

Political Science BC3507 Colloquium on  
**Gender, Politics, and Markets**

**Barnard College**  
**Spring Semester 2010**  
**Thursday 2:10-4:00**

**[Professor Claire F. Ullman](#)**  
**Office Hours TBA**  
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This course will consider why men control more political and economic resources in the advanced industrial states of the world than women do. We will examine the ways in which labor markets, welfare states, and political institutions have a different impact on women than on men. We will look at measures that attempt to bring about greater gender equality in political representation, labor market participation, and household work and assess their effectiveness. The focus of the course will be the United States and Western Europe, but students who are interested in other parts of the world will find much of the material broadly applicable and are encouraged to focus their research papers on their geographic areas of interest.

**Grading and Requirements**

Class participation: 15%. I will be grading you on reasoned, informed, respectful, and useful contributions to the seminar discussions. Quality matters more than quantity, but effort counts for a lot.

Weekly Discussion Papers: 35%. Each week except the first and the last you should write a short (1-2 double-spaced pages) commentary on the week's readings. The two lowest grades will be dropped, so you can either benefit from a learning curve or skip two weeks without penalty. The reaction papers must be submitted to me by e-mail by 11 AM on Thursdays. Please see the Weekly Discussion Papers Guidelines handout for more information on how to write these papers.

Research paper: 50%. A paper on a topic of your choosing, subject to my approval, of 25-30 pages in length. Preliminary paper proposals are due in class February 18. Full-scale paper proposals, with bibliographies, are due in class March 25. Papers are due April 29. Late papers will be penalized with lower grades. I urge each student to submit a draft paper for my review at least two weeks before the papers are due. Please see the Research Paper Guidelines handout for more information on what to include in the paper proposals and for suggested paper topics.

**Prerequisites**: Introduction to Comparative Politics or Instructor's permission. Not open to students who have taken POLS W3951:02 Fall 2009. Admission is by application through the Barnard Department of Political Science only.

## **Week One (1/21): Introduction to the Course**

*We will discuss the extent and nature of gender inequality in political and economic life and we will go over the structure and requirements of the course.*

Lynda Gratton and Lamia Walker, “Gender Equality: A Solid Business Case at Last,” FT.com October 29, 2007

Rana Foroohar, “Myth and Reality: Forget all the talk of equal opportunity. European Women can have a job—but not a career.” Newsweek February 27, 2006.

“Women and the world economy: A guide to womenomics,” The Economist April 15, 2006, p. 73

## **Part I: Describing and Explaining Gender Inequality**

### **Week Two (1/28): The Creation and Perpetuation of Gender Roles**

*How are gender roles created? To what extent does biology determine destiny? Can the different reproductive roles of men and women be reconciled with gender equality in public life?*

Torben Iversen and Frances Rosenbluth, “Gender Socialization: How Bargaining Power Shapes Social Norms and Political Attitudes.” Unpublished paper, August 2005.

Available at:

<http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~iversen/PDFfiles/IversenRosenbluth2005APSA.pdf>

Nancy Folbre, “Chicks, Hawks, and Patriarchal Institutions.” In Morris Altman, ed., The Handbook of Behavioral Economics (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 2006), pp. 499-516

Virginia Valian, Why So Slow? The Advancement of Women (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), Chapter 2 (“Gender Begins – and Continues – at Home”), pp. 23-46

Michael Bittman, Paula England, Liana Sayer, Nancy Folbre, and George Matheson, “When Does Gender Trump Money? Bargaining and Time in Household Work.” American Journal of Sociology 109, 1 (July 2003): 186-214

### **Week Three (2/4): Cultural Change, Gender Inequality, and Politics**

*What explains the growing legitimacy, and even urgency, of gender equality as a political goal around the world?*

Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

## **Week Four (2/11): The Gender Gap in Political Participation and Voting Preferences**

*Why do women participate less actively in politics than men do? Is there a difference in impact on political participation and public policy if women hold office rather than men committed to women's issues? Why do women and men have a tendency to differ in how they vote on important issues?*

Nancy Burns, Kay Leman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba, The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 1-38 and 334-386

Torben Iversen and Frances Rosenbluth, "The Political Economy of Gender: Explaining Cross-National Variation in the Gender Division of Labor and the Gender Voting Gap." American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Jan., 2006), pp. 1-19

Jane Mansbridge, "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes."" Journal of Politics 6, 3 (August 1999): 628-657

## **Week Five (2/18): Female Political Representation**

*How does the structure of electoral institutions make the election of women to public office more or less likely? How does the structure of the economy affect the level of female political representation?*

Pippa Norris, "The Impact of Electoral Reform on Women's Representation." Acta Politica (2006) 41: 197-213

Frances Rosenbluth, Rob Salmond and Michael F. Thies, "Welfare Works: Explaining Female Legislative Representation." Politics & Gender 2 (2006): 165-192

Torben Iversen and Frances Rosenbluth, "Work and Power: The Connection Between Female Labor Force Participation and Female Political Representation." Annual Review of Political Science Vol. 11 (June 2008): 479-495

Richard E. Matland, "Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries." Legislative Studies Quarterly (1998) Volume 23, no. 1: 109-125

## **Week Six (2/25): Gender and Varieties of Capitalism**

*Do the insights of the “varieties of capitalism” literature enhance our understanding of why women’s labor market participation varies in extent and kind among countries? How does the variety of capitalism characterizing a person’s home country affect her or his opportunities in the labor market?*

Leslie McCall and Ann Shola Orloff, “Introduction to the Special Issue of Social Politics: “Gender, Class, and Capitalism.”” Social Politics 12, 2 (2005): 159-169

David Soskice, “Varieties of Capitalism and Cross-National Differences.” Social Politics 12, 2 (2005): 170-179

Margarita Estevez-Abe, “Gender Bias in Skills and Social Policies: The Varieties of Capitalism Perspective on Sex Segregation.” Social Politics 12, 2 (2005): 180-215

Hadas Mandel and Michael Shalev, “Gender, Class, and Varieties of Capitalism.” Social Politics 16, 2 (Summer 2009): 161-181

Kimberly Morgan, “The “Production” of Child Care: How Labor Markets Shape Social Policy and Vice Versa.” Social Politics 12, 2 (2005): 243-263

## **Week Seven (3/4): How Public Policy Influences Women’s Labor Market Participation and Fertility**

*How does adding a consideration of public policy to the insights of the VOC literature extend our ability to understand women’s labor force participation? How are women’s labor force participation and fertility rates related?*

Frances McCall Rosenbluth, “The Political Economy of Low Fertility,” in Frances McCall Rosenbluth, ed., The Political Economy of Japan’s Low Fertility (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), pp. 3-25

Frances Rosenbluth, Matthew Light, and Claudia Schrag, “The Politics of Low Fertility: Global Markets, Women’s Employment, and Birth Rates in Four Industrialized Democracies.” Unpublished paper. Yale University, August 2002  
[www.yale.edu/polisci/rosenbluth/politicsoflowfertility1.pdf](http://www.yale.edu/polisci/rosenbluth/politicsoflowfertility1.pdf)

Mary Daly, “A Fine Balance: Women’s Labor Market Participation in International Comparison,” in Fritz W. Scharpf and Vivien A. Schmidt, eds., Welfare and Work in the Open Economy, Vol. II, Diverse Responses to Common Challenges (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 467-510

## **Week Eight (3/11): Gender and Inequality in Welfare States**

*How do welfare state institutions and policies contribute to shaping men's and women's lives in different ways? Do welfare states differ in how they perpetuate and/or diminish gender inequality?*

Walter Korpi, "Faces of Inequality: Gender, Class and Inequalities in Different Types of Welfare States." Social Politics 7 (2000): 127-91

Gosta Esping-Andersen, Why We Need a New Welfare State (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002): 1-95

## **Week Nine (3/25): Politics and Religion in the Formation of Work-Family Policies**

*If public policy has a profound and predictable influence on women's rates of labor force participation and fertility, how do we explain differences in public policy across countries? What historical factors led welfare states to develop differently?*

Kimberly Morgan, "The Religious Foundations of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe," in Kees van Kersbergen and Philip Manow, eds., Religion, Class Coalitions, and Welfare States (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 56-90

Kimberly J. Morgan, Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe and the United States (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), pp. 53-59, 96-105, 135-156 (all the sections on the United States)

Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, "Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880-1920." The American Historical Review (1990) Volume 95, no. 4: 1076-1108

## **Week Ten (4/1): Policy to Reconcile Work and Family: Trends and Implications**

*Gender inequality is fundamentally tied to the different levels of responsibility men and women have had for the care of dependents, particularly children. Can public policy lessen or eliminate the impact of child-bearing on women's lives and thereby promote gender equality?*

Ann Shola Orloff, "From Maternalism to Employment for All: State Policies to Promote Women's Employment Across Affluent Democracies," in Jonah D. Levy, ed., The State After Statism: New State Activities in the Age of Liberalization (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 230-68

Kimberly J. Morgan, "Caring Time Policies in Western Europe: Trends and Implications" Comparative European Politics Vol. 7, no. 1 (2009), pp. 37-55

Jane Lewis, Trudie Knijn, Claude Martin, and Ilona Ostner, "Patterns of Development in Work/Family Reconciliation Policies for Parents in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK in the 2000s." Social Policy (Fall 2008): 261-286

Rianne Mahon, "The OECD and the Work/Family Reconciliation Agenda: Competing Frames," in Jane Lewis, ed., Children, Changing Families and Welfare States (Northampton, MA: Edgar Elgar, 2006): 173-197

## **Part II: Solutions, Attempted and Proposed**

### **Week Eleven (4/8): Quotas for Women in Politics**

Drude Dahlerup, ed., Gender, Politics, and Quotas (New York: Routledge, 2006).

Chapter 1 ("Introduction" by Drude Dahlerup, pp. 3-31),  
Chapter 8 ("Western Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand: Gender Quotas in the context of Citizenship Models," by Mona Lena Krook, Joni Lovenduski, and Judith Squires, pp. 194-221), and  
Chapter 14 ("Conclusion," by Drude Dahlerup, pp. 293-307)

Mona Lena Krook, "Reforming Representation: The Diffusion of Candidate Gender Quotas Worldwide." Politics and Gender (2006) Volume 2, No. 3: 303-327

### **Week Twelve (4/15): Mainstreaming Gender**

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and Mark A. Pollack, "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance." European Journal of International Relations (2002) Volume 8, No. 3: 339-373

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and Mark A. Pollack, "Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union: Getting the Incentives Right" Comparative European Politics Vol. 7 no. 1 (2009): 114-138

Maria Stratigaki, "Gender Mainstreaming vs. Positive Action: An Ongoing Conflict in EU Gender Equality." European Journal of Women's Studies (2005) 12: 165-186

R. W. Connell, "Change among the Gatekeepers: Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality in the Global Arena." Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society (Spring 2005), Vol. 30 Issue 3: 1801-1825

### **Week Thirteen (4/22): Toward Gender Equality in Parenthood and Employment**

Janet Gornick and Marcia Meyers, "Institutions that Support Gender Egalitarianism in Parenthood and Employment." Paper for the Real Utopias Project. 2007. Available at [http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mscaglio/2006documents/Gornick\\_Meyers\\_2007\\_Institutions\\_Gender\\_Egalitarianism.pdf](http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mscaglio/2006documents/Gornick_Meyers_2007_Institutions_Gender_Egalitarianism.pdf)

Scott Coltrane, "Fatherhood, Gender, and Work-Family Policies." Unpublished paper, 2007. Available at: [http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mscaglio/2006documents/Coltrane\\_2007\\_Fatherhood\\_Gender\\_Work-Family.pdf](http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mscaglio/2006documents/Coltrane_2007_Fatherhood_Gender_Work-Family.pdf)

Kimberly Morgan, "The Political Path to a Dual-Earner/Dual-Carer Society: Pitfalls and Possibilities." Paper for the Real Utopias Project, 2007. Available at: [http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mscaglio/2006documents/Morgan\\_2008\\_Political\\_Path\\_Dual\\_Earner\\_Carer.pdf](http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mscaglio/2006documents/Morgan_2008_Political_Path_Dual_Earner_Carer.pdf)

Myra Marx Ferree, "An American Roadmap? Framing Feminist Goals in a Liberal Landscape." Paper for the Real Utopias Project, 2007. Available at: [http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mscaglio/2006documents/Marx\\_Ferree\\_2007\\_American\\_Utopia.pdf](http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mscaglio/2006documents/Marx_Ferree_2007_American_Utopia.pdf)

Kathrin Zippel, "The Missing Link for Promoting Gender Equality: Family-Work and Anti-Discrimination Policies." Paper for the Real Utopias Project, 2007. Available at: [http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mscaglio/2006documents/Zippel\\_2007\\_Gender\\_Equality.pdf](http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mscaglio/2006documents/Zippel_2007_Gender_Equality.pdf)

Note: The complete set of papers responding to Gornick and Meyers proposal is available at <http://www.havenscenter.org/realutopias/2006>

### **Week Fourteen (4/29): Research Papers Due. Paper Presentations**