

Professor Virginia Sapiro
vsapiro@bu.edu
232 BSR, 313A

Office Hours: drop by W 2-4 pm or by appt
Class Th 3:30-6:16, STH B22

**PO516/WS516 GENDER AND POLITICS
FALL 2019**

Please note: ONLY the syllabus material on the Blackboard website should be considered up to date. This version will not be updated.

One upon a time, gender was about whether one is female or male, a man or a woman, and those designations were determined just by people's "secondary sex characteristics." Now, it's not so simple. There are many ways to think about gender, relating to biology, identity, performance, perception, what bathroom you choose to – or are allowed to – use. Whatever it is – and we will spend a lot of time talking about this – our gender is important to us. Most of us care whether people understand us as male or female or something else or neither. Most of us think that those classifications make a large difference in at least certain aspects of our lives. And they do matter.

One of the things that gender matters for is politics, including some aspects of how we think, act, and treat each other in politics, and for important aspects of law and policy. This course explores some of the relationships between gender and politics, both in terms of the way gender affects political phenomena, and the ways in which politics shapes gender.

This is not a course on "women and politics," although it focuses a lot on women and politics, and its themes, approaches, and literature grows out of the longstanding field of women and politics. But we will not concentrate on describing women's roles in politics or thoughts or actions *as such*; rather, we will study the roles that gender plays in people's lives in relation to politics and government. We will consider the political significance of gender for a variety of gender categories – cis female and male, transgender, etc. But we will go a step further. Although the current U.S. Department of Justice said that "sex" (or gender) as discussed in the 1964 Civil Rights Act barring discrimination against people on the basis of sex does not cover gay people, because definitions and issues of sexuality are so very intertwined with gender, this course will focus on *sexuality* and politics as well as *gender* and politics.

Although *gender* and *sexuality* are crucial categories through which people perceive and treat each other, it is very important not to overgeneralize about men or women, transsexual people, gay people, heterosexual people, or anyone else as classified on the basis of gender or sexuality. Each of these groups of people is heterogeneous in so many ways – they are diverse in their age; class; where they live; their level of education; religion; their national and ethnic heritage; their race; the languages they speak, and a host of other things. This is what some people call *intersectionality*. We will be mindful of that fact throughout the course, and regularly look at research that highlights this fact.

This course focuses almost entirely on politics within the United States, although we will occasionally look at comparative data and studies, and students are welcome to focus their final paper on another country or a comparative study.

What will students get out of this course? I have designed it in hopes that it will

- give you an understanding of major theories and research on the relationship of gender and sexuality to the state, citizenship, political thinking and behavior, political leadership, and public policy and law;
- develop your ability to analyze issues of gender, sexuality, and politics using findings of high-quality research appropriately;

- enable you to discuss these issues, that often touch people in personal and highly charged ways, in civil, analytical, evidence-based ways;
- enhance your reading, writing, and verbal skills.

REQUIREMENTS

Class Preparation, Attendance and Participation:

All students are expected to attend all classes and come to class prepared, which means completing any assigned readings, activities, or other assignments.

I will often spend some portion of the final hour of each class introducing the next week's topic so that you are well-prepared to do the coming week's reading assignments effectively. We will devote most of most class periods to discussion. All students are expected to remain engaged and participate in the full length of all class meetings – this means no use of the web or social media during class time in ways that are unrelated to the current discussion. Not even under the table in your lap.

To assist in the documentation and assessment of your preparation and class participation, you will:

- Keep a record of what you have read.
- Assess your contribution to the class discussion each week. (A rubric for assessing your contributions is available on the course website under Guidelines Class Participation.)

Gender & Politics Blog:

Every student is required to participate in a class-wide blog posted on the course website and available to all participants in the course (only). *All students should submit at least one significant entry each week* (you can submit more). You may meet the minimum requirement either with a new topic or response to someone else. The entries should be thoughtful, well written (regular English, not twitter English or emojis), and should address important issues, questions, or observations that come up in the course of your assigned reading and other class participation, class discussion, or other serious news or information with a bearing on the topic of the week. You can discuss things that occurred in the world during the week, but this is not the place for general commentary about what's up. Blog entries should be clearly informed by what you are learning in the class. You don't have to write *much*, just something worthwhile to read.

Blog discussion should be lively and even contentious, but it must be civil, intelligent, and informed. If you are unsure about whether an entry you plan to write is acceptable for the blog, or if you want to write things you would prefer not to share with the whole group, you may use the journal format to write privately to Professor Sapiro, but you must participate in the collective blog as specified.

We will start a new blog each week. The blog week runs Wednesday, noon through Wednesday 11:59 a.m.; that is, the new blog week starts and finishes around noon *the day before the first class each week*.

Your blog participation will be graded through crowd-sourced assessment, and you will be required to participate in the collective assessment process. This means peers will assess each others' contributions over the course of the semester on how interesting and valuable their entries were.

Two Brief In-Class Exams:

We will have two brief in-class exams in which you will demonstrate your understanding of the course material, including readings and discussion. The first is **October 17**, the second **December 5**.

Final Paper:

Every student will submit a final research paper on a topic of your choice relevant to the course. The papers are due no later than **Wednesday, December 11 at 9:00 p.m.**

Your paper should be about 15 pages in length and use proper research paper form, including complete and accurate bibliography and foot/endnotes. (I don't care which form you use as long as it is a standard one and you use it properly and consistently.)

You may do a joint final project with another student in the course. The paper should be double the size and all co-authors will receive the same grade regardless of what each individual put into the project.

You must submit a brief **paper proposal** no later than **Friday 1 November at noon**. Feel free to submit it as soon as you can -- that will give you more time to work on the paper. Your proposal should be brief -- no more than the equivalent of one page, 11-point font. It should include

- Tentative title of the paper.
- A one-paragraph description of the main question(s) or problem(s) your paper will address.
- A brief description of the major method(s) and types of sources you will use for your investigation.
- A brief statement about why this topic is worth pursuing.
- A list of any questions or problems for which you would like some help or advice.

To submit your paper proposal: Your proposal should be composed in Word format (not pdf) with the document title, "YOURLASTNAME Paper Proposal" and submitted through the course website.

To submit your final paper: Your paper should be composed in Word format (NOT pdf) with the document title, "YOURLASTNAME Final Paper" and submitted to the course website. You may submit a draft for my consideration in advance, but your draft must be submitted more than a week before your due date and you have to give me 2 days to get a chance to read your draft.

GRADING

The weight of each element in the final grade:

- Final Paper (incorporating 5% for the Final Paper Proposal): 30%
- Each in-class Exam: 10%
- Class Participation (including preparation): 25%
- Blog Participation: 25%

If you believe that the assessment I made of a particular piece of work -- for example, the answer to an exam question, or a comment on your paper -- was a mistake, I may reassess the entire piece of work from scratch, which means the grade could go up, down, or stay the same. But I do grade very carefully.

Please note that your work will not be assessed by a machine. I reserve the right to use my discretion in assessing the quality of your work and achievements in the course.

Wondering about ways to improve your grade? The best way to do that is to read the syllabus carefully, understand the expectations, and fulfill them. Talk to the professor *early* if you have questions.

EXPECTATIONS

Your work should be submitted on time. Plan now to make sure this happens without panic. If you find that you will submit an assignment late, you must submit it with a written excuse. I will grade both the assignment and the excuse, and the value of the assignment can be weighted down (only) by the quality of the excuse. "I was really busy" or "I had a lot of work" is not a good excuse. It is true of everyone else in class.

Civility is an essential ingredient in the process of learning in an academic environment, especially when the subject is as provocative, contentious, and occasionally uncomfortable as the topics that arise in the political and campaign world. Civility requires respect but *not* either being silent or silencing others. Conversations about contentious topics are not always very comfortable, nor should they be, but they must be respectful. Name calling, trolling, being quick to take offense, attributing base motives to others, assuming one has "natural" knowledge that is better than other people's knowledge are all toxic to civility.

Electronics: You can use laptops or tablets in class for purposes of taking notes or referring to reading or bringing other material to bear on the class discussion. Your phones should be fully off and out of sight. *Using your electronic equipment to do anything but work relevant to the class is simply rude to anyone who is talking and working on the subject at hand.* Rude. Don't be rude. If people abuse the privilege of using electronics in class I may revoke the privilege for everyone.

Research shows people learn better by taking note by hand rather than on an electronic device. Here is a review of research showing the impact of using laptops in class:

<https://www.brookings.edu/research/for-better-learning-in-college-lectures-lay-down-the-laptop-and-pick-up-a-pen/> .

Participation. There are no pure observers in the classroom (at least none who will do well here); everyone should participate in a manner that will have a positive impact on the quality of the class. For a rubric on how to evaluate your impact on class discussion, see the handout on *Evaluating Class Contributions*.

Academic Integrity. *By remaining in the course you are tacitly agreeing to follow standard principles of academic integrity in this course.* Academic dishonesty is a serious offense because it undermines the bonds of trust and honesty among members of the community and defrauds those who may eventually depend upon our knowledge and integrity. Such dishonesty consists of cheating, fabrication, facilitating academic dishonesty, and plagiarism. Examples of academic dishonesty include using someone else's words or ideas without proper documentation; copying some portion of your text from another source without proper acknowledgement of indebtedness; borrowing another person's specific ideas without documenting their source; turning in a paper written by someone else, an essay "service," or from a web site. It also includes giving or selling your work to be used by someone else as their work. *Any assignment that is generated in whole or part through academic dishonesty will be failed with no "do-overs."* This is an upper-level course, so there is no excuse. If you think you may not understand what constitutes academic integrity or the lack of it, consult with me in advance. [Wording provided largely by Jeffrey Henriques years ago.] For the university policy on academic conduct, see <http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>.

Disabilities. Students have a right to reasonable accommodations to take account of certain physical or cognitive disabilities and allow them to pursue success in their education at BU. Students who believe they require such accommodations must go through the formal process of application in a

timely way. For more information, see <http://www.bu.edu/disability/policies-procedures/academic-accommodations/beginning-academic-program/> .

Other Support Services. In this course we will handle subjects and issues that can touch sensitive and even painful issues for some people related to gender and sexuality. Consider in advance whether this course is appropriate for you. If you find that you need help dealing with personal repercussions of any issues raised in this course (or any other), the both the Dean of Students Office offers many resources here: <http://www.bu.edu/dos/resources/> or you can go there or to Marsh Chapel to find good referrals and help.

READINGS AND HOW TO DO THEM

This course requires a substantial amount of reading. This is a 4-credit course, which means that standard expectations (2 hours preparation for each credit) are that you would be spending at least 8 hours each week preparing.

I will identify some readings each week that everyone should read, and will give you some flexibility about which others you will read. This means students will be preparing by reading somewhat different things, but you will always be reading on the same subject. All students are responsible for explaining, criticizing, and applying the readings you did for other students who did not read exactly the same assignment. Everyone is a teacher. Life is like that.

Here are the reasons why I insert so much optional reading for weeks in which I have given you a lot of required reading:

- Some of you may be interested enough in the topic to read more – now or later.
- If the topic is relevant to your paper, this gives you some other starter readings.
- I draw a lot from these books and articles in my lectures and contributions to our class discussion, so why not tell you about it?
- I always want you to know that you have *never* read all the important works on the topic and there is always more you could learn beyond what we do in class.

Some of you may be in academic programs that do not require students to do much reading on a weekly basis. If that describes you, and you want help thinking about how to do this, see the professor. All of you may find some of the readings challenging because you are not used to the kind of material in them. This might include the biology text we are beginning with, or quantitative social science, or legal texts, for example. I do not expect you to grasp every sentence of every reading, but it is important that your education give you a chance to become more adept at using these different kinds of texts. I am helping you to learn to read on a more advanced level. Ask for help if you want it.

Almost all readings are available through the course website on Blackboard. There are two books you should purchase or read on reserve: (I did not order it at the local bookstore; it is cheaper to purchase through amazon.com. Feel free to purchase used copies.)

Brown, Nadia E. and Sarah Allen Gershon. 2016. *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. NY: Routledge.

Cobble, Dorothy Sue, Linda Gordon, and Astrid Henry. 2014. *Feminism Unfinished*. NY: Liveright.

Graduate Students: Graduate students will have somewhat different assignments and expectations. I will work with you to make sure the course fits the needs of your graduate program, and it will

include more attention to research design. Arrange a meeting with me early in the semester to do this.

OFFICE HOURS AND CONTACT

I have walk-in office hours Wednesdays, 2-4pm in my office. Please let me know if you need to talk to me privately; otherwise, everyone who shows up is welcome to join in. Students can often learn from each others' questions. If these hours do not work in your schedule, contact me to find another time. I want to meet with all students in the course individually, so please find excuses to come by.

I am nearly always available by email and I respond quickly, but be patient and considerate. I don't use my office phone, so even if you discover the number, don't call it. I don't check messages. Your messages will remain on the phone long after I have been put in a nursing home.

For more information about the professor, see <http://blogs.bu/vsapiro>

WEEK BY WEEK AGENDA AND ASSIGNMENTS

*The assignments from week to week are likely to change somewhat depending on events and opportunities. Please use **only** the Week-by-Week Agenda on the course website. The information in this pdf version will be out of date very soon, and in any case is not as useful as what is online.*

Chapter I: Understanding Gender, the State, and Citizenship

In the first part of the course we focus on understanding basic ideas and questions about gender, sexuality, the state, citizenship, and politics. We explore these ideas largely through theoretical texts and a brief view of American history. The questions and observations of this part of the course are fundamental as a framework for the rest of the course.

September 5: What is Gender, What Is Politics, What is Gender & Politics?

We begin with the obvious questions and topics: What is gender? What is politics? How will we link them? What are we doing in this course and what is expected of everyone in it (i.e. "syllabus day")? Please prepare by doing the assigned reading, which will help us move efficiently through some of the basics, including what is due to biology/society questions. Note: I EXPECT YOU TO HAVE READ THE APPROPRIATE SECTIONS OF *EVOLUTION'S RAINBOW BEFORE CLASS*.

Roughgarden, Joan. 2013. *Evolution's Rainbow: Diversity, Gender, and Sexuality in Nature and People*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapters 10-15 (pp.174-258).

Optional:

Bahrampour, Tara. 2018. "Crossing the divide: Do men really have it easier? These transgender guys found the truth was more complex." *Washington Post*, July 20.

Chang, Adam R. & Stephanie M. Wildman. 2017. "Gender in/sight: Examining culture and constructions of gender." *Georgetown Journal of Gender and Law* 18:43-80.

Schrock, Douglas and Michael Schwalbe. 2009. "Men, masculinity, and manhood acts." *Annual Review of Sociology* 35:277-95.

Techera, Titus. 2017. "Clint Eastwood and the recovery of manliness as a civic virtue." *National Review*, June 39.

Weldon, S. Laurel. 2006. "The structure of intersectionality: A comparative politics of gender." *Politics & Gender* 2(2): 235-48.

Sept. 12: Gender & the Group Basis of Politics: Problems of Representation

We start by focusing on gender and representation in democratic polities because this makes us consider some of the core questions we consider throughout this course. Ours is a *representational* system, so it is important to understand what representation is, what it is about us we want to have represented, who can represent us, and how we know when we are being represented. (Or, for those of you planning to enter the city council, state house or Congress: who and what will you represent and how?) If gender is a core part of our lives, should our gender, or something relevant to it, be represented? How? By whom?

Common Reading:

- Sapiro, Virginia. 1981. "When are interests interesting? The problem of political representation of women." *American Political Science Review* 75(3): 701-716.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent 'Yes.'" *Journal of Politics* 61 (August): 628-657.
- Brown, Nadia E. 2014. *Sisters in the Statehouse: Black Women & Legislative Decision-Making*. NY: Oxford University Press. Chapter 5, pp. 69-88. "Representation for whom?"
- O'Brien, Dianna Z. & Johanna Rickne. 2016. Gender quotas and women's political leadership. *American Political Science Review* 110 (1): 112-126

Optional:

- Besley, Timothy, Olle Folke, Torsten Persson, and Johanna Rickne. 2017. "Gender quotas and the crisis of the mediocre man." *Microeconomic Insights*.
- Homola, Jonathan. 2017. "Are parties equally responsive to women and men?" *British Journal of Political Science* 49: 957-75.
- Weldon, Laurel. 2015. *When Protest Makes Policy: Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, Ch.1: "Representing women in democratic policy processes," pp. 30-56 and Ch.6, "The advocacy state," pp.149-70.

Sept 19: Gender & Citizenship

Citizenship and nationality are fundamental to people's sense of identity and relationships, and they are also crucial bases for conferring rights and obligations. Citizenship and nationality are also contingent on gender and sexuality in important ways, although not as much as once was true. In these days of renewed contention over immigration and nationality, it is important that we trace this history and consider the remaining issues.

Common Readings:

- Kerber, Linda K. 1997. "The meanings of citizenship." *Journal of American History* 84 (3): 833-54.
- Virginia Sapiro. 1984. "Women, citizenship, and nationality: Immigration and naturalization policies in the United States." *Politics and Society* 13:1-26.
- Canaday, Margot. 2009. *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch. 6: "Immigration: 'Who is a Homosexual': The consolidation of sexual identities in mid-twentieth-century immigration law, 1952-1983," pp. 214-254.
- United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW). 2003. *Women, Nationality and Citizenship*. New York: United Nations.

Optional:

- Downes, Alexander B. 2017. "The Monkey Cage: "Would transgender troops harm military effectiveness? Here's what the research says." *Washington Post* August 1.
- Kann, Mark E. 1998. *A Republic of Men: The American Founders, Gendered Language, and Patriarchal Politics*. NY: New York University Press.
- Nayak, Meghane. 2015. *Who Is Worthy of Protection? Gender-Based Asylum and U.S. Immigration Politics*. NY: Oxford University Press.

Sessions v. Morales-Santana 582 U.S. ___ (2017).

Sept 26: A Brief History of Equality Law and Policy, Applied to Gender & Sexuality

We could spend a whole course focusing on the history of equality law and policy, but this week we will cover fundamental concepts and turning-points. We will also probe ways in which structuring discussion of gender-based law and policy simply around the concept of “equality” may be insufficient.

Common Readings (read these in this order)

- DuBois, Ellen Carol. 1997. “Outgrowing the compact of the fathers: Equal rights, woman suffrage, and the United States Constitution, 1820-1878.” *The Journal of American History* 74 (3): 836-862.
- François, Aderson Bellegarde. “To go into battle with space and time: Emancipated slave marriage, interracial marriage, and same-sex marriage.” *The Journal of Gender, Race, and Justice*. 13 (1): 105-51.
- Liu, Crystal, Elizabeth MacGill, & Apeksha Vora. 2016. “Sex discrimination claims under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.” *Georgetown Journal of Gender & Law* 17: 411-50.
- Lewis, Daniel C. Jami K. Taylor, Brian DiSarro, and Matthew L. Jacobsmeier. 2014. “Is transgender policy different? Policy complexity, policy diffusion, and LGBT nondiscrimination law.” In Jami Kathleen Taylor and Donald P. Haider-Markel, ed., *Transgender Rights and Politics: Groups, Issue Framing, and Policy Adoption*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, pp.155-88.

Optional:

- Boris, Eileen. 2011. “Ledbetter’s continuum: Race, gender, and pay discrimination.” In Tracy Thomas and Tracy Boisseau, eds. *Feminist Legal History: Essays on Women and Law*. NY: NYU Press, pp. 240-56.
- Davis, Heath Fogg. 2014. “Sex-classification policies as transgender discrimination: An intersectional critique.” *Perspectives on Politics* 12(1): 45-60.
- Htun, Mala, and S. Laurel Weldon. 2010. “When do governments promote women’s rights? A framework for the comparative analysis of sex equity policy.” *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 207-16.
- Lacy, Wendy. 2017. “Gender equality: International law and national constitutions.” In Helen Irving, ed., *Constitutions and Gender*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, pp.135-62.
- Vickers, Jill. 2017. “Gendering’ federal constitutions.” In Helen Irving, ed., *Constitutions and Gender*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, pp.163-94. <https://www-elgaronline-com.ezproxy.bu.edu/view/9781784716950.00013.xml>

Chapter 2: Political Psychology and Behavior

How do gender and sexuality shape the way we think and feel in political contexts and how we behave in politics? How do our definitions of gender and sexuality, and our gender- and sexuality-based identities shape our political thinking and behavior?

Oct 3: Political Psychology of Gender & Sexuality: Identity, Prejudice, & Stereotype

This week we consider theories and research on the political psychology of gender and sexual identities, characteristics, and performance, as well as the dynamics and functions of prejudice and stereotype. What roles do they play in people’s political thinking, perception, and action? How are prejudices and stereotypes based on gender and sexuality related to other bases of prejudice and stereotype? Are you free from prejudice and stereotype?

Common Reading:

- Capers, K. Jureé and Candis Watts Smith. 2016. "Linked fate at the intersection of race, gender, and ethnicity." In *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon. NY: Routledge, pp.29-48.
- Schaffner, Brian F., Matthew MacWilliams, and Tatishe Nteta. 2018. "Understanding white polarization in the 2016 vote for president: The sobering role of racism and sexism." *Political Science Quarterly* 133(1): 9-34.

Choose from among:

- Harris-Perry, Melissa V. 2011. *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Appendix: Survey Data.
- "Roy Cohn is not a homosexual;" A scene from Tony Kushner, *Angels in America*.
- Pew Research Center. 2013. *A Survey of LGBT Americans: Attitudes, Experiences, and Values in Changing Times*.
- Herek, Gregory M. and Kevin A. McLemore. 2013. "Sexual prejudice." *Annual Review of Psychology* 64:309-33.
- Holman, Mirya R., Jennifer L. Merolla, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2016. "Terrorist threat, male stereotypes, and candidate evaluations." *Political Research Quarterly* 69 (a): 134-47.
- Krupnikov, Yanna, Spencer Piston, & Nicole M. Bauer. 2016. "Saving face: Identifying voter responses to black candidates and female candidates." *Political Psychology* 37 (2): 253-73.
- Sesko, Amanda K. and Monica Biernat. 2016. "Invisibility of Black women: Drawing attention to individuality." *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*. 21 (1): 141-58.
- Teele, Dawn Langan, Joshua Kalla, and Frances Rosenbluth. 2018. "The ties that double bind: Social roles and women's underrepresentation in politics." *American Political Science Review* 112 (3): 525-41.
- Winter, Nicholas J.G. 2010. "Masculine Republicans and feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' explicit and implicit images of the political parties." *Political Behavior* 32(4): 587-618.
- Wood, Wendy and Alice H. Eagly. 2010. "Gender." In the *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. 1, pp.629-67.

Oct 10: Gender and Public Opinion

To what degree does gender shape or moderate people's understanding of politics, the way they think about politics and policy, their political allegiances, and their opinions on specific issues?

- Barnes, Tiffany and Erin Cassese. 2017. "American party women: A look at the gender gap within parties." *Political Research Quarterly* 70 (1): 127-41.
- Bittner, Amanda and Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant. 2017. "Digging deeper into the gender gap: Gender salience as a moderating factor in political attitudes." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 50 (2): 559-78.
- Huddy, Leonie, Erin Cassese, and Mary-Kate Lizotte. 2008. "Gender, public opinion, and political reasoning." *Political Women and American Democracy*. Ed. Christine Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith, Lisa Baldez. NY: Cambridge University Press, pp.31-49.
- Herrick, Rebekah. 2018. "The gender gaps in identity and political attitudes among American Indians." *Politics & Gender*. 14: 186-207.
- Holman, Mirya R. and Nathan Kalmoe. 2019. "Partisanship in the #MeToo era."
- 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 (3): 864-887.
- Ondercin, Heather L. 2017. "Who is responsible for the gender gap? The dynamics of men's and women's Democratic macropartisanship, 1950-2012." *Political Research Quarterly* 70(4): 749-61.

Thebaud, Sarah and David S. Pedulla. 2016. "Masculinity and the stalled revolution: How gender ideologies and norms shape young men's responses to work-family policies." *Gender and Society* 30 (4): 590-617.
Pew Research Center, Reports on Gender

Oct 17: Gender, Political Communication, and Mass Level Political Action

Once upon a time, women just weren't supposed to be involved in politics. But they were, even then. This week we focus first on gender and communication, then on gender and participation in politics at the mass level. What difference has gender historically made in people's participation in politics? What difference does it make now? What has changed and why?

I have chosen 2 pieces for everyone to read. Then pick something else substantial to read. The possibilities are rich and fascinating.

The first brief exam will be during the first hour of this class.

Karpowitz, Christopher F, and Tali Mendelberg. 2014. *The Silent Sex: Gender, Deliberation, and Institutions*. Ch. 2 "The Sources of Gender Gap in Political Participation", Ch. 3 "Why Women Don't Speak" pages 74-98.

Holman, Mirya R. 2016. "The differential effect of resources on political participation across gender and racial groups." In *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon. NY: Routledge, pp.13-28.

Choose carefully from:

Carpenter, Daniel and Colin D. Moore. 2014. "When canvassers became activists: Antislavery petitioning and political mobilization among American women." *American Political Science Review*. 108 (3): 479-98.

Corder, J. Kevin and Christina Wolbrecht. 2016. *Counting Women's Ballots: Female Voters from Suffrage through the New Deal*. NY: Cambridge University Press.

Dunbar, Erica A. 2008. *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, Ch. 4, "Voices from the margins: the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, 1833-1840, pp.70-95.

Harvie, Jeanette Yih. 2016. "In considering the political behavior of Asian American women." In *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon. NY: Routledge, pp.63-76.

Krauss, Celene. 1998. "Challenging power: Toxic waste protests and the politicization of white, working-class women." In *Community Activism and Feminist Politics: Organizing Across Race, Class, and Gender*, ed. Nancy A. Naples (NY: Routledge), pp.130-50.

McRae, Elizabeth Gillespie. 2018. *Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy*. NY: Oxford University Press.

Parker, Kim, Juliana Horowitz, and Ruth Igielnik. 2018. "Women and leadership, 2018."

Preece, Jessica Robinson. 2016. "Mind the gender gap: An experiment on the influence of self-efficacy on political interest." *Politics & Gender* 12 (1): 198-217.

Robertson, Stacey. 2011. "'On the side of righteousness': Women, the church, and abolition." In Elizabeth J. Clapp and Julie Roy Jeffrey, eds. *Women, Dissent, and Anti-Slavery in Britain and America, 1790-1865*. NY: Oxford University Press.

Robnett, Belinda. 1997. *How Long? How Long? African American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Thomas, Jakana L. and Kanisha D. Bond. 2015. "Women's participation in violent political organizations." *American Political Science Review* 109 (3): 488-506.

Oct. 24 Political Participation to Achieve Rights: Feminist (and Anti-Feminist) Social Movements

This week we undertake a brief examination of the history and politics of feminist (and anti-feminist) movements in the United States. What have been the chief priorities and strategies of feminist movements? Who has been involved –and not. What are the circumstances under which women become actively engaged in resisting feminist movements? How do we know when a movement is successful, and why is determining a movement’s success problematic?

Common Reading:

Cobble, Dorothy Sue, Linda Gordon, and Astrid Henry. 2014. *Feminism Unfinished: A Short, Surprising History of American Women’s Movements*. NY: Liveright Publishing.

If you have time, it will be very helpful to look at one of these:

Blake, Mariah. 2015. “Mad men: Inside the men’s rights movement: And the army of misogynists and trolls it spawned.” *Mother Jones*.

Cobble, Dorothy Sue. 2004. *The Other Women’s Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Goodier, Susan. 2012. *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Height, Dorothy I. 2001. “We wanted the voice of a woman to be heard.” Black women and the 1963 March on Washington.” In Betty Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin, eds. *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements*. NY: New York University Press, pp.83-91.

Kreft, Anne-Kathrin. 2018. “Responding to sexual violence: Women’s mobilization in war.” *Journal of Peace Research*.

Matthews, Tracye A. 2001 “Noone ever asks what a man’s role in the revolution is? Gender politics and leadership in the Black Panther Party, 1966-71.” In Betty Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin, eds. *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements*. NY: New York University Press, pp.230-56.

Schreiber, Ronnee. 2008. *Righting Feminism: Conservative Women and American Politics*. NY: Oxford University Press. Ch 2., “Conservative women’s political activism.”

Oct 31: Political Participation to Achieve Rights: Sexuality-Based Social Movements

This week we examine the rise of gay politics and political movements through the lens of one city: Chicago. How did activism arise? Through what means? What were the special challenges that the gay movement faced?

Common Reading:

Stewart-Winter, Timothy. 2016. *Queer Clout: Chicago and the Rise of Gay Politics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Optional:

Frank, Nathaniel. 2018. *Awakening: How Gays and Lesbians Brought Marriage Equality to America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Frank, Walter. 2014. *Law and the Gay Rights Story: The Long Search for Equal Justice in a Divided Democracy*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Taylor, Jami K. and Daniel C. Lewis. 2014. “The advocacy coalition framework and transgender inclusion in LGBT rights activism.” In Jami Kathleen Taylor and Donald P. Haider-Markel, ed., *Transgender Rights and Politics: Groups, Issue Framing, and Policy Adoption*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, pp. 108-32.

Nov. 1: Submit your paper proposal no late than noon.

Nov 7 Gender, Leadership, and Office-Holding

The vast majority of political office-holders are men, although women are half the population. In a democratic system, why does such systematic exclusion happen, and how, and does it matter? We will look at pathways to office and consider whether gender makes a difference in the way office-holders behave. We will also look at candidacy and office-holding among LGBTQ people.

We will take a special look at the 2016 and 2018 election and speculate about the 2020 elections to understand how the knowledge we have about gender politics from scholarly research applies to these particular cases. Sample widely.

- Bejarano, Christina E. 2016. "New expectations for Latina state legislative representation." In *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon. NY: Routledge, pp.187-200.
- Carew, Jessica D. Johnson. 2016. "How do you see me? Stereotyping of black women and how it affects them in an electoral context." In *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon. NY: Routledge, pp. 95-115.
- Casey, Logan S. and Andrew Reynolds. 2015. *Standing Out: Transgender and Gender Variant Candidates and Elected Officials around the World*. LGBTQ Representation and Rights Initiative, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Filler, Nicole and Pei-te-Lien. 2016. "Asian Pacific American in U.S. politics: Gender and pathways to elected office." In *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon. NY: Routledge, pp.218-33.
- Fulton, Sarah A., Cherie D. Maestas, L. Sandy Maisel and Walter J. Stone. 2006. "The sense of a woman: Gender, ambition and the decision to run for Congress." *Political Research Quarterly* 59 (2): 235-48.
- Heldman, Caroline, Meredith Conroy, and Alissa R. Ackerman. 2018. *Sex and Gender in the 2016 Presidential Election*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- Kathak, Kritin and Jonathan Woon. 2015. "Women don't run? Election aversion and candidate entry." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (3): 595-612.
- Kitchens, Karen & Michelle Swers. 2016. Why aren't there more Republican women in Congress? Gender, partisanship, and fundraising support in the 2010 and 2012 elections." *Politics & Gender* 12(4): 648-676.
- Lawless, Jennifer L. 2015. "Female candidates and legislators." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18:349-66.
- Pearson, Kathryn, and Logan Dancy. 2010. "Elevating women's voice in Congress: Speech participation in the House of Representatives." *Political Research Quarterly* 64(4): 910-23.
- Philpot, Tasha S. 2018. "Race, gender and the 2016 presidential election." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 51(4): 755-61.
- Prindeville, Diane-Michele and Lawrence Broxton. 2016. Raising their voices in tribal politics: Indigenous women leaders in Arizona and New Mexico." In *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon. NY: Routledge, pp.268-81.
- Ramirez, Ricardo and Carmen Burlingame. 2016. "The unique career path of Latina legislators, 1990-2010. In *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon. NY: Routledge, pp.201-17.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2016. "Officeholding in the 50 states: The pathways women of color take to statewide elective executive office." In *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon. NY: Routledge, pp. 171-86.
- Schneider, Monica C., Mirya R. Holman, Amanda B. Diekman, & Thomas McAndrew, 2016. "Power, conflict, and community: How gendered views of political power influence women's political ambitions." *Political Psychology* 37 (4): 515-31.

- Sriram, Shyam K. 2016. "A Tulsi by any other name: An analysis of South Asian American support for a Hindu congressional candidate." In *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon. NY: Routledge, pp.116-33.
- Teele, Dawn Langan, Joshua Kalla, and Frances Rosenbluth. 2018. "The ties that double bind: Social roles and women's underrepresentation in politics." *American Political Science Review* 112 (3): 525-41.

Chapter 3: Public Policy and the Gender/Sexuality Basis of the State

Now we turn to a sampling of major areas of public policy to look at the role of gender and sexuality – what problems motivate, policy, what assumptions shape it, how policy shapes gender/sexuality, and how policy impacts depend on gender/sexuality. Throughout, note that public policy is not just a means to address particular problems; it is an application of values and assumptions.

Nov 14: Gender- and Sexuality-Based Violence and Policies to Address It

One of the aims of the state is supposed to be to protect people from violence, but violence against women and sexual minorities was historically disregarded or even condoned by law, policy, and public opinion. We will look at the historic conditions of such violence, the reasons, implications, and changes and consider linkages between racial violence and gender- and sexuality-based violence. We will also consider sexual harassment, which does not necessarily involve physical violence but, we will argue, constitutes an assault on people's opportunities and quality of life.

Read widely.

- Baker, Carrie N. 2011. "Sexual harassment: Law for women, by women." In Tracy Thomas and Tracy Boisseau, eds. *Feminist Legal History: Essays on Women and Law*. NY: NYU Press, pp.223-39.
- Bardavid, Dania, Marissa Chiarolanzio, and Allison Strittmater. 2016. "Domestic violence." *Georgetown Journal of Gender & Law* 211: 211-46.
- Baum, Matthew A., Dara Kay Cohen, and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2018. "Does rape culture predict rape? Evidence from U.S. newspapers, 2000-2013."
- Burke, Tarana. 2017. "#MeToo was started for black and brown women and girls. They're still being ignored." *Washington Post* (November 9).
- Carter, Niambi. 2012. "Intimacy without consent: Lynching as sexual violence." *Politics & Gender* 8(3): 414-421.
- Dickerson, Caitlin. 2018. "Hazing, humiliation, terror: Working while female in a federal prison." *New York Times* November 17, 2018.
- Dow, Dawn Marie. 2016. "The deadly challenges of raising African American boys: Navigating the controlling image of the 'thug.'" *Gender and Society* 30(2): 161-88.
- Hollander, Jocelyn A. 2001. "Vulnerability and dangerousness: The construction of gender through violence." *Gender and Society* 15 (1): 83-109.
- McNeil, Genna Rae. 2001. "Joanne is you and Joanne is me: A consideration of African American women and the 'Free Joan Little' movement, 1975-76." In Betty Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin, eds., *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements*. NY: New York University Press, pp.259-79.
- Meyer, Doug. 2015. *Violence against Queer People: Race, Class, Gender and the Persistence of Anti-LGBT Discrimination*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Sack, Emily J. 2010. "Is domestic violence a crime? Intimate partner rape as allegory." *Journal of Civil Rights and Economic Development* 24 (3): 535-66.
- Time Person of the Year Report: "The silence breakers." <http://time.com/time-person-of-the-year-2017-silence-breakers>.

United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime. 2018. *Global Study on Homicide: Gender-Related Killing of Women and Girls, 2018*. Vienna: UNODC.

Weldon, Laurel. 2015. *When Protest Makes Policy: Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, Ch.4: "Inclusion, identity, and women's movements: State policies on violence against women of color," pp. 109-128.

Nov 21: Family Law & Policy: Marriage and Reproduction

How does public policy shape some of our most important and intimate social relationships – and what gender- and sexuality-based assumptions and goals do these policies use?

Marriage and Life Partnerships

Loving v. Virginia, 388 U.S. 1 (1967) <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/388/1>

Mello, Joseph. 2016. *The Courts, the Ballot Box, and Gay Rights: How Our Governing Institutions Shape the Same-Sex Marriage Debate*. University Press of Kansas.

Obergefell et al v. Hodges, Director, Ohio Department of Health, et al. 576 U.S. ___ (2015).

Wallenstein, Peter. 2014. *Race, Sex, and the Freedom to Marry: Loving v. Virginia*. University of Kansas Press.

Yamin, Priscilla. 2012. *American Marriage: A Political Institution*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Reproduction

Against her Will: The Carrie Buck Story. A 1994 dramatization (but note if you watch it: Carrie Buck was not actually feeble-minded.) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lg0mYLak54M>

Caron, Simone M. 2008. *Who Chooses? American Reproductive History since 1830*. University Press of Florida. Chapters 2,3,6,8.

Dixon, Rosalind and Jade Bond. 2017. "Constitutions and reproductive rights: "Convergence and non-convergence." In Helen Irving, ed., *Constitutions and Gender*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, pp.438-62.

McClain, Linda C. and Daniel Cere. 2013. *What Is Parenthood? Contemporary Debates about the Family*. NY: New York University Press.

Ross, Loretta J. and Rickie Solinger. 2017. *Reproductive Justice: An Introduction*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Weldon, Laurel. 2015. *When Protest Makes Policy: Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, Ch.2: "Social movements, representation, and family policy," pp. 57-81.

Williams, Tonya M 2016. "Why are you under the skirts of women? Race, gender, and abortion policy in the Georgia State Legislature." In *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics*. Ed. Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon. NY: Routledge, pp.282-304.

Dec 5: Social Policy: Education and Health Care

The second brief exam is today

A wide range of public policies are aimed, as the U.S. Constitution says, at providing for the common good. But how is the "common good" defined? What are the elements that should be provided, supported, or encouraged by governmental action? Some of the most fundamental political disagreements are over how to answer these questions, and some of the most fundamental differences among the politics of different counties are over how to answer these questions. For this course, take a selection of 2 areas – education and health care – and examine how gender and sexuality play into the definitions, solutions, and impacts of these policies.

Common Reading:

Goldblatt, Beth. 2017. "Constitutional approaches to gender and social and economic rights." In Helen Irving, ed., *Constitutions and Gender*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, pp.482-500.
Choose among:

Health Care

- Combs, Ryan. 2014. "Key issues in transgender health care policy and practice." In Jami Kathleen Taylor and Donald P. Haider-Markel, ed., *Transgender Rights and Politics: Groups, Issue Framing, and Policy Adoption*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, pp.231-51.
- Hirschmann, Nancy J. 2012. "Disability as a new frontier for feminist intersectionality research" *Politics & Gender* 8(3): 396-405
- Sabik et al. 2015. "State Medicaid expansion decisions and disparities in women's cancer screening." *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 48(1): 98-103.
- Quincey, Kerry, Iain Williamson, Sue Winstanley. 2016. "Marginalised malignancies?: A qualitative synthesis of men's accounts of living with breast cancer." *Social Science & Medicine* 149:17-25.

Education

- Birnbaum, Matthew and Tamara Yakaboski. 2011. "The legal and policy implications of male-benefiting admissions policies at public institutions: Can they ever be considered affirmative action for men?" *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice* 48 (1): 23-46.
- Forty Years and Counting: The Triumphs of Title IX: Hearing of the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, United States Senate, June 9, 2012.*
- Morris, Edward W. and Edward Morris. 2015. *Learning the Hard Way: Masculinity, Place, and the Gender Gap in Education*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Dec 11: Final paper due no later than 9:00 p.m.

See the Requirements page to understand how to do this right.