

University of California, Santa Cruz
Politics 190-Spring Quarter, 2008
Women and Politics: Electoral Influence and Policymaking

Dr. Sue Thomas
Tuesdays/Thursdays 4-5:45 – Merrill 3
Office Hours: Thursdays from 3-4
Phone Number: 335-1000, extension 2312
e-mail: suethomas@mindspring.com

Course Design: This course focuses on the impact women have on the political process into United States. The units of the course consist of women's mass-level political participation with a focus on the gender gap; women as candidates, women officeholders and their impact; and expectations for the future.

Readings:

1. Thomas and Wilcox, Women and Elective Office: Past Present and Future, 2nd Edition
2. Tolleson-Rinehart and Josephson, Gender and American Politics: Women, Men, and the Political Process, 2nd Edition
3. Carroll and Fox, Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics (Each of the books is available in the Bay Tree Bookstore.)
4. Readings on e-reserve (complete list of readings is attached.)

Requirements:

Reading: A selection of articles and book chapters is assigned for each class as listed in the table below. Students are responsible for reading each assignment before class.

Participation: Attendance and participation in class discussion and analysis.

Discussion groups: To facilitate and deepen class discussion, several students per class will be assigned specific roles to play. Assignments will be provided at the first class meeting. The roles are listed below and handouts available at the first class meeting will guide preparation for this assignment.

The Guide: Comes to class prepared to offer the group questions about the readings.

The Passage Expert: Comes to class prepared with specific passages to direct the group for discussion.

The Connector: Comes to class prepared to make connections between the week's readings and the rest of the work of the semester.

The Devil's Advocate: Comes to class prepared to make arguments against the authors.

The Reporter: Keeps a record of the day's discussion to deliver a brief summarization of the major insights gleaned during that day.

Paper: Each student will complete one 20-25 page research paper during the quarter chosen from topics related to course materials. Specifics of paper assignment are provided at the end of the syllabus along with due dates. No midterm or final exams will be given.

Papers should be submitted in printed form. I prefer single-spaced rather than double-spaced papers and two-sided copying as available. No covers of any sort are necessary.

Website research on a woman officeholder of your choice: As we move into the section of the course on women officeholders, each student will gather information on one woman officeholder that can be incorporated into class discussion and the paper assignment. Websites of interest are listed below.

Grading Scale

The grading scale for the course consists of the following: A = 94-100, A- = 90-93, B+ = 87-89, B = 84-86, B- = 80-83 and so on down the line.

The research paper will be worth 65 percent of your final grade and participation complete with discussion group assignments will constitute the final 35 percent of your grade.

Class Meetings, Topics, Readings:

Date	Topic	Readings
April 1	Introduction	No readings
April 3	Gender Gap	Delli Carpini and Keeter (TRJ); Conway (TRJ); MacManus (C&F);
April 8	Gender Gap	Clark & Clark (E-Reserve); Carroll (C&F); Bedolla et al (E-Reserve)
April 10	Gender Gap	Hardy-Fanta (E-Reserve); Alex-Assensoh & Stanford (E-Reserve)
April 15	Gender Gap	Lien (E-Reserve); Klatch (E-Reserve)
April 17	Women Candidates	Thomas (T&W); Ondercin & Welch (T&W); Burrell (T&W)
April 22	Women Candidates	Burrell (C&F); Sanbonmatu (C&F); Dolan (T&W);

April 24	Women Candidates	Kahn and Gordon (E-Reserve); Iyengar et al (E-Reserve); Fox (C&F);
April 29	Women Candidates	Bystrom (C&F); Darcy et al (E-Reserve); Smooth: pp. 117-122 (C&F);
May 1	Women Officeholders	Thomas (TR &J) ; Niemi et al (T&W); Swers & Larson (T&W);
May 6	Women Officeholders	Garcia, Tate and Wong (T&W); Hardy-Fanta et al (E-Reserve); Orey et al E-Reserve
May 8	Women Officeholders	Fraga et al (E-Reserve); Prindeville and Gomez (E-Reserve); Smooth: pp. 122-end (C&F).
May 13	Women Officeholders	Kathlene (T&W); Dodson (T&W);
May 15	Women Officeholders	Niven (TR&J); Fridkin & Woodall (T&W);
May 20	Women Officeholders	Rosenthal (T&W); Schroedel and Godwin (T&W)
May 22	Women Officeholders	Mezey (TRJ); Borrelli (TRJ); Martin (E-Reserve)
May 27	Women Officeholders	Hult (E-Reserve); Duerst-Lahti (C&F)
May 29	Student Presentations	No readings; Student presentations
June 3	Student Presentations	No readings; Student presentations
June 5	Student Presentations	No readings; Student presentations

* This class features several Guest Speakers during the quarter - Woman in political office and others will be joining us as their schedules permit.

Bibliography for e-Reserve Packet

Mass-Level Participation

"Political systems and subsystems develop a 'mobilization of bias,' a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals and institutional procedures (rules of the game) that systematically

and consistently benefit certain persons and groups at the expense of others. Those who benefit are placed in a preferred position to defend and promote their vested interests."
Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, Power and Poverty

1. Clark, Cal and Janet M. Clark. 2006. "The Gender Gap in the Early 21st Century: Volatility from Security Concerns." In Whitaker, Lois Duke. *Women in Politics: Outsiders or Insiders?* Fourth Ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall:45-64.
2. Bedolla, Lisa Garcia, Jessica L. Lavaiega Monforti, and Adrian D. Pantoja. 2006. "A Second Look: Is There a Latina/o Gender Gap? *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*. 28 (3/4):147-172.
3. Carol Hardy-Fanta, *Latina Politics, Latino Politics: Gender, Culture, and Political Participation in Boston*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).
4. Yvette Alex-Assensoh, and Karin Stanford, "Gender, Participation, and the Black Urban Underclass," in Cathy J. Cohen, Kathleen B. Jones, and Joan C. Tronto, *Women Transforming Politics: An Alternative Reader*, (New York: New York University Press, 1997):398-411.
5. Lien, Pei-te, "Linking Race, Ethnicity, Class, and Gender: Asian American Women and Political Participation," in Pei-te Lien, *The Making of Asian America through Political Participation*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).
6. Rebecca Klatch, "The Two Worlds of Women of the New Right," in, in Tilly, Louise A. and Patricia Gurin, *Women, Politics, and Change*, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1990): 529-552.

Women Candidates

"This is why feminism has had to explode the private. This is why feminism has seen the personal as the political. The private is public for those whom the personal is political. In this sense, for women there is no private...Feminism confronts the fact that women have no privacy to lose or to guarantee."
Catharine MacKinnon

1. Kim Fridkin Kahn and Ann Gordon, "How Women Campaign for the U.S. Senate: Substance and Strategy," in Pippa Norris, ed., Women, Media, and Politics, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997: 59-76.
2. Shanto Iyengar, Nicholas A. Valentino, Stephen Ansolabehere, and Adam F. Simon, "Running as a Woman: Gender Stereotyping in Political Campaigns, in Pippa Norris, ed., Women, Media, and Politics, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997: 77 - 98.

3. R. Darcy, Charles D. Hadley, and Jason F. Kirksey, "Election System and the Representation of in Cathy J. Cohen, Kathleen B. Jones, and Joan C. Tronto, *Women Transforming Politics: An Alternative Reader*, (New York: New York University Press, 1997):447-455.

Women Officeholders

*"Welcome to the fraternity; you are #64.
Henry, it's not a fraternity anymore."
Madeleine Albright to Henry Kissinger*

1. Fraga, Luis Ricardo, Linda Lopez, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Ricardo Ramirez. 2006. "Gender and Ethnicity: Patterns of Electoral Success and Legislative Advocacy Among Latina and Latino State Officials in Four States." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*. 28 (3/4):121-146.
2. Hardy-Fanta, Carol, Pei-te Lien, Dianne M. Pinderhughes, and Christine Marie Sierra. 2006. "Gender, Race, and Descriptive Representation in the United States: Findings from the Gender and Multicultural Leadership Project." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*. 28 (3/4):7-42.
3. Orey, Byron D'Andra, and Wendy Smooth with Kimberly S. Adams and Kisha Harris-Clark. 2006. "Race and Gender Matter: Refining Models of Legislative Policy Makings in State Legislatures. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*. 28 (3/4):97-120.
4. Diane-Michele Prindeville and Teresa Braley Gomez, "American Indian Women Leaders, Public Policy, and the Importance of Gender and Ethnic Identity," *Women & Politics*, 20 (1999: 17 - 32).
5. Janet M. Martin, "Women Who Govern: The President's Appointments," in MaryAnne Borrelli and Janet M. Martin, eds., *The Other Elites: Women, Politics, and Power in the Executive Branch*, (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1997: 51-72.
6. Hult, Karen M., "Women as Executive Branch Leaders." in Lori Cox Han and Caroline Heldman, Eds., *Rethinking Madam President: Is America Really Ready for a Woman in the White House?* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2007), pp. 147-68.

Web Sites of Interest

Women's Organizations and Information

- **The Center for American Women and Politics** <<http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu>>
The best source for facts and figures on women candidates and officeholders,

research reports, and more.

- **EMILY's List** <<http://www.emilyslist.org>> is a political network for pro-choice Democratic women.
- **Breaking the Glass Ceiling** website Palmer and Simon book website: <<http://smu.edu/smunews/womenincongress/default.asp>>.
- **The Feminist Majority** <<http://www.feminist.org>> a resource center providing information and training for women candidates and women's issues.
- **National Federation of Republican Women** <<http://www.nfrw.org/>> is a political network for women in the Republican party.
- **National Women's Political Caucus** <<http://www.nwpc.org>> (NWPC) is a multi-partisan national grassroots membership organization dedicated to identifying, recruiting, training, and supporting pro-choice women for elected and appointed office at all levels of government.
- **The White House Project** <<http://thewhitehouseproject.org>> is a non-profit, non-partisan public awareness campaign to change the political climate so that women can launch successful campaigns for the U.S. presidency and other key positions.
- **WISH List** <<http://www.thewishlist.org>> is a political network for pro-choice Republican women.
- **Women in Congress** <<http://bioguide.congress.gov/congresswomen/index.asp>>: Historical information on women elected to Congress, including biographies; provided through the Office of the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives.
- **The Women's Campaign Fund** <<http://www.wcfonline.org>> is a non-partisan PAC providing funding and political resources for pro-choice women candidates at the local, state and national levels.
- **The Women's Campaign School** (WCS) at Yale University <<http://www.wcsyale.org/index.html>>: WCS is a non-partisan school providing classes for women who wish to enter politics.
- **Women's Enews** <<http://www.womensenews.org>> covers news about issues of importance to women. It is a project of the Women, Policy and Media Program of NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund.
- **Feminist Activist Resources on the Net** <<http://www.women.it/repertori/factres.htm>>: This guide is particularly oriented toward connecting feminists who are activists to resources on the Internet.
- **Gendergap.com** <<http://www.gendergap.com/>> is a website about the status of women in various arenas such as government, military, elections and voting.
- **Institute for Women's Policy Research** <<http://www.iwpr.org/>> is an independent, non-profit, scientific research organization. Their research and public education programs focus on public policy issues important to women and their families.
- **League of Women Voters** <<http://www.lwv.org/>>: This website covers the activities of the League of Women Voters of the United States and the League of Women Voters Education Fund.
- **National Council for Research on Women** <<http://www.ncrw.org>> is a working alliance of 84 women's research and policy centers, more than 3,000 affiliates and a network of over 200 international centers. NCRW's mission is to enhance the connections among research, policy analysis, advocacy, and innovative programming

on behalf of women and girls.

- **Women Leaders Online** <<http://wlo.org/>>: This page has links to many prominent women's home pages.
- **Votes for Women 2004** < <http://www.equality2020.org/> > tracks the gender gap. It is a project of the non-profit Communications Consortium Media Center.

U.S. Government Sites

- **U.S. Federal Government Agencies** <<http://www.lib.lsu.edu/gov/fedgov.html>>: A list of federal agencies on the Internet.
- **U.S. House of Representatives** <<http://www.house.gov/>>: The U.S. House of Representatives' World Wide Web service provides public access to legislative information as well as information about members, committees, and organizations of the House and to other U.S. government information resources.
- **U.S. Senate** <<http://www.senate.gov>> The U.S. Senate web site provides public access to legislative information as well as information about members, committees, and organizations of the U.S. Senate and other governmental resources.
- **State Search** <<http://www.statelocalgov.net/index.cfm>>: This list contains links to many states' home pages.

Political News and Voter Information

- **CNN** <<http://www.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS>>
- **The Democracy Network** <<http://www.congress.org/congressorg/e4/>> provides citizens, public officials and candidates an opportunity to debate issues of local, state and national importance.
- **Fox News** <<http://www.foxnews.com>>
- **GoVote** <<http://www.govote.com/>> provides election news, a search engine of other political sites, as well as links to many political and information sites, with categories such as voter resources and Congress watch.
- **MSNBC** <<http://www.msnbc/msn.com>>
- **National Public Radio (NPR)** <<http://www.npr.org/>>
- **New York Times** <<http://www.nytimes.com>>
- **Polling Report** <<http://www.pollingreport.com/>> is a free, nonpartisan site that reports the results of the latest national polls. The data come from major research organizations, such as Gallup, Harris, Yankelovich, and Princeton Survey Research Associates.
- **Politics1** <<http://www.politics1.com/>> is a non-partisan site covering election news and general political information, including sections on political parties, political headlines and news, and state by state candidate information.
- **Washington Post** <<http://www.washingtonpost.com>>
- **USA Today** <[hppt://www.usatoday.com](http://www.usatoday.com)>
- **Project Vote Smart** <www.vote-smart.org> is a national non-partisan research effort that provides independent factual information on over 13,000 candidates and elected officeholders.
- **Project for Excellence in Journalism** < [project for excellence in journalism](http://projectforexcellenceinjournalism.org) >

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RESEARCH PAPERS

Due Dates for Research Components:

Portions of class in the first three weeks will be devoted to discussion of research plans. **An initial topic choice and bibliography is due at the end of the third week of class. A more developed research plan including a statement of introduction of the topic, an outline, and complete bibliography is due at the end of the fifth week. A first draft is due at the start of the eighth week. The final draft is due on the last class meeting.**

Papers should be submitted in printed form. I prefer single-spaced rather than double-spaced papers and two-sided copying as available. No covers of any sort are necessary.

Research Process

Choosing a topic: What makes a good research paper topic? First, a good topic must be one that addresses the goals of the class. Re-read your syllabus and analyze the course content. Second, choose a topic that reflects your own interests.

The key to a paper that is manageable to research is to find the right range for your topic—not too broad, not too narrow. If your topic is too general, you will have to read through hundreds of sources. If the topic is too narrow, you simply won't be able to find enough materials.

To start, list a few subjects that catch your interest. To search for potential topics, examine the extended book list included in your syllabus. Then, go to the library and enter a keyword or phrase and/or a key author into the computer search function. Assess the depth, range, and quality of available materials.

A statement of introduction to the topic lays out the broad questions that are relevant to the topic and the specific question your research will investigate. This specific question is the product of your own critical thinking *after* you have done some research. It can also be thought of as the *angle* or *point of view* from which you present your material.

Finding good references:

Authoritative materials: Certain materials carry more clout than others. For a research paper, scholarly, peer-reviewed references are usually best. Books and journal articles go through an editorial review that is respected in the academic community. Reports are good sources because they represent their institution. Conference proceedings are usually associated with professional bodies and may have inherent status, especially when the proceedings include only selected papers. They are also a good place to find leading-edge research. Magazine and newspaper articles can show what kind of projects people are doing, but they carry less intellectual weight. Wikipedia entries are not authoritative

sources and are not acceptable references for academic research.

Subject experts: You want to find the authors that have the most knowledge about your topic. Start with the bibliographies used in articles and book chapters from the syllabus and the authors assigned in class as they are experts in their fields. Do additional library searches to update those bibliographies.

Paper Choices

You have a choice in this course to perform original research or complete an analytical literature review. The differences between the two and the guidelines for performing each type of research task are as follows:

Literature Review: An analytical literature review is an account of what has been published on a topic by accredited scholars. In writing the literature review, your purpose is to convey the knowledge and ideas that have been established on a topic, and what their strengths and weaknesses are. The literature review must be defined by a guiding concept (that is, your research objective, the problem or issue you are examining, and your thesis). Not only must you locate, assimilate, and synthesize a large amount of material, you must demonstrate critical appraisal of the material. A lit review must be organized around and related directly to the thesis or research question you are asking; synthesize results into a summary of what is and is not known; identify areas of controversy in the literature; and formulate questions that need further research.

As you write keep the following in mind:

- What is the specific thesis, problem, or research question that my literature review helps to define?
- What type of literature review are you conducting? Are you looking at issues of theory? Methodology? Policy? Quantitative research? Or qualitative research?
- How good was your information seeking? Has your search been wide enough to ensure you've found all the relevant material? Is the number of sources you've used appropriate for the length of your paper?
- Have you critically analyzed the literature? Do you follow through a set of concepts and questions, comparing items to each other in the ways they deal with them? Instead of just listing and summarizing items, do you assess them, discussing strengths and weaknesses?
- Have you cited and discussed studies contrary to your perspective?
- Have you suggested specific types of research that are still needed in this area?

As you locate and read each piece of research on your topic, consider the following:

- What problem or issue does the work pertain to?
- Is it clearly defined? Is its significance clearly established?
- What is the author's research orientation? What type of methodology – qualitative or quantitative does the author use?
- Could the problem have been approached more effectively from another perspective?
- What is the author's theoretical foundation?

- To the extent possible for you to assess, how good are the basic components of the study design? How accurate and valid are the measurements? Is the analysis of the data accurate and relevant to the research question? Are the conclusions valid?
- In what ways does the book or article contribute to our understanding of the problem under study, and in what ways is it useful for practice? What are its strengths and limitations?

Additional hints:

- A literature review is a synthesis and analysis, not a list describing or summarizing one piece of literature after another. It's usually a bad idea to begin every paragraph beginning with the name of a researcher. Instead, organize the literature review into sections that present themes or identify trends, including relevant theory. You are not trying to list all the material published, but to synthesize and evaluate it according to the guiding concept of your thesis or research question.
- A literature review does not include derivative secondary sources that discuss research by others; it examines the original research itself.¹

Original Research Paper: As you create your outline and write your paper, keep these tips in mind:

- Your paper should clearly state a research question. The question should ask about relationships between variables. For example, all else equal, are women more or less likely than men, to vote for the Democratic rather than the Republican Party? Are women of color more or less likely than white women to support the Democratic Party? What about African-American women, Latinas or Asian-American women?
- Your paper should include a thoughtful, concise, and comprehensive review of the literature in the area in which you are writing.
- You should apply a theoretical approach to research the question, drawing on relevant literature in political science (from this course and beyond it). Carefully read several of the journal articles assigned for the class to learn more about the theories that are the foundations for research questions and approaches.
- From that theoretical approach should stem a hypothesis (prediction) about relationships among independent and dependent variables. The hypothesis should point to causal relationships, e.g. if A then B. This hypothesis (or hypotheses) should be very clearly stated. Here is a possible hypothesis: “To the extent that voter turnout increases among women in the 2008 general election (as compared to previous electoral cycles), the more likely it is that the Democratic nominee will win the presidency.” Or put another way, “the larger the increase in women’s participation in the 2008 general election, the greater the chance that a Democrat will win the White House.”

¹ Adapted from: *The Literature Review: A Few Tips On Conducting It* by Dena Taylor, Director, Health Sciences Writing Centre and Margaret Procter, Coordinator, Writing Support, University of Toronto. 2007.

- Your paper should contain discussion of how you have collected the relevant data to provide evidence for your hypothesis. For example, if you do a survey of a specific population, you need to describe the questions that were used on the survey, the reasons they were chosen, the population to which it was administered, and the representative nature of the population (does it reflect the wider population?).
- Your paper should briefly discuss possible limitations to the research endeavor. One example of a limitation is surveying a non-representative population – the students of a particular dorm, a reading group, a church population, a professional association, etc. These populations are fine for the purposes of the research for this class, but they are not representative of the wider population of a city, a state, or a nation.

Presentation: During the last week and a half of the semester, we will devote class time to students presenting their work to the rest of the class. You will have about fifteen minutes for the presentation, so you will not have time to present your entire project. Instead, you should concentrate on two or three main points. The points may come from the paper, or they can even be something that you found interesting about your case, but did not fit into the paper. But they should still be analytical points that use the theories we read.

Ideas for Original Research:

- Survey Research or Focus Groups, Mass-level: attitudes among adults or groups of adults:
 - Attitudes toward equal roles
 - Attitudes on political, social, and economic issues
 - Party ID
 - Ideology
 - Presidential approval ratings
 - Voting Choices
- Survey Research or Focus Groups, Mass-level: attitudes among youth – Girl/Boy Scouts, for example, a classroom in a local elementary or secondary school.
- Elite Level: Media studies – newspapers, newsmagazines, TV news, radio news, websites – content analysis – Lexis/Nexis searches
- Elite Level: Ambition Studies – surveys or focus groups – administer a survey of a population of a professional group, for example.
- Elite Level: Case Studies of Candidates or Officeholders: usually case studies mean long-term, close contact, but case studies for the purposes of this class can be performed using written sources including news articles, interviews, website information, interviews with the candidates or officeholders. The key is to narrow down the specific focus of the case studies.
- Elite Level: Voting Studies of Officeholders – how have men and women in a governing body voted on an array of issues. Are there gender differences?
- Elite Level: Surveys on attitudes and activity legislatively and in terms of constituent relations
- Elite Level: Exploration of Backgrounds – content analysis.