

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY
Political Science 241
Women and Public Policy

Fall 2003
Wednesday 4-6 p.m.
WW 418

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Office Hours: MWF: 10-11, 12-1

REQUIRED TEXTS (PLEASE PURCHASE):

Carroll, Susan J., ed. *The Impact of Women in Public Office*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2001.
Freedman, Estelle B. *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women*. NY: Ballentine, 2002.
Mazur, Amy G. *Theorizing Feminist Policy*. NY: Oxford UP, 2002.
Mezey, Susan Gluck. *Elusive Equality: Women's Rights, Public Policy, and the Law*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003.
Swers, Michele L. *The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2002.

ELECTRONIC RESOURCES:

Phillips, Anne. *Feminism and Politics*. NY: Oxford UP, 1998. NOTE: We will be reading five chapters from this e-book. Please establish an e-book account if you have not yet done so.

All required journal articles and parts of books (other than those from Phillips) are on reserve at the library; many have electronic links. For those that prefer a hard copy, the Library also has a photocopy of all materials at the Reserve Desk. These copies do not appear on the reserve list for this course, however; you must ask for them at the desk.

The required case studies can be found on the web page of the University of Minnesota's Humphrey School:
www.hhh.umn.edu/centers/wpp/abstract.htm

To access the Institute for Women's Policy Studies' *Status of Women in the States*, go to
www.iwpr.org/states2002/index.htm

To subscribe to these free newsletters on women and public policy, go to: (National Organization for Women) www.NOW.org/news/signup.html; (Women's Enews) www.womensenews.org and sign up for "free subscription"; (Wisconsin Women's Network) write to wiwomen@execpc.com and ask to be added to the WWN Electronic Information Sharing distribution list; (National Women's Political Caucus) write to equality@nwpc.org and put "subscribe" in the subject heading to receive the NWPC Weekly Political Report; (Feminist Majority Foundation) sign up for the "Weekly Feminist News" at www.feminist.org on the "Get Alerts, News, and Jobs" section.

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND FORMAT:

Public policy is gendered in that men and women are affected differently by policies. Men and women also participate differentially in the policy-making process. We will examine how political science has treated the study of "gender" historically and feminist critiques of political science and public policy analyses. The relationship between women's political activities in social movements, interest groups, political parties, and elections and the formation of public policies of interest to women will be a focus. We will also look at the impact of female office-holders upon these policies. We will further examine these differences by looking at particular policy areas, including constitutional equality, educational equity, workplace and family issues, reproductive rights, and violence against women.

Every student is expected to come to each class having carefully read the day's common assignment. The format of the class will be guided discussion rather than lecture. I will ask questions that explore what you (by your submitted questions) and I consider interesting and important about the readings.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING PROCEDURE:

Weekly assignment: For every class session (except for December 3) each class member will submit at the beginning of class a one-page single-spaced paper giving a cogent abstract of the major points and ideas of each assigned reading. Scholars submitting their research for publication are required to provide an abstract of 100-200 words. Yours should be a “reader’s” abstract in contrast with one that may be provided in journal articles. (In sessions in which 6-7 readings are assigned, you may exceed the one-page limit if absolutely necessary.) For sessions October 22-November 19 include your independent reading as well. By noon on each Tuesday before class, each class member will e-mail the instructor one discussion question for use in class the next day. Hopefully, this will permit a more logical progression rather than each participant asking a question in turn. These assignments will be graded only with a “check” or “check minus” as a rough indicator of satisfactory personal effort. It is assumed that all will receive a “check.”

Class participation: The weekly assignments (above) as well as in-class discussion, class presentations of the research paper, independent reading, and the interview assignment comprise “class participation.” Again, it is assumed that each class member will be an involved and well-prepared participant.

Take-home midterm and final exams: Essay questions requiring the integration and synthesis of the common readings will be released on October 8 and December 3. Responses in a 10-page (maximum) double-spaced typed paper are due October 15 and December 10, respectively.

Interview paper: The purpose of this paper is to allow you to question at least one woman who is active in influencing public policy on women. (A further description of this assignment is appended.) The report on this interview should be 6-10 double-spaced typed pages. It is due in class on November 19.

Research paper: Because this is a research seminar, this project is the heart of the course. Individual research papers will focus upon one or more women’s policies (e.g., emergency contraception) or a topic that integrates policy and political processes (e.g., the politics of RU-486 marketing in the United States). Since we can only cover a limited number of policy areas in the common readings, you are encouraged (but not required) to choose one of those “ignored” policies (e.g., women’s health, pornography, or an international human rights issue such as female genital mutilation or trafficking). For those coming from outside political science (e.g., history or law), your needs can be accommodated (e.g., through use of archival methods or a law review format). There will be somewhat lighter common readings after October 15 to allow more attention to your project. But selection of your topic and preliminary data gathering and literature review should begin much earlier in the semester. You must clear your topic with me by October 1 by simply noting your choice on a sheet of paper. Assuming that the topic is appropriate, you need to have at least one personal conference with me in my office between October 3 and October 22. A three-five page (double-spaced, typed) prospectus with attached (tentative) bibliography is due October 29. This paper should contain your research question as well as the approach and methods to be utilized. The final paper is due on December 3 and will be presented to the class.

The grade formula:

Class participation	15%
Mid-term exam	15%
Final exam	15%
Interview paper	15%
Seminar paper	40%

COURSE OUTLINE

Aug. 27 Class Orientation.

Sept. 3 The Study of Gender and the Gender Gap in Political Science.

Phillips, pp. 23-43, 67-92; 161-92. (Readings from Bourque and Grossholtz, Sapiro, Sapiro, and Diamond and Hartsock)
Norris, Pippa. “The Gender Gap: Old Challenges, New Approaches,” in *Women and American Politics*, ed. Susan J. Carroll, pp. 146-170. NY: Oxford UP, 2003.

Norrander, Barbara. “The Intraparty Gender Gap: Differences Between Male and Female Voters in the 1980-2000 Presidential Primaries,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36 (April 2003): 181-6.

Sept. 10 Women's Movements—Feminist and Anti-feminist.

Freedman (all)

Hammer, Rhonda. *Antifeminism and Family Terrorism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002 (Chapter 1, pp. 13-42)

Recommended:

Evans, Sara M. *Tribal Wave: How Women Changed America at Century's End*. NY: Free Press, 2003.

Lewis, Carolyn V. "Are Women for Women? Feminist and Traditional Values in the Female Electorate," *Women & Politics* 20 (1, 1999): 1-28.

Morgan, Robin, ed. *Sisterhood is Forever: The Women's Anthology for a New Millennium*. NY: Washington Square Press, 2003.

Rosen, Ruth. *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America*. NY: Viking, 2000.

Sept. 17 Movement into Action.

Baer, Denise L. "Women, Women's Organizations, and Political Parties," in *Women and American Politics*, pp. 111-45.

Boles, Janet K. "Local Feminist Policy Networks in the Contemporary Interest Group System," *Policy Sciences* 27 (1994): 161-78.

Day, Christine L. and Charles D. Hadley. "Who Contributes? Similarities and Differences Between Contributors to EMILY's List and WISH List," *Women & Politics* 24 (2, 2002): 53-67.

Disney, Jennifer Leight and Joyce Gelb. "Feminist Organizational 'Success': The State of U.S. Women's Movement Organizations in the 1990s," *Women & Politics* 21 (4, 2000): 39-76.

Francia, Peter J. "Early Fundraising by Nonincumbent Female Congressional Candidates: The Importance of Women's PACs," *Women & Politics* 23 (1/2, 2001): 7-20.

Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod. "Feminism Within American Institutions: Unobtrusive Mobilization in the 1980s," *Signs* 16 (1990): 27-54.

Skocpol, Theda, *et al.* "Women's Associations and the Enactment of Mothers' Pensions in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 87 (September 1993): 686-701.

Recommended:

Naples, Nancy, ed. *Community Activism and Feminist Politics*. NY: Routledge, 1998.

Sanbonmatsu, Kira. *Democrats, Republicans, and the Politics of Women's Place*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2002.

Wollbrecht, Christina. *The Politics of Women's Rights: Parties, Positions, and Change*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000.

Sept. 24 Women in State and Local Elected Office.

Carroll, Introduction and pp. 3-86, 149-204, 225-42.

Reingold, Beth. *Representing Women*. Chapel Hill: U of NC P, 2000. (Chapters 8 & 9, pp. 215-53)

Recommended:

Thomas, Sue. *How Women Legislate*. NY: Oxford UP, 1994.

Thomas, Sue and Clyde Wilcox, eds. *Women and Elective Office*. NY: Oxford UP, 1998.

Oct. 1 Women in Congress.

Swers (all)

Carroll, pp. 89-116.

Duerst-Lahti, Georgia. "Knowing Congress as a Gendered Institution: Manliness and the Implications of Women in Congress," in *Women Transforming Congress*, ed. Cindy Simon Rosenthal, pp. 20-49. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2002.

Seminar paper topic due; have at least one conference with instructor by October 22.

Oct. 8 Women in Judicial and Appointed Office—and the U.S. Presidency.

Carroll, pp. 117-48, 205-24.

Borelli, MaryAnne. *The President's Cabinet: Gender, Power, and Representation*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002. (Chapter 2, pp. 41-89).

Duerst-Lahti, Georgia. "Reconceiving Theories of Power: Consequences of Masculinism in the Executive Branch," in *The Other Elites: Women, Politics, and Power in the Executive Branch*, ed. MaryAnne Borelli and Janet M. Martin, pp. 11-32. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997.

O'Connor, Karen and Jeffrey A. Segal. "Justice Sandra Day O'Connor and the Supreme Court's Reaction to Its First Female Member," *Women & Politics* 10 (2, 1990): 95-104.

Palmer, Barbara. "Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg and the Supreme Court's Reaction to Its Second Female Member," *Women & Politics* 24 (1, 2002): 1-23.

Watson, Robert P. and Ann Gordon, eds. *Anticipating Madam President*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003. (Chapters 1 & 15, pp. 1-17, 163-75)

Recommended:

Clift, Eleanor and Tom Brazaitis, *Madam President: Women Blazing the Leadership Trail*. NY: Routledge, 2003.

Pick up mid-term take-home exam questions.

Oct. 15 The Study of Women and Public Policy.

Mazur, "Preface and Acknowledgements," pp. 1-46

Mezey, "Preface," pp. 1-5.

Phillips, pp. 344-62 (Reading from Rhode)

Kendrigan, Mary Lou. *Gender Differences: Their Impact on Public Policy*. NY: Greenwood, 1991. (pp. 1-8, 221-33)

Kenney, Sally J. "Where Are the Women in Public Policy Cases?" *Women's Policy Journal of Harvard* 1 (2001): 87-98.

Kenney, Sally J. "Where is Gender in Agenda Setting?" *Women & Politics* 25 (1/2, 2003).

Stetson, Dorothy McBride. *Women's Rights in the USA*. 2nd ed. NY: Garland, 1997. (pp. 1-19)

Mid-term take-home exam is due.

Oct. 22 Legal and Educational Equity.

Mazur, Chapters 3 & 4

Mezey, Chapters 1 & 2

One additional reading*

Oct. 29 Equal Employment Opportunity and Pay Equity.

Mazur, Chapter 5

Mezey, Chapters 3 & 4

One additional reading*

Seminar paper prospectus and bibliography is due.

Nov. 5 The Professions and the Work/Family Conflict.

Mazur, Chapters 6 & 7

Mezey, Chapters 6 & 7

One additional reading*

Case Study: "The Value of Women's Words and Women's Work"

Nov. 12 Reproductive Freedom.

Mazur, Chapter 8

Mezey, Chapters 8 & 9

One additional reading*

Case Study: "Fighting for Access to Midwifery Care and Home Birth"

Nov. 19 Sexual Harassment and Violence Against Women.

Mazur, Chapter 9

Mezey, Chapter 5

One additional reading*

Case Study: "Institutionalized Violence"

Interview paper is due.

Dec. 3 Concluding Session.

Mazur, Chapter 10

Mezey, Conclusion

Seminar papers are orally presented to the class and submitted for grading.

Pick up the take-home final exam questions.

Dec. 10 **The take-home final exam is due by 3:30 p.m. (in my office).**

***THE ADDITIONAL READING:**

The Mazur and Mezey texts are very current and fact-filled, but they are also broad surveys. To add texture to the class discussion, each class member will locate and read one scholarly journal article (or part of a book) on the day's topic. (Abstract it as well.) You may read something cited in Mazur or Mezey. Or you can draw upon the periodicals index in the POSC library, *PAIS International*, or any of the other databases accessible through the MUL on-line catalog to locate an appropriate article. MUL has 88 women's studies journals on-line (e.g., *Violence Against Women*) as well as 426 political

science journals. From scrolling through the contents of recent issues of *Women & Politics*, I found a symposium on the politics of RU486 in Volume 24, No. 3, 2002 and a forthcoming article on the impact of hospital mergers on women's reproductive services. (See www.american.edu/oconnor/wandp/journal/journal.html)

THE INTERVIEW PAPER

The purpose of the interview paper is to allow you to personally interact with at least one woman who is active in local, state, or national politics around policies of interest to women. The woman to be interviewed may be a political officeholder (elected or appointed), a community leader, a government employee within a bureaucracy administering services targeted to women or their families, or an interest group leader. If you are unsure whether your interviewee is appropriate, please check with me. (You will not be evaluated on "who" you interview; Congresswoman Tammy Baldwin or 9to5's Ellen Bravo would obviously be very interesting choices but a less-visible activist is an equally rewarding subject.)

You may wish to consult the directory compiled by the Wisconsin Women's Council, *Wisconsin Women's Resources, 2001* (MUL Reference HQ 1101 .D37 2001). This resource lists many women's groups in the local area. The web page of Wisconsin NOW (www.winow.org/winow_links.html) also has many links to Milwaukee area women's groups and government agencies.

I would suggest that you read these articles (on reserve): Ann Oakley, "Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms," in *Doing Feminist Research*, ed. Helen Roberts, pp. 30-61. Boston: Routledge, 1981; Jane Ribbens, "Interviewing—an 'Unnatural' Situation?" *Women's Studies International Forum* 12 (6, 1989): 579-92.

I have placed on reserve a photocopy of the interview guides that I used in my study of feminist policy-making in Milwaukee. These questions would have to be adapted and are only suggestions. Feel free to design your own questions. In any case, you should prepare a list of questions **before** you conduct the interview. Of course, you may add some questions during the interview if time permits. You should attach a list of your questions to your paper.

You may want to use a tape recorder to record the interview. This will make the interview easier and faster since you will not have to take detailed notes. You can capture exactly what was said and the emotions underlying the words. Be sure to ask permission to tape the interview and tell your interviewee that the information will not be published. (Strictly speaking, it is not confidential in that you will be divulging the identity of your respondent to me and to the class in discussion.)

Request a 30-minute interview but be prepared to stay and talk longer. A face-to-face interview is preferable but, if this is not possible, you may conduct your interview over the phone.

The interview paper should be an analysis of the interview, written from the perspective of the scholarly materials on women and public policy that we have read for this course. You should summarize and analyze what you learned from the entire interview in a narrative style, rather than a question-by-question report. Although you have interviewed only one woman about her experiences and ideas, and therefore the information may only be applicable to her own situation (i.e. non-generalizable), qualitative elite interviews do provide insights into the policy process not available through quantitative methods.