

# THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GENDER

Dawn Langan Teele

Fall 2016

Fridays 2-5

Office Hours 3-5 Tuesday, 203 Stiteler.

## COURSE OVERVIEW

*Description:* Over the past two hundred years, with the rise industrial production, growing educational attainment, and availability of contraception, women have entered the formal labor market in vast numbers. Yet despite advances, there are still important disparities between the sexes, often exacerbated by class and racial politics. This course unpacks the elements of the transition in the political economy of gender and examines its limits. We set out to understand women's labor in emerging industrial and post-industrial economies; the causes and consequences of women's political inclusion; gendered opportunities in the labor force including the persistence of pay gaps; and the formation of economic and political preferences across the genders. Theoretically, we will engage with Marxian political economy, and new institutionalist approaches to understand how political and economic institutions reproduce or remedy contemporary problems including the gender gap in wages, in political representation, and in women's economic opportunities. Throughout the course we will pay special attention to challenges faced by minority groups and by women in developing countries.

## SYLLABUS DESCRIPTION:

The articles and books listed below the boldface type are the assigned readings, while "supplemental readings" are a guide for further inquiry for interested students and literature reviews. Days marked by \*\* indicate a higher than average reading load. Days marked by **[Paper Day]** are self-explanatory.

## COMPUTER AND EMAIL POLICY:

No screens of any kind in class.

Please keep emails to me to a minimum, especially if your classmates may know the answer. We will set up an online forum to ask questions and share readings (in case you do not buy all of the books). See: [https://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/E-Mail\\_the\\_Third\\_Shift.pdf](https://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/E-Mail_the_Third_Shift.pdf)

**\*\*Please star or flag my initial email to the class and make all of your emails to me a response to the first one. That way everything about all of you is in one place.**

## EVALUATION

One of the aims of the course is to refine skills in writing and presentation. Writing: each student should submit reading responses in 9 of 14 course weeks, your choice as to which weeks, the particulars are listed below. Presenting: students will present on the materials in two ways – each week will have two student discussion leaders, and each student will present alone during two “paper” days. The particulars are below. Final exams: [Undergraduate] A 24-hour take-home exam. [Graduate] A final project will be either a theoretically-grounded literature review that serves as the basis of a research proposal, or you can write a grant or fellowship application for further study.

Reading Responses: The responses will grow in length as you become more comfortable summarizing the main argument (generally focusing on one assigned text) and developing a critique of the argument or method given your knowledge of the subject, often integrating previous weeks readings as the course progresses. **Responses are due before Friday mornings.**

Class Discussants: Two students will present together at the beginning of each class (15-20 minutes) as a way to ground our discussion, provide visual guides to the argument, and propose discussion questions. No powerpoints.

Paper Days: Students will prepare 15-20 minute powerpoint presentation on a paper of their choosing from the syllabus. The key is to demonstrate an understanding of the material and its methods, and to critique or offer suggestions for further work. See my website, [www.dawnteele.com](http://www.dawnteele.com) for tips on slides.

## GRADING:

Your work is subject to Penn’s Code for Academic Integrity. A confirmed violation of the code will result in a failure of the course.

A good rule of thumb is to cite every source you use and do not copy or paste things from books or the internet into your written and graded work. Wikipedia is generally not considered an academic source. JSTOR is more reliable than Google for searching for academic articles.

To quibble with grades you must submit a hand written note to my faculty mailbox. If I agree to re-evaluate your work, I will do so for the entire document and not just for the section to which the quibble refers. Office hours are not to be used for grade discussions, but please do come to them.

**WEEK 1: STUDYING GENDER**  
**SEPTEMBER 2**

Goffman, Erving. "The Arrangement between the Sexes." *Theory and Society* 4, no. 3 (1977): 301-31. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/656722>.

Young, Iris Marion. "Gender as seriality: Thinking about women as a social collective." *Signs* 19.3 (1994): 713-738. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174775>

Chepp, Valerie and Patricia Hill Collins "Intersectionality" *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics* (2013): 57. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0002

SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

Boyd, Monica 1984. "At a Disadvantage: The Occupational Attainments of Foreign Born Women in Canada." *International Migration Review* 18 (4): 1091-1119. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2546074>

Crenshaw, K. (1989) Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: a black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics, 1989 University of Chicago Legal Forum, 139. [Full Text at HeinOnline](#)

Dhamoon, Rita Kaur. 2011. "Considerations on mainstreaming intersectionality." *Political Research Quarterly* 64: 230–243. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41058336>

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007b. "When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition: Examining intersectionality as a research paradigm." *Perspectives on Politics* 5: 63–79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20446350>

McCall, Leslie. 2005. "The complexity of intersectionality." *Signs* 30: 1771–1800. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/426800>

Scott, J.W. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1864376>

Simien, Evelyn M. 2007. "Doing intersectionality research: From conceptual issues to practical examples." *Politics & Gender* 3: 264–271. <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>

Simien, Evelyn M., and Ange-Marie Hancock. 2011. "Mini-symposium: Intersectionality research." *Political Research Quarterly* 64: 185–186. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41058332>

West, Candace and Don Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender and Society* 1: 125-151. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/189945>

**WEEK 2: THE HOUSEHOLD AS A LOCUS OF PRODUCTION \*\***  
**SEPTEMBER 9**

Xenophon (362 BC). *Oeconomicus*

Engles, Frederick (1884). *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Introduction, chs 1, 2, 9.

Becker, Gary (1981). *A Treatise on the Family*. Harvard University Press. Introduction and Ch 2.

**WEEK 3: CRITIQUES**  
**SEPTEMBER 16**

Hartmann, Heidi. 1976. "[Capitalism, patriarchy, and job segregation by sex.](#)" *Signs* 1(3).

Folbre, Nancy (1982). "Exploitation Comes Home: A Critique of the Marxian Theory of Family Labor," *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 6,4: 317-29.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23596518>

Nash, Jennifer C. "Re-thinking intersectionality." *Feminist review* 89.1 (2008): 1-15.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40663957>

Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay, *Gender, Politics and Institutions: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism*, (2011), Palgrave MacMillan. Introduction.

SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

MacKinnon, Catharine. 1982. "Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State: An Agenda for Theory." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173853>

**[[THURSDAY SEPT 22<sup>ND</sup>, GENDER AND SEX IN THE ELECTION, GSWs 4:30PM]]**

**WEEK 6: WOMEN IN THE PRE-INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY \*\***  
**SEPTEMBER 23**

Ogilvie, S. A bitter living: women, markets, and social capital in early modern Germany  
*Oxford University Press, USA*, 2003.

SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

Horrell, S. & Humphries, J. Women's labour force participation and the transition to the male-breadwinner family, 1790-1861. *The Economic History Review*, Wiley Online Library, 1995, 48, 89-117. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2597872>

Nancy Folbre and Barnet Wagman, "Counting Housework: New Estimates of Real Product in the U.S., 1800-1860, *The Journal of Economic History* 53:2, 275-88.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2122994>

Goldin, C. & Sokoloff, K. L. Women, Children, and Industrialization in the Early Republic: Evidence from the Manufacturing Censuses. *Journal of Economic History*, 1982, 741-74.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2121107>

Cordelia Beattie and Matthew Frank Stevens, *Married Women and the Law in Premodern Northwest Europe*, (2013), The Boydell Press. [Full text online at Penn.](#)

**WEEK 5: ENSLAVEMENT AND REPRODUCTION**  
**SEPTEMBER 30**

Fogel, Robert William, and Stanley L. Engerman. 1995. *Time on the cross: The economics of American Negro slavery*. Vol. 1. WW Norton & Company, 1995. **Prologue and chapters 1 and 4.**

Roberts, Dorothy. 1994. *Killing the black body: Race, reproduction, and the meaning of liberty*. Vintage. **Introduction and Chapter 1.**

**WEEK 6: WOMEN IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION \*\***  
**OCTOBER 14**

Tilly, L. & Scott, J. W. *Women, work, and family*. Psychology Press, 1987. **pgs. 1-146.**

Khan, B. Z. Married Women's Property Laws and Female Commercial Activity: Evidence from United States Patent Records, 1790-1895. *Journal of Economic History*, Cambridge Univ Press, 1996, 56, 356-88. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2123970>

#### SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

Galor, O. & Weil, D. Population, technology, and growth: From Malthusian stagnation to the demographic transition and beyond. *American Economic Review*, JSTOR, 2000, 806-828. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/117309>

Rick Geddes and Dean Lueck. 2001. "The Gains from Self-Ownership and the Expansion of Women's Rights," *American Economic Review*.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3083297>

Guinnane, Timothy W. "The historical fertility transition: A guide for economists." *Journal of Economic Literature* 49, no. 3 (2011): 589-614. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23071723>

### **WEEK 7: GENDER AND LABOR IN THE LONG TWENTIETH CENTURY \*\*** **OCTOBER 21**

Goldin, C. Understanding the gender gap: An economic history of American women. *Equal employment opportunity: labor market discrimination and public policy*, 1994.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

Goldin, Claudia. 1995. "The U-Shaped Female Labor Force Function in Economic Development and Economic History." In *Investment in Women's Human Capital*, ed. Paul Schultz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp 61-90.

Suzanne Mettler. *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy*.

### **WEEK 8: INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER AND LABOR [PAPER DAY]** **OCTOBER 28**

Amott, Teresa and Julie Matthaei, 1991. *Race, Gender and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States*, Boston: South End Press. **Chapters 1, 2, and Two chapters from part III (your choice).**

McCall, L. "Gender, Race, and the Restructuring of Work: Organizational and Institutional Perspectives." Pp. 74-94 in *The Oxford Handbook of Work and Organization*, ed. by P. Tolbert, R. Batt, S. Ackroyd, and P. Thompson. New York: Oxford University Press.

Terri Caraway. 2005 “The Political Economy of Feminization: From ‘Cheap Labor’ to Gendered Discourses of Work.” *Politics & Gender* 1 (September 2005): 399-429.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

Davis, Angela, 1983. *Women, Race, and Class*, New York: Vintage Press.

Keohane, Robert O. 2009. “Discordant Cooperation: Reinventing Globalization to Reduce Gender Inequality.” In *Towards a Humanist Justice: The Political Philosophy of Susan Moller Okin*, ed. Debra Satz and Robert Reich. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 203-222.

Cybelle Fox’s *Three Worlds of Relief*.

Edna Bonacich, A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market, *American Sociological Review* 37 (1972), 547-59. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2093450>

Mammen, K. & Paxson, C. Women's Work and Economic Development  
*The Journal of Economic Perspectives, American Economic Association*, 2000, 14, pp. 141-164.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2647079>

Ross, M. Oil, Islam, and Women. *American Political Science Review, Cambridge Univ Press*, 2008, 102, 107-123. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27644501>

Qian, N. Missing women and the price of tea in China: The effect of sex-specific earnings on sex imbalance. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics, Oxford University Press*, 2008, 123, 1251-1285. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25098928>

### **WEEK 9: CONTRACEPTION AND STERILIZATION NOVEMBER 4**

Bailey, M. J. More power to the pill: the impact of contraceptive freedom on women's life cycle labor supply. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics, Oxford University Press*, 2006, 121, 289-320. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25098791>

Pezzini, Silvia. 2005. “The Effect of Women’s Rights on Women’s Welfare: Evidence from a Natural Experiment.” *The Economic Journal* 115 (502): pp. C208–C227.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3590378>

Roberts, Dorothy. 1994. *Killing the black body: Race, reproduction, and the meaning of liberty*. Vintage. “The Dark Side of Birth Control,” **Chapters 2 and 3, IVF.**

#### SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

*The Means of Reproduction*, Michelle Goldberg;

Chateauvert, Melinda. *Sex workers unite: A history of the movement from Stonewall to Slutwalk*. Beacon Press, 2014.

Majic, Samantha. "Serving Sex Workers and Promoting Democratic Engagement: Rethinking Nonprofits' Role in American Civic and Political Life." *Perspectives on Politics* 9.04 (2011): 821-839.

Weitzer, Ronald. "The social construction of sex trafficking: Ideology and institutionalization of a moral crusade." *Politics & Society* 35.3 (2007): 447-475.

**[[NOVEMBER 4<sup>TH</sup>, GENDER IN THE ELECTION PANEL 7PM, WOMEN OF FELS]]**

**WEEK 10: MOTHERHOOD, WORK, AND THE STATE  
NOVEMBER 11**

Kimberly Morgan. 2006. *Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policy in Western Europe and the United States*. Stanford University Press.

SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

Gustafson, Kaaryn S. *Cheating welfare: Public assistance and the criminalization of poverty*. NYU Press, 2011.

Julia S. O'Connor, Ann Shola Orloff, and Sheila Shaver, *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*, (1999), Cambridge Press.

Chodorow, Nancy, 1978. *The Reproduction of Mothering*, Berkeley: University of California.

Ferguson, Ann and Nancy Folbre, 1981. 2000. "Women, Care and the Public Good: A Dialogue", in Anatole Anton, Milton Fisk and Nancy Holmstrom, eds. *Not for Sale: In Defense of Public Goods*, Boulder CO: Westview Press: 95-108.

Fraser, Nancy (1989). *Unruly practices: power, discourse, and gender in contemporary social theory*. Last Chapter

Htun, Mala. 2003. *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce, and the Family under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies*. Cambridge University Press.

Shelly Lundberg and Robert Pollak, "Separate Spheres Bargaining and the Marriage Market," *Journal of Political Economy* 101:6 (December 1993): 988-1010.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2138567>



Roberts, Dorothy. 1994. Killing the black body: Race, reproduction, and the meaning of liberty. Vintage. "Making Reproduction a Crime"

## **WEEK 11: WOMEN'S POLITICAL RIGHTS: CAUSE, EFFECT, CONSEQUENCE NOVEMBER 18**

2014. Teele, Dawn. "Ordinary Democratization: The Electoral Strategy that Won British Women the Vote", *Politics & Society*, 42(4): 537-561.  
<http://upenn.academia.edu/DawnTeele>

2017. Morgan-Collins, Mona. "Votes For and By Women: How did women vote after the Nineteenth Amendment?"

John Lott and Lawrence Kenny. 1999. Did Women's Franchise Expand the Size of Government? *Journal of Political Economy*. 107, 6.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/250093>

### SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

Corder, J. Kevin, and Christina Wolbrecht. *Counting Women's Ballots: Female Voters from Suffrage through the New Deal*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Harvey, Anna L. *Votes without leverage: Women in American electoral politics, 1920-1970*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Abrams, B. & Settle, R. Women's suffrage and the growth of the welfare state  
*Public Choice, Springer*, 1999, 100, 289-300. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30026099>

Miller, G. Women's Suffrage, Political Responsiveness, and Child Survival in American History. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 2008, 1287-1327.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25098929>

McDonagh, E. (2002). Political citizenship and democratization: the gender paradox. *American Political Science Review*, 96(03), 535-552.

Caraway, Teri L. "Inclusion and Democratization: Class, Gender, Race, and the Extension of Suffrage." *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 4 (July 2004): 443-60.

Paxton, Pamela. "Women's Suffrage in the Measurement of Democracy: Problems of Operationalization." *Studies in Comparative International Development (SCID)* 35, no. 3 (2000): 92-111.

**WEEK 12: GENDER GAPS IN POLITICS**  
**WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 23**

Burns, Nancy, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 2001. *The private roots of public action*. Harvard University Press. Ch 11.

Gay, Claudine, and Katherine Tate. 1998. "[Doubly Bound: The Impact of Gender and Race on the Politics of Black Women](#)". *Political Psychology* 19 (1).  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792120>

Dara Strolovich. 2006. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." *Journal of Politics*, 68: 893-908.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00478>

SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2000. "The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women's and Men's Voting Behavior in Global Perspective." *International Political Science Review* 21 (4): 441-463. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601598>

Jane Junn. Gender Gap or Race Gap? Women Voters in U.S. Presidential Elections.

Iverson, Torben and Frances Rosenbluth. 2006. "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* 50(1): 1-19.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3694253>

Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M., Suzanna De Boef, and Tse-Min Lin. "The dynamics of the partisan gender gap." *American Political Science Review* 98.03 (2004): 515-528.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4145344>

Tripp, Aili. 2015. *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa*, Cambridge.

Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional enactments of race-gender: Toward a theory of raced-gendered institutions." *American Political Science Review* 97: 529–550.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3593022>

Paxton, P. & Kunovich, S. Women's political representation: The importance of ideology *Social Forces*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 82, 87-113.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3598139>

Maria Carrilho. 2000. "Men and Women in Political Leadership," in Mino Vianello and Gwen Moore, *Gendering Elites: Economic and Political Leadership in 27 Industrialised Societies* (Macmillan), chapter 6.

- Caul, Miki. 1999. "Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties." *Party Politics* 5 (1): 79-98
- Reynolds, A. (1999). Women in the legislatures and executives of the world: Knocking at the highest glass ceiling. *World Politics*, 51(04), 547-572.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25054094>
- Reynolds, Andrew. "Representation and rights: The impact of LGBT legislators in comparative perspective." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 02 (2013): 259-274.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055413000051>
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1998. "Women and the Evolution of World Politics." *Foreign Affairs*. 77(5): 24-40. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20049048>
- Iversen, T. & Rosenbluth, F. Work and Power: The Connection Between Female Labor Force Participation and Female Political Representation. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2008, 11, 479-495.
- Jaquette, Jane S. 2001. "Women and Democracy: Regional Differences and Contrasting Views." *Journal of Democracy* 12(3): 111-125.
- Kira Sanbonmatsu. 2002. "Gender Strategies and Vote Choice," *American Journal of Political Science* 46/1: 20-34. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3088412>

**WEEK 13: QUOTAS [PAPERS DAY]**  
**DECEMBER 2**

*Arguments*

- Dahlerup, Drude, and Lenita Freidenvall. "Judging gender quotas: predictions and results." *Policy & Politics* 38, no. 3 (2010): 407-425. [Full Text Online at Penn](#)

*Causes*

- Htun, Mala. "Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* no. 03 (September 2004): 439-58.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3688807>

*Effects*

- O'Brien, Diana Z., and Johanna Rickne. "Gender Quotas and Women's Political Leadership." *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 01 (2016): 112-126.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055415000611>

- Clayton, Amanda. "Women's Political Engagement Under Quota-Mandated Female Representation: Evidence From a Randomized Policy Experiment." *Comparative Political Studies* (2014).
- Barnes, Tiffany D., and Stephanie M. Burchard. "'Engendering' Politics: The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* (2012)
- Beaman, Lori, Raghavendra Chattopadhyay, Esther Duflo, Rohini Pande and Petia Topalova. 2009. "Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124(4): 1497-1540. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40506265>

#### SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS

- Barnes, Tiffany D., and Abby Córdova. "Making Space for Women: Explaining Citizen Support for Legislative Gender Quotas in Latin America." *The Journal of Politics* 78, no. 3 (2016).
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. New York: Oxford University Press, 161-205
- Tripp, Aili Mari, and Alice Kang. "The global impact of quotas on the fast track to increased female legislative representation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41.3 (2008): 338-361. <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/41/3/338.short>
- Htun, Mala N., and Mark P. Jones. "Engendering the right to participate in decision-making: electoral quotas and women's leadership in Latin America." *Gender and the politics of rights and democracy in Latin America*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2002. 32-56.
- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. "Making quotas work: The effect of gender quota laws on the election of women." *Legislative studies quarterly* 34.1 (2009): 5-28. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20680225>
- Hughes, Melanie M. *Intersectionality, quotas, and minority women's political representation worldwide*. na, 2011. [http://www.pitt.edu/~hughesm/hughes\\_apsr.pdf](http://www.pitt.edu/~hughesm/hughes_apsr.pdf)

#### **WEEK 14: HAVING IT ALL DECEMBER 9**

- Nancy Folbre, *Who Pays for the Kids?*, Chapters 1 and 2, A Feminist Theory and Political Economy and "Collective Action and Structures of Constraint."

Hochschild, Arlie. *The Second Shift*.

Sandberg, Sheryl. *Lean in*. & surrounding debates e.g. Anne Marie Slaughter.