

790:588
Spring 1999
2:40 - 5:20 Wednesday
Eagleton Library

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GENDER AND MASS POLITICS

Course Description

This seminar explores the complex relationship between gender and mass political behavior in the United States. We will examine the effects of gender on political attitudes and participation in both historical and contemporary contexts and assess the contributions which feminist scholars have made to our understanding of political behavior. Throughout the semester we will adopt a critical, research-oriented approach, focusing on ways to think more imaginatively and to conduct significant, yet feasible, research which brings a feminist lens to the study of mass politics.

Course Requirements

There are two written requirements for the course. The first is a 15-20 page research design which identifies a significant research question related to gender and mass politics, demonstrates the theoretical importance of the topic, and outlines an appropriate and realistic methodology for investigating the research question. The second written assignment is a take-home final based on the readings for the course. Class participation is also an essential component of the requirements for this course; all seminar participants are expected to read required readings prior to class and to come to class prepared to discuss them. The research design, the take-home final, and class participation will all be weighed about equally in determining final grades.

Required Readings

We will be reading nine books during the semester:

Kristi Andersen, *After Suffrage: Women in Partisan and Electoral Politics before the New Deal* (Chicago, 1996)

Anna L. Harvey, *Votes without Leverage: Women in American Electoral Politics, 1920-1970* (Cambridge, 1998)

Ethel Klein, *Gender Politics* (Harvard, 1984)

Anne N. Costain, *Inviting Women's Rebellion: A Political Process Interpretation of the Women's Movement* (Johns Hopkins, 1992)

Mary Fainsod Katzenstein, *Faithful and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest Inside the Church and Military* (Princeton, 1998)

Roberta S. Sigel, *Ambition and Accommodation: How Women View Gender Relations* (Chicago, 1996)

Sue Tolleson Rinehart, *Gender Consciousness and Politics* (Routledge, 1992)

Nancy A. Naples, *Grassroots Warriors: Activist Mothering, Community Work, and the War on Poverty* (Routledge, 1998)

Mary S. Pardo, *Mexican American Women Activists: Identity and Resistance in Two Los Angeles Communities* (Temple, 1998)

Books can be purchased at the Douglass/Cook Cooperative Store. Xerox copies of all other readings are available at Eagleton and at Hickman Hall.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

January 20 **Introductory Session**

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

January 27 **Women's Political Participation: Pre- and Early Post-Suffrage**

Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," in Linda Gordon (ed.), *Women, the State, and Welfare* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), pp. 55-62.

Elsa Barkley Brown, "To Catch the Vision of Freedom: Reconstructing Southern Black Women's Political History, 1865-1880," in Ann D. Gordon (ed.), *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1997), pp. 66-99.

Andersen, *After Suffrage*.

February 3 **Women's Political Participation: 1920-1970**

Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "Clubwomen and Electoral Politics in the 1920s," in Ann D. Gordon (ed.), *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1997), pp. 134-155.

Harvey, *Votes without Leverage*.

February 10 **Traditional Political Science Examines Women's Political Participation**

Fred I. Greenstein, "Sex-Related Political Differences in Childhood," *Journal of Politics*, 23(1961), pp. 353-371.

Angus Campbell et al., *The American Voter* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960), pp. 483-493.

Gerald M. Pomper, *Voters' Choice* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 67-89.

Susan Welch, "Women as Political Animals? A Test of Some Explanations for Male-Female Political Participation Differences," *American Journal of Political Science*, 4 (November 1977), pp. 711-730.

Virginia Sapiro, *The Political Integration of Women* (Urbana: Illinois, 1984), Chapters 1, 4-5, 8, pp. 1-11, 57-112, 170-196.

THE CONTEMPORARY WOMEN'S MOVEMENT, FEMINIST CONSCIOUSNESS, AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

February 17 **The Women's Movement and Feminist Consciousness**

Klein, *Gender Politics*.

Patricia Gurin, "Women's Gender Consciousness," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 49(1985), pp. 143-163.

February 24 **Governing Institutions, Women's Movement Strategies, and Political Behavior**

Costain, *Inviting Women's Rebellion*.

March 3 **The Women's Movement and Feminist Protest Inside Institutions**

Katzenstein, *Faithful and Fearless*.

March 10 **Consciousness, Political Engagement, and Policy Preferences**

Rinehart, *Gender Consciousness and Politics*.

Clyde Wilcox, "Black Women and Feminism," *Women and Politics*, 10(1990), pp. 65-84.

March 17 **Spring Break—No Class**

March 24 **A Closer Look at Perceptions of Gender Relations and Their Political Consequences**

Sigel, *Ambition and Accommodation*.

PUBLIC OPINION AND VOTING**March 31 The Gender Gap in Political Attitudes and Voting Behavior – Part I**

Robert Y. Shapiro and Harpreet Mahajan, “Gender Differences in Policy Preferences: A Summary of Trends from the 1960s to the 1980s,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 50(1986), pp. 42-61.

Pamela Johnston Conover and Virginia Sapiro, “Gender, Feminist Consciousness, and War,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 37(November 1993), pp 1079-1099.

Susan J. Carroll, “Women’s Autonomy and the Gender Gap: 1980 and 1982,” in Carol M. Mueller (ed.), *The Politics of the Gender Gap* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1988), pp. 236-257.

Pamela Johnston Conover, “Feminists and the Gender Gap,” *Journal of Politics*, 50(November 1988), pp. 985-1010.

Daniel Wirls, “Reinterpreting the Gender Gap,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 50(1986), pp. 316-330.

Susan Welch and Lee Sigelman, “A Gender Gap Among Hispanics? A Comparison with Blacks and Anglos,” *Western Political Quarterly*, 45(March 1992), pp, 181-199.

April 7 The Gender Gap in Political Attitudes and Voting Behavior – Part II

Anne N. Costain and Heidi Berggren, “The ‘Gendered’ Electorate,” presented at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, September 3-6.

Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, “Gender Gaps in Voting Behavior in Global Perspective,” presented at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, September 3-6.

Virginia Sapiro with Pamela Johnston Conover, “The Variable Gender Basis of Electoral Politics: Gender and Context in the 1992 US Election,” *British Journal of Political Science*, 27(1997), pp. 497-523.

Susan J. Carroll, “‘My Kids Play Soccer and I Vote’: The Social Construction of the Soccer Mom in the 1996 Elections,” presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28-31.

Kathleen Dolan, “Voting for Women in the ‘Year of the Woman,’” *American Journal of Political Science*, 42(January 1998), pp. 272-293.

PARTICIPATION BEYOND VOTING: EXPANDING THE POLITICAL

April 14 **Conventional and Quasi-Conventional Forms of Political Participation**

Kay Lehman Schlozman, Nancy Burns, and Sidney Verba, "Gender and the Pathways to Participation," *Journal of Politics*, 56(November 1994), pp. 963-990.

Sidney Verba, Nancy Burns, and Kay Lehman Schlozman, "Knowing and Caring about Politics: Gender and Political Engagement," *Journal of Politics*, 59(November 1997), pp. 1051-1072.

Nancy Burns, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba, "The Public Consequences of Private Inequality: Family Life and Citizen Participation," *American Political Science Review*, 91(June 1997), pp. 373-389.

Jane Junn, "Assimilating or Coloring Participation? Gender, Race, and Democratic Political Participation," in Cathy J. Cohen, Kathleen B. Jones, and Joan C. Tronto (eds.), *Women Transforming Politics: An Alternative Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), pp. 387-397.

Yvette Alex-Assensoh and Karin Stanford, "Gender, Participation, and the Black Urban Underclass," in Cathy J. Cohen, Kathleen B. Jones, and Joan C. Tronto (eds.), *Women Transforming Politics: An Alternative Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), pp. 398-411.

April 21 **Grassroots Activism — Part I**

Naples, *Grassroots Warriors*.

April 28 **Grassroots Activism — Part II**

Pardo, *Mexican American Women Activists*.