This course focuses on women's presence in politics. The number of women in positions of power in legislatures and beyond has increased in recent years. As these numbers grow, the career longevity of women in politics is not growing accordingly. Most women end their careers after a single period in the legislature or other offices. Women, it seems, are becoming constant newcomers. This course hence puts particular emphasis on understanding the barriers women face in gaining access to and maintaining their presence in positions of political power in public and private institutions in the American and global contexts.

This course meets 3 times per week for 150 minutes per week. The course carries 1.0 course credit (equivalent to four semester credit hours). Students are expected to devote a minimum of 12 hours of total work per week (in-class time plus out-of-class work) to this course.

Learning outcomes: By the end of this seminar students will be able to:

- Identify the multiple barriers faced by women in politics and beyond.
- Evaluate the causes of women's underrepresentation in political institutions as well as their presence.
- Analyze the effect of gender and stereotypes on electoral politics, policymaking, and the supply and demand for candidates.
- Critically analyze empirical political science research.
- Develop clear and cogent arguments in writing.

Course Materials:

This class has no required textbook. All reading materials will be posted on Moodle and can be found via the library. Assigned readings are listed on the following pages. If a reading or more

is listed on a specific day, **you should read these texts before that date.**

Attendance:

Attendance and punctuality are mandatory. If you will be absent due to athletics events or other college-approved events, please let me know at the beginning of the semester. If you must miss a class for any reason, I will allow for four (4) absences without penalty; each unexcused absence thereafter will result in a half-letter deduction from the final grade (A to A-, B+ to B, etc.). Six or more absences will result in failing the course. Be smart and save up your absences for when you REALLY need to miss a class!

Technology:

You may use your laptop in class to reference the readings or other class-related materials. Please do not use your laptops, phones, or other devices for browsing, texting, or social media as it is distracting not only to you but to students around you as well. Please be mindful and respectful.

Late Assignments:

Assignments submitted after the due date will be penalized a half-letter grade per day. If you are struggling to meet the deadline, please reach out *before* the deadline.

Debates and Discussions:

The topics of this course are subject to debate, and students are expected to have different ideas and perspectives. While productive discussions are highly encouraged, statements or comments that personally attack any individuals or groups will not be tolerated. If you have any particular sensitivities that might have bearing on your ability to read, hear, watch, or discuss certain material, please notify me. Please be aware, however, that because of the nature of this class, I cannot guarantee that you will be completely shielded from the material you find disturbing.

House Rules:

The recent years have been long and challenging for all. We have all made it to this point, facing enormous challenges and disruptions in our life plans. Some paths have been forever disrupted, and others appear more daunting than they should. Nonetheless, we have all continued to persevere and make the best out of challenging situations. To be sure, nobody signed up for the pandemic and its aftermath. However, as we need to continue moving, my commitment to you is to be tirelessly enthusiastic and work hard for you. Your success in this class is important to

me. This class is a partnership between me as your lecturer and you as student. Together, we will build a supportive, respectful, and productive environment. Building this kind of environment requires mutual respect. We all need accommodations because we all learn differently. If aspects of this course prevent you from learning or exclude you, please let me know as soon as possible. Together we will develop strategies to meet both your needs and the requirements of the course. If you go by a different name and/or pronouns than what is on the class roster, please let me know. Using correct names and gender pronouns is important to me, so please share those details with me and correct me if a mistake is made.

What do I expect from you to create an environment of mutual respect? I expect students to arrive to class prepared to contribute, meaning that you have completed the readings and completed the necessary assignments. I also expect professional behavior in class. Think of how you would behave at an important meeting. One arrives a few minutes early. One does not wander off, surf the web, explore social media, or text a friend. Repeated unprofessional behavior will be seen as a lack of engagement.

Important Deadlines:

- 1) Article's quiz (in Moodle).....Weekly (by Tuesday - midnight)
- 2) Presentation: Women's ThursdaysAssigned Thursdays
- 3) Discussion Paper 1 Feb. 11
- 4) Quotas in Elections Paper Feb. 26
- 5) Discussion Paper 2 March 24
- 6) Research proposal May 3 by midnight
- 7) Research proposal presentationAssigned day (April 22 to 29)
- 8) Extra Credit paper May 3 by midnight

Submissions (3), (4), (5), (6) and (8) must be handed in electronically (via Moodle) at 23:59 (the latest) on the respective day. Submission (6) will not be granted any extension.

Assignments, grades, and grading policy:

Participation 25%: The participation grade in this class is divided into two items: a weekly fill-in survey and in-class participation.

- **Article quiz (10%):** This is a weekly assignment that should be completed by Tuesday midnight (except on the week about quotas when the deadline is Sunday). You will answer a short multiple-choice quiz posted in Moodle. This quiz will be about one of the weekly assigned readings. This is an open-book quiz. You can re-do it as many times as necessary until you get a perfect score.
- **In-class participation (15%):** I expect students to read the assigned materials before class and be prepared to discuss them. Your participation grade will be based on both the

quantity and quality of your contribution to class discussions and group activities. I realize that some may feel more comfortable speaking up in class than others. For those who find themselves hesitant to participate, you should make it a point to see me during office hours or schedule an appointment with me so that we can discuss strategies to improve your performance in class. Of course, that invitation is open to all students to discuss whatever matter you would like.

Presentation “Women’s Thursdays” (10%): Every week, on Thursday, students will take the lead of the class. You will need to prepare a presentation based on the week’s topic. You can bring images, videos, or narrate an example of how you have found this topic in the real world. You should end your presentation with at least 2 questions for the group and then lead that discussion. Each student should do at least one of these presentations during the semester. At the beginning of the semester dates will be assigned.

Discussion Papers (25%): You will have to write two “Discussion Papers” during the semester. The first paper is due on **February 11**, and the second one is due on **March 24**. These are 1000 words (approx. 3 pages) papers in which you will answer/discuss a question stemming from in-class discussion. You will receive multiple questions to answer, these will be released 2 weeks before the deadline, you only need to write an essay based on a *single* question. More details about formatting and content will be provided in a separate document.

Women’s quota paper (10%): This is a paper that is meant to help you design effective legislation. You will write advice on a Quota law for a country. This assignment will be prepared *after* an in-class workshop on the topic on February 14 and 15. This assignment is due on **February 25**.

Research Proposal (20%): This class’s final project is a research proposal. A research proposal is a structured formal document that explains what you plan to research (your research topic), why it’s worth researching (your justification), what we already know about the topic (the literature review), and how you plan to investigate it and the case or cases you have selected (your methodology). This is an extensive project that will start in late march and have scheduled advance submission on Weeks 13 and a writing workshop on week 14. This assignment is due on the day of the final exam **May 3 by midnight**.

Research proposal presentation (10%): Before you submit your Research Proposal you will do a short (10 minute) presentation of your research proposal. This presentation will help you improve your case selection, justification, literature review, and methodology. Dates for the presentation will be assigned during the semester. Presentations will take place between **April 22 and 29**.

Extra Credit (2%): You can submit one paper for extra credit in this class by **May 3**. You can

select only **one** of these two options:

- **Write a reaction/discussion paper regarding the reporting of the attack to Nancy Pelosi's husband in Nov. 2022:** To write this piece you will either listen to the podcast: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/02/podcasts/the-daily/pelosi-attack-congress-violence.html> or read the transcript of the episode. Keep in mind this assignment asks you to *react* to *this* reporting. You should not refer to any other examples. You will write a paper discussing how this reporting is missing important arguments related to Violence Against Women in Elections and how this reporting could have been improved by taking this perspective. This paper should have between 500 to 1000 words.
- **Write a reaction/discussion paper on the barriers that women face:** You can select a biography or autobiography of a woman and discuss the **barriers that they are NOT discussing in this piece**. If you are interested in preparing this work but are struggling to select a subject talk to me and I can give you recommendations. This paper should have between 500 to 1000 words.

The maximum grade you can achieve in this class is 102 points out of 100 (including the extra credit). Each assignment will be graded based on the number of points that the assignment contributes to your final grade. For example, the Special Paper on Quotas will be graded on 10 points. The Discussion papers, instead, will be graded on 25 points and their final contribution to your final grade will be average of the two papers' grades.

Grading Scale

A = 93-100; A- = 92-90; B+ = 87-89; B = 83-86; B- = 80-82

C+ = 77-79; C = 73-76; C- = 70-72 D+ = 67-69; D = 63-66; D- = 60-62

Course Schedule:

Week 1: Introduction (January 17 and 18)

In these sessions we will get to know each other.

Wednesday

- Be prepared to answer these two questions: 1) What barriers exist to access College, and 2) How were you/others socialized to be successful at College?

Thursday

- Read the syllabus and the assignments' instructions. We will talk about the

assignments and how to read academic papers.

Week 2: Women's descriptive representation (Jan. 22, 24, and 25)

This week we will talk about women's descriptive representation. Thursday, January 25 will be our first Women's Thursday. We start the article quiz this week.

Monday – Jan. 22: Descriptive representation I

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer this question: what does it mean to be represented?

Required readings

- Paxton, Pamela and Hughes, Melanie M. (2014). "Women, politics, and power: a global perspective". In: Sage. Chap. 1
- Read this article (the link is also posted in Moodle) <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/why-representation-in-politics-matters>

ARTICLE QUIZ – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (JANUARY 23)

Wednesday – Jan. 24: Women's descriptive representation II

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer this question: what does it mean to be represented and why should we care about it?

Required readings

- Bos, Angela et al. (2022). "This one's for the Boys: How Gendered Political Socialization Limits Girls' Political Ambition and Interest". *The American Political Science Review* 116(2): 484–501

Thursday – January 25, Women's Thursday: Descriptive Representation

- This will be our first Women's Thursday. Three (3) students will be responsible for presenting examples of descriptive representation (or the absence of it) in the real world. The presentations should last between 5 to 10 minutes, and each presenter should finish their presentation with at least 2 questions and moderate a discussion for 5 more minutes.

Week 3: Substantive Representation (Jan. 29, 31 and Feb. 1)

This week we will talk about substantive representation. Why is it different from

descriptive representation? Is one more important than the other? Can we have one without the other? On Thursday, students will present examples of substantive representation in the world.

Monday – January 29: Substantive representation I

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer these questions: why should we care about substantive representation? What is the difference between descriptive and substantive representation?

Required readings

- Celis, Karen (2009). “Substantive representation of women (and improving it): What it is and should be about?” *Comparative European Politics* 7(1): 95–113

ARTICLE QUIZ – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (JANUARY 30)

Wednesday – Jan. 31: Substantive representation II

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer these questions: who can represent your interests? Can someone that “looks” like you know what you need and want? If not, is their presence still important?

Required readings

- Childs, Sarah and Krook, Mona Lena (2009). “Analysing Women’s Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors”. *Government and Opposition* 44(2): 125–145

Thursday – Feb. 1: Women’s Thursday: Substantive Representation

- Three (3) students will present examples of substantive representation (or the absence of it). How do we see this in the world?

Week 4: Women’s ambition (Feb. 5, 6, and 7) This week we will talk about women’s ambition. Descriptive and Substantive representation require women to participate (in politics and elsewhere). Is ambition a good thing? Do women need to be ambitious or is ambition *bad*? Is ambition enough to participate in politics and elsewhere? On Thursday, students will present about ambition.

Monday – Feb. 5: Ambition I

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer these questions: is ambition something to be ashamed of? If you have it, is it enough to achieve what you want?

Required readings

- Bernhard, Rachel, Shames, Shauna, and Telle, Dawn Langan (2021). “To Emerge? Breadwinning, Motherhood, and Women’s Decisions to Run for Office”. *American Political Science Review* 115(2): 379–394

ARTICLE QUIZ – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (February 5)

Wednesday – Feb. 6: Ambition II

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer this question: are we all equally ambitious? Do different groups experience ambition differently? what would put you off your dreams?

Required readings

- Holman, Mirya R. and Schneider, Monica C. (2018). “Gender, race, and political ambition: how intersectionality and frames influence interest in political office”. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6(2): 264–280

Thursday – Feb. 7, Women’s Thursday: Ambition

- Three (3) students will present examples of ambition. Is it well-regarded? is it a *bad* thing? Can ambition make you less successful?

FIRST REACTION PAPER– DUE BY MIDNIGHT (February 11)

Week 5: Elections and Quotas (Feb. 12, 14, and 15) This week we will talk about electoral quotas. Why is it important to ensure women are part of the electoral process? Are quotas the solution to all problems? Can quotas be misused?

ARTICLE QUIZ – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (February 11)

Monday – Feb. 12 Quotas I

- Read the assigned text. This session will focus on providing you an overview of how elections work. This will be a lecture-heavy session.

Required readings

- Barnes, Tiffany D. and Holman, Mirya R. (2020). “Gender Quotas, Women’s Representation, and Legislative Diversity”. *The Journal of Politics* 82(4): 1271– 1286
- Americas Quarterly Article: When Do Quotas in Politics Work? Latin America Offers Lessons. Link <https://americasquarterly.org/article/when-do-quotas-in-politics-work-latin-america-offers-lessons/>

Wednesday – Feb. 14: Quotas Workshop

- In this session we will work on Quota legislation. In class, we will take the position of someone *against* quotas. We will take existing legislation and explore **how** to use quotas and still ensure that fewer women are elected. This work will help you prepare your assignment to create quota legislation to **limit** the manipulation of quotas.

Thursday – Feb. 15 Quotas Workshop II

- In this session we will continue to work on the Quota legislation workshop. In class, we will take the position of someone *against* quotas. We will take existing legislation and explore **how** to use quotas and still ensure that fewer women are elected. This work will help you prepare your assignment to create quota legislation to **limit** manipulation of quotas.
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Week 6: The cost of doing politics: violence in elections (Feb. 19, 21, and 22) This week we will talk about the cost of doing politics. What does this look like? Why is it so important we understand it and work toward its eradication?

Monday – Feb. 19: VAW-E I

- Read the assigned text. This session will focus on understanding what is Violence against Women in Elections (VAW-E). Be prepared to answer these questions: is this violence always clearly visible? If not, why do you think it can “fly under the radar”?

Required readings

- Krook, Mona Lena and Restrepo Sanin, Juliana (2019). “The Cost of Doing Politics? Analyzing Violence and Harassment against Female Politicians”. *Perspectives on Politics* 18(3): 740–755

ARTICLE QUIZ – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (February 20)

Wednesday – Feb. 21: VAW-E II

- Read the assigned text. This session will focus on specific cases and experiences.

Required readings

- Johnson-Myers, Tracy-Ann (2023). “Violence against Women in Politics: Female Politicians’ Experience with Political Violence in Jamaica”. *Bulleting of Latin American Research* 42(1): 115–130

Thursday – Feb. 22: Women’s Thursday: VAWE Presentations

- Three (3) students will present examples of VAWE.

QUOTAS PAPER – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (February 25)

Week 7: Women in the Legislature (Feb. 26, 28, and 29) This week we will talk about women's experiences in the Legislature.

Monday – Feb. 26: Women in the Legislature I

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer this what IS power?
 - Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie and Squire, Peverill (2014). "Legislative Power and Women's Representation". *Politics and Gender* 10: 622–658

ARTICLE QUIZ – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (February 27)

Wednesday – Feb. 28: Women in the Legislature II

- Read the assigned texts. Reflect on the effects of interruptions. Why are interruptions so bad?

Required readings

- Vallejo Vera, Sebastian and Gomez Vidal, Analia (2022). "The Politics of Interruptions: Gendered Disruptions of Legislative Speeches". *The Journal of Politics* 84(3): 1384–1402
- Blog post: I'm Speaking! Interruptions in Legislative Speeches and Women's Strategic Behavior <https://jop.blogs.uni-hamburg.de/im-speaking-interruptions-in-legislative-speeches-and-womens-strategic-behavior/>

Thursday – Feb. 29: Women's Thursday: Women in the Legislature

- Three (3) students will present examples of Women in the Legislature.
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Week 8: Breaking the glass ceiling, prime ministers, ministers and presidents (March 4, 6, and 7). This week we will talk about women that have held or hold positions as Presidents, Primer Ministers, and Ministers. We will focus on whether they are effectively given similar jobs as men and, more importantly, whether their presence bolster the presence of women in politics more broadly.

Monday – March 4: Getting to the top

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer this question: is it enough to make it to the

top? are men and women getting the same positions? do they have the same qualifications? Have you seen this disparity elsewhere?

Required readings

- Escobar-Lemmon, Maria and Taylor-Robinson, Michelle M. (2009). "Getting to the Top: Career Paths of Women in Latin American Cabinets". *Political Research Quarterly* 62(4): 685–699

ARTICLE QUIZ – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (March 5)

Wednesday – March 6: Helping others move up

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer this question: are women helping others move forward? are they not?

Required readings

- O'Brien, Diana Z. et al. (2015). "Letting Down the Ladder or Shutting the Door: Female Prime Ministers, Party Leaders, and Cabinet Ministers". *Politics and Gender* 11: 689–717

Thursday – March 7, Women's Thursday: The leaders

- Three (3) students will present examples of women that have achieved top positions and their experiences.

Week 9: Mid-semester break (March 11, 13, and 14)

No sessions.

Week 10: Women in Political Parties (March 18, 20, and 21). This week we will talk about women in leadership positions in Political Parties.

Monday – March 18: Women in Parties

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer these questions: how is it possible to be seen and not heard? why is this important?

Required readings

- Morgan, Jana, and Magda Hinojosa, "Women in Political Parties: Seen But Not Heard", in Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer (ed.), *Gender and Representation in Latin America* (New York, 2018; online edn, Oxford Academic, 15 Feb. 2018)

ARTICLE QUIZ – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (March 19)

Wednesday – March 20: What do voters think of women in parties?

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer this question: why do people think female lead parties are more moderate? Are they correct?

Required readings

- Diana Z. O'Brien (2019) Female leaders and citizens' perceptions of political parties, *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 29:4, 465-489, DOI: 10.1080/17457289.2019.1669612

Thursday – March 21, Women's Thursday: The leaders in the parties

- Three (3) students will present examples of women that have achieved top positions or are part of political parties and their experiences.

REACTION PAPER #2 – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (March 17)

Week 11: Women in Social Movements - protests and policies (March 25, 27, and 28).

This week we will talk about social movements, women, and changing policy.

Monday – March 25:

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer this question: why is how we frame issues important?

Required readings

- Daby, Mariela and Moseley, Mason W. (2022). "Feminist Mobilization and the Abortion Debate in Latin America: Lessons from Argentina". *Politics and Gender* 18: 359–393

ARTICLE QUIZ – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (March 26)

Wednesday – March 27: Dealing with diversity

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer this question: how can you apply the strategies described in the text to your own experiences?

Required readings

- Weldon, S. Laurel (2006). "Inclusion, Solidarity, and Social Movements: The Global Movement against Gender Violence". *Perspectives on Politics* 4(1): 55–74

Thursday – March 28, Women’s Thursday: Organizing to change policy

- Three (3) students will present examples of organizations aiming to change policy in the world.

Research proposal topic submission – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (March 31)

Decide on three possible topics for your research proposal. Submit this via Moodle by midnight on March 31.

Week 12: Women in Sports (April 1, 3, and 4) :This week we will only meet twice and there will be no presentations. Monday we will watch a documentary about women in sports and on Wednesday we will discuss what we learn. There will be no meeting on Thursday but you are expected to work on Step 2 of your Research Proposal.

Monday – April 1:

- No required readings we will watch a documentary

Wednesday – April 2:

- Readings TBA – be prepared to answer this question: why is solidarity important?

Thursday – April 3: No in-class meeting.

- Use this time to find 5 research papers on your selected topic. These can be journal articles or books or book chapters that address your Research Proposal’s topic. Create a document with the full citation, abstract (if existent) and a short paragraph where you – in your own words – explain why this paper should help you in your research proposal. Submit this via Moodle by Sunday

Research proposal academic articles (step 2) submission – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (April 7)

Week 13: Women in International Relations (April 8, 10, and 11). This week we will talk about how women have shaped the international arena.

For this whole week:

! Listen to this podcast <https://open.spotify.com/episode/6uCkwUHveqb2yAD8q3Sjkz?si=iUk1onGUQZeVjE0qzXPHxg&nd=1>

Monday – April 8: Shaping the U.N.’s Charter

- Read the assigned texts. Be prepared to answer this question: why do you think these stories are coming to light so recently?

Required readings

- Adami, Rebecca and Plesch, Dan, eds. (2022). *Women and the UN: A new history of women’s international human rights*. Routledge **Read the Introduction, Preface and Chapter 1**

Wednesday – April 10: Women from the Global South

- Read the assigned text. Be prepared to answer this question: do these texts mention certain forms of privilege? Why is privilege something we should think about?

Required readings

- Adami, Rebecca and Plesch, Dan, eds. (2022). *Women and the UN: A new history of women’s international human rights*. Routledge **Read Chapters 2 and 3**

Thursday – April 11, Women’s Thursday: Women in the International Arena

- Three (3) students will present examples of women playing important roles in the Inter- national Arena (in current or past times).

Week 14: Research proposal workshop (April 15, 17, and 18)

This week we will do a workshop to finish up the Research Proposal paper and presentations. Assistance is not mandatory but encouraged.

Research proposal step 3 – anytime during this week but DUE BY MIDNIGHT (April 18)

Week 15 and 16: Research proposal presentations (April 22, 24, 25 and 29). These weeks we will have presentations of the Research Proposals.

Research Proposal – DUE BY MIDNIGHT (May 3)

Extra credit– DUE BY MIDNIGHT (May 3)