

COURSE SYLLABUS

Political Science 4377: Women and Politics
2:30-3:45 p.m., Monday and Wednesday, Fall Semester, 2024

Contact Information

Professor: (Dr.) Marianne Stewart
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Office Hours: By appointment via MSTeams

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Office Hours: 1:00-2:15 p.m., Monday and Wednesday, or by appointment
Office Location: GR 2.325, Seat #4

Course Description

The general objective of this course involves the development of students' learning about women's participation in political life in the United States and, to some extent, in other democracies. The specific objectives of the course are to develop students' abilities to define, to explain, and to assess:

- The meanings of women, of sex and of gender, of politics, and of the public-private distinction;
- The sources, frequencies, and reasons for women's participation in politics, that is, women as activists in movements, women as voters in elections; women as candidates in elections, and women as leaders in public offices;
- Implications of women's political participation and of (some) issues that matter for the private-public distinction.

Course Readings

There are no required text books, but there are required readings for this course. These readings are listed in the Course Schedule below. Required readings designated with an (*) are posted in folders on the course's e-learning homepage, whereas those not designated as such are accessible from online sources.

Course Schedule

Note 1: This schedule is subject to change at the discretion of the professor.

Note 2: Before the start of each topic, its outline is presented in class.

August 19. An Introduction to (Overview of) the Course.

August 21-26-28.

Topic 1: Women, Sex and Gender; Politics; and the Private-Public Distinction in Theory and in Practice.

Class lectures and discussions.

Required Readings

- **Scientific American*. September 2017. “Special Issue: Sex and Gender – It’s Not a Women’s Issue.”
- *Ellemers, Naomi. 2018. “Gender Stereotypes,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 69: 275-298.
- Barroso, Amanda. January 25, 2021. “For American couples, gender gaps in sharing household responsibilities persist among pandemic.” Pew Research Center.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2021/01/25/for-american-couples...>
- Schaeffer, Katherine. February 27, 2024. “For Women’s History Month, a look at gender gains – and gaps – in the U.S.” Pew Research Center.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/02/07/for-womens-history-month...>
- U.S. Department of Education. 2024. “Sex Discrimination: Overview of the Law.”
<http://www2.ed.gov/policy/rights/guid/ocr/sexoverview.html>
- U.S. Department of Education. July 31, 2024 “Fact Sheet: U.S. Department of Education’s 2024 Title IX Final Rule Overview.”
<https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/t9-final-rule-factsheet.pdf>
- U.S. Department of Labor, Occupational Safety and Health Administration “A Guide to Restroom Access for Transgender Workers.”
<https://www.osha.gov/sites/default/files/publications/OSHA3795.pdf>
- Worldwide Organization for Women. September 26, 2023. “Why Would WOW Suddenly Be Against Title IX?”
<https://worldwideorganizationforwomen.org/education/why-would-wow-suddenly-be-against-title-ix//>

Recommended Readings

- Browning, Frank. 2018. *The Fate of Gender: Nature, Nurture and the Human Future*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Sidney Verba. 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality and Political Participation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. 1981. *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- McDermott, Monika L. 2016. *Masculinity, Femininity, and American Political Behavior*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Paxton, Pamela, Sheri Kunovich and Melanie M. Hughes. 2007. “Gender in Politics,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 33: 263-284.

September 2. Labor Day – No Class.

September 4. First Exercise.

September 9-11-16.

Topic 2: Women as Activists in Movements.
Class lectures and discussions.

Required Readings

Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP). August 2014. "Timeline of the Women's Suffrage Movement." Eagleton Institute, Rutgers University.

<https://tag.rutgers.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/suffrage-timeline.pdf>

Library of Congress. "Women's Suffrage in the Progressive Era."

<https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline>.

*Goss, Kristin A., and Michael T. Heary. 2010. "Organizing Women as Women: Hybridity and Grassroots Collective Action in the 21st Century," *Perspectives on Politics* 8: 27-51.

"#MeToo around the world: How the movement has stalled and grown in eight countries." May 8, 2020.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/05/08>

North, Anna. October 4, 2019. "#MeToo Movement: These 7 facts show its impact."

VOX (www.vox.com/platform.amp.identities.2019)

*Snyder-Hall, R. Claire. 2010. "Third-Wave Feminism and the Defense of Choice." *Perspectives on Politics* 8: 255-261.

Recommended Readings

Montoya, Celeste. 2022. "Gendered Mobilization and Elections: The Intersectional Politics of Protest." In Susan J. Carroll, Richard L. Fox and Kelly Dittmar, eds., *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*, 5th edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 3.

In Holly J. McCammon and Lee Ann Banaszak (eds.). 2018. *100 Years of the Nineteenth Amendment: An Appraisal of Women's Political Activism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press:

Chapter 1: "Introduction: From the Nineteenth Amendment to Today: An Appraisal of 100 Years of Women's Political Engagement," by Holly J. McCammon and Lee Ann Banaszak.

Chapter 5, "From Seneca to Shelby: Intersectionality and Women's Voting Rights," by Celeste Montoya.

Chapter 8, "'Feminism Means More Than a Changed World....It Means the Creation of a New Consciousness in Women': Feminism, Consciousness-Raising, and Continuity between the Waves," by Laura K. Nelson.

September 18-23.

Topic 3A: Women Voters, Women Candidates, Representation, and Elections.

Class lectures and discussions.

Required Reading

*Carreras, Miguel. 2018. "Why no gender gap in electoral participation? A civic duty explanation." *Electoral Studies* 52; 36-45.

Recommended Readings

In Susan J. Carroll, Richard L. Fox and Kelly Dittmar (eds.). 2022. *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*, 5th edition. New York: Cambridge University Press:

Chapter 4, “Voter Participation and Turnout: More Diverse Electorate, New Forms of Activism, Record Turnout,” by Susan A MacManus and Amy N. Benner.

Chapter 5, “Voting Choices: The Importance of Women Voters and the Gender Gap,” by Susan J. Carroll.

In Holly J. McCammon and Lee Ann Banaszak (eds.). 2018. *100 Years of the Nineteenth Amendment: An Appraisal of Women’s Political Activism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press:

Chapter 3, “The Evolution of Women’s (and Men’s) Partisan Attachments,” by Heather L. Ondercin.

Chapter 4, “What’s Happened to the Gender Gap in Political Participation? How Might We Explain It,” by Nancy Burns, Kay Lehman Schlozman, Ashley Jardina, Shauna Shames, and Sidney Verba.

September 25. Second Exercise.

September 30/October 2-7-9-14

Topic 3B: Women Voters and Women Candidates in Presidential Elections.

Class lectures and discussions.

Required Readings

Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), 2024. “Election Watch.” Eagleton Institute, Rutgers University.

<http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/election-watch>.

Kearney, Audrey et al., June 20, 2024. “KFF Survey of Women Voters: Key Takeaways.”

[https://www.kff.org/womens’health-policy/poll-finding/kff-survey-of-women-voters-key-takeaways/](https://www.kff.org/womens%27health-policy/poll-finding/kff-survey-of-women-voters-key-takeaways/)

Kearney, Audrey et al., July 23, 2024. “The Mood of the Election.” KFF Survey of Women Voters Dashboard.

<https://www.kff.org/2024-survey-of-women-voters-dashboard/?entry=national-the-mood-of-the-election>

*Junn, Jane, and Natalie Masuoka. 2020. “The gender gap is a race gap: Women voters in US presidential elections.” *Perspectives on Politics* 18: 1135-1145.

*Lewis-Beck, Michael S., and Stephen Quinlan. 2019. “The Hillary Hypotheses: Testing Candidate Views of Loss.” *Perspectives on Politics* 17: 646-665.

*Stewart, Marianne C., Harold D. Clarke and Walt Borges. 2019. “Hillary’s Hypothesis About Attitudes Towards Women and Voting in the 2016 Presidential Election.” *Electoral Studies* 61: On-Line First: 1-7.

Recommended Readings

FiveThirtyEight Interactives. 2024. “Polls.” <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com>

Silver, Nate. 2024. “Silver Bulletin 2024.”

www.natesilver.net

In Susan J. Carroll, Richard L. Fox and Kelly Dittmar (eds.). 2022. *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*, 5th edition. New York: Cambridge University Press:

- Chapter 1, “Gender, Race and Presidential Politics: Assessing Institutional Change in 2020,” by Melanye T. Price and Kelly Dittmar.
- Chapter 2, “Women as Presidential and Vice-Presidential Contenders: History Made and History Deferred,” by Kelly Dittmar.
- Chapter 10, “Supporting Women Candidates; The Role of Parties, Women’s Organizations, and Political Action Committees,” by Roslyn Cooperman
- Chapter 11, “Gender and Candidate Communications: TV Ads, Websites, and Social Media,” by Dianne Bystrom.
- Chozick, Amy. 2018. *Chasing Hillary: Ten Years, Two Presidential Campaigns, and One Intact Glass Ceiling*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2013. *When Does Gender Matter? Women Candidates and Gender Stereotypes in American Elections*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Lawless, Jennifer L., and Richard L. Fox. 2010. *It Still Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don’t Run for Office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

October 16. Third Exercise.

October 21-23-28.

Topic 3C: Women Voters, Women Candidates, and Congressional Elections.

Class lectures and discussions.

Required Readings

- Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP)), 2024. “Election Watch.” Eagleton Institute, Rutgers University.
<http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/election-watch>.
- Kearney, Audrey et al., June 20, 2024. “KFF Survey of Women Voters: Key Takeaways.”
[https://www.kff.org/womens’health-policy/poll-finding/kff-survey-of-women-voters-key-takeaways/](https://www.kff.org/womens%27health-policy/poll-finding/kff-survey-of-women-voters-key-takeaways/)
- Kearney, Audrey et al., July 23, 2024. “The Mood of the Election.” KFF Survey of Women Voters Dashboard.
<https://www.kff.org/2024-survey-of-women-voters-dashboard/?entry=national-the-mood-of-the-election>
- *Fox, Richard, and Jennifer Pate. 2023. “Knowing the Competition: Gender, Qualifications, and Willingness to Run in Elections.” *Political Research Quarterly* 76: 725-740.
- *Fulton, Sarah A., and Kostanca Dhima. 2021. “The gendered politics of congressional elections.” *Political Behavior* 43: 1611-1637.
- Hartig, Hannah, Andrew Daniller, Scott Keeter, and Ted Van Green. July 12, 2023. “Report: Voting patterns in the 2022 elections- by gender, race, education, age, party, religion.” Pew Research Center
<https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2023/07/12/voting-patterns-in-the-2022-elections/>
- *Pike, Brian E., and Adam D. Galinsky. 2021. “The power shield: Powerful roles eliminate gender disparities in political elections.” *Journal of Applied Psychology* 106 .

*Wang, Ding, Jennifer I. Merolla, and Arielle Manganiello. 2023. "The Effect of Counterstereotypic Gender Strategies on Candidate Evaluations in American Elections." *Politics & Gender* 19: 1180-1203.

Recommended Readings

In Susan J. Carroll, Richard L. Fox and Kelly Dittmar (eds.). 2022. *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*, 5th edition. New York: Cambridge University Press:

Chapter 8, "Congressional Elections: Women's Candidacies and the Road to Gender Parity," by Richard L. Fox

Fridkin, Kim L., and Patrick J. Kenney. 2014. *The Changing Face of Representation: The Gender of U.S. Senators and Constituent Communications*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

October 30- November 4.

Topic 3D: Women Voters, Women Candidates, and State Elections.

Class lectures and discussions.

Required Readings

Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP)), 2024. "Election Watch." Eagleton Institute, Rutgers University.

<http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/election-watch>.

*Pyeatt, Nicholas, and Alixandra B. Yanus. 2021. "Gender, Entry, and Victory in State Legislative Primary Elections." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 42: 352-368.

*Thomsen, Danielle M., and Bailey K. Sanders. 2020. "Gender Differences in Legislator Responsiveness." *Perspectives on Politics* 18: 1017-1030.

Recommended Readings

Carroll, Susan J., and Kira Sanbonmatsu. 2013. *More Women Can Run: Gender and Pathways to the State Legislatures*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sanbonmatsu, Kira, and Maria Wilson. 2022. "Women's Election to Office in the Fifty States: Changes and Challenges." In Susan J. Carroll, Richard L. Fox and Kelly Dittmar, eds., *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*, 5th edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 9.

Welch, Susan. 2018. "Women in State Legislatures from the Gilded Age to the Global Age." In Holly J. McCammon and Lee Ann Banaszak, eds., *100 Years of the Nineteenth Amendment: An Appraisal of Women's Political Activism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 7.

November 6. Fourth Exercise.

November 11-13-18.

Topic 4: Women as Leaders.

Class lectures and discussions.

Required Readings

Schaeffer, Katherine. September 27, 2023. "The Data on Women Leaders." Pew Research Center.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/fact-sheet/the-data-on-women-leaders>.

- Ibarra, Herminia, Robin J. Ely, and Deborah M. Kolb. September 2013. "Women Rising: The Unseen Barriers." *Harvard Business Review*. <https://hbr.org/2013/09/Women-rising-the-unseen-barriers>
- Kruse, Kevin. March 31, 2023. "New Research: Women More Effective Than Men in All Leadership Measures." *Forbes*
<https://www.forbes.com/sites/kevinkruse/2023/03/31/new-research-women...>
- *Lyness, Karen, and Angela R. Grotto. 2018. "Women and Leadership in the United States: Are We Closing the Gender Gap?," *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior* 5: 227-265.
- Novotney, Amy. July 8, 2024. "Women leaders make work better. Here's the science behind how to promote them." American Psychological Association.
<https://www.apa.org/topics/women-girls/female-leaders-make-work--better#>
- Recommended Readings**
- Ahlquist, John S. and Margaret Levi. 2011. "Leadership: What It Means, What It Does, and What We Want to Know About It," *Annual Review of Political Science* 14: 1-24
- Hughes, Melanie, Pamela Paxton, and Mona Lena Krook. 2017. "Gender Quotas for Legislatures and Corporate Boards," *Annual Review of Sociology* 43: 331-352.
- Jalalzai, Farida. 2013. *Shattered, Cracked, or Firmly Intact? Women and The Executive Glass Ceiling Worldwide*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

November 25-27. Fall Break/Thanksgiving Holidays – No classes.

November 20-December 2.

Topic 5: Women, Politics, and (Some) Issues that Matter for the Private-Public Distinction.

Class lectures and discussions.

Required Readings

- The Constitution of the United States*, Article VI; Paragraph 2; Amendments 5, 9 and 14.
The National Constitution Center. January 22, 2022. "On this day, the Roe v. Wade decision." <https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/blog/landmark-cases-roe-v-wade>
- New York Times*. June 24, 2022. "Read the Decision that Overturned Rose v. Wade: Dobbs v. Jackson, Annotated,"
<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/06/24>
- Gans, David H. November 4, 2021. "No, Really the Right to an Abortion is Supported by the Text and History of the Constitution." Constitutional Accountability Center
<https://www.theconstitution.org/news>
- New York Times*. November 30, 2021. "Opinion: The Case Against Abortion."
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/30/opinion-abortion>
- Pew Research Center. May 13, 2024 "Broad Public Support for Legal Abortion Persists 2 Years After Dobbs."
<https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2024/05/13/broad-public-support...>
- *Sapiro, Virginia. 2018. "Sexual Harassment: Performances of Gender, Sexuality, and Power." *Perspectives on Politics*: 16: 1053-1066.

Recommended Readings

Baldez, Lisa, Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin. 2006. "Does the U.S. Constitution Need An ERA,? *Journal of Legal Studies* 35: 243-283.
<http://www.Epstein.wustl.edu/research/ERA.html>).

Boisseau, Tracey Jean, and Tracy A. Thomas. 2018. "After Suffrage Comes Equal Rights? ERA as the Next Logical Step." In Holly J. McCammon and Lee Ann Banaszak, eds., *100 Years of the Nineteenth Amendment: An Appraisal of Women's Political Activism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 10.

Mansbridge, Jane J. 1986. *Why We Lost the ERA*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

December 4. Fifth Exercise.

Course Requirements and Grading

Students who:

- regularly attend and carefully take notes during class meetings typically learn more and perform better than otherwise.
- constructively contribute, as observed by the professor and/or the teaching assistant, to question-and-answer sessions and to class discussions may earn an additional 3-5% to their final course grade total.

Five Exercises:

- Each exercise is worth 20% of the final course grade. Accordingly, 5 exercises @ 20% = 100%
- Each exercise:
 - begins with a provided selection of sources that include, class meeting notes, required readings, and/or reputable websites. Students use these sources – and *only* these sources – to form their answers.
 - continues with one or two tables. Each table has two-three columns x *N* rows. The boxes (cells) in a table require brief several-word or several-sentence answers.
 - concludes with a list of sources from the provided selection that students actually used when forming their answers.
- More details about the format of each exercise will be announced.
- Students are expected to take each exercise in class, starting at 2:30 p.m. and ending not later than 3:45 p.m. The date of each exercise is written in the Course Schedule above – students are expected to not request makeup exercises unless a serious family, health, or work development occurs.

Note: This course does not have a final examination.

A+: 97-100%; A: 93-96%; A-: 90-92%; B+: 84-89%; B: 77-83%; B-: 70-76%; C+: 67-69%; C: 64-66%; C-: 60-63%; D+: 57-59%; D: 54-56%; D-: 50-53%; F: Below 50%.

Course Policies and Practices

Note Taking – Students are expected:

- to take their own hand-written or computer-typed notes, and to refer any other student who requests their notes to the teaching assistant;
- to not record class lectures;
- to not post their notes on any on-line forum for common access.

Class notes and audio recordings of class lectures and discussions are not automatically and generally available to all students. A student ***must request written permission*** from UTD Student Access Services or, in exceptional circumstances with strong justification, from the professor or the course teaching assistant.

Public Health – Several viruses are currently active, and various individuals are susceptible to infection and severe illness from one or more of them. Accordingly, all students are expected to observe good standards of public health and related university policies.

In Addition – Students are expected to:

- contact Student Access Services if they have other special requirements for the course;
- arrive in the classroom before the start, and to not leave it before the end, of each class;
- silence their cell phones, except in urgent circumstances, during each class;.
- comply with University academic honesty policy, notably the Comet Creed;
- read University policy materials at <http://go.utdallas.edu/syllabus-policies>.