



Political Science
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

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

Location: SK114

Thursdays, 1-3 PM

Dr. Madison Schramm

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Office Hours: Thursdays, 4-5:45 PM

Sign up:

https://forms.office.com/Pages/ResponsePage.aspx?id=JsKqeAMvTUuQN7RtVsVSEP67XbbL_CsxIr96OKGWvdnNUREJTODFUNTFEWDc1UUJPMzUzTVNOS1JEMy4u

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

Attendance and Participation (20 %)

Attendance and active participation in all classes is required.

Reading

Students must complete all *required* readings before the lecture. All required readings will be available to students on Quercus.

Oral Presentation 1 on Reading (15%)

Students will do an oral presentation (8-10 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 overall case study/ theory, empirics, and (if applicable) findings, and provide three discussion questions of their own to the class. Students will also be required to turn in a 1-2 page written response to the reading via Quercus the night before their presentation. Please use the sign-up sheet below. Slides are recommended, but optional.

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1BpCB3XVE5HeBenif5fp6W6NdMeoSy1GRInXwI8eKD8Y/edit?usp=sharing>

Oral Presentation 2 on Case (10%)

Students will do a second oral presentation (4-5 minutes) to help further contextualize one of the case studies we will be exploring in the last three weeks of class. Students will submit a short, 1-2 page annotated bibliography of sources via Quercus the night before their presentation (this presentation will require a bit of outside research). Please use the sign-up sheet below. Given the time limit, slides are discouraged, but handouts are optional.

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1BpCB3XVE5HeBenif5fp6W6NdMeoSy1GRInXwI8eKD8Y/edit?usp=sharing>

Reading Midterm, Monday November 3, 11:59 PM to Tuesday November 4, 11:59 PM (20%)

Students must complete a reading midterm via Quercus by Tuesday at 11:59 PM. The reading midterm is open book and should take no more than one hour. Students must take the reading midterm independently and not allowed to work together.

Final Exam, TBD (35%)

Students will have a final exam, comprised of 3 essay questions, in the final exam period.

(Plagiarism or other acts of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. See full statement below)

Late Assignments

Students are responsible for tracking deadlines and requirements. Late work (without a granted extension) will be reduced by 5 percentage points for every day late. Students must fill out the form below to request extension. request extensions at least 24-hours before assignments are due and will only be granted extensions with documentation and under extenuating circumstances. Other coursework and other foreseen circumstances are not grounds for an extension. To request an extension, fill out the below form in its entirety:

<https://forms.office.com/Pages/ResponsePage.aspx?id=JsKqeAMvTUuQN7RtVsVSEP67XbbLCsxIr96OKGWvdnNUREJTODFUNTFEWDc1UUJPMzUzTVNOS1JEMy4u>

Appeals and Re-Grading Policy

The first thing to do is to wait. I will discuss your assignment for at least 48 hours after the assignment has been returned to you. After this, if you still wish for a regrade, please fill out the form below to request a re-grade your paper. Be aware, however, that this does not guarantee your mark will be raised. It could go up, down, or remain the same.

<https://forms.office.com/Pages/ResponsePage.aspx?id=JsKqeAMvTUuQN7RtVsVSEP67XbbLCsxIr96OKGWvdnNUREJTODFUNTFEWDc1UUJPMzUzTVNOS1JEMy4u>

Grading

| <i>Requirement</i> | <i>Grade</i> | <i>Due Date</i> | <i>Submitted through</i> |
|------------------------------|--------------|---|--------------------------|
| Attendance and participation | 20% | Throughout semester | n/a |
| Oral Presentation | 15% | Throughout semester | Via Quercus |
| Case Presentation | 10% | Throughout semester | Via Quercus |
| Reading Midterm | 20% | Monday November 3, 11:59 PM to Tuesday November 4, 11:59 PM | Via Quercus |
| Final Exam | 35% | TBD, Final Exam Period | In-person |

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. Students should use the form below for communication regarding missed classes; accommodations; enrollment after the first week or classes; office hours; extension or regrade requests, and syllabus and assignment questions. Please note that these topics will not be adjudicated or addressed via email.

If an another question or issue emerges, first, re-read the syllabus to make sure the answer is not already included in the sections above and below. If it is not, then reach out to a classmate to ask

your question. If you still need guidance, email me by putting “Dealing with Dictators” at the beginning of the subject line, followed by the subject of your e-mail (for example: “Dealing with Dictators: Question about intel memo”). I will not respond to emails over the weekend or after 5PM during weekdays. Unless an emergency, responses will take 48-72 hours.

<https://forms.office.com/Pages/ResponsePage.aspx?id=JsKqeAMvTUuQN7RtVsVSEP67XbbLCsxIr96OKGWvdnNUREJTODFUNTFEWDc1UUJPMzUzTVNOS1JEMy4u>

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 and submit documentation via the form below.

<https://forms.office.com/Pages/ResponsePage.aspx?id=JsKqeAMvTUuQN7RtVsVSEP67XbbLCsxIr96OKGWvdnNUREJTODFUNTFEWDc1UUJPMzUzTVNOS1JEMy4u>

<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.

Use of Artificial Intelligence (ChatGPT, GitHub Copilot, and open-source models that you have trained and/or deployed yourself.)

The use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools is strictly prohibited in all course assessments unless explicitly stated otherwise by the instructor. This includes, but is not limited to, ChatGPT, GitHub Copilot, and open-source models that you have trained and/or deployed yourself. You may not interact with, nor copy, paraphrase, or adapt any content from any generative AI for the purpose of completing assignments in this course. Use of generative AI will be considered use of an unauthorized aid, which is a form of academic misconduct under the Code of Behavior on Academic Matters.

This course policy is designed to promote your learning and intellectual development and to ensure that our evaluations are a fair and accurate assessment of your learning. You should aim to understand course content at a level that far exceeds what an automated tool can achieve. Our course—and in particular, each assignment—is designed to help you attain true mastery of the course content.

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>).

Recording/ Filming

Creating an environment where students can engage in open, thoughtful, and constructive discussions requires a foundation of trust and mutual respect. This is particularly crucial in a course on International Relations and foreign policy, areas often marked by complex and sensitive debates. Therefore, recording or filming class discussions or presentations is strictly prohibited unless explicitly authorized by the faculty. Unauthorized recording will be considered a violation of the code of behavior and will be referred to the Academic Integrity Committee.

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-and-science>. 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/> 6 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

Class 1 September 4: 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.

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>.

Field Code Changed

NO CLASS September 11

Class 2, September 18: 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.

Class 3, September 25: Norms (Reading Presentations Start)

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.

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

Class 4, October 2: Norms Continued

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.

Dovi, Suzanne. "On Political Misogyny." *American Political Science Review* 119.2 (2025): 1054-1067.

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

Class 5, October 9: 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.

Hagen, Jamie J. "Queering women, peace and security." *International Affairs* 92.2 (2016): 313-332.

Shepherd, Laura J. "The paradox of prevention in the Women, Peace and Security agenda." *European Journal of International Security* 5.3 (2020): 315-331.

Recommended

Smith, Sarah, and Elena B. Stavrevska. "A different Women, Peace and Security is possible? Intersectionality in Women, Peace and Security resolutions and national action plans." *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 5.1 (2022): 63-82.

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

Class 6, October 16: 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.

Gentry, Caron, and Laura Sjoberg. "Female terrorism and militancy." *Routledge handbook of critical terrorism studies*. Routledge, 2016. 145-155.

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.

Recommended

"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>.

"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>.

Class 7, Oct 23: Economic Policy and Intelligence REMOTE CLASS

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.

Seaman, Donna. "The Sisterhood: The Secret History of Women at the CIA." *Booklist* 119.22 (2023): CHAPTERS 1-7

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.

Reading Week

Midterm Monday November 3, 11:59 PM to Tuesday November 4, 11:59 PM

Class 8, November 6: Exit and Legacies

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.

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

V. Cases

Class 9, November 13: Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff (Case Presentations)

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.

Class 10, November 20: Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (Case Presentations)

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).

Class 11, December 27: Chinese Empress Dowager Cixi (Case Presentations)

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

Final Exam TBD

Recommended Movies and TV shows

The Great

Slow Horses

Wakanda Forever

The Woman King

Borgen

Queen Elizabeth

Iron Lady

Game of Thrones

House of the Dragon

VEEP

The Crown

Longshot

Eye in the Sky

For all Mankind