



Political Science UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Women at the Helm: Gender, Leadership, and Global Politics, POL486H1-S

January 13- April 10, 2023

Friday, 10:00 AM to 12:00 PM, NF 332 (in-person)

Office Hours: Friday, 12:30-2:00, Office SS 6010

Dr. Madison Schramm

Madison.schramm@utoronto.ca

Course Description

The growing number of women in executive office has raised questions about how our existing theories--theories often created by and to explain the experiences of men--can account for how women come to power and how they perform in office. This class surveys how gendered norms and political structures affect the election, behavior, and political fate of women heads of government. Students will engage with various approaches to the study of gender and leadership in International Relations and explore cases of stateswomen who led empires and states.

Learning Objectives

- Explore and revisit theories of decision-making and foreign policy
- Investigate how the identity and gender of leaders inflects foreign policy
- Synthesize feminist and decision-making theories and apply lessons to contemporary and historical cases
- Learn how to read arguments thoroughly and thoughtfully
- Discuss what theories appeal to them and which ones challenge their views

STATEMENT ON ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF TRADITIONAL LAND

This course takes place on land that has been in relation with Indigenous people and societies since time immemorial. The Elders Circle of the University of Toronto has provided the following statement on acknowledgement of traditional land: We would like to acknowledge this sacred land on which the University of Toronto operates. It has been a site of human activity for 15,000 years. This land is the territory of the Huron-Wendat and Petun First Nations, the Seneca, and most recently, the Mississaugas of the Credit River. The territory was the subject of the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant, an agreement between the Iroquois Confederacy and Confederacy of the Ojibwe and allied nations to peaceably share and care for the resources around the Great Lakes. Today, the meeting place of Toronto is still the home to many Indigenous people from across Turtle Island and we are grateful to have the opportunity to work in the community, on this territory.

Revised by the Elders Circle (Council of Aboriginal Initiatives) on November 6, 2014. Available at: <https://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/fnh>

Requirements

Readings

Students must complete all *required* readings before the seminar.

Attendance and Participation (20%)

This course will be discussion-based and attendance and active participation in all seminars is required. Each unexcused absence will decrease your participation mark.

Reading Quizzes (2) (20%) Monday 9 AM, January 30 and March 6

Students must complete 2 reading quizzes throughout the semester posted Monday 9:00 am, January 30 and March 6 via Quercus for a 24-hour period (Between Monday 9 AM and Tuesday 9 AM) . Quizzes are open book and should take no more than 30 minutes. Students must take quizzes independently and not allowed to work together.

Oral Presentation 1 (15%)

Students will do an oral presentation (4-5 minutes) on one of the book chapters/articles assigned in the course. The presentation should include a summary of the articles/ book chapter, including the author's research question, theory, empirics, findings, and offer three discussion questions of their own to the class. Students will also be required to turn in a response to the reading via Quercus the night before their presentation. A sign-up sheet will be circulated. Slides are optional.

Oral Presentation 2 (15%)

Students will do a second oral presentation (3-4 minutes) to help further contextualize one of the case studies we will be exploring in the last three weeks of class. Students will include 1-2 discussion questions for the class and turn in a short, annotated bibliography of sources via Quercus (this presentation will require a bit of outside research). A sign-up sheet will be circulated. Given the time limit, slides are discouraged, but handouts are optional.

Final Paper (30%) Monday, April 3, 9 AM

Applying theories discussed in class, students will produce an analysis (2000 words max) of one of German Chancellor Angela Merkel's foreign policy initiatives, policies, or crisis. More details to follow.

Late Assignments

Late work (without a granted extension) will be reduced by 5 percentage points for every day late. Students will only be granted extensions with documentation and under extenuating circumstances.

Appeals and Re-Grading Policy

The first thing to do is to wait. I will not discuss your assignment for at least 48 hours after the assignment has been returned to you. Afterward, you can ask for a regrade. Be aware, however, that this does not guarantee your mark will be raised. It could go up, down, or remain the same.

Grading

<i>Requirement</i>	<i>Grade</i>	<i>Due Date</i>	<i>Submitted through</i>
Tutorial attendance and participation	20%	Throughout semester	In person
Oral Presentations (2)	30 %	Sign-up sheet circulated	In-person and via Quercus
Reading Quizzes (2)	20%	Monday 9 AM, January 30 and March 6	Via Quercus
Analysis Paper	30%	Monday 9 AM, April 3	Via Quercus

Course Policies and Procedures: This course will use Quercus to disseminate all course-related information and assignments. It is your responsibility to log on to Quercus regularly and obtain relevant information. All written assignments must be submitted through Quercus

Communication Information

You are responsible for checking Quercus and your UofT e-mail regularly. Your TA is your point of contact for all questions related to the course, including queries about course material, requests for extensions, and requests to regrade (email address and section above). When corresponding by e-mail, please put “Decision-Making and International Security ” at the beginning of the subject line, followed by the subject of your e-mail (for example: “Decision-Making and International Security : Question about intel memo”). The TA will not respond to emails over the weekend or after 5PM during weekdays. Unless an emergency, responses will take 48-72 hours.

Accessibility

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability or health consideration that may require accommodations, please contact Accessibility Services at accessibility.services@utoronto.ca
<http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as/contact-us>

Academic Integrity

Please refer to the Seven **Grandfathers of Academic Integrity:**

https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/wpcontent/uploads/Seven_Grandfathers_in_Academic_Integrity.pdf
The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. Academic integrity is a fundamental value of learning and scholarship at the UofT. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that your UofT degree is valued and respected as a true signifier of your individual academic achievement.

The University of Toronto’s Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>) outlines the behaviours that constitute academic misconduct, the processes for addressing academic offences, and the penalties that may be imposed. You are expected to be familiar with the contents of this document. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters. If you have any questions

about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact me. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information from me or other available campus resources: Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>). You may opt out of this tool by contacting the instructor as early as possible in the semester to make alternative arrangements. Writing Centres:

<http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/> Academic Success:

<http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/asc> How not to Plagiarize:

<http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize/> RESOURCES Writing

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>).

Support

Students can visit www.writing.utoronto.ca for information and advice on all aspects of academic writing. Students are encouraged to make use of the college writing centers for individualized consultations on their written assignments. Interested students should book their appointments with the writing centers early, as they fill up fast. Information about the writing centers is available at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/arts-andscience>. Students can also take advantage of the Library's free "Writing Plus" academic skills workshop series, described at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-plus>. International students can find information about the English Language Learning program (ELL), which includes practice opportunities for improving oral communication and critical reading skills, at <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/current/advising/ell>. Registrar Support: Students are encouraged to contact their registrar promptly if they experience unexpected challenges during the course that may require accommodations.

Health and Wellness:

Students can access a wide range of programs and services to support their health and wellbeing. Many of these programs are listed at: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/health-wellness/>

Crisis Support:

Students in distress can access a range of free crisis lines available from the University of Toronto and the City of Toronto, as listed below:

- University of Toronto: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/task/support-when-you-feel-distressed/>

- City of Toronto: <https://www.toronto.ca/311/knowledgebase/kb/docs/articles/311-toronto/information-and-business-development/crisis-lines-suicide-depression-telephonesupport-lines-non-crisis-mental-health-services.html>

Most of these crisis lines are available 24 hours a day and some address specific problems that students may be experiencing. Immediate assistance is available as follows:

- My SSP for University of Toronto Students: 1-844-451-9700.
- Good 2 Talk Student Helpline: 1-866-925-5454
- Gerstein Crisis Centre: 416-929-5200
- Distress Centres of Greater Toronto: 416-408-HELP (4357)
- The Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH): 250 College Street (walk-in)

You are not alone: please get help if you're experiencing difficulties or are in distress.

I. Gender and Leadership

January 13, Class 1: Intro Revisiting Leaders and Foreign Policy

Byman, Daniel L., and Kenneth M. Pollack. "Let us now praise great men: Bringing the statesman back in." *International security* 25.4 (2001): 107-146.

Stuart, Douglas T., 'Foreign-Policy Decision-Making' in Christian Reus-Smit, and Duncan Snidal (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (2008); online edn, Oxford Academic, 2 Sept. 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199219322.003.0033>,

Jalalzai, Farida, and Mona Lena Krook. "Beyond Hillary and Benazir: Women's political leadership worldwide." *International Political Science Review* 31.1 (2010): 5-21.

"Facts and Figures: Women's Leadership and Political Participation." *UN Women – Headquarters*, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures>.

January 20, Class 2: Domestic Politics and Descriptive Representation

Hinojosa, Magda. "The Descriptive Representation of Women in Politics." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. 2021.

O'Brien, Diana Z. "Rising to the top: Gender, political performance, and party leadership in parliamentary democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 59.4 (2015): 1022-1039.

Rosen, Jennifer. "The effects of political institutions on women's political representation: A comparative analysis of 168 countries from 1992 to 2010." *Political Research Quarterly* 66.2 (2013): 306-321.

Dahlerup, Drude. "Increasing women's political representation: New trends in gender quotas." *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers* 141 (2005).

Recommended

Kunovich, Sheri, and Pamela Paxton. "Pathways to power: The role of political parties in women's national political representation." *American journal of sociology* 111.2 (2005): 505-552.

January 27, Class 3: Norms

Waylen, Georgina. "Gender, feminism and the state: an overview." *Gender, politics and the state* (2012): 11-27.

Towns, Ann. "The status of women as a standard of 'civilization'." *European Journal of International Relations* 15.4 (2009): 681-706.

Sjoberg, Laura, and Caron E. Gentry. *Mothers, monsters, whores: women's violence in global politics*. Zed Books, 2007. Chapters 1 and 2 pgs 1-58.

Recommended

Ramphele, Mamphela. "Political widowhood in South Africa: The embodiment of ambiguity." *Daedalus* 125.1 (1996): 99-117.

Monday, January 30 Reading Quiz 1

February 3, Class 4: Norms Continued

Gal, Susan. "A semiotics of the public/private distinction." *Differences: a journal of feminist cultural studies* 13.1 (2002): 77-95.

Teele, Dawn Langan, Joshua Kalla, and Frances Rosenbluth. "The ties that double bind: social roles and women's underrepresentation in politics." *American Political Science Review* 112.3 (2018): 525-541.

Bos, Angela L., et al. "This one's for the boys: How gendered political socialization limits girls' political ambition and interest." *American Political Science Review* 116.2 (2022): 484-501.

Krook, Mona Lena, and Juliana Restrepo Sanín. "The cost of doing politics? Analyzing violence and harassment against female politicians." *Perspectives on Politics* 18.3 (2020): 740-755.

Recommended

Karpowitz, Christopher F., Tali Mendelberg, and Lauren Mattioli. "Why women's numbers elevate women's influence, and when they do not: rules, norms, and authority in political discussion." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3.1 (2015): 149-177.

II. Governing

February 10, Class 5: Women, Peace, and Security and Liberal Feminism

Otieno, Alex. "Peace Profile: Ellen Johnson Sirleaf." *Peace Review* 32.4 (2020): 554-563.

Kirby, Paul, and Laura J. Shepherd. "Reintroducing women, peace and security." *International Affairs* 92.2 (2016): 249-254.

Davies, Sara E., and Jacqui True, eds. *The Oxford handbook of women, peace, and security*. Oxford University Press, 2018. Chapter 1

True, Jacqui, and Antje Wiener. "Everyone wants (a) peace: the dynamics of rhetoric and practice on 'Women, Peace and Security'." *International Affairs* 95.3 (2019): 553-574.

February 17, Class 6: War and Iron Ladies

Schramm, Madison, and Alexandra Stark. "Peacemakers or iron ladies? A cross-national study of gender and international conflict." *Security Studies* 29.3 (2020): 515-548.

Dube, Oeindrila, and S. P. Harish. "Queens." *Journal of Political Economy* 128.7 (2020): 2579-2652.

Post, Abigail S., and Paromita Sen. "Why can't a woman be more like a man? Female leaders in crisis bargaining." *International Interactions* 46.1 (2020): 1-27.

"When Women Commit War Crimes." *War on the Rocks*, 28 Oct. 2020,
<https://warontherocks.com/2020/10/when-women-commit-war-crimes/>.

"Women at War: Why Do We Still Struggle with the Idea of Female Soldiers?" *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 3 Aug. 2019,
<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/aug/03/brave-confrontations-its-time-writers-broke-the-taboo-of-the-female-warrior>.

Recommended

"Who Gets into More Wars, Kings or Queens?" *The Economist*, The Economist Newspaper,
<https://www.economist.com/europe/2017/06/01/who-gets-into-more-wars-kings-or-queens>.

NO CLASS February 24: Reading Week

March 3, Class 7: Economic Policy and Intelligence

Kantola, Johanna, and Emanuela Lombardo, eds. *Gender and the economic crisis in Europe: Politics, institutions and intersectionality*. Springer, 2017. Chapter 1

Buck, Lori, Nicole Gallant, and Kim Richard Nossal. "Sanctions as a gendered instrument of statecraft: The case of Iraq." *Review of International Studies* 24.1 (1998): 69-84.

Daybell, James. "Gender, politics and diplomacy: women, news and intelligence networks in Elizabethan England." *Diplomacy and early modern culture*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2011. 101-119.

Olmsted, Kathryn S. "Blond queens, red spiders, and neurotic old maids: gender and espionage in the early Cold War." *Intelligence and National Security* 19.1 (2004): 78-94.

Recommended

Hessami, Zohal, and Mariana Lopes da Fonseca. "Female political representation and substantive effects on policies: A literature review." *European Journal of Political Economy* 63 (2020): 101896.

Monday, March 6 Reading Quiz 2

March 10, Class 8 : Alliances and Existential Threats

Aggestam, Karin, and Ann Towns. "The gender turn in diplomacy: a new research agenda." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 21.1 (2019): 9-28

Sluga, Glenda, and Carolyn James, eds. Chapter 5 "Marriage plots: Royal women, marriage diplomacy and international politics at the Spanish, French and Imperial Courts, 1665–1679" in *Women, diplomacy and international politics since 1500*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Johnson, Carol, and Blair Williams. "Gender and Political Leadership in a Time of COVID." *Politics & Gender* 16.4 (2020): 943-950.

Mavisakalyan, Astghik, and Yashar Tarverdi. "Gender and climate change: Do female parliamentarians make difference?." *European Journal of Political Economy* 56 (2019): 151-164.

Recommended

Windsor, Leah C., et al. "Gender in the time of COVID-19: Evaluating national leadership and COVID-19 fatalities." *PloS one* 15.12 (2020): e0244531.

March 17, Class 9: Exit and Legacies (Class remote, no office hours)

Szucko, Angélica. "Glass Cliff and Brexit: Theresa May's legacy as Prime Minister." *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 18.1 (2022).

Wagner-Wright, Sandra. "Common denominators in successful female statecraft: the political legacies of Queen Elizabeth I, Indira Gandhi, and Margaret Thatcher." *Forum on Public Policy: A Journal of the Oxford Round Table*. Forum on Public Policy, 2012.

Goemans, Hein E. "Which way out? The manner and consequences of losing office." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52.6 (2008): 771-794.

Recommended

Stevenson, Linda S. "The Bachelet effect on gender-equity policies." *Latin American Perspectives* 39.4 (2012): 129-144.

V. Cases

March 24, Class 10: Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff

Sosa, Joseph Jay. "Subversive, mother, killjoy: Sexism against Dilma Rousseff and the social imaginary of Brazil's rightward turn." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 44.3 (2019): 717-741.

Jalalzai, Farida, and Pedro G. Dos Santos. "The Dilma effect? Women's representation under Dilma Rousseff's presidency." *Politics & Gender* 11.1 (2015): 117-145.

Fernandes, Sabrina. "Dilma Rousseff and the challenge of fighting patriarchy through political representation in Brazil." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 13.3 (2012): 114-126.

"Dilma Rousseff." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.,
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Dilma-Rousseff>.

Romero, Simon. "Scandals in Brazil Prompt Fears of a Return to Turmoil." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 12 Aug. 2015,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/13/world/americas/scandals-in-brazil-prompt-fears-of-a-return-to-turmoil.html>.

"'A Lot of Testosterone and Little Pigment': Brazil's Old Elite Deals a Blow to Diversity." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 13 May 2016,
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/13/brazil-dilma-rousseff-impeachment-michel-temer-cabinet>.

"Dilma Rousseff Is on Trial – and so Is Brazil's Faltering Democracy | Carolina Matos." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 13 May 2016,
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/13/dilma-rousseff-trial-brazil-democracy>.

Recommended

Jalalzai, Farida. *Women Presidents in Latin America: Beyond Family Ties?*. Routledge, 2015.

March 31, Class 11: Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi

Gandhi, Indira. "India and the World." *Foreign Aff.* 51 (1972): 65.

Steinberg, Blema S. "Indira Gandhi: The relationship between personality profile and leadership style." *Political Psychology* 26.5 (2005): 755-790.

Singh, Sourabh. "Unraveling the enigma of Indira Gandhi's rise in Indian politics: a woman leader's quest for political legitimacy." *Theory and society* 41.5 (2012): 479-504.

Kumar, Preeti. "Gendered Lives: A Study of Two Biographies of Indira Gandhi." *Samyukta: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 6.1 (2021).

Monday, April 3, Analysis Paper Due

April 10, Class 12: Chinese Empress Dowager Cixi (Make-up class Good Friday)

Chang, Jung. *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*. Random House, 2013. Part 1, 2, and 3 or Chapters 1-12.

Recommended Movies and TV shows

The Great

Wakanda Forever

The Woman King

Borgen

Queen Elizabeth

The Serpent Queen

Iron Lady

Game of Thrones

House of the Dragon

VEEP

The Crown

Longshot

Eye in the Sky

For all Mankind