



**Universiteit
Leiden**

Institute of Political Science

Women's Representation

Course code 6443HWOMY

Block II / 2024-2025

October 22, 2024

Instructor: Dr. Diana **Davila-Gordillo**

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Class Time: Tu: 15:15 - 17:00 and Th: 9:15 - 11:00

Office: PdIC Building 5.B23

Office Hours: Thursdays 11 to 12

Room: [see My timetable](#)

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 facing major barriers to entering and remaining in politics.

In this seminar, we will study the barriers women face in gaining access to and maintaining their presence in positions of political power in public and private institutions in the global context. We will study women's representation by first looking at descriptive and substantive representation, then looking at women's political ambition and what it takes for them to become candidates, the role of political parties in this process, legislation (quota laws) set to promote women's presence in elections, violence against women in elections and more broadly the cost of joining politics. Afterward, we will discuss the roles women take once in power and how women affect policies from outside government (via social movements).

Learning objectives:

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:

The readings for this seminar consist of scholarly articles and book chapters available on the internet or through the university library, find links in Brightspace. 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.**

Mode of Instruction:

We will meet two times a week (Tuesdays at 15:15 to 17:00 and Thursdays at 9:15 to 11:00). Tuesday's seminars will take place at **Stichthage - 13.08** and Thursdays' meetings will take place at **Wijnhaven - 2.64**. If slides are used during our meetings, they will be posted on Brightspace *after* the session.

Office hours and communication:

Walk-in office hours will take place every Thursday after class from 11:00 to 12:00 (Wijnhaven 3.08A). You can also book a meeting using this [link](#). If the allocated times do not work for you, you can [email](#) me. [Here](#) are some tips and tricks for emailing your professors. If you are going to email me and my (long) last name seems too difficult to spell, you can address me as Dr. D.

Attendance:

This seminar requires that you manage your time well, keep track of the assigned readings, and, most importantly, attend and participate actively in every class session. Plan your schedule around the class meeting, including avoidable conflicts, such as doctor's appointments or interviews.

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.

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 affect 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:

This class is a partnership between me as your instructor and you as a 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 course requirements. Please let me know if you go by a name and/or pronoun that is different from what is on the class roster. 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 they have completed the readings and the necessary assignments. I also expect professional behaviour 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 behaviour will be seen as a lack of engagement.

Important Deadlines:

- 1. In-class presentation use the sign-up sheet
- 2. Quota paper Nov. 29
- 3. Research proposal Dec. 20

Both papers (2), and (3) must be handed in electronically (via Brightspace) by noon.

Assignments, grades, and grading policy:

Participation 20%: I expect students to read the assigned materials before class and be prepared to discuss them. Your participation grade will be based on the quantity and quality of your contribution to class discussions and group activities. This syllabus contains questions per session that you can be prepared to answer and discuss in class. Still, some may feel more comfortable speaking up in class than others. For those who are hesitant to participate, you should make it a point to see me during office hours or schedule an appointment with me to discuss strategies to improve your performance in class. Of course, that invitation is open to all students to discuss whatever you want.

Presentation 15%: You will have to present once during the block one of the assigned papers in a session. A signup sheet will be posted in Brightspace, and you can access it [here](#). You will select the session and the paper you want to present. You will present the most important elements of the paper, discuss its strengths and weaknesses, and finish your presentation with **two** questions for the group. You will then moderate the conversation around those two questions.

Quota paper 25%: This paper is meant to help you design effective legislation. You will write advice for a country's Quota law. This assignment will be prepared *after* an in-class workshop on the topic. This assignment is due on **Nov. 29 by 12:00 pm**. Extended instructions are posted on Brightspace.

Research Proposal 40%: This seminar'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 assignment is due on **Dec. 20 by 12:00 pm**. We will have two in-class workshops to help you prepare the Research Proposal. Extended instructions are posted on Brightspace.

Late Assignments:

In the interest of fairness to all students, all deadlines for this course are final. This means that no late work is accepted without advance permission. Work submitted after the deadline without permission will receive a grade of 0. If you cannot meet the deadline, please get in touch with the [Exam Committee](#). You should plan to contact the Exam Committee in advance, before the deadline.

Course Schedule:

Week 1

This week, we will start discussing descriptive and substantive representation.

Tuesday Oct. 29: Introduction and descriptive representation

- Be prepared to answer these two questions: 1) What barriers exist to access University, and 2) How were you/others socialized to be successful at University?
- 📖 Read the syllabus and the assignments' instructions. We will talk about the assignments and how to read academic papers.
- Be prepared to answer this question: what does it mean to be represented?
- 📖 Read this article (the link is also posted in Brightspace) <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/why-representation-in-politics-matters>

Thursday Oct. 31: substantive representation

- Be prepared to answer these questions: Why is it different from descriptive representation? Is one more important than the other? Can we have one without the other? Who can represent your interests? Can someone who “looks” like you know what you need and want? If not, is their presence still important?

Required readings

- Bos, Angela et al. (2022). “This one’s for the Boys: How Gendered Political Socialisation Limits Girls’ Political Ambition and Interest”. *The American Political Science Review* 116(2): 484–501
- Celis, Karen (2009). “Substantive representation of women (and improving it): What it is and should be about?” *Comparative European Politics* 7(1): 95–113
- 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

Week 2

This week, we will discuss women’s political ambition and the role political parties play in attracting women to politics.

Tuesday Nov. 5: Ambition

- Be prepared to answer the following questions: is ambition something to be ashamed of? If you have it, is it enough to achieve what you want? Are we all equally ambitious? Do different groups experience ambition differently? What would put you off your dreams?

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
- 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 Nov. 7: Women in Political Parties

- Be prepared to answer these questions: how is it possible to be seen and not heard? why is this important? Why do people think female-led parties are more moderate? Are they correct?

 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)
- 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

Week 3

This week, we will discuss electoral quotas and their uses.

Tuesday Nov. 12: Elections and Quotas

- Be ready to answer these questions: Do we need quotas? what benefits do they bring?

 Required reading

- 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/>
- Barnes, Tiffany D. and Holman, Mirya R. (2020). "Gender Quotas, Women's Representation, and Legislative Diversity". *The Journal of Politics* 82(4): 1271–1286
- Weeks, Ana Catalano and Masala, Francesco (2023). "Still "the Domain of Men?" Gender Quotas and Women's Inclusion in Local Politics in Italy". *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 48(3): 503–534

Thursday Nov. 14: Quota workshop, how to game the system?

- We will do an in-class activity. 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 fulfill 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. Make sure to bring paper and pens (yes, multiple pens!).

Week 4

This week, we will discuss the costs of doing politics and violence against women in Elections.

Tuesday Nov. 19: Violence against women in elections (VAW-E)

- Be ready to answer these questions: What does VAW-E look like? Why is it so important we understand it and work toward its eradication? Is this violence always clearly visible? If not, why do you think it can "fly under the radar"?

Required reading

- 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
- 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

- * Listen to Mona Lena Krook present her book on the topic ([link](#))

Thursday Nov.21: Women in the Legislature

- Be prepared to answer these questions: what is power? Why does power matter? Can you be elected to a position and be *power-less*? What are the barriers women face *after* elections? Why are interruptions so bad?

Required readings

- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie and Squire, Peverill (2014). "Legislative Power and Women's Representation". *Politics and Gender* 10: 622–658
- 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 ([follow this link](#))

Week 5

This week we will discuss women breaking the glass ceiling, prime ministers, ministers and presidents, and who deals with the broken shards of glass. We will also talk about social movements and other pathways women take to enact change.

Tuesday Nov. 26: Breaking the glass ceiling

- Be prepared to answer these questions: is it enough to make it to the top AKA breaking the glass ceiling? Are men and women getting the same positions? Do they have the same qualifications? Have you seen this disparity elsewhere? Do you expect women to welcome/help others to the top, or will they shut the door and leave others to deal with the broken glass?

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
- 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 - Nov. 28: Social movements

- Be prepared to answer this question: why is how we frame issues important? If you were (are) a policy entrepreneur, what are your options, and which would you choose? Can a social movement be truly and effectively inclusive?

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

QUOTA PAPER DEADLINE - SUBMIT VIA BRIGHTSPACE BY NOON FRIDAY NOV. 29

Week 6

This week, we will discuss start working on your final paper (the research proposal) and discuss the role of women in International Relations.

Dec. 3: Research proposal workshop

- In class we will discuss the topics you would like to explore in your hypothetical research project. We will also discuss literature reviews and explore those included in the seminar's assigned readings. We will also discuss case selections, methods of data generation, and analysis. Please review your research design lectures.

 No required readings

Thursday - Dec. 5 Women in International Relations

- Be prepared to answer this question: why do you think these stories have come to light so recently? Do these texts mention certain forms of privilege? Is that important?

 Required readings

- ! Listen to this podcast [Hidden Figures in Women's International Human Rights](#)
- 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, Chapter 1, 2, and 3**)

Week 7 This week, we will talk about women in sports and have a final in-class writing session for your research proposal.

Tuesday Dec. 10: Women in Sports

- Be prepared to answer this question: why are women paid less in sports (and beyond)?


 Required reading

- Scovel, Shannon (2024). "'Complaining', 'campaigning', and everything in between: media coverage of pay equity in women's tennis in 1973 and 2007". *Sport in Society* 27(9): 1357–1373

Thursday Dec. 12: Research proposal writing workshop

- You will work on your research proposal in class.

Week 8

 **RESEARCH PROPOSAL DEADLINE - SUBMIT VIA BRIGHTSPACE BY NOON FRIDAY DEC. 20**