

POS 533  
Women, Politics & Power  
Fall 2015

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Office Hours: Contact Office (Humanities 016): T/Th 12:00-12:45 pm  
and Tuesday 2:45-3:45pm  
Milne 221: Wednesday 2:30-3:30 pm

Whether it's speculating about the factors impacting a woman's chance of becoming U.S. president, analyzing the work of women who already hold elective office, thinking through women's participation in the political and policy processes or simply watching the progress of a female little leaguer playing baseball on an otherwise all male team, issues relevant to gender arise in more contexts than we might think. Many are controversial, and many raise important questions about the status of women in society and in politics. What factors enhance the chances for women's political participation? Do women bring different perspectives to politics and leadership? Do they behave differently while in office? Are their "interests" being adequately represented?

It will be the central purpose of this class to consider and disentangle the multiple and sometimes conflicting perspectives on these often difficult questions. In order to do so, we will overview the ways women have been involved in a number of aspects of American political life, examining women's participation as voters, candidates, officeholders and increasingly, as political leaders. In addition to more fully appreciate the role of women in the contemporary American political system, we need to begin with a broader lens, getting a sense for the roles women have traditionally played in American society and understanding the historical foundations of their evolving political activity. Thus, in the first few weeks of this class, we consider some of the alternative theoretical perspectives that have been used to shed light on the area of women and politics, and we examine historical foundations. We then move to a consideration of women in a variety of political settings, including women's activities in campaigns and elections, in the institutions of American government and in the policymaking process. Most of our study will have a U.S. focus, but examples from the international sphere are also included as the course proceeds, particular emphasis will be placed on the differing perspectives and methodologies social and political scientists have brought to bear on these provocative questions.

**Learning Objectives:**

- To increase awareness about the role of gender.
- To identify key theories, controversies, and perspectives on the role of women in society and politics.
- To examine the factors shaping women's roles in different areas of political life.
- To take a broader perspective of women's roles across institutions and societies.

- To consider the advantages and disadvantages of studying gender through the use of alternative research designs.

### **Required Texts:**

Note: Since we are a small group, we can certainly adjust readings and deadlines based on reading and research interests. While the first half of the course is “written in stone, I am willing to adjust as the semester progresses.

- Ritter, G. (2006). *The Constitution as Social Design: Gender and Civic Membership in the American Constitutional Order*. Redwood City, California: Stanford University Press.
- Jenkins, K. (2013). *Mothers, Daughters, and Political Socialization. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press.*
- Krook, M.L. (2009). *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Lawrence, R. & Rose, M (2010). *Hillary Clinton’s Race for the White House*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishing.
- Fridkin, K. & Kenney, P. (2014). *The Changing Face of Representation. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.*
- Goss, K. A. (2013). *The Paradox of Gender Equality: How American Women’s Groups Gained and Lost Their Public Voice*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Weldon, S. L. (2012). *When Protest Makes Policy: How Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Enloe, C. (2014). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.

### **Optional Texts:**

- O'Connor, K.; Brewer, S.; & Fisher, M. (2006). *Gendering American Politics: Perspectives from the Literature*. New York, New York: Pearson Longman.
- Whitaker, L. D. (2011). *Women in Politics: Outsiders or Insiders* (5th ed.). Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- McGlen, N. E., et. al. (2011). *Women, Politics, and American Society* (5<sup>th</sup>ed.). New York, New York: Pearson Longman.

\*all other material is available on Blackboard, JSTOR, ProQuest, or the Cambridge website: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=PAG>

## **Requirements**

*This course exists in the form of a two or four credit option. For two credits, students need to complete the weekly questions, one of the two practice comp exams and the final exam. Student taking the four credit option are expected to fulfill all the requirements below, and the percentages listed are based on that alternative.*

- 1) Two practice “comprehensive exam” questions**, approx. 6-8 pages. **(15% each).**
- 2) Final “comprehensive exam”**, approx. 10 pages. **(20%).**
- 3) Literature review or research paper**, approximately 15 pages. **(30%).**
- 4) Class attendance/participation/weekly questions\*** **(20%)** (Since we are a small group, it is a given that you will both attend class and be an active participator; should exceptional circumstances arise in this regard, please inform the instructor prior to the class session. A significant number of unexcused absences will impact your grade)).

\* Each week, please e-mail (before class) two discussion questions you think raise a major theme highlighted in the reading. For each of your questions, introduce the question with a short paragraph delineating the debate or issue you wish to highlight. End the paragraph with your question. Write approximately 1-2 pages, and note that this work will be graded on a 1-10 scale. Please, as much as possible; focus your questions on the debates most important or central to the readings. That is, don't use these questions to highlight interesting but relatively minor points (which we can also discuss). Focus on the big issues!

## **Course Policies**

***Academic Dishonesty:*** The strength of the university depends on academic and personal integrity. Any form of academic dishonesty in this course will be taken seriously. You must be honest and truthful. Academic dishonesty includes a number of actions. The most well known of these is Plagiarism, the use of someone else's work, words, or ideas as if they were your own without giving the original author credit by citing him or her. Other forms of dishonesty include cheating, multi-submissions, forgery, unauthorized collaboration, falsification, etc.) Academic dishonesty will not be tolerated and will result in a failing grade on the first assignment in which a violation has occurred. If a student engages in a second violation he/she will receive a failing grade for the entire course. All cases of dishonesty, regardless of degree or number, will result in the filing of a *Violation of Academic Integrity Report*. For more information on what academic dishonesty is, how to avoid it, and what the violation report entails, reference:

[http://www.albany.edu/undergraduate\\_bulletin/regulations.html](http://www.albany.edu/undergraduate_bulletin/regulations.html)

**Students with Disabilities:** If you need any class accommodations due to a disability, please utilize University resources as needed, and please let the professor know well in advance of any assignments requiring accommodation(s). It is a function of the University to provide such accommodations as needed.

## **Course Readings**

*Note: Depending on course progress and student needs, minor changes in readings, dates, and/or due-dates, may occur. Course Schedule and Readings are subject to amendment given student interest, class discussion etc. In addition, on some weeks where the reading load is heavy, we may split up the material.*

### **Part I. Central Controversies and Distinctions: Perspectives on the Role of Gender in Society**

8/27: Introduction

9/1. Controversies

Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice*, Ch. 1-2

Leora Tanenbaum, 2002. *Cat fight: Women and Competition*. (Ch 1)

9/8. Cont.

John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women*, Ch. 1

Shulamith Firestone. *The Dialectic of Sex*

Sojourner Truth, *Ain't I A Woman*

Carolyn Maloney, *Rumors of Our Progress have Been Greatly Exaggerated*. (2008)

Michelle Bachman, *Core of Conviction: My Story*. Sentinal. (2011). Ch. 1

9/15. Historical Background to Women's Civic Membership

Gretchen Ritter. 2006. "The Constitution as Social Design: Gender and Civic Membership in the American Constitutional Order." Stanford University Press. (all)

### **Part II: Women in the Electoral Process: Participation and Campaigns**

9/22. Factors influencing Women's Participation; Attitudinal and socialization

Christa Jenkins. 2013. *Mothers, Daughters and Political Socialization*

Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, 2014. "Women and Elective Office." 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. Oxford University Press. Ch. 2 and 3

Kay Leeman Schlozman et al "Gender and the Pathways to Participation: The Role of Resources," 6 *Journal of Politics* 56 (1994), 963-90 (with Nancy Burns and Sidney Verba).

Carol Hardy-Fanta, "Discovering Latina Women in Politics in O'Connor, Brewer and Fisher, Gendering American Politics: (2006), Ch. 3 Participation"

Katherine M. Blee, *Inside Organized Racism*, Intro & Ch. 4

9/29. Factors Influencing Women's Participation (con't); Institutional and Cultural

Mona Lena Krook. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. Oxford University Press. (all)

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. 2001. "Cultural Obstacles to Equal Representation." *Journal of Democracy*. 12.3. pg. 126-140.

Mona Lena Krook and Pippa Norris. *Beyond Quotas: Strategies to Promote Gender Equality in Elected Office*. *Political Studies*: 2014 VOL 62, 2–20.

10/6. Campaigns

Regina Lawrence and Melody Rose. 2010. *Hillary Clinton's Race for the White House*. 2010. Lynne Rienner Publishing.

Additional article of your choice.

10/13. Voting and Elections

Dolan, Do Women and Men Know Different Things? Measuring Gender Differences in Political Knowledge.

Dolan, It Takes a Survey: Understanding Gender Stereotypes, Abstract Attitudes, and Voting for Women Candidates.

Kathryn Pearson. 2013 "What It Takes To Win: Questioning 'Gender Neutral' Outcomes in U.S. House Elections." *Politics & Gender*. 9(2013). pgs. 439–462.

Rosie Campbell. "What Do We Really Know about Women Voters? Gender, Elections and Public Opinion." *The Political Quarterly*. (2012). 83, 4: 703–10.

Jackson Katz. 2012. "Leading Men: Presidential Campaigns and the Politics of Manhood." Interlink Books.

Christina E. Bejarano. 2013. *The Latina Advantage*. Ch. 1. University of Texas Press.

Optional; classic theories on the gender gap:

Karen O'Connor et al, *Gendering American Politics*. 2006. ch. 5.

xxWhat about Reingold

**Part III, Women in American Institutions: Do Women Make a Difference**

10/20. Congress

Kim Fridkin and Patrick Kenney (2014). *The Changing Face of Representation*. 2014. University of Michigan Press.

Mary Hawkesworth (2006). "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions" in O'Connor et al *Gendering American Politics* (2006), Ch.8

10/27. Executives and Governing

Georgia Duerst-Lahti, "Reconceiving Theories of Power" in Karen O'Connor et al. "Gendering American Politics." 2006.

Michael Genovese, ed. *Women As National Leaders* Ch. 1, and one chapter of your choice on a specific leader.

Farida Jalalzai, "Women Rule: Shattering the Executive Glass Ceiling." *Politics & Gender*, Volume 4, Issue 02, June 2008, pp 205-231

Melody Rose. Women & Executive Office. 2013. Julie Dolan. Ch. 5-6 “Women in the Obama Administration: Insiders, or Outsiders Looking In?” and Richard Herrera, Karen Shafer, “Women in the Governor’s Mansion: How Party and Gender Affect Policy Agendas.”

Carol Cohn, 1987. “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals.” *Signs*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Within and Without: Women, Gender, and Theory, pp. 687-718

11/3. Courts (Readings may be revised)

Karen O’Connor et al. 2006. Gendering American Politics. Part IX. All- Gruhl, Songer, Coontz, O’Connor and Segal articles).

Sally J. Kenney. “Gender on the Agenda: How the Paucity of Women Judges Became an Issue” *The Journal of Politics*, Volume 70, Issue 03, Jul 2008, pp 717-735

Whitaker, Ch. 7 (all – O’Connor and Martin) and Ch. 8 Bamberger art. (Blackboard)

Additional Readings to be assigned

11/10 Women, Interest Groups and Public Policy

Kristin A. Goss. 2013. *The Paradox of Gender Equality: How American Women’s Groups Gained and Lost Their Public Voice*. University of Michigan Press.

11/17 Cont.

Laurel Weldon. 2011. *When Protest Makes Policy: How Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups*. University of Michigan Press.

11/24 No Class

12/1 Public Policy

There are many good books about women and specific public policies, so we can decide what we want to read. Some examples include but are by no means limited to:

Mimi Abromowitz and Sandra Morgen. 2006. “Taxes are a Woman’s Issue: Reframing the Debate.” Chs. Intro, 3, 5.

Joyce Gelb. 2003. *Gender Policies in Japan and the United States: Comparing Women’s Movements, Rights, and Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Kathy Johnson, Georgia Duerst-Lahti, and NoelleNorton. 2007. *Creating Gender: The Sexual Politics of Welfare Policy*. 2007.

12/8 Women In the International System and wrap up.

Cynthia Enloe. 2014. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*. University of California Press.

Optional Readings: (JSTOR, ProQuest, and/or the Cambridge website)

- Victor Asal, Mitchell Brown and Renee Gibson Figueroa, "Structure, Empowerment and the Liberalization of Cross-National Abortion Rights." [Politics & Gender](#), [Volume 4](#), [Issue 02](#), June 2008, pp 265-284
- Celia Valiente, "Developing Countries and New Democracies Matter: An Overview of Research on State Feminism Worldwide." [Politics & Gender](#), [Volume 3](#), [Issue 04](#), December 2007, pp 530-541
- Mark A. Boyer, Brian Urlacher, Natalie Florea Hudson, Anat Niv-Solomon, Laura L. Janik, Michael J. Butler, Scott W. Brown, Andri Ioannou "Gender and Negotiation: Some Experimental Findings from an International Negotiation Simulation." *International Studies Quarterly* Volume 53, Issue 1, Date: March 2009, Pages: 23-47
- Sandra Grey, "Numbers and Beyond: The Relevance of Critical Mass in Gender Research." *Politics & Gender*, Volume 2, Issue 04, December 2006, pp 492-502
- Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook . "Should Feminists Give Up on Critical Mass? A Contingent Yes" *Politics & Gender*, Volume 2, Issue 04, December 2006, pp 522- 530
- Jacqui True, Michael Mintrom. "Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming" *International Studies Quarterly* Volume 45, Issue 1, Date: March 2001, Pages: 27-57
- Eileen McDonagh. 2002. "Political Citizenship and Democratization: The Gender Paradox." *APSR*. 96:3, 535-553.
- Mary Caprioli and Mark A. Boyer. "Gender, Violence, and International Crisis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Aug 2001; vol. 45: pp. 503 - 518.
- MICHAEL L. ROSS. "Oil, Islam, and Women." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 102, No. 1 February 2008
- Sung, Hung-En . "Fairer Sex or Fairer System? Gender and Corruption Revisited" *Social Forces*, Volume 82, Number 2, December 2003, pp. 703-723

## Discussion Questions

*These are controversial issues so disagreement and different opinions are not only okay but also encouraged. You don't need to discuss all but do have an extended discussion of some of these:*

*What's the current status of women in society/politics? The same as men? Not as good as men? Better? Examples? Explanations?*

*If we desire "equality" between men and women, what does that mean? How do we bring it about?*

*Do women leaders (Supreme court judges, heads of state etc.) Bring a different perspective to their jobs than men, and if so, how and how come?*

*Relative to other characteristics, how important in your life is your gender?*

*Does it make sense to think about women or for that matter men as a group?*

## 2 Graduating Rangers, Aware of Their Burden

By **RICHARD A. OPPEL Jr.** and **HELENE COOPER** AUG. 20, 2015

FORT BENNING, Ga. — First Lt. Shaye Haver, an Apache attack helicopter pilot who on Friday will be one of the first women to graduate from the Army's elite Ranger School, wants to remain an aviator. But she takes away weighty lessons from her grueling Ranger training: "Your mind can take a whole lot more than your body," she said.

"I think I would be crazy to say" that the thought of quitting never occurred, she said on Thursday in her first public appearance since completing the exhausting nine-week course of little sleep and constant hiking with backpacks, water, weapons and other gear that weighed more than 100 pounds. But, Lieutenant Haver said, "the ability to look around to my peers and see that they were sucking just as bad as I was kept me going."

The other woman poised to make history by graduating Friday, Capt. Kristen Griest, said that if the Army ever allowed women to take the final step into combat, she may want to join the Special Forces. Captain Griest admitted she felt "internal pressure" over how her performance could affect future opportunities for women.

Yet she said their accomplishment showed "what they can expect from women in the military, that we can handle things physically and mentally on the same level as men, and that we can deal with the same stresses and training."

And Captain Griest was blunt about what should never happen: "No woman that I know wants to go to Ranger School if they change the standards, because then it degrades" the designation, she said.

The appearance of Captain Griest and Lieutenant Haver here on Thursday, showcased by the Army, was a signal moment in the history of integrating women in the military, one bound to have an effect on the looming decisions about what military roles should be open to women and which, if any, should remain closed.

Now, after two years of study, the heads of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines will make recommendations to Defense Secretary Ashton B. Carter in September, military officials said. At that time, the services can request exceptions to the overall directive to open positions to women and specify which positions and units they want to keep closed, and why.

At a news conference on Thursday, Mr. Carter reiterated the Pentagon's position that "all ground combat positions will be open to women unless rigorous analysis" from the services gives a compelling reason they should not be gender-neutral. Decisions are expected around the New Year.

He welcomed the graduation of the female Rangers. "Like every Ranger fighting today," Mr. Carter said, "they will help lead the finest fighting force in the world." But for many military women, the graduation ceremony is the ultimate confirmation that there should be no limits on what women can achieve.

"I have an idea our Ranger sisters have no idea that we're all coming down here to see them graduate," said Donna McAleer, a 1987 graduate of West Point, said Thursday morning, just after she had made a red-eye flight to Columbus, Ga., from Salt Lake City. Ms. McAleer, who wrote "Porcelain on Steel: Women of West Point's Long Gray Line," said about 50 women who had graduated from West Point were making the trip.

"We have been working on this for decades," she said, sounding ebullient. "There are thousands of servicewomen who are behind them."

The Army, because it is by far the biggest service, has the most jobs closed to women. But that is where the graduations of Captain Griest and Lieutenant Haver, who showed an officer's poise and command of the stage at her appearance on Thursday, will come into play: Their success will diminish most arguments against women holding other combat positions, defense officials say.

Even the Navy SEAL teams appear prepared to accept women who could pass their training program, though many in the military consider it more rigorous than even Ranger School.

Only six Air Force job classes are currently closed to women — positions like air controllers who call in airstrikes from the front lines.

An Air Force spokeswoman, Capt. Brooke L. Brzozowska, said the Air Force had not made a final decision on what, if any, exceptions it would seek.

That leaves the Marines, widely seen as the most reluctant to fully integrate women. The Marines have not said what they plan to recommend to the defense secretary, but officials at the Pentagon are bracing for a fight.

One defense official said “there's going to be a lot of pushback” from both sides — the Marines, many of whom argue that women cannot cut it physically; and Pentagon officials, who say that everything should be open and that exceptions should be granted only in extraordinary circumstances.

Some critics have questioned whether the two female Ranger students received any breaks. Army instructors emphatically deny that, and say they met every requirement the men did.

In fact, they say the two women scored very high on performance assessments made by their fellow students, one of the most important evaluations, in which negative assessments can mean a quick exit from the school.

Some other students even urged instructors to give the two women — and another female officer now retaking an intermediate segment of the course — another chance after they twice failed an early phase.

“All three of these soldiers scored very high” on peer assessments filed by other students, “and for us that spoke volumes,” said Command Sgt. Maj. Curtis Arnold, the top enlisted man in the training brigade that oversees Ranger School.

“You got fellow students writing in on peers: ‘Hey, they deserve another shot,’ ” he said. Some of the other students were even more emphatic, saying they began the course very skeptical the women could make it but quickly realized how wrong they had been.

Second Lt. Zachary Hagner said his mind “completely changed” one day as he was growing weary of carrying a heavy machine gun, and others in his group would not help. But Captain Griest stepped in.

“Nine guys were like, ‘I'm too broken, I'm too tired.’ She was just as broken and tired, and took it from me almost with excitement,” Lieutenant Hagner said. “I thought she was crazy for that.”

Another second lieutenant, Michael V. Janowski, said he did not think he would have made it to graduation had it not been for a similar intervention by Lieutenant Haver.

“No matter how bad she was hurting, she was always the first to volunteer to grab more weight,” Lieutenant Janowski said. “I wrote about how I would trust her with my life.”