

GOVERNMENT 1141  
**Comparative Politics of Gender Inequality**

**Fall 2016**  
**Monday / Wednesday 2-3pm**  
**Room: CGIS K107**

Instructor: Dr. Ana Catalano Weeks  
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OH: Wed 3-5 in CGIS Café or by appointment  
Office: CGIS S316

### **Course Description**

Why is there still a gender wage gap? Does it matter that women make up only 22% of parliaments worldwide? Can political institutions and policies shift deeply-held cultural attitudes towards women's role in society? This course examines the causes and consequences of gender inequality in the workforce, political life, and the household from an interdisciplinary perspective. We will draw on theory and literature from political science, economics, and other disciplines to learn about cutting edge research in the field, focusing on advanced democracies. Starting with definitions of gender and the evolution of gender norms over time, we will critically analyze links between gender identity and multiple facets of everyday life, from reaching senior management roles to organizing child care within the family. The course takes an in-depth look into areas where ongoing challenges exist, paying special attention to promising policies or interventions to promote gender equality.

*\*This course is capped at 20 students. If there is greater demand, a lottery will be run and results will be posted on the course website on Sept 5.*

### **Course Goals**

The goals of the course are for students to become experts in the politics of gender inequality, to improve written and oral communication skills, and to hone critical thinking skills by analyzing potential solutions to gender inequality in advanced democracies. By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Explain how and why women's political opinions and participation differ from men's
- Describe the current state of gender gaps in the corporate world, political opportunity, and within households
- Assess the efficacy (advantages and limitations) of various methods of closing these gender gaps

- Develop their own perspectives of what we know and don't know yet about the causes, consequences, and proposed solutions to gender inequality, and debate these with peers
- Collaborate on a research project and present key findings to peers

## Assignments and Grading

Your grade is based on five components:

- 1. Class participation (10%):** This includes completing all reading prior to class and thoughtfully participating in discussions, for example by raising questions or comments about the material or relating your own experience or current events to the topic. It also includes listening respectfully and participating constructively in debates, in order to help create a positive learning environment for everyone. You are allowed to miss one class with no penalty, no questions asked.
- 2. Lead brief class discussion (5%):** Each student will lead a class discussion involving a short (5 minute) presentation and two to three questions you would like the class to discuss based on the material that week. Students should use the presentation to make an argument based on critical analysis of the material. We will discuss guidelines and examples in class.
- 3. Midterm exam (30%):** In-class exam will include short-answer and essay questions. Material will be limited to the first half of the course and includes lectures. Example questions will be provided.
- 4. Group research presentation (15%)** Small groups of students will work together on a research project and present their findings to the class in mid-November.
- 5. Final exam (40%):** Exam will include essay questions. Material will cover the whole course and includes lectures. Example questions will be provided.

## Academic Integrity & Collaboration

You are expected to maintain high standards of academic integrity in your work for all classes at Harvard, as the basis for meaningful intellectual growth and collaboration. Please see the Harvard College [Honor Code](#).

Discussion and the exchange of ideas are essential for academic work. For this course, you are encouraged to consult with classmates on paper ideas and share sources. However, please ensure that all work you submit is the result of your own research and writing, and reflects your own approach to the topic. For the group assignment, members of the group can of course discuss the content of their project with each other. For individual assignments the normal rules that “all work should be your own” apply.

All students must use standard citation practice in the discipline and properly acknowledge any sources that have helped you with your work. I recommend using the Chicago Manual of Style's author-date format. If you received help with your writing (e.g., feedback on drafts), please also acknowledge this assistance.

## Accommodations

Students needing academic adjustments or accommodations because of a documented disability should present their Faculty Letter from the [Accessible Education Office](#) (AEO) and speak with me by the end of the second week of the term. I will make any reasonable accommodations to support the learning of all students.

## Readings

The following book is required and can be purchased at the COOP and online.

Iversen, Torben, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 2010. *Women, work, and politics: The political economy of gender inequality*. Yale University Press.

All other required readings can be accessed with your Harvard ID through links included in the syllabus below. If a link does not work, please try entering the information into [hollis+](#) or google scholar.

## Weekly Plan

*Note: This weekly plan is an outline that may be changed. If changes are required for any reason, they will be announced in class.*

### 8/31: Course introduction & overview

*Overview of the course, including major themes, learning objectives, classroom expectations and assessment. Brief discussion of the main gender gaps in advanced democracies today.*

No reading is required for the class. However, if you would like to get a sense of key gender gaps:

[Global Gender Gap Report 2015](#): Skim the Overview and look at US, Sweden, Italy, Japan (and other countries you are interested in). Pay attention especially to political and economic indicators, and trends over time.

## Week 1: Gender Inequality

### 1 (Sept 5): Labor Day: No class

### 2 (Sept 7): Defining gender

*What do we mean by gender? What does it mean to use gender as a category of analysis in social science?*

Iris Marion Young, "Gender as Seriality: Thinking About Women as a Social Collective," *Signs* 19:3 (Spring 1994), 713-738. [Link](#)

Joni Lovenduski, "Gendering Research in Political Science," *Annual Review of Politics* 1 (1998), 333-356. [Link](#)

**\*Study card day: Sept 8**

## **Week 2: Gender norms and preferences**

### **1 (Sept 12): Gender norms**

*How – and why – have gender norms and attitudes evolved over time?*

Take a gender IAT: <https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html>

Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. 2003. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change*. Cambridge University Press: Chapter 2. \*Chapter on course website.

Iversen, Torben, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 2010. *Women, work, and politics: The political economy of gender inequality*. Yale University Press, 2010. Chapter 2: “The Structure of Patriarchy.”

### **2 (Sept 14): Gendered political preferences**

*Do men and women have different political preferences? What might explain these gender gaps?*

CAWP Fact Sheet on US gender gaps in preferences:

[http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/resources/gg\\_issuesattitudes-2012.pdf](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/resources/gg_issuesattitudes-2012.pdf)

Iversen, Torben, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 2010. *Women, work, and politics: The political economy of gender inequality*. Yale University Press. Chapter 5: “Political Preferences.”

Edlund, Lena and Rohini Pande. 2002. “Why Have Women Become Left Wing? The Political Gender Gap and the Decline in Marriage”. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117(3): 917-961. [Link](#)

## **MODULE 1: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY**

## **Week 3: The gender wage gap**

### **1 (Sept 19): Why women make less**

*What explains the persistent gender wage gap?*

Wage gap data: <https://data.oecd.org/earnwage/gender-wage-gap.htm>

[http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/gender\\_pay\\_gap/gpg\\_eu\\_factsheet\\_2015\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/gender_pay_gap/gpg_eu_factsheet_2015_en.pdf)

Iversen, Torben, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 2010. *Women, work, and politics: The political economy of gender inequality*. Yale University Press, 2010. Chapter 3: "The Gender Division of Labor"

Bertrand, Marianne, Claudia Goldin, and Lawrence F. Katz. 2010. "Dynamics of the gender gap for young professionals in the financial and corporate sectors." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 2(3): 228-255. [Link](#)

## 2 (Sept 21): Can we close the gap?

*Can we close the gender gap in earnings? What are some political and corporate interventions that might help?*

Goldin, C., 2014. A grand gender convergence: Its last chapter. *The American Economic Review*, 104(4), pp.1091-1119. [Link](#)

Niederle, Muriel and Lise Vesterlund. 2008. "Gender Differences in Competition", *Negotiation Journal*, 24(4):447-465. [Link](#)

Women's Career Negotiations with Hannah Riley Bowles WAPPP podcast:  
<http://wappphks.podbean.com/e/womens-career-negotiations-with-hannah-riley-bowles/>

## Week 4: Women in leadership

### 1 (Sept 26): The glass ceiling / cliff

*What are the causes and consequences of gender differences in leadership roles?*

Data on women on boards:

<http://www.oecd.org/gender/data/boardroommembershipbysex.htm>

[http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/gender-decision-making/database/business-finance/supervisory-board-board-directors/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/gender-decision-making/database/business-finance/supervisory-board-board-directors/index_en.htm)

Bruckmüller, S., Ryan, M.K., Rink, F. and Haslam, S.A., 2014. Beyond the glass ceiling: The glass cliff and its lessons for organizational policy. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 8(1), pp.202-232. [Link](#)

Dasgupta, Nilanjana, and Shaki Asgari. 2004. "Seeing is believing: Exposure to counterstereotypic women leaders and its effect on the malleability of automatic gender stereotyping." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 40.5: 642-658. [Link](#)

Karpowitz, Christopher F., Tali Mendelberg, and Lee Shaker. 2012. "Gender inequality in deliberative participation." *American Political Science Review* 106.03: 533-547. [Link](#)

### 2 (Sept 28): Quotas for women on boards

*Can affirmative action measures like quotas help? Could they hurt?*

*\*Guest lecturer, Professor Jennifer Piscopo, Department of Politics at Occidental College, and Peggy Rockefeller Visiting Scholar at the David Rockefeller Center of Latin American Studies at Harvard University*

Piscopo, Jennifer M and Susan Clark Muntean. "Corporate Quotas and Symbolic Politics in Advanced Democracies." Forthcoming in *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy*.

*\*Article available on course website*

Ahern, Kenneth R., and Amy K. Dittmar. 2012. "The changing of the boards: The impact on firm valuation of mandated female board representation." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 127.1: 137-197. [Link](#)

Niederle, Muriel, Carmit Segal, and Lise Vesterlund. 2013. "How costly is diversity? Affirmative action in light of gender differences in competitiveness." *Management Science* 59.1: 1-16. [Link](#)

## MODULE 2: POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY

### Week 5: Gendered Participation & Election 2016

#### 1 (Oct 3): Women's political participation

*Why do women and men participate in politics at different rates? Does this matter?*

CAWP Data on gender gap in turnout: <http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/facts/voters/turnout>

Verba, Sidney, et al. *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics*. 1995. Vol. 4. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapter 12: "Resources, Engagement, and Political Activity." *\*Chapter on course website*

Lawless, J.L. and Fox, R.L., 2013. Girls just wanna not run: The gender gap in young Americans' political ambition. *Washington, DC: Women and Politics Institute*. [Link](#)

#### 2 (Oct 5): Gender in the 2016 U.S. presidential election

*How has gender played a role in the 2016 U.S. presidential election campaign? More broadly -- Are women as candidates treated differently than male candidates by the media, voters, funders, etc? How much power do women voters have?*

Data on gender gap in the polls: TBA

Articles TBA but potentially including:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/05/24/how-much-does-gender-bias-affect-u-s-elections/>

<http://www.vox.com/a/hillary-clinton-interview/the-gap-listener-leadership-quality>

Carroll, S.J., 2009. Reflections on gender and Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign: The good, the bad, and the misogynic. *Politics & Gender*, 5(01), pp.1-20. [Link](#)

## Week 6: Midterm

**1 (Oct 10): Columbus Day, no class**

**2 (Oct 12): Midterm in class**

## Week 7: Representation

**1 (Oct 17): Descriptive representation**

*Why are women still underrepresented in politics? How has the recent rise of quota laws for women in politics affected women's representation?*

Skim IPU data: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

Iversen, Torben, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 2010. *Women, work, and politics: The political economy of gender inequality*. Yale University Press, 2010. Chapter 6: "Gender and Political Careers."

Dahlerup, Drude and Lenita Freidenvall. 2005. "Quotas as a 'Fast Track' to Equal Political Representation for Women: Why Scandinavia is No Longer the Model." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7 (1): 26-48. [Link](#)

Data on gender quotas across countries: <http://www.quotaproject.org/>

**2 (Oct 19): Substantive representation**

*Do we need female politicians to represent the preferences of female citizens?*

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes!'" *The Journal of Politics*. 6:3:628-57. [Link](#)

Chattopadhyay, Raghavendra, and Esther Duflo. 2004. Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment in India. *Econometrica* 72(5):1409-1443. [Link](#)

Ferreira, F. and Gyourko, J., 2014. Does gender matter for political leadership? The case of US mayors. *Journal of Public Economics*, 112, pp.24-39. [Link](#)

## Week 8: Public policy

**1 (Oct 24): Policy change by women (continued)**

*Continuing with the theme of substantive representation, what are other ways in which women can affect the policy agenda (besides directly voting for / enacting a policy)?*

Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2011. "Women, Parties, and Platforms in Post-Industrial Democracies." *Party Politics* 17 (1): 66-92. [Link](#)

Htun, Mala, and S. Laurel Weldon. 2012. "The civic origins of progressive policy change: Combating violence against women in global perspective, 1975–2005." *American Political Science Review* 106.03: 548-569. [Link](#)

## **2 (Oct 26): Policy change for women**

*What other factors influence decisions about policies that impact women disproportionately, or that women have strong preferences for?*

Lott JR, Kenny LW. 1999. "Did women's suffrage change the size and scope of government?" *Journal of Political Economy* 107 (6), 1163-1198. [Link](#)

Washington, Ebonya. 2008. "Female Socialization: How Daughters Affect Their Legislator Fathers' Voting on Women's Issues," *American Economic Review*. 98 (1): 311-332. [Link](#)

## **MODULE 3: EQUALITY WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD**

### **Week 9: Domestic and care work**

#### **1 (Oct 31): Gender gaps at home**

*Why do women still do more of the work at home if they have become more equal in education and professional life?*

OECD data on time use:

<http://www.oecd.org/gender/data/balancingpaidworkunpaidworkandleisure.htm>

Pew data (U.S.): <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/11/04/raising-kids-and-running-a-household-how-working-parents-share-the-load/>

Hochschild, A. and Machung, A., 2012. *The second shift: Working families and the revolution at home*. Penguin. Preface, Introduction & Chapter 2. \*Chapters on course website.

Kleider, H., 2015. Paid and unpaid work: The impact of social policies on the gender division of labour. *Journal of European Social Policy*, p.505-520. [Link](#)

#### **2 (Nov 2): Consequences of the "second shift"**

*How does the “second shift” impact women’s economic and political opportunities? What about other outcomes we care about?*

Anne-Marie Slaughter, Why Women Still Can’t Have It All

<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07/why-women-still-cant-have-it-all/309020/>

WAPPP presentation by Robin J. Ely, The Work-Family Narrative as a Social Defense: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PowKNp9\\_e\\_U&list=PL9D7F37590143D22E&index=22](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PowKNp9_e_U&list=PL9D7F37590143D22E&index=22)

## **Week 10: Legislating family life**

### **1 (Nov 7): Work-family policies**

*Why do some states offer more generous family policies than others? Do these policies help women get ahead?*

Morgan, Kimberly J. 2013. "Path shifting of the welfare state: Electoral competition and the expansion of work-family policies in Western Europe." *World Politics* 65.01: 73-115. [Link](#)

Gornick, Janet C., Marcia K. Meyers, and Katherin E. Ross. 1998. "Public policies and the employment of mothers: A cross-national study." *Social Science Quarterly*: 35-54. [Link](#)

WAPPP Podcast with Jane Waldfogel on work-family policies in the U.S.: <http://wappphks.podbean.com/e/work-family-policy-in-the-us-with-jane-waldfogel/>

### **2 (Nov 9): Changing minds and behaviors**

*Can political institutions and policies shift cultural attitudes in the direction of gender equality? Can they influence our personal decisions about children and family roles?*

Patnaik, Ankita. 2014. "Reserving Time for Daddy: The Short and Long-Run Consequences of Fathers' Quotas." Available at SSRN 2475970. [Link](#)

Watch WAPPP presentation here:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=REHyDU4RPu4&list=PL9D7F37590143D22E&index=8>

McGinn, K.L., Ruiz Castro, M. and Lingo, E.L., 2015. Mums the Word! Cross-national Effects of Maternal Employment on Gender Inequalities at Work and at Home. [Link](#)

See also: [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/17/upshot/mounting-evidence-of-some-advantages-for-children-of-working-mothers.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/17/upshot/mounting-evidence-of-some-advantages-for-children-of-working-mothers.html?_r=0)

## Week 11: Presentations

**1 (Nov 14): Group presentations in class**

**2 (Nov 16): Group presentations in class**

## Week 12: Intersectionality

**1 (Nov 21): Intersectionality**

*How does gender interact with race, class, and other social groups? Can we still talk about a group of “women”? How might other research from this course benefit from consideration of other groups?*

Critical Perspectives Symposium on “Intersectionality.” 2007. *Politics & Gender* 3 (2): 229-280. Read “Intersectionality”, [Link](#)

Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. "Do interest groups represent the disadvantaged? Advocacy at the intersections of race, class, and gender." *Journal of Politics* 68.4: 894-910. [Link](#)

**2 (Nov 23) Thanksgiving break, no class**

## Week 13: Future & Conclusions

**1 (Nov 28): New research directions**

*What direction is this field of research going in, given the current political and economic context? What questions remain, and how might research be designed to answer them?*

Murray, R., 2014. Quotas for men: Reframing gender quotas as a means of improving representation for all. *American Political Science Review*, 108(03), pp.520-532. [Link](#)

Critical Perspectives Symposium on “Does the United States Still Need a Women’s Movement?” *Politics & Gender*, 10(02). [Link](#)

**2 (Nov 30): Conclusions**

*What have we learned in this course? What were your favorite, and least favorite, texts & podcasts, and why? What surprised you? What does the future look like for equality in the workforce, political life, and household? Are we on the right path, or not? How will you use your expertise about gender inequality going forward?*

**\* Dec 3 – 9 Reading period. Final exam schedule TBA.**