

## WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS

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Department of Political Science  
University of Minnesota

**POL 3310H**  
2:30-3:45 Tuesday and Thursday  
Carlson School of Management 1-149  
Spring 2010

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### Course Description

Seventy-three women serve in the U.S. House of Representatives and 17 serve in the U.S. Senate. This seminar explores the ways in which congresswomen affect representation and policy making, along with the factors that enhance and constrain women's election to Congress and women's influence in Congress. We focus on gender dynamics in congressional elections, representation, the legislative process, and the pursuit of power inside Congress. Although the number of congresswomen has increased during the last two decades—only 25 women served in the U.S. Congress twenty years ago—women remain dramatically underrepresented. We begin the course by uncovering the sources of women's underrepresentation by studying gender differences in candidate emergence and congressional elections. Next, we ask whether congresswomen and congressmen advocate different policy agendas and issue positions. We consider the representational implications of the gender differences we uncover, including substantive policy differences and non-policy benefits that are conferred to citizens when women occupy positions of political power. We analyze the institutional features of Congress, asking how congressional parties, committee, and rules may help and hinder congresswomen pursuing power and policy.

### Required Texts/Readings

The required readings for this course include 2 books **and** many articles posted on WebCT ([www.myu.umn.edu](http://www.myu.umn.edu)). On occasion, I will post short additional required readings.

Carroll, Susan J., and Richard L. Fox, eds. 2010. *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Cambridge University Press.

Rosenthal, Cindy Simon, ed. 2002. *Women Transforming Congress*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

## Course Requirements

Students will closely track the congressional careers of several members of Congress in three short papers and data collection assignments. Students will write a research paper of at least ten pages that addresses one of the themes of the course using the data that we collect as a class, and students will share their findings with the class in a short presentation near the end of the semester. In addition, there will be a take-home midterm and an in-class midterm. Class sessions will include lecture and discussion. Class participation is an essential component of this course. Students are expected to attend regularly, to read the assigned readings prior to class, and to come to class prepared to discuss the course material. On occasion, I will distribute questions about the readings. Sometimes, you will be asked to respond to the questions while completing the readings. Other times, I will distribute the questions during the class in which we are discussing the readings.

Grades will be determined as follows:

10%	Class participation
20%	Take-home midterm exam
20%	In-class midterm exam
25%	3 short papers and data collection
25%	Research paper and presentation

To pass this class you must complete every assignment. **You are responsible for keeping a hard copy back-up of your papers.**

## LATE POLICY

Papers are due at the beginning of class. Late papers will be penalized by 5 points (out of 100) every 24 hours they are late. If you need to take a makeup exam, you must arrange it well in advance of the exam date and document your (valid) reason.

## ACADEMIC DISHONESTY

You are expected to be familiar with the University's policies on scholastic dishonesty: <http://advisingtools.class.umn.edu/cgep/studentconduct.html>

You should consult a style manual for proper forms of citation. I will actively investigate potential cases of cheating and plagiarism, and any evidence thereof will result in disciplinary charges, as well as an 'F' in the course.

## WRITING SUPPORT

I encourage you to consult the Center for Writing: (<http://writing.umn.edu>), a clearinghouse for the many writing resources available at the University.

## **I. Introduction to Women in the U.S. Congress**

Tuesday, January 19: Course Introduction

Thursday, January 21: Overview of Women in Congress

1. *Women Transforming Congress*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4.
2. Foerstel, Karen, and Herbert N. Foerstel. 1996. *Climbing the Hill: Gender Conflict in Congress*. Praeger. Pages 1- 45. (WebCT)
3. Giroux, Greg. 2009. "A New Democratic Demographic." *CQ Weekly*, April 20, 908. (WebCT)
4. CAWP Fact Sheets on women in the U.S. House and Senate  
[http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast\\_facts/index.php](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/index.php)

## **II: Running for Congress: Political Ambition and Women's Emergence as Candidates**

Tuesday, January 26: Women as Candidates in Congressional Elections

1. *Women Transforming Congress*, Chapters 5, 6.
2. *Gender and Elections*, Chapter 7.
3. Lawless, Jennifer L., and Kathryn Pearson. 2008. "The Primary Reason for Women's Underrepresentation? Reevaluating the Conventional Wisdom." *The Journal of Politics*. (WebCT)

Thursday, January 28: Women's Candidacies in the Context of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin

1. *Gender and Elections*, pages 1-77.
2. Palin, Sarah. 2009. *Going Rogue*, Chapter 5. (WebCT)
3. Cadei, Emily, and Kathleen Hunter. 2009. "Political Gender Bias Remains Alive and Well." *CQ Weekly*, March 2, 459. (WebCT)

Tuesday, February 2: Why Not More Women?

1. Lawless, Jennifer L., and Richard Fox. 2005. *It Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, 7. (WebCT)
2. Palmer, Barbara, and Dennis Simon. "Where Women Run: Women-Friendly Districts" in *Breaking the Political Glass Ceiling* (Web CT)
3. *Gender and Elections*, Chapter 10.

Thursday, February 4: **First short paper and data assignment due.**  
Take home midterm assigned

### **Part III: Campaigning for Congress**

Tuesday, February 9: Voters: Vote Choice and Gender Stereotypes

1. *Gender and Elections*, Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6.
1. Huddy, Leonie, and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993. "Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates," *American Journal of Political Science* 37:119-47. (WebCT)

Thursday, February 11: Parties, Money, and Media Coverage

1. *Gender and Elections*, Chapters 8, 9.
2. *Women Transforming Congress*, Chapter 7.

**Tuesday, February 16: Take Home Midterm Due in class**

### **Part IV. Inside Congress**

Thursday, February 18: Women in the House of Representatives

1. Excerpts from Schroeder, Pat. 1999. *24 Years of House Work . . . and the Place is Still a Mess*. (WebCT)
2. *Women Transforming Congress*, Chapter 15.

Tuesday, February 23: Women in the House, continued.

1. Margolies-Mezvinsky, Marjorie. 1994. *Woman's Place: The Freshman Women Who Changed the Face of Congress*. Crown. Pages x- 62, 151-177, 191-213. (Web CT)
2. Cohen, Richard E. 2007. "Member Moms." *National Journal*. April 7. (WebCT)
3. Alvarez, Lizette. 2007. "Speaking Chic to Power." *The New York Times*. January 18. (WebCT)
4. Givhan, Robin. 2007. "Hillary Clinton's Tentative Dip Into New Neckline Territory." *The Washington Post*. July 20, C01. And Judith Warner's response in the *NYT*. (WebCT)

### **Part V: How Does it Matter? Representation and Legislative Behavior**

Thursday, February 25: Representation in the District: "Homestyle"

1. Fenno, Richard F. *Going Home: Black Representatives and their Constituents*. Pages 1-10, 67-113, 190-250 (Web CT).

**Tuesday, March 2: NO CLASS**

Thursday, March 4: Descriptive Representation

1. Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes,'" *Journal of Politics* 61:628-57. (WebCT)
2. Rosenthal, Cindy Simon. 1995. "The Role of Gender in Descriptive Representation," *Political Research Quarterly* 48:599-612. (WebCT)
3. Campbell, David E., and Christina Wolbrecht. 2006. "See Jane Run: Women Politicians as Role Models for Adolescents." *The Journal of Politics* 68: 233-247. (WebCT)

Tuesday, March 9: Substantive Representation and Women's Issues

1. Sinclair, Barbara. 2000. *Unorthodox Lawmaking* Pages 1-69. (WebCT)
2. Swers, Michele L. 2002. *The Difference Women Make* Pages 1-17, 113-125. (WebCT)
3. *Women Transforming Congress*, Chapter 10.

Thursday, March 11: Substantive Representation, cont.

1. *Women Transforming Congress*, Chapters 12, 14.
2. Levy, Dena, et al. 2001. "Do Differences Matter? Women Members of Congress and the Hyde Amendment," *Women and Politics* 23:1-2. (WebCT)
3. Pearson, Kathryn, and Logan Dancey. "Speaking For the Underrepresented: The Gender Dynamics of Floor Speeches in the House of Representatives."

Tuesday, March 16: SPRING BREAK

Thursday, March 18: SPRING BREAK

Tuesday, March 23: Substantive Representation, continued

1. Excerpts from Dodson, Debra. 2006. *The Impact of Women in Congress*. (WebCT)
2. *Women Transforming Congress* Chapter 9

Thursday, March 25: **Second paper and data assignment due**

Also read about the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues and its co-chairs:  
<http://www.womenspolicy.org/caucus/>

Tuesday, March 30: Gender and Race

1. Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race–Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced–Gendered Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 97: 529-550. (WebCT)
2. Read about the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressional Hispanic Caucus, Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus  
<http://www.thecongressionalblackcaucus.com/>  
<http://velazquez.house.gov/chc/>  
[http://honda.house.gov/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=65&Itemid=57/](http://honda.house.gov/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=65&Itemid=57/)

Thursday, April 1: Women in the Senate

1. *Women Transforming Congress*, Chapter 11.
2. Excerpts from Mikulski, Barbara, et al. 2000. *Nine and Counting* (WebCT)
3. Swers, Michele. 2007. "Building a Legislative Reputation on National Security: The Impact of Stereotypes Related to Gender and Military Experience." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. (WebCT)
4. Clinton, Hillary Rodham. 2003. *Living History*, Simon and Schuster. Pages 495–528. (WebCT)

## Part V: Congressional Organization, Partisanship, and Women's Pursuit of Power

Tuesday, April 6: Parties and Partisanship in Congress

1. Davidson, Roger H., Walter J. Oleszek, and Frances Lee. 2009. "Leaders and Parties in Congress" in *Congress and Its Members*. (WebCT)
2. Pearson, Kathryn. "Gendered Partisanship in the U.S. Congress" (WebCT)
3. Rosenthal, Cindy Simon. 2008. "Climbing Higher: Opportunities and Obstacles Within the Party System." In Reingold, Beth, ed. *Legislative Women: Getting Elected, Getting Ahead*. (WebCT)

Thursday, April 8: Women as Party Leaders

1. Willis, Derek. 2002. "Quietly, Pryce Ascends in GOP," *CQ Weekly*, Nov. 16, 3001. (WebCT)
2. Allen, Jonathan. 2004. "Putting Party First Wins Pelosi Loyalty—And Hopes of Victory," *CQ Weekly*, July 31, 1858. (WebCT)
3. Barshay, Jill. 2006. "Woman of the House Brings a Sense of Power." *CQ Weekly*, Nov. 13, 2970-2973. (WebCT)

4. Zernike, Kate. 2007. "A Shift in Power, Starting With 'Madam Speaker.'" *The New York Times*. January 24. (WebCT)
5. Espstein, Edward. 2009. A Speaker Learns to Live With Anger on Her Left. *CQ Weekly*, Nov. 23, 2698 (WebCT)

Tuesday, April 13: Committees in Congress

1. Davidson, Roger H., Walter J. Oleszek, and Frances Lee. 2009. "Committees: Workshops of Congress" in *Congress and Its Members*. (WebCT)
2. Carroll, Susan J. 2008. "Committee Assignments: Discrimination or Choice?" In Reingold, Beth, ed. *Legislative Women: Getting Elected, Getting Ahead*. (WebCT)
3. *Women Transforming Congress*, Chapters 12, 13.

Thursday, April 15: **Third paper and data assignment due**

Tuesday, April 20: From a Comparative Perspective

1. Rule, Wilma. 1994. "Women's Underrepresentation and Electoral systems," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, December. (WebCT)
2. *Women Transforming Congress* Chapters 16, 17.

**Thursday, April 22: In-class bluebook MIDTERM**

Tuesday, April 27: Research presentations

Thursday, April 29: Research presentations

Tuesday, May 4: Research presentations

Thursday, May 6: Last day of class, research presentations

**Friday, May 7: Research paper due by 4:30**

Turn in your paper in 1414 Social Sciences Building (in my box) by 4:30  
(Political Science Department Office closes at 4:30!)

## ONLINE RESOURCES

Center for American Women & Politics	<a href="http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/">http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/</a>
House Clerk's website on congresswomen	<a href="http://womenincongress.house.gov/">http://womenincongress.house.gov/</a>
Women's Policy Inc.	<a href="http://www.womenspolicy.org/">http://www.womenspolicy.org/</a>
U.S. House of Representatives	<a href="http://www.house.gov">http://www.house.gov</a>
U.S. Senate	<a href="http://www.senate.gov">http://www.senate.gov</a>
Library of Congress	<a href="http://www.loc.gov">http://www.loc.gov</a>
THOMAS – Legislative Information	<a href="http://thomas.loc.gov">http://thomas.loc.gov</a>
	<a href="http://thomas.loc.gov/home/legbranch/legbranch.html">http://thomas.loc.gov/home/legbranch/legbranch.html</a>
Federal Election Commission	<a href="http://www.fec.gov">http://www.fec.gov</a>
<i>Roll Call</i>	<a href="http://www.rollcall.com">http://www.rollcall.com</a> (ask Prof. Pearson for password)
<i>The Hill</i>	<a href="http://www.thehill.com">http://www.thehill.com</a>
C-SPAN	<a href="http://www.cspan.org">http://www.cspan.org</a>
	<a href="http://www.c-span.org/resources/congress.asp">http://www.c-span.org/resources/congress.asp</a>
<i>CQ Weekly Report</i>	<a href="http://library.cqpress.com/cqweekly/">http://library.cqpress.com/cqweekly/</a> (from UMN library)
<i>CongressDailyAM and PM</i>	<a href="http://nationaljournal.com/pubs/congressdaily/">http://nationaljournal.com/pubs/congressdaily/</a> (from UMN library)
CQ Today Midday Update	email to subscribe from cq.com: <a href="mailto:middayupdate-subscribe@lists.cq.com">middayupdate-subscribe@lists.cq.com</a>
Congress.org	<a href="http://www.congress.org">http://www.congress.org</a>
<b>News Coverage:</b>	
<i>New York Times</i>	<a href="http://www.nytimes.com">http://www.nytimes.com</a>
<i>Washington Post</i>	<a href="http://www.washingtonpost.com">http://www.washingtonpost.com</a>
<b>Party Organizations:</b>	
DNC:	<a href="http://www.democrats.org/">http://www.democrats.org/</a>
RNC:	<a href="http://www.rnc.org/">http://www.rnc.org/</a>
DSCC:	<a href="http://www.dsc.org/">http://www.dsc.org/</a>
NRSC:	<a href="http://www.nrsc.org/">http://www.nrsc.org/</a>
DCCC:	<a href="http://www.democraticaction.org/">http://www.democraticaction.org/</a>
NRCC:	<a href="http://nrcc.org/">http://nrcc.org/</a>
<b>Campaign Finance:</b>	
FEC:	<a href="http://www.fec.gov/">http://www.fec.gov/</a>
Open Secrets:	<a href="http://www.opensecrets.org/">http://www.opensecrets.org/</a>
Campaign Finance Institute:	<a href="http://www.cfinst.org/">http://www.cfinst.org/</a>
527s:	<a href="http://www.irs.gov/charities/political/">http://www.irs.gov/charities/political/</a>
Political Money Line:	<a href="http://politicalmoneyline.com/">http://politicalmoneyline.com/</a>
Brookings Institution:	<a href="http://www.brookings.edu/gs/cf/cf_hp.htm">http://www.brookings.edu/gs/cf/cf_hp.htm</a>