

PSC 2010  
RUN FOR OFFICE: WOMEN, GENDER, AND LEADERSHIP  
IN AMERICAN POLITICS

*“If you don’t have a seat at the table, you’re probably on the menu.” – Senator Elizabeth Warren*

*“What we do is more important than what we say or what we believe” – Bell Hooks*

Description: In this class, we will cover topics ranging from women’s political participation and voting patterns, to how women navigate campaigns, to how gender impacts women’s legislative patterns. We will explore these topics focusing on gender, as well as the intersection of race, class, and party. Throughout the course, you will pick a representative to follow as a case study, and apply the theoretical concepts learned within the class to your particular candidate. This class is based in American Politics, but the ideas and concepts presented can apply in cross-country settings. Let’s learn how to get a seat at the table!

This is not a traditional women and politics course. Each week, you will be asked to engage in the material through scholarly means, as well as through an experiential learning activity. In this class, there is going to be a larger focus on “doing.” This class will provide the opportunity to develop your own leadership, civic, and campaign management skills. Be prepared to get active, creative, learn the basics of women in politics, and have some fun along the way.

Learning Objectives: By the end of this course, all students should meet the following objectives.

- Understand concepts of gender, sex, power, the gendered decisions of candidates, the roots of women’s underrepresentation, and the structural barriers that prevent women and minorities from running for office.
- Evaluate gender dynamics in the American electoral system and evaluate possible solutions to women’s underrepresentation
- Apply political theories and empirical evidence to assess campaigns, elections, and representation in the United States
- Draw connections between political theories and hands-on learning experiences.
- Develop stronger leadership and civic skills.

Accessibility Statement: All of us learn in different ways, and that the organization of any course will accommodate each student differently. I am happy to talk with you anytime throughout the semester about your individual learning needs and how this course can best accommodate them. If you do not have a documented disability, remember that other support services, including the Writing Center, are available to all students. Learning needs to be accessible to every student in this class. If you are finding it difficult to achieve any of these learning goals, please reach out.

Any student who may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact the Office of Disability Support Services (DSS) to inquire about the documentation necessary to establish eligibility and to coordinate a plan of reasonable and appropriate accommodations. DSS is located in Rome Hall, Suite 102. For additional information, please call DSS at 202-994-8250, or consult <https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu>.

Texts: We will be using the following main text for the class duration (referred to in the class schedule as WDWRTW). Supplemental texts will be uploaded to blackboard.

- Strachan, J. Cherie, Lori M. Poloni-Staudinger, Shannon Jenkins, and Candice D. Ortals. *Why Don't Women Rule the World?*. CQ Press, 2019.

You should also make a habit of following current events with some diligence, preferably via a major newspaper (*The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Financial Times*) or publication (*The Economist*). Some of these news sources require a subscription, and student rates are available for the Washington Post and New York Times. Regularly consuming the news will not only bring course material to life, but it will also make the class more interesting. There are plenty of exciting political events going on!

Graded Course Material: There are four elements of this course that are graded. These elements include 5 Reading quizzes, 5 experiential activities, 5 analysis papers, and participation in class discussions.

1. Reading quizzes. I know, quizzes can be anxiety inducing! I don't include these quizzes to be punitive, but so you can self-evaluate your knowledge. We will take a quiz at the end of each topic in the course, and each quiz is only worth one point. These quizzes will cover material from the lectures and readings, and will give you (and me) an indication of what material you understand well, and what material we need to review.

2. Participation. Participation is not how many times you speak in class, but your ability to engage, listen, add to a cumulative discussion, and leave space for others to participate. Participation can look like answering a question during a lecture, proposing a question to the class, or engaging actively in a small group project. It can also look quieter, like filling out an exit poll question, emailing me an article that relates to a topic in class, listening to an opposing view, or encouraging other classmates to contribute to discussion. At the end of each part of this class, you will complete an evaluation of your participation, which I will consider in my overall grading.

3. Experiential Activity. This class values active participation. I have 5 activities planned that are based in experiential learning. In other words, you'll be learning from actual experience. I expect you to participate fully in these moments, and engage in thoughtful reflection after the activity has occurred. After each activity, a one-page reflection about the experience is due at the next class. This reflection is a chance to put feelings onto the page, and consider the impact of the activity, and how it relates to the scholarship we've covered. Additionally, the end of each chapter of our text includes activities that we may discuss in class.

4. Women Candidate Analysis Papers: Throughout the class you will write 5 papers, which should each be at least 5 pages long. You will write a paper at the end of each of the 5 parts of the class. These papers are what we teachers like to call a "scaffolded" assignment." Like the building infrastructure, scaffolded assignments build on each other. Cumulatively, these papers will provide a case study of one women candidate. You will explore the candidate's background, relationship to gender identity, representation style, and ultimately provide recommendations for

their next campaign. You should use the readings and lectures from the topics within that part of the class to guide and contextualize your analysis. This is a chance to be creative, and utilize political science skills like research and data analysis.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Weight</u>
5 Experiential Activities	25%
5 Question Reading Quiz	5%
5 Analysis Papers	50%
<u>Discussion</u>	<u>20%</u>
<i>Total</i>	<i>100%</i>

Additional Course Policies:

- Like gender, deadlines are socially constructed. I care more about your engagement with the material and producing thoughtful work than meeting the deadlines. However, all extensions must be communicated! If you miss a deadline and do not communicate at least 24 hours in advance of the due date, late work is not accepted. Please reach out if you need tips or want to learn skills for staying on track with deadlines.
- Attendance is key to having a successful learning experience in this class. Full participation means being present – in the moment – absorbing the information in real time, and connecting with the class. Please show up to class!
- I am available via email or my office hours, and respond to all student emails within 24 hours Monday – Friday. Please reach out with questions, concerns, or just to keep the lines of communication open.

Academic Freedom: Each student is strongly encouraged to participate in class discussions and share their opinions. We will respect the views of others when expressed in classroom discussions. Like the big actors in American Politics, in this class, we may not always agree with each other. However, I hope these disagreements can enhance our learning as we contemplate each other's perspectives and opinions. Please be assured that students' grades will not be affected by any beliefs or ideas expressed in class or in assignments.

Academic Integrity: This class is designed for you. Please make the most out of this academic experience and do not engage in cheating or plagiarism. Any students found cheating/plagiarizing will receive a 0 for the assignment or exam, in addition to university level sanctions.

## PART 1. FOUNDATIONAL CONCEPTS (2 WEEKS)

### **Topic: Gender**

*What is the concept of gender? What is the patriarchy? What is power? How is gender created and reproduced? How is gender related to race/ethnicity, class, and other categories?*

- Chapter 1 of WDWRTW
- West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender & Society* 1 (2):125-151
- Pratto, Felicia and Angela Walker. 2004. "The Bases of Gendered Power" In *The Psychology of Gender*, ed. Alice H. Eagly, Anne E. Beall and Robert J. Sternberg. Guilford Press.
- "We should all be feminists" Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's talk for TEDxEuston
- "Race, Gender, and Linked Fate." Simien, Evelyn. 2005. *Journal of Black Studies*. 35:5
- Barnes, Tiffany D., and Mirya R. Holman. "Essential Work Is Gender Segregated: This Shapes the Gendered Representation of Essential Workers in Political Office." *Social Science Quarterly*.

### **Topic: Brief History of Women in Politics**

*What is the history of women's involvement in political spaces? How has the women's movement changed over time? Can gender be studied in isolation, separately from other identities?*

- Chapter 2 of WDWRTW
- McConaughy, Corrine. 2014. "Forget Susan B. Anthony." *The Monkey Cage*, March 31.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" *Journal of Politics* 61 (August): 628-657. 5
- Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn. 1995. "African American Women and the Woman Suffrage Movement." In *One Woman One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, ed. Margaret Spruill Wheeler. Troutdale,
- Settles, Isis H. "Use of an intersectional framework to understand Black women's racial and gender identities." *Sex Roles* 54, no. 9-10 (2006): 589-601.

**Activity 1:** Out of class activity from the text. Interviews with an elder on the changing position of women in society. This will involve creating interview questions, finding a participant, and writing up a one-page analysis of the interview to be shared in class. See Appendix of WDWRTW for more details.

**Activity 2:** In class activity from the text. Learning parliamentary procedure while sharing the results of your interviews.

**Analysis Paper:** Select women in American politics who has an elected political position. Briefly (1) summarize women's historical involvement in politics before describing (2) your selected candidate's personal biography in politics. Does anything stand out about your candidate? Finally, (3) discuss the candidate's relationship to key concepts covered in Part 1, and analyze how these concepts may have influenced their political history. Please cite all sources, and define key concepts (words such as gender, sex, etc.).

## **PART 2. PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL ADVOCACY (2 OR 3 WEEKS)**

### **Topic: Public Opinion of Women**

*Do men and women vote differently? Why or why not? How has the public opinion about women candidates changed? Is there a “women’s vote”? How does race and gender intersect to impact public opinion?*

- Chapter 3 of WDWRTW
- Leonie Huddy, Erin Cassese, and Mary-Kate Lizotte. 2008. “Gender, Public Opinion, and Political Reasoning” in *Political Women and American Democracy* edited by Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez (Cambridge University Press).
- Burns, Nancy and Donald Kinder. 2012. “Categorical Politics: Gender, Race, and Public Opinion.” In, *New Directions in Public Opinion*, ed. Adam Berinsky. Routledge.
- Philpot, Tasha S. and Hanes Walton Jr. 2007. “One of Our Own: Black Female Candidates and the Voters Who Support Them.” *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1): 49-62.
- Lemi, Danielle Casarez, and Nadia E. Brown. "Melanin and Curls: Evaluation of Black Women Candidates." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 4, no. 2 (2019): 259-296.
- Chira, Susan. 2017. “‘You Focus on the Good’: Women Who Voted for Trump, in Their Own Words.” *New York Times*, January 14.

### **Topic: Women’s Engagement and participation**

*Are there differences in how men and women engage in politics? Does this differ by the mode of participation? How does race and gender intersect to impact political participation?*

- Chapter 9 of WDWRTW
- 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.)
- Center for American Women and Politics. 2017. “Gender Differences in Turnout.” July 20
- Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 1997. “The Public Consequences of Private Inequality: Family Life and Citizen Participation.” *American Political Science Review* 91(2): 373-389.
- Bode, Leticia. 2016. “Closing the Gap: Gender Parity in Political Engagement on Social Media.” *Information, Communication & Society* 20(4): 587-603.

### **Topic: Women and political movements**

*What is the history of women’s mobilization movements? How do women mobilize? How does race and gender intersect to impact mobilization?*

- Weldon, S. Laurel. 2011. *When Protest Makes Policy: How Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups*. Michigan. “Inclusion, Identity, and Women’s Movements: State Policies on Violence Against Women of Color.”
- Goss, Kristin A., and Michael T. Heaney. 2010. “Organizing Women as Women: Hybridity and Grassroots Collective Action in the 21st Century.” *Perspectives on Politics*. 8 March): 27-52.
- Deckman, Melissa. 2016. *Tea Party Women: Mama Grizzlies, Grassroots Leaders, and the*

*Changing Face of the American Right*. NYU Press. Selections

- Berry, Marie and Erica Chenoweth. 2018. "Who Made the Women's March?" in *The Resistance: The Dawn of the Anti-Trump Resistance Movement*. David S. Meyer and Sidney Tarrow, eds. Oxford University Press

**Activity 1:** In class panel with women activists / gender activists

**Activity 1.5 :** In class (from text) discussion on panel using an alternative to Parliamentary procedure. How did this change impacted participation?

**Activity 2:** Out of class. This week's activity will have multiple options. All are meant to encourage you to hone some activism skills. Please pick one.

**OP-ED:** What is a policy topic you care deeply about? Write an op-ed and submit it to a local newspaper. Include a copy of your op-ed as your journal entry.

**LETTER TO A REPRESENTATIVE:** What is a policy topic or issue you care deeply about? Write a letter to a representative (or a government official) who is influential concerning this topic. Include a copy of your letter as your journal entry.

**CIVIC EVENT:** Attend a civic event (virtually or in person). In your journal, write up a 1-page description of the event. Civic events include: town halls or local government meetings, protests, electoral debates, planning meetings.

**VOTE:** Register to Vote and write a 1-page description of the process as your journal entry. (Did you find it difficult? Were there resources for you to easily register? Who is helped in this process, and who is hurt?)

**VOLUNTEER:** Volunteer with an organization that serves the community. Write a 1-page analysis of the organization, what your volunteer work looked like, and the role of the organization within the community. Do you think the organization is working towards sustainable or structural change?

**Paper:** In this paper, you will explore your candidate's relationship to activist organizations. Does any particular type of group endorse them? What about women's groups? You can explore campaign and PAC support from Open Secrets and report on trends you perceive. Please cite all sources, and define key concepts.

## **PART 3 CAMPAIGNING AND RUNNING FOR OFFICE (3 WEEKS)**

### **Topic: Developing the Pipeline**

*What is the political pipeline of female candidates? How does 'ambition' impact who runs for office? How does political socialization impact who runs for office? How do other identities (like race or party) impact the pipeline?*

- Chapter 4 of WDWRTW
- Crowder-Meyer, Melody and Benjamin E. Lauderdale. 2014. "A Partisan Gap in the Supply of Female Potential Candidates in the United States." *Research & Politics* April-June: 1-7.
- Campbell, David E. and Christina Wolbrecht. 2006. "See Jane Run: Women Politicians as Role Models for Adolescents." *Journal of Politics*, 68(2).
- Boschma, Janie. 2017. "Why Women Don't Run for Office." *Politico*, June 12.
- Holman, Mirya R., and Monica C. Schneider. "Gender, race, and political ambition: how intersectionality and frames influence interest in political office." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6, no. 2 (2018): 264-280.

### **Topic: Campaigning**

*Does gender matter in campaigns? How impactful are commonly conceived of reasons for women's lack of presence in politics, like media coverage, stereotypes, fundraising, party support and recruitment? How do women and men candidates think about gender when they run for office?*

- Chapter 5 of WDWRTW
- Hayes, Danny and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2013. "Voters Don't Care How Women Candidates Look." *Washington Post*, June 23.
- Dolan, Kathleen. "Women candidates in American politics: What we know, what we want to know." In meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. 2006.
- Scott, Jamil. Strategic Entry: The Role of Candidate Training Program in the Decision to Run. Letter to the Editors 2017
- McConnaughy, Corrine. 2016. "Do gendered comments help or hurt Hillary Clinton?" *Monkey Cage/Washington Post*.
- Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice." 2002. Kira Sanbonmatsu. *American Journal of Political Science*. 46:1

**Activity:** In Class One- Day Candidate Training / Leadership Training

**Paper:** Analyze how your candidate referenced or used gender in their campaign (if they ran more than one, just pick one year). Look at speeches, tweets, ads, and draw some conclusions about how they referenced gender. What patterns can you perceive? Please cite all sources, and define key concepts. Please cite all sources, and define key concepts.

## **PART 4. REPRESENTATION (3 WEEKS)**

### **Topic: The Legislative Branch**

*What does it mean to “represent” women? In what ways are women ‘represented’ by other women? Do men and women legislate differently?*

- Chapter 6 of WDWRTW
- CAWP Fact Sheets: “Women in Elective Office 2020”; “Women in the U.S. Congress 2020”; “Women of Color in Elective Office 2020”
- Anzia, Sarah F. and Christopher R. Berry. 2011. “The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect: Why Do Congresswomen Outperform Congressmen?” *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3):478-93.
- Poggione, Sarah. 2004. “Exploring Gender Differences in State Legislators’ Policy Preferences.” *Political Research Quarterly* 57:305–14.
- Volden, Craig, Alan E. Wiseman, and Dana E. Wittmer. 2013. “When Are Women More Effective Legislators Than Men?” *American Journal of Political Science* 57(2): 326-341.
- Bedolla, Lisa Garcia, Katherine Tate, and Janelle Wong. 2014. “Indelible Effects: The Impact of Women of Color in the U.S. Congress.” In *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future*, Third Edition. Ed. Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox. New York: Oxford University. Pp. 235-252.

### **Topic: The Executive Branch**

*Why has it been so difficult for women to compete for the presidency? How do gender and race interact to shape presidential campaigns? Would it matter if the U.S. had a female president?*

- Chapter 7 of WDWRTW
- Beinart, Peter. 2016. “Fear of a Female President.” *The Atlantic*, October.
- Gallagher, Julie A. 2012. *Black Women and Politics in New York City*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press. “On the Shirley Chisholm Trail in the 1960s and 1970s.” (Chapter 5)
- Heldman, Caroline, Susan J. Carroll, and Stephanie Olson. 2005. ““She Brought Only a Skirt””: Print Media Coverage of Elizabeth Dole’s Bid for the Republican Presidential Nomination.” *Political Communication* 22(3): 315-335.
- Junn, Jane. 2009. “Making Room for Women of Color: Race and Gender Categories in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election.” *Politics & Gender* 5 (March): 105-110

### **Topic: The Judicial Branch**

*Do men and women adjudicate differently?*

- Chapter 8 of WDWRTW
- Boyd, Christina L., Lee Epstein, and Andrew D. Martin. 2010. “Untangling the Causal Effects of Sex on Judging.” *American Journal of Political Science* 54(2): 389-411.
- Coontz, Phyllis. “Gender and judicial decisions: Do female judges decide cases differently than male judges?.” *Gender issues* 18, no. 4 (2000): 59-73.

**Activity:** In class discussion with a elected female leaders

**Paper:** Explore the voting record of your candidate. What trends do you see? Is there any core issues they care about? Why do you believe they picked those issues? How do you think their identity impacts their voting patterns and the issues they support or oppose? Please cite all sources, and define key concepts.

## **PART 5. BREAKING THE BINARY (3 WEEKS)**

### **Topic: Non-binary Identities**

*What is beyond the binary of “men and women”? What is holding us back?*

- Monro, Surya. "Non-binary and genderqueer: An overview of the field." (2019): 126-131.
- Kluttz, Billy. "Outness and identity in context: Negotiating sexual disclosure in LGBT campaigns." *Sexuality & Culture* 18, no. 4 (2014): 789-803
- Jesse McKinley and Malia Wollan. 2010. "Advocates Hope Transgender Identity Is Not a Defining One"  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/25/us/politics/25transgender.html?searchResultPosition=3>
- Jess Bidgood, "Christine Hallquist, a Transgender Woman, Wins Vermont Governor's Primary" <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/14/us/politics/christine-hallquist-vermont.html?searchResultPosition=5>

### **Topic: Conservative Women**

*How are the general trends we've studied in this course different for Republican women?*

- Winter, Nicholas. 2010. "Masculine Republicans and Feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' Explicit and Implicit Images of the Political Parties." *Political Behavior*. 32, pp. 587-618.
- Sex and the Grand Old Party: An Experimental Investigation of the Effect of Candidate Sex on Support for a Republican." 2003. David King and Richard Matland. *American Politics Research*. 31.
- Crowder-Meyer, Melody and Rosalyn Cooperman. 2018. "Can't Buy Them Love: How Party Culture among Donors Contributes to the Party Gap in Women's Representation" *Journal of Politics*
- Thompsen, Danielle. 2015. "Why So Few (Republican) Women? Explaining the Partisan Imbalance of Women in the U.S. Congress" *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 40(2), pp. 295-323.

### **Topic: Breaking Boundaries: Outside of a US Concept**

*How do the concepts we've learned in this class inform our understanding of gender and politics outside an American context? Can the information we've learned be generalized across countries?*

- Baldez, Lisa, 2008. "Political Women in Comparative Democracies: A Primer for Americanists." In *Political Women and American Democracy*, ed. Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith and Lisa Baldez. Cambridge.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. Oxford University Press. Pages 161-205.
- Coolidge, Kelsey, and Curtis Bell. 2017. "The Number of Countries with Female Political Leaders Has Plummeted." *The Monkey Cage*, January 9.
- 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.

**Activity:** In class, present your candidate's plan for reelection (no more than a 5 minute presentation.) Briefly cover the candidate's background, and the election context before addressing the plan for reelection.

**Paper:** The candidate you've been studying is up for reelection. You've been hired as a campaign manager. Create your own 5 page recommendations for the campaign, using your knowledge of both the candidate and topics from the class. What issues should they bring up? What consistencies should they appeal to? How should they reference and incorporate gender in their campaign? What issues do you foresee coming up in their campaign? Please cite all sources, and define key concepts