

Gender and Politics
PLSC 428/ WMNST 428
Summer 2015
MTWRF 11:10am to 12:25pm
268 Willard Building

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Departments of Political Science and Women's Studies

Office: 214 Pond Laboratory

Office Hours: 12:30pm to 2:30pm on Tuesdays and Thursdays

**Individual assistance is also always available by appointment. I look forward to seeing you during those hours.*

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**You may contact me at any time, but please note that I check email between 9AM and 6PM, Monday through Friday. I try to have a life like you all do, so please be encouraging by noting my email availability and planning accordingly!*

Course Description

Why is Hilary Clinton one of the few female prospects for the 2016 presidential election? What would it mean if she wins and becomes the first female president in the U.S.? Why are so few heads of state women? In this course, we will examine how gender plays a role in political institutions, participation, and representation in the U.S. as well as in the transnational context. Three questions will be explored: (1) To what extent do women and men think, believe, and act differently from each other in politics and what might explain these differences? (2) To what extent are political processes and institutions and social structures gendered and how might they shape women's and men's political activities? (3) Why are women underrepresented in politics and to what extent do female political leaders have an impact? We will also pay close attention to how women differ among themselves in the realm of politics, particularly when their identities as women intersect with race, ethnicity, economic class, and sexuality.

Course Goals

Think for a moment about what drives individuals to vote, to run as candidates for political offices, and to participate in many other important domains of politics. Understanding what shapes these decisions and behaviors is crucial for effective citizenship/membership. In this course you will have the opportunity to learn about how the concepts of gender are incorporated into others' as well as your daily political lives and activities. Particularly, you will complete this course with an understanding of gender's intersections with other social categories that construct the power dynamics that determine who gets to participate and who gets represented in the political process. We will spend a large portion of the class focusing on political science research that has utilized systematic analysis of the factors that matter in political communities and institutions. My hope is for you to come away from this class with the ability to evaluate your own position within political communities as well as the position that minorities assume within the U.S. and transnational contexts.

Course Objectives

After successful completion of this course, you will be able to:

- Explain how individuals of various identities are represented in political institutions

- Integrate the roles of gender, race, and class, in understanding how individuals participate in politics, as representatives, ordinary citizens, and as members of society
- Analyze and critique the media's accounts of women in politics and political campaigns
- Evaluate the importance and effectiveness of diversity in political representation
- Compare diverse philosophies and cultures within and across political contexts
- Communicate your ideas effectively through class discussions and assignments

Required Texts

Articles and documents are on ANGEL.

OPTIONAL: Traister, Rebecca. 2010. *Big Girls Don't Cry: The Election That Changed Everything for American Women*. Free Press: New York.

Course Requirements and Expectations

This course will be in a semi-seminar format where lectures will be given in the first half of the class and followed by discussions and various activities. In this course, I will be facilitating an open, respectful, and informed class setting that considers difference in identity, opinion, experience, and analysis as a fertile space for learning. Such an environment takes effort by both students and the instructor.

For students, your responsibilities are:

- **Preparation:** Complete the required readings before coming to class. We go into details of the assigned reading in class – please also bring the readings of the day to class.
- **Participation:** Participation in class is based on participation in class lecture and discussion, as well as group activities. Write down at least one quote, concept, or idea from the reading that is interesting, provoking, and open to interpretation. This might help you prepare for the class as well as for participation.
- **Respect:** Throughout the course, I would like everyone to feel free to share her/his opinion with one another. In order to do so, we must maintain a civil environment, even when we are discussing controversial topics. You are responsible to actively listen to others and treat others' contributions respectfully (from your peers and me), even if you disagree with them or me. I will not tolerate any language or acts of discrimination and intimidation.

I will contribute to this environment by:

- Treating all students with respect.
- Welcoming diverse viewpoints, experiences, and interpretations of the class materials.
- Challenging your thinking, beliefs, and analysis of issues, concepts, and ideas in this class.
- Making sure every student has the opportunity to speak at least once before allowing students to speak multiple times.

Course Components

I. Participation (20%)

Your participation grade is based on two components: attendance and participation in class.

You should attend every class. I understand that extenuating circumstances arise that can make this difficult, but please notify me prior to class if you cannot attend. If circumstances make you miss more than 3 classes, you may have overextended yourself and you may fail this course.

Participation is graded on quality, not just quantity. If participation may be an issue for you, please contact me. If you participate often, allow others to also participate and avoid monopolizing the conversation.

II. Two Short Papers (40%; each paper 20%)

You will be completing only TWO of the four assignments of your choice listed at the end of the syllabus. You will be asked to notify me of your choices on the second day of the class (July 2). You will upload your assignments to the ANGEL dropbox (in the appropriate folder) by 11:59 PM on the due date listed for each assignment. They cannot be accepted in class, and 1 letter grade will be deducted for every day the assignment is late.

Short papers should be 4-6 pages, double spaced. Font: Times New Roman; font size: 12.

III. Presentation (10%)

You will be presenting ONE of the two short papers you have completed in class on the day that the assignment is due. The presentation should focus on your argument, findings, and implications for gender and politics, lasting no longer than 5 minutes.

IV. Multimedia Discussions (10%; each discussion 2%)

We will view five films/videos throughout the term. You will be given a handout with questions related to the film, which you are expected to complete and turn in at the end of the class.

V. Final Examination (20%)

The final exam will be based on the readings, classroom discussions, and multimedia shown throughout the semester.

****Missed Exams or assignments:** *Illness, death in the family, or other traumatic events unfortunately is part of life. A make-up assignment or exam will be given if you contact me within 24 hours and provide documentation.*

Class Grade Scale

A: 94—100%	B: 83—86%	C: 70—76%
A-: 91—94%	B-: 80—82%	D: 60-69%
B+: 87—90%	C+: 77—79%	F: 60% and Below

Grades in this class are based on mastery of the class material. This doesn't just mean attending class and reading the material; it means analyzing and understanding the material—and being able to articulate the material thoughtfully and precisely through assignments, discussion, exams, and essays. At the end of the semester, I do not allow late work or extra credit, "round up," barter, or allow you to do extra work to improve your final grade.

Important Dates

July 3	No Class
July 13	Short Paper "Women in Social Movements" Due
July 27	Short Paper "Women's Representation" Due
July 30	Short Paper "Campaigning in 2015/2016" Due
August 6	Short Paper "Women's Issues" Due

Academic Integrity

The Department of Political Science and the Department of Women's Studies, along with the College of the Liberal Arts and the University, takes violations of academic dishonesty seriously. Observing basic honesty in one's work, words, ideas, and actions is a principle to which all members of the community are required to subscribe. All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless an instructor clearly states that an alternative is acceptable. Any reference materials used in the preparation of any assignment must be explicitly cited. Students uncertain about proper citation are responsible for checking with their instructor. In an examination setting, unless the instructor gives explicit prior instructions to the contrary, whether the examination is in-class or take-home, violations of academic integrity shall consist but are not limited to any attempt to receive assistance from written or printed aids, or from any person or papers or electronic devices, or of any attempt to give assistance, whether the one so doing has completed his or her own work or not. Lying to the instructor or purposely misleading any Penn State administrator shall also constitute a violation of academic integrity. In cases of any violation of academic integrity it is the policy of the Department of Women's Studies to follow procedures established by the College of the Liberal Arts. More information on academic integrity and procedures followed for violation can be found at: <http://laus.la.psu.edu/current-students/academics/academic-integrity/college-policies>

Disability Services

Penn State welcomes students with disabilities into the University's educational programs. If you have a disability-related need for reasonable academic adjustments in this course, contact the Office for Disability Services. For further information regarding policies, rights and responsibilities please visit the Office for Disability Services (ODS) Web site at: www.equity.psu.edu/ods/. Please contact me early in the semester—I am happy to work with you regarding accommodations.

Class Schedule

Wed 7/1: Introduction

Discussion of class expectations, assignments, exams, and reading schedule

Thur 7/2: What is Gender in Political Science Research?

Karen Beckwith. 2005. A Common Language of Gender?. *Politics & Gender*, pp 128-137.

Fri 7/3: Independence Day: No Class

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN THE 21st CENTURY

Mon 7/6 Issues in Political Leadership: Leaning in or Walking Out?

Sandberg, Sheryl. 2013. "Why I Want Women to Lean In." Excerpt from *Lean In. Time Magazine* March 7, 2013. <http://ideas.time.com/2013/03/07/why-i-want-women-to-lean-in/>

hooks, bell. 2013. "Dig Deep: Beyond Lean In." October 28, 2013. *Feminist Wire*. <http://thefeministwire.com/2013/10/17973/>

Tue 7/7: Intersectionality

Ain't I a Woman?, Sojourner Truth, 1851.

Jordan-Zachary, Julia S. 2007. "Am I a Black Woman or a Woman Who Is Black? A Few Thoughts on the Meaning of Intersectionality." *Politics & Gender* 3(2): 254—263.

OPTIONAL: Smooth, Wendy. 2011. "Standing for Women? Which Women? The Substantive Representation of Women's Interests and the Research Imperative of Intersectionality." *Politics & Gender* 7(3): 436—441.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Wed 7/8: Not for Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton & Susan B. Anthony Angels (Film)

Multimedia Discussion 1 Due at the end of class.

Thur 7/9: Women in Social Movements: Does Context Matter?

Declaration of Sentiments. Seneca Falls Convention, 1848.

Banaszak, Lee Ann. 1996. When Waves Collide: Cycles of Protest and the Swiss and American Women's Movements. *Political Research Quarterly*, 49(4): 837-860.

Fri 7/10: Women in Social Movement: Gender, Race, and the Struggles Here and Abroad

Robnett, Belinda 1996. African-American women in the civil rights movement, 1954-1965: Gender, leadership, and micromobilization. *American Journal of Sociology*, 1661-1693

Mon 7/13: Women in Conservative Movement

Sparks, Holloway. 2014. Mama Grizzlies and Guardians of the Republic: The Democratic and Intersectional Politics of Anger in the Tea Party Movement. *New Political Science*, 1-23.

Short Paper 1, "Women in Social Movement," DUE on ANGEL by 11:59PM on 7/13.
Presentation will occur during class.

GENDER AND CITIZEN POLITICS

Tue 7/14: The Gender Gap: Political Knowledge and Ambition

Dolan, Kathleen. 2011. Do women and men know different things? Measuring Gender Differences in Political Knowledge. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(01): 97-107.

Lawless, Jennifer and Richard Fox. 2013. "Girls Just Wanna Not Run: The Gender Gap in Young Americans' Political Ambition." Women & Politics Institute, American University.
https://www.american.edu/spa/wpi/upload/girls-just-wanna-not-run_policy-report.pdf

Wed 7/15: The Gender Gap: Voting

You will be assigned only ONE of the following readings during class on July 14.

Box-Steffensmeier, J. M., De Boef, S., & Lin, T. M. 2004. The dynamics of the partisan gender gap. *American Political Science Review*, 98(03), 515-528.

Inglehart, Ronald and Norris, Pippa. 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.

Iversen, Torben and Rosenbluth, Frances. 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.

Kaufmann, K. M., & Petrocik, J. R. 1999. The changing politics of American men: Understanding the sources of the gender gap. *American Journal of Political Science*, 864-887.

Studlar, D. T., McAllister, I., & Hayes, B. C. 1998. Explaining the gender gap in voting: A cross-national analysis. *Social Science Quarterly*, 779-798.

Thur 7/16: The Gender Gap: Political Participation

Schlozman et al. 1999. What Happened at Work Today? A Multistage Model of Gender, Employment, and Political Participation. *Journal of Politics* 61(1): 29-53.

Blaydes, Lisa and El Tarouty, Safinaz. 2009. Women's Electoral Participation in Egypt: The Implications of Gender for Voter Recruitment and Mobilization. *Middle East Journal* 63(3): 364-380.

Fri 7/17: Women Protesting: She's Beautiful When She's Angry (Film)

Multimedia Discussion 2 Due at the end of class.

Monday 7/20: The Gender Gap: Protest Participation

McAdam, Doug. 1992. "Gender as a Mediator of the Activist Experience: The Case of Freedom Summer." *American Journal of Sociology*, 1211-1240.

GENDER AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Tue 7/21: Gender and Political Institutions

Caraway, Teri. 2004. Inclusion and Democratization: Class, Gender, Race, and the Extension of Suffrage. *Comparative Politics*, 36(4): 443-460.

Wed 7/22: The Role of Electoral Systems and Political Parties

Matland, Richard and Studlar, Donley. 1996. The Contagion of Women Candidates in Single-Member District and Proportional Representation Electoral System: Canada and Norway. *The Journal of Politics*, 58(3): 707-733.

Caul, Miki. 1999. Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties. *Party Politics*, 5(1): 79-88.

Thur 7/23: Women in Politics (Video)

Marx Ferree, Myra. 2006. Angela Merkel: What Does it Mean to Run as a Woman? *German Politics and Society*, 24(1), 93-107.

Multimedia Discussion 3 DUE at the end of class.

Fri 7/24: Institutions and Gender Role Attitudes

Banaszak, Lee Ann. 2006. The Gendering State and Citizens' Attitudes toward Women's Roles: State Policy, Employment and Religion. *Politics and Gender*, 2(1): 29-56

Banaszak, Lee Ann and Plutzer, Eric. 1993. Contextual Determinants of Feminist Attitudes: National and Subnational Influences in Western Europe. *American Political Science Review*, 87(1): 147-157.

WOMEN IN OFFICE

Mon 7/27: Women in Parliaments: Why Descriptive Representation?

Mansbridge, Jane. 1997. Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes." *The Journal of Politics*, 61(3), 628-657.

Women in National Parliaments in 2015 <http://ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

Short Paper 2, "Women's Political Representation" DUE on ANGEL by 11:59PM on 7/27.
Presentation will occur during class.

Tue 7/28: Women in Cabinets

You will be assigned only ONE of the following readings during class on July 23.

Arriola, L. R., & Johnson, M. C. 2014. Ethnic Politics and Women's Empowerment in Africa: Ministerial Appointments to Executive Cabinets. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(2), 495-510.

Atchison, A., & Down, I. 2009. Women Cabinet Ministers and Female-Friendly Social Policy. *Poverty & Public Policy*, 1(2), 1-23.

Bego, I. 2014. Accessing Power in New Democracies The Appointment of Female Ministers in Postcommunist Europe. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(2), 347-360.

Jacob, S., Scherpereel, J. A., & Adams, M. 2014. Gender Norms and Women's Political Representation: A Global Analysis of Cabinets, 1979–2009. *Governance*, 27(2), 321-345.

O'Brien, Diana and Krook, Mona Lena. 2012. All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide. *Journal of Politics* 74(3): 840-855.

WOMEN AS CANDIDATES

Wed 7/29: Choosing to Run

Norris, Pippa and Lovenduski, Joni. 1993. If Only More Candidates Came Forward: Supply-Side Explanations of Candidate Selection in Britain. *British Journal of Political Science*, 23(4), 373-408.

Thur 7/30: What's Your Point, Honey? (Film)

Multimedia Discussion 4 DUE at the end of class.

Fri 7/31: Campaigning While Female

Meeks, Lindsey. 2012. Is She "Man Enough"? Women Candidates, Executive Political Offices, and News Coverage. *Journal of Communication*, 62(1): 175-193.

OPTIONAL: BGDC Chapter 1: "Hillary is Us"

OPTIONAL: BGDC Chapter 3: "Campaigning While Female."

Short Paper 3, "Campaigning" DUE on ANGEL by 11:59PM on 7/31.
Presentation will occur during class.

Mon 8/3: Race and Gender in Presidential Politics: A Debate Between Gloria Steinem and Melissa Harris-Lacewell. (Video)

Steinem, Gloria. "Women are Never Front-Runners." *NY Times*. January 8, 2008.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/08/opinion/08steinem.html? r=0>

Valenti, Jessica. 2008. "The Sisterhood Split." *The Nation*.
<http://www.thenation.com/article/sisterhood-split>

CAWP Factsheets: Women in Elective Office, Women of Color in Elective Office
http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/elective.pdf
http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/color.pdf

OPTIONAL: Carroll, Susan J. 2009. "Reflections on Gender and Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign: The Good, the Bad, and the Misogynistic." *Politics & Gender* 5(1):1-2-20.

Tue 8/4: Sexuality in Electoral Races and Public Opinion about LGBT Candidates

Doan, A. E., & Haider-Markel, D. P. 2010. The role of intersectional stereotypes on evaluations of gay and lesbian political candidates. *Politics & Gender*, 6(01), 63-91.

WOMEN AS ELECTED OFFICIALS

Wed 8/5: Women Representing Women

Wangnerud, Lena. 2009. Women in parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12: 51-69.

Celis, Karen et al. 2008. Rethinking Women's Substantive Representation. *Representation*, 44(2):99-110.

IMPACT OF WOMEN LEADERS

Thur 8/6: Do Women Make a Difference? Women Leaders' Influence on Policy-making

Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2008. Representing Women: The Adoption of Family Leave in Comparative Perspective. *The Journal of Politics*, 70(2): 323-334.

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2003. Contemporary Welfare Reform and the Public Identity of the Welfare Queen. *Race, Gender, & Class*, 10(1):31-59.

Short Paper 4, "Women's Issues" DUE on ANGEL by 11:59PM on 8/6. Presentation will occur during class.
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Fri 8/7: Do Women Make a Difference?: Women Leaders' Influence Beyond Policy-making

Wolbrecht, Christina., & Campbell, David. 2007. Leading by example: Female members of parliament as political role models. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(4), 921-939.

Mon 8/10: Cracking the Glass Ceiling

Kantola, Johanna. 2009. Women's political representation in the European Union. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 15(4), 379-400.

Tue 8/11: What Now? Gender, Politics, and the Future

Anne Marie Slaughter: 'Why Women Still Can't Have It All':
<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07/why-women-still-cant-have-it-all/309020/>

OPTIONAL: BGDC Chapter 11: "The Next Wave is Here."

OPTIONAL: BGDC Chapter 12: "The Aftermath."

Wed 8/12: Feminist Film

A film of students' choice:

Pray the Devil to Hell (Gini Reticker, 2008)

Pussy Riot: A Punk Prayer (Mike Lerner, Maxim Pozdorvkin, 2013)

Ukraine is Not a Brothel (Kitty Green, 2013)

Multimedia Discussion 5 DUE at the end of class.
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Thur 8/13: Study Day

Fri 8/14: Final Exam

TOPICS FOR SHORT PAPERS

You ONLY need to complete TWO of the four assigned topics here. On Tuesday, July 2, you will be given a chance to sign up for the two topics that you would like to write about for the short paper assignments. You will also present only ONE of the two papers of your choice during class on the day it is due.

Topic 1: “Women in Social Movements” Due July 13, 2015

In this 4—6 page assignment, you will be choosing one women’s movement or one social movement where women have actively participated in (either in the past or ongoing) in any country besides the U.S. You may choose to focus on the movement at the local, national, or international level. Once you choose a movement, please do the following:

- Review and define movement.
- What are the goals for this movement?
- What is the legislation at stake? Is there any historical precedent for this legislation?
- Is partisanship an important part of understanding this issue, i.e. have political parties taken a stance on this issue?
- Have similar movements been successful in other countries? Why or why not? Give one example.

In your work, consider how gender, race, and other social categories impact women in social movements. If you have chosen to conduct your presentation on this paper, be prepared to conduct a five-minute presentation of your argument and findings in class.

Topic 2: “Women’s Representation” Due July 27, 2015

In this 4—6 page assignment, you will examine the most recent data on the representation of women in legislatures and parliaments globally: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>. Choose one country besides the U.S. to focus your assignment. Once you choose a country, please do the following:

- What is the status of female representatives in legislature/parliament: how is the legislature organized? What is the percentage of women in legislature?
- What laws (if any) are in place to ensure the representation of women? These may include quotas or reservations. Examine <http://www.quotaproject.org> and report the findings on your nation.
- How do political parties play a role in the representation of women in your chosen country?
- Compare and contrast the gender representation in your chosen country versus the United States. Should the U.S. adopt the same laws and regulations to improve the representation of women in Congress?

In your work, consider how gender, race, and other social categories impact women’s representation. If you have chosen to conduct your presentation on this paper, be prepared to conduct a five-minute presentation of your argument and findings in class.

Topic 3: “2015 Campaign” Due July 31, 2015

In this 4—6 page assignment, you will be choosing a 2015 campaign in the U.S. or in another country that has at least one female candidate (even better if both candidates are women!) Once you choose a campaign, please do the following:

- Review the major party candidates in the campaign.
- What are the major issues of the campaign and what positions have the candidates taken?
- What are the characteristics of the race? (May include political/economic/social characteristics of the state; presence of gender, race, class, sexuality in the race; incumbent presence)

- How have the media (either local or national) covered the race? How have they depicted the candidates?
- Are campaigns in another country run differently? Give one example.

In your work, consider how gender, race, and other social categories impact women in political campaigns. If you have chosen to conduct your presentation on this paper, be prepared to conduct a five-minute presentation of your argument and findings in class.

Topic 4: “Women’s Issues” Due August 6, 2015

In this 4—6 page assignment, you will be choosing one policy area that you think is relevant to women’s interest that is currently up to debate. You may choose to focus on any policy area in the U.S. or in another country. Once you choose a policy issue, please do the following:

- Review and define the issue at stake.
- Explain why you think this issue is relevant to women
- What is the pro- position? Anti-position? What are the rationales for each position?
- What is the legislation at stake? Is there any historical precedent for this legislation?
- Is partisanship an important part of understanding this issue, i.e. have political parties taken a stance on this issue?
- Have other states or countries successfully passed this legislation? Why or why not? Give one example.

In your work, consider how gender, race, and other social categories impact the issue. If you have chosen to conduct your presentation on this paper, be prepared to conduct a five-minute presentation of your argument and findings in class.