

Gendering Policy Analysis
Instructor: Dr. Malu A. C. Gatto
E-mail: gatto@ipz.uzh.ch

Course Time: Tuesdays, 14:00-15:45; except on weeks 5 and 8 (as detailed).

Location: BIN-1-D.25

Office Hours: By appointment.

Couse Description

How do Rwanda and Bolivia top the world in terms of women's presence in legislatures?

Why may conditional cash-transfers decrease domestic violence?

How does access to day care impact women's work ambitions and salaries?

These are only some of the questions that we will tackle throughout the course. But the *gendering of policy analysis* is much more encompassing and provides a critical evaluative framework that is increasingly demanded by policymakers in international organisations and domestic governments.

Think of a public policy. What do you expect as its effect? Is this expected effect the same for men and women? Be it a healthcare, economic development, education, housing, or defence policy, the answer is likely no. But not only may the *effects* of this policy be gendered, but also its *origins* and the processes through which it was *designed, adopted, implemented, and, finally, evaluated*. This is because public policy both emerges from a context of gender relations, as well as shapes it.

Departing from the notion that policymaking is gendered and following the steps of the policy cycle, the course will cover the gendered processes that underscore policy-making, as well as the politically-oriented challenges that otherwise well-designed public policy may face.

Throughout the course, students will learn about the ways in which actors and institutions: a) identify (or do not identify) problem areas to be addressed through policy; b) promote or deter policies to become part of a government's agenda; c) weaken or strengthen policies through design; d) successfully or unsuccessfully implement policy; and, e) considers (or does not consider) the anticipated and unanticipated effects of a policy during the process of evaluation.

At the end of the course, students are expected to be able to move beyond an understanding of public policy as gender-neutral, and identify and assess the ways in which policy emerges from, as well as affects, presumptions about gender norms and relations. The aims of this course are aligned with current developments in policymaking and efforts made by international and domestic organisations, as well as governments, private entities and think tanks to increasingly consider gender as a crucial dimension of policy-making.

In this sense, the course is both theoretical as well as practical. The practical component of the course will not only be evident in the culmination of students' BA theses, but also in the course partnership with Swiss think tank [Foraus](#), which will grant students opportunities for showcasing their research beyond the classroom, including through a peer-reviewed publication, as well as provide them access to a network of policymakers dealing with many of the issues discussed in class.

Learning Outcomes

Throughout the course, students will: 1) identify all steps of the policy cycle; 2) learn the major findings of the scientific literature on gender and public policy; 3) act as policy advisers to produce material that justifies or goes against a specific policy; 4) play the role of a stakeholder in the negotiation of a policy; 5) test and employ qualitative and quantitative research methods and design a fitting research project; 6) produce an original thesis that employs some of the theoretical and methodological frameworks learned throughout the course; and, 7) communicate effectively with policymakers.

Course Structure and Assessment

This is a two-semester course and will culminate with students writing a BA thesis.

In the Fall Semester, the course will comprise of weekly seminars lasting 1.5-hours each, organised roughly around the stages of the policy process: 1) problem identification/agenda setting; 2) formulation; 3) adoption; 4) implementation; and, 5) evaluation. The course will be structured in seminar format, meaning that student participation is crucial. As such, weekly readings and activities should be completed **before** class. In this first semester, assessment will be based on four components, detailed below.

In the Spring Semester, the course will comprise of a mix of seminars, methods labs, workshops, and individual meetings, as detailed later in this syllabus. This semester will be dedicated to support students in the development and writing of their BA theses. Note that the types of classes offered in for the Spring Semester is likely to change, as per students' needs (although classes will always meet in the regularly scheduled time and place).

Please be aware that classes should provide a safe space for all students to express their views. Note that I will be monitoring and participating in discussions and disrespectful behaviour will not be tolerated.

Fall Semester Activities

Policy Campaign (Writing Assignment 1), 15% – **due on 08/10/17 (11:59pm) via e-mail**. Brief presentation to take place in class on 10/10.

For this assignment, students are asked to produce policy promotion material (campaign) that develops your argument to support a gender-related policy in a given context. The campaign should communicate the need for a given policy by identifying the problem it seeks to address; it should also detail how the policy would be successful in producing the desired outcomes. In sum, the campaign should have clear message to a fitting audience (e.g., legislators, civil society, party members, member states, etc.). The campaign can take any form: a brief podcast; a piece meant for popular consumption in a media outlet; a poster ad; a jingle; a plan for community outreach projects; etc.

Evaluation will be based on whether projects: 1) identify target audience; 2) take a clear position; 3) present argument in a persuasive manner, supported by data, literature, and/or briefings from internationally acclaimed organisations/governments; 4) depict critical thinking/analysis; and, 5) illustrate original material that would engage target audience.

Policy Solution (Writing Assignment 2), 30% – **due on 29/10/17 (11:59pm) via e-mail**. Presentation to take place in class on 31/10.

This assignment will be developed in partnership with Foraus and will consist of a policy essay proposing a solution to the pressing issue of women's discrimination in the employment sector in Switzerland, as reflected in the existing gender pay gap, underrepresentation of women in managerial positions, and gender-based harassment.

For this assignment, students should produce a policy essay addressed to Swiss members of parliament or business elites that: 1) clearly identifies the social, structural, and institutional factors that contribute to the maintenance of gender-based discrimination in employment; 2) develop a comprehensive policy strategy of how to tackle it in the Swiss context. In doing so, also consider alternative policy solutions and the advantages and challenges of your policy strategy in respect to: gatekeepers; budget; institutional fit; and, implementation. Policy memos should be between 1,500 and 2,000 words. Documents must be double-spaced, typed with font Times New Roman, size 12, and pages should be numbered. The recommended citation style is that of the [American Political Science Association](#). I advise using some type of citation manager, such as [Mendeley](#), [EndNote](#), or [Zotero](#). Please, provide the word count in the first page of the document.

For guidelines and examples of policy-oriented essays/memos, see:

- [USC “Writing a Policy Memo” Research Guide](#)
- [NYU Wagner – “Policy Memo Samples”](#)

Policy Solution, publication draft (Writing Assignment 3), 10% – **due on 03/12/17 (midnight) via e-mail.**

For this activity, students should *substantially revise* their draft policy memos, based on comments offered by the instructor and classmates. For this assignment, students should particularly consider strengthening their drafts in regards to: 1) identification of target audience (i.e., actors expected to carry out policy), their needs and interests; 2) persuasion of proposal, particularly pursuant to detail of proposed solution and fit for the case of Switzerland; strategic recommendations that outline potential resistance of Swiss actors; and, cost-benefit analyses that consider short and long-term potential gains and losses. This submission can (but does not need to) be longer: between 1,500 and 3,000 words. Please, use the template provided for formatting and structure.

Research Design (40%) – **due on 03/01/18 (midnight) via e-mail**

In preparation for the thesis, students are required to write a research design. The main elements of the research design will be covered in classes 13 and 14, and students are expected to complete the activities so as to engage in workshops in class.

The research design should cover: 1) the question you seek to tackle; 2) the relevance of such question; and, 3) your proposed plan to answer the question, including, a) case justification (population and sample); b) data sources/data collection methods; and, c) methods of analysis.

Research designs should be no longer than 2,500 words, excluding bibliography (this will later go into your research essay!). Research designs must be double-spaced, typed with font Times New Roman, size 12, and pages should be numbered. The recommended citation style is detailed above. Please, provide the word count in the first page of the document.

Spring Semester Activities

BA Thesis (100%) – **due on 29/05/18 (midnight) via e-mail**

Students are required to write a final BA thesis, which will constitute the entire grade for the second semester. Thesis topics are open and “question” to be explored will be due on class 13. All theses should: provide conceptual definitions; review the relevant literature; detail research design and its justification; provide sound analysis aligned with literature and methods.

Theses will be evaluated in regards to: 1) originality and cohesiveness of the question and argument proposed; 2) coverage of relevant literature; 3) appropriate justification and employment of data and methods; and, 4) writing and structure.

Theses should be roughly 12,000 words (10% more or less is accepted), excluding bibliography. Text must be double-spaced, typed with font Times New Roman, size 12, and pages should be numbered. See above on recommended citation style. Please, provide the word count in the first page of the document.

Plagiarism and Late Submissions

Plagiarism will not be tolerated and plagiarised work will be given a mark of 0. Please refer to the University of Zürich's guide on plagiarism and academic ethics. All work submitted must be your own. Also, note that you may not re-submit material prepared for another course, as this constitutes self-plagiarism. Late submissions will not be accepted.

Core Readings

- Mazur, Amy G. 2002. *Theorizing Feminist Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Birkland, Thomas. 2014. *An introduction to the policy process: Theories, concepts and models of public policy making*. New York: Routledge.
- Kellstedt, Paul M., and Guy D. Whitten. 2013. *The fundamentals of political science research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The above texts are suggested for a deeper theoretical basis in regards to a) gender and public policy; b) the policy cycle (process) that serves as a structure for the course; and, c) political science research. Class material will often build from these sources to discuss the assigned readings.

INTRODUCTION

Week 1 (19/09) – What is the “policy cycle” and what does “gendering policy analysis” mean?

Birkland, Thomas. 2014. *An introduction to the policy process: Theories, concepts and models of public policy making*. New York: Routledge. Ch. 1.

Mazur, Amy G. 2016. “Policy Analysis: Feminist Comparative Policy.” In *Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy*, Third Edition. New York: Taylor and Francis.

Beckwith, Karen. 2005. “A Common Language of Gender?” *Politics & Gender* 1 (1): 141-156.

PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION/AGENDA SETTING

Week 2 (26/09) – How do policy solutions emerge and spread?

Bacchi, Carol Lee. 1999. *Women, Policy and Politics: The Construction of Policy Problems*. London: Sage Publications: Introduction and Chapter 1.

Princen, Sebastiaan. 2011. “Agenda-setting strategies in EU policy processes.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18 (07): 927-943.

Krook, Mona Lena, and Jacqui True. 2012. “Rethinking the life cycles of international norms: The United Nations and the global promotion of gender equality.” *European Journal of International Relations*, 18 (01): 103-127.

Week 3 (03/10) – Framing: how do actors promote or deter policy change?

Murray, Rainbow. 2014. “Quotas for men: Reframing gender quotas as a means of improving representation for all.” *American Political Science Review*, 108 (03): 520-532.

Jesudason, Sujatha, and Tracy Weitz. 2015. “Eggs and Abortion: ‘Women-Protective’ Language Used by Opponents in Legislative Debates over Reproductive Health.” *The Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics*, 43 (02): 259-269.

Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. “Do interest groups represent the disadvantaged? Advocacy at the intersections of race, class, and gender.” *Journal of Politics*, 68 (04): 894-910.

POLICY FORMULATION

Week 4 (10/10) – Who has the power of formulating policy and why does it matter?

Bleijenbergh, Inge, and Conny Roggeband. 2007. “Equality machineries matter: The impact of women's political pressure on European Social-Care Policies.” *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 14 (04): 437-459.

Funk, Patricia, and Christina Gathmann. 2014. “Gender gaps in policy making: evidence from direct democracy in Switzerland.” *Economic Policy*, 30 (81): 141-181.

- Brief class presentations of Activity 1 (campaign); each student will have 5-7 min to present their work.

Week 5 (Thursday, 19/10), 16:00-17:45 – What makes for “good” or “bad” policy?

Kohler, Pamela K., Lisa E. Manhart, and William E. Lafferty. 2008. “Abstinence-only and comprehensive sex education and the initiation of sexual activity and teen pregnancy.” *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 42 (04): 344-351.

Vieira Noronha, Joanna. 2015. “Harnessing Gender to Law: A Mosaic Approach to Designing Domestic Violence Policy.” *Global Jurist*, 15 (02): 195-218.

POLICY ADOPTION

Week 6 (24/10) – Whose policies get adopted? When are policies adopted?

Bratton, Kathleen A., and Kerry L. Haynie. 1999. “Agenda setting and legislative success in state legislatures: The effects of gender and race.” *The Journal of Politics*, 61 (03): 658-679.

Tripp, Aili Mari. 2016. “Women’s Movements and Constitution Making after Civil Unrest and Conflict in Africa: The Cases of Kenya and Somalia.” *Politics & Gender*, 12 (01): 78-106.

Gatto, Malu. 2017. “Gender Quotas, Legislative Resistance and Non-Legislative Reform,” in *Latin American Law and Policy: Transforming Courts, Institutions and Rights*, eds. Pedro Fortes et al. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Week 7 (31/10) – Policy Memo

- Class will be dedicated to presentation and discussion of Activity 2.

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Week 8 (Thursday, 09/11), 16:00-17:45 – What challenges may arise during policy implementation?

Aniteye, Patience, and Susannah H. Mayhew. 2013. “Shaping legal abortion provision in Ghana: using policy theory to understand provider-related obstacles to policy implementation.” *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 11 (01): 23-37.

Ryan, Ann Marie, and Ellen Ernst Kossek. 2008. “Work-life policy implementation: Breaking down or creating barriers to inclusiveness?” *Human Resource Management* 47 (02): 295-310.

Week 9 (14/11) – No class

POLICY EVALUATION

Week 10 (21/11) – How to evaluate policy success (or failure)?

Bhavnani, Rikhil R. 2009. “Do electoral quotas work after they are withdrawn? Evidence from a natural experiment in India.” *American Political Science Review*, 103 (01): 23-35.

Lefebvre, Pierre, and Philip Merrigan. 2008. "Child-care policy and the labor supply of mothers with young children: A natural experiment from Canada." *Journal of Labor Economics* 26 (03): 519-548.

Week 11 (28/11) – What are unintended outcomes and why/when are they a problem?

De Brauw, A., Gilligan, D.O., Hoddinott, J. and Roy, S. 2014. "The impact of *Bolsa Família* on women's decision-making power." *World Development*, 59: 487-504.

Himmelweit, Susan. 2002. "Making visible the hidden economy: The case for gender-impact analysis of economic policy." *Feminist Economics*, 8 (01): 49-70.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Classes 13 and 14 are meant to offer students guidance on how to produce a research design. Activities for these classes will not be graded, but would give students the opportunity of receiving feedback on their ideas before submission of their research designs. The classes will cover the following:

- What types of questions that can be asked about each stage of the policy cycle?
- What theoretical frameworks have been used to answer this (or similar) questions? To what extent are they useful/not useful in solving the puzzle you seek to answer?
- What data would be needed to answer these questions? How can these data be collected?
- What method of data collection and analysis should be employed? Why?

Week 12 (05/12) – Theory

Kellstedt, Paul M., and Guy D. Whitten. 2013. *The fundamentals of political science research*. Cambridge University Press. Chs. 1 and 2.

- Activity: brainstorm possible hypotheses (and justifications!). Bring them to class.

Week 13 (12/12) – Methods

Kellstedt, Paul M., and Guy D. Whitten. 2013. *The fundamentals of political science research*. Cambridge University Press. Chs. 3-5.

- Activity: consider the ways in which you may test your hypotheses. When thinking about this, consider what data you would require to answer your question; determine whether (and how) you will collect own data or whether you would get it from existing sources. Bring plan to class.

Week 14 (19/12) –Conclusions

- Activity: Policy negotiation

Spring Semester

In the second semester, the course will focus on strengthening students' research designs and theses, by covering the following:

- What types of questions that can be asked about each stage of the policy cycle?
- What theoretical frameworks have been used to answer this (or similar) questions? To what extent are they useful/not useful in solving the puzzle you seek to answer?
- What data would be needed to answer these questions? How can these data be collected?
- What method of data collection and analysis should be employed? Why?

Week 1 (20/02) – Refresher and overview of semester

Week 2 (27/02) – In-class workshop

- Bring Research Design (revised draft after feedback from Fall Semester) as well as any preliminary findings, questions, further developments, etc.

Week 3 (06/03) – Methods Lab

- Please bring your laptops to class, along with dataset you are employing and any questions you may have.

Week 4 (13/03) – Individual meetings

Week 5 (20/03) – Office hours

Week 6 (27/03) – *foraus* workshop

Week 7 (03/04) – Spring Break (no class)

Week 8 (10/04) – In-class workshop

Week 9 (17/04) – Individual meetings

Week 10 (24/04) – Office hours

Week 11 (01/05) – Holiday (no class)

Week 12 (08/05) – In-class workshop

Week 13 (15/05) – Individual meetings

Week 14 (22/05) – Office hours

Week (29/05) – Theses are due