

WOMEN AND GENDER IN AMERICAN POLITICS

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HSEM 3052H
2:30-3:45 Tuesday and Thursday
Carlson School of Management 1-136
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Course Description

This seminar examines gender dynamics at work in several domains of the American political system, including the mass public, electoral politics, the U.S. Congress, state legislatures, parties and social movements, and the policymaking process. We begin (and end) the course by examining the rationale for a course on women and politics. We analyze differences in the ways that women and men conceptualize politics. Why are women less likely to run for office than men? We assess gender stereotypes among the public and their influence on attitudes toward women in politics and vote choice. We study gender dynamics in electoral politics, asking what barriers women may face when running for office. Taken together, we assess the roots of women's underrepresentation in public office. We consider whether congresswomen and congressmen advocate different policy agendas and issue positions once in office, assessing the representational implications of the gender differences we uncover. Finally, we analyze the institutional features of the American political system, asking how institutions and organized interests may help and hinder women pursuing power and policy.

Required Texts/Readings

The required readings for this course include 3 books **and** many articles posted on WebCT. 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, 2nd Edition*. Cambridge University Press.

Conway, Margaret M, Gertrude Steuernagel, and David W. Ahern. 2005. *Women and Political Participation*. Washington DC: CQ Press.

Lawless, Jennifer L. and Richard L. Fox. 2010. *It Still Takes A Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Course Requirements

Students write two short papers and write and present a 10-12 page research paper. 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:

15%	Class participation
20%	Take-home midterm exam
20%	In-class midterm exam
20%	2 short papers (10% each)
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.

SYLLABUS

I. Introduction and the Constitution

January 18: Course Introduction

January 20: An Overview of the Struggle for Political Rights

- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady. 1848. Declaration of Sentiments. (WebCT)
- Sapiro, Virginia. 1981. "When Are Interests Interesting? The Problem of Political Representation of Women." *American Political Science Review* 75(3):701-716. (WebCT)
- Gurin, Patricia. 1985. "Women's Gender Consciousness." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 49(2):143-63. (WebCT)

II. Women and Mass Politics

January 25: Public Opinion and Participation

- *Women and Political Participation*, entire book

January 27: Women, Participation, and Public Opinion, continued

- Kaufmann, Karen M., and John R. Petrocik. 1999. "The Changing Politics of American Men: Understanding the Sources of the Gender Gap." *American Journal of Political Science* 43: 864-887. (WebCT)
- Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation*. Cambridge: Harvard University. Pages 174 – 197. (WebCT)
- Gibbs, Nancy. 2009. "What Women Want Now." *Time*, 14 October. (WebCT)

III. Women and Electoral Politics

February 1: The 2008 Candidacies of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin

- *Gender and Elections*, Introduction, Chapters 1-2.
- Palin, Sarah. 2009. *Going Rogue*, Chapter 5. (WebCT)
- Text of Hillary Clinton's concession speech, June 7, 2008. (WebCT)
- Kornblut, Ann. 2008. "Madam President: Will She Ever Get There?" *The Washington Post*, November 2. (WebCT)

February 3: Voting Cues: Gender, Race, and Party

- *Gender and Elections*, Chapters 3-6.
- Junn, Jane. "Making Room for Women of Color in the 2008 Elections." *Politics & Gender* (WebCT)
- Steinem, Gloria. 2008. "Women are Never Front-Runners." *New York Times*, Jan. 8 (Web CT)

February 8: Gender Stereotypes on the Campaign Trail

- 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)
- Dolan, Kathleen. 1998. Voting for Women in the "Year of the Woman." *American Journal of Political Science* 42: 272-93. (WebCT)
- Carlin, Diana B. and Kelly L. Winfrey. 2009. "Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage." *Communication Studies* 60(4):326-43. (WebCT)

February 10: Congressional and State Legislative Elections

- *Gender and Elections*, Chapter 7 and 10
- Lawless, Jennifer L, and Kathryn Pearson. 2008. "The Primary Reason for Women's Underrepresentation? Reevaluating the Conventional Wisdom." *The Journal of Politics*. (WebCT)
- Palmer, Barbara, and Dennis Simon. "Where Women Run: Women-Friendly Districts" in *Breaking the Political Glass Ceiling*. (Web CT)

February 15: SHORT PAPER DUE IN CLASS

Parties, Money, and Media Coverage on the Campaign Trail

- *Gender and Elections*, Chapters 8, 9

February 17: Political Ambition

- *It Still Takes a Candidate*, Chapters 1-4
- Belkin, Lisa. (2003) Why Don't More Women Get to the Top? *New York Times Magazine* 26 October. (WebCT)

February 22: Political Ambition

- *It Still Takes a Candidate*, Chapters 5-8

IV: Women in Congress

February 24: A Gendered Institution

- *Women Transforming Congress*, pages 1-49 (WebCT)
- Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race–Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced–Gendered Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 97: 529-550. (WebCT)

March 1: TAKE HOME MIDTERM DUE IN CLASS

March 3: Descriptive and Surrogate Representation

- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes,'" *Journal of Politics* 61:628-57. (WebCT)
- Carroll, Susan J. "Representing Women: Congresswomen's Perceptions of Their Representational Roles." (WebCT)
- 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)

March 8: Substantive Representation and Women's Issues

- Swers, Michele L. 2002. *The Difference Women Make*. Pages 1-17, 113-125. (WebCT)
- Read about the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues:
<http://www.womenspolicy.org/caucus/>

March 10: Substantive Representation, continued

- Excerpts from Dodson, Debra. 2006. *The Impact of Women in Congress*. (WebCT)
- Levy, Dena, et al. 2001. "Do Differences Matter? Women Members of Congress and the Hyde Amendment," *Women and Politics* 23:1-2. (WebCT)

March 22: Gender and Legislative Behavior

- Kathlene, Lyn. 1994. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *American Political Science Review* 88 (3): 560-576.
- Pearson, Kathryn, and Logan Dancey. 2010. "Elevating Women's Voice in Congress: Speech Participation in the House of Representatives." *Political Research Quarterly*. (WebCT)
- Excerpts from Schroeder, Pat. 1999. *24 Years of House Work . . . and the Place is Still a Mess*. (WebCT)

March 24: Women, Partisan Polarization, and Party Leadership

- Rosenthal, Cindy Simon. 2008. "Climbing Higher: Opportunities and Obstacles Within the Party System." In Reingold, Beth, ed. *Legislative Women: Getting Elected, Getting Ahead*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Allen, Jonathan. 2004. "Putting Party First Wins Pelosi Loyalty—And Hopes of Victory," *CQ Weekly*, July 31, 1858. (WebCT)
- Zernike, Kate. 2007. "A Shift in Power, Starting With 'Madam Speaker.'" *The New York Times*. January 24. (WebCT)

March 29: SECOND SHORT PAPER DUE IN CLASS

March 31: NO CLASS

V. Women, Political Parties, and Social Movements

April 5: Women and Party Organizations

- Freeman, Jo. 1992. "Feminism versus Family Values: Women at the 1992 Democratic and Republican Conventions." (WebCT)
- Freeman, Jo. 2008. "A Tale of Two Conventions." (WebCT)
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. *Democrats, Republicans, and the Politics of Women's Place*. University of Michigan Press. 1-17; 91-144.

April 7: Women and Social Movements

- Mansbridge, Jane J. 1986. *Why We Lost the ERA*. Excerpts. (WebCT)

VI. Women and Public Policy

April 12: Overview of Gender and Public Policy Debates

- *Women and Public Policy*, pages 1-89 (WebCT)

April 14: Education and Bureaucracy

- Keiser, Lael R., Vicky M. Wilkins, Kenneth J. Meier, and Catherine A. Holland. 2002. "Lipstick and Logarithms: Gender, Institutional Context, and Representative Bureaucracy." *The American Political Science Review* 96(3): 553-564. (WebCT)

April 19: Evaluations, Conclusion, and Research Paper Development

April 21: In-class bluebook MIDTERM

April 26: Research presentations

April 28: Research presentations

May 3: Research presentations

May 5: Last day of class, research presentations

Monday, May 9: 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!)

A SAMPLE OF ONLINE RESOURCES

Center for American Women and Politics:	http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/
Women's Policy Inc:	http://www.womenspolicy.org/
U.S. House of Representatives	http://www.house.gov
Women in Congress	http://womenincongress.house.gov/
U.S. Senate	http://www.senate.gov
Library of Congress	http://www.loc.gov
THOMAS – Legislative Information	http://thomas.loc.gov http://thomas.loc.gov/home/legbranch/legbranch.html
Federal Election Commission	http://www.fec.gov
<i>The Hill</i>	http://www.thehill.com
C-SPAN	http://www.cspan.org http://www.c-span.org/resources/congress.asp
Congress.org	http://www.congress.org/
<i>Roll Call</i>	http://www.rollcall.com/politics/

Excellent UMN Library Resources: (through UMN library –link won't work unless signed in)
CQ Weekly <http://library.cqpress.com/cqweekly/>
National Journal <http://www.nationaljournal.com/congress>

News Coverage:

New York Times: <http://www.nytimes.com>
Washington Post: <http://www.washingtonpost.com>

Party Organizations:

RNC: <http://www.rnc.org/>
DNC: <http://www.democrats.org/>
DSCC: <http://www.dscc.org/>
NRSC: <http://www.nrsc.org/>
DCCC: <http://www.democraticaction.org/>
NRCC: <http://nrcc.org/>

Campaign Finance:

FEC: <http://www.fec.gov/>
Open Secrets: <http://www.opensecrets.org/>
Campaign Finance Institute: <http://www.cfinst.org/>
Political Money Line: <http://moneyline.cq.com/pml/home.do>

Congressional Black Caucus: <http://www.house.gov/clever/cbc/home.html>
Congressional Hispanic Caucus: <http://velazquez.house.gov/chc/>
Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus: <http://honda.house.gov/capac/>