



The Center for
**WOMEN IN POLITICS
& PUBLIC POLICY**

**PAFG 623: WOMEN IN AMERICAN POLITICS &
POLICYMAKING**

SPRING 2009

**Graduate Certificate Program for Women in
Politics & Public Policy:**

www.mccormack.umb.edu/academic/wppp/

Instructor: Carol Hardy Fanta, Ph.D.
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Class meets: Thursdays, 6:00pm-8:30pm
Room: McCormack Hall, 3-415

Office Hours: Thursdays 4:30–5:45pm in my office or by appointment

Reading Materials:

- Ford, Lynne E. *Women and Politics: The Pursuit of Equality*. (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2nd edition, 2006).
- Cohen, Cathy, Kathleen Jones and Joan Tronto. *Women Transforming Politics: An Alternative Reader* (New York: NYU Press, 1997).
- Reader (available for purchase from Instructor; additional copies will be located at the Center office).
- Aaron, Jane E. *The Little, Brown Essential Handbook for Writers*. Fourth Edition or later. New York: Longman. (Use APA style when writing your papers for the Program and this course.)
- All students are expected to read a major newspaper every week—read and collect “Op Eds” as samples of influencing policy through writing.

Course Description:

This is the spring seminar of the Program for Women in Politics and Public Policy. In this course, students will be active participants in exploring the many dimensions of politics in the US, how women have organized to have a greater role in politics, and the skills women need to fully participate in politics and policymaking.

Prerequisites: Satisfactory completion of PAFG 619, 622 & 626.

Course Objectives: By the end of the semester, students should be able to:

1. Explain the various meanings and dimensions of politics.
2. Discuss (in writing and speech) the historical, comparative, and current ways women have worked to increase their influence and power in US politics.
3. Analyze current political processes, institutions, and events through a lens that keeps the intersection of gender, race, and class as its focus.
4. Gather, analyze, and present data on the variety of ways women gain access to politics and influence on policymaking in the United States.
5. Utilize political analysis skills to discuss the political status and efforts of diverse groups of women at the local, state, national, and international levels and to understand how race/ethnicity and class affect political representation, activism and influence.

Method of Instruction:

This is a seminar where students are to take an active role in learning and class activities. Method of instruction will include lectures, small group work, films, guest speakers, and written assignments.

Method of Evaluation:

Final grade will be based on: Class attendance, preparation for class by completing all readings and participation in class activities/discussion. There will be 3 assignments.

Contribution to class*:	25%
Assignment #1: Paper: Presidential Politics 2008	25%
Assignment #2: Reflection Paper on Running for Elected Office	25%
Assignment #3: Op-Ed: Influencing Policy through Persuasive Writing	25%

(*Contribution to class includes: evidence of reading, constructive contribution to discussions, attendance)

Class attendance & late work policies:

Class attendance is required. It is essential that you attend class regularly and on time. If you *must* miss a class or are unable to turn in any assignments on time, it is your responsibility to contact the professor **before** that class, contact a classmate to get any assignments, and make up any work missed by the deadline agreed upon. Unexcused absences and late work will affect your final grade.

Special Needs

If you are a student with a documented disability on record at the University of Massachusetts and wish to have a reasonable accommodation made for you in this class, please contact the Ross Center for Disability Services at ross.center@umb.edu.

Utilizing and Citing Sources/Plagiarism

There are important standards of honesty concerning the authorship of the materials you include in your work and the ways in which you acknowledge those contributions. Please be aware that the University policy on academic dishonesty* states:

“The University defines violations of academic honesty to include but not be limited to, the following:

- A. Submitting an author’s published or unpublished work -- in whole, or in part or in paraphrase -- as one’s own without fully and properly crediting the author. (This includes, but is not limited to submitting published work, e.g., from a journal, newspaper, encyclopedia, etc. without proper acknowledgement.)
- B. Submitting as one’s original work materials obtained from an individual or an agency
- C. Submitting as one’s own original work material that has been produced through unacknowledged collaboration with others.”

**Graduate Studies Bulletin 2002-2004*. University of Massachusetts Boston, p. 46.

Note: The PWPPP follows APA writing style. Please refer to the appropriate sections in Aaron (see above) to guide your writing.

Course Outline

Session 1: Thursday, January 29, 2009

Topics: Overview of Course, Status of Women in American Politics

Class Plan: Overview of course; expectations and class ground rules; review of syllabus. Status of women in politics in the United States and around the world. “Presidential Politics 101.”

Prepare for Class:

Come to class with written responses to Study Questions #1 – to be handed in.

Required Readings

- Ford, “Two Paths to Equality.” Ch. 1 in Ford, *Women and Politics*, pp. 1-20 and 28-31.
- Cohen, Jones & Tronto, “Introduction” in *Women Transforming Politics*, pp. 1-12.
- Alter, Jonathan. “Let the Second-Guessing Begin! Five reasons Obama won. Five reasons Clinton lost,” *Newsweek*, Jun 5, 2008. Available at www.newsweek.com/id/140129 and provided electronically.
- “Gender & Politics Facts and Commentary.” (Sent electronically.)
- “Secrets of the 2008 Campaign,” *Newsweek*, Nov 17, 2008. (Seven “chapters,” provided electronically.)
 - “How He Did It,” Available at <http://www.newsweek.com/id/167582>
 - “Back From the Dead.” <http://www.newsweek.com/id/167639>
 - “The Long Siege.” Available at <http://www.newsweek.com/id/140129>
 - “Going Into Battle.” Available at <http://www.newsweek.com/id/167865>
 - “Center Stage.” Available at <http://www.newsweek.com/id/167905>
 - “The Great Debates.” Available at <http://www.newsweek.com/id/167950>
 - “The Final Days.” Available at <http://www.newsweek.com/id/168017>

Session 2: Thursday, February 5, 2009

Topic: Gender, Race and the 2008 Election

Class Plan: **Barbara Lee, Principal of Lee Family Foundation**

Bring to class at least two articles discussing gender and/or race in the presidential campaign.

Required Readings

- Collection of Monographs from the Barbara Lee Family Foundation (Distributed in class):
 - “Positioning Women to Win: New Strategies for Turning Gender Stereotypes into Competitive Advantages.”
 - “Cracking the Code: Political Intelligence for Women Running for Governor.”
 - “Speaking with Authority: From Economic Security to National Security.”
 - “Keys to the Governor's Office - Unlock the Door: The Guide for Women Running for Governor.”
- Paul, David, and Jessi L. Smith. 2008. “Subtle Sexism? Examining Vote Preferences When Women Run Against Men for the Presidency.” *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 29(4): 451–476. IN READER.

Session 3: Thursday, February 12, 2009

Topic: Historical Perspectives: Women & Political Movements, 1776-1920

Class Plan: Class discussion of women's efforts to gain the vote by discussing assigned readings and film: *Iron Jawed Angels*.

Required Readings: (Use Study Questions for Session #3.)

- "The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Conference, 1848." IN READER.
- Sojourner Truth, "Ain't I a Woman." IN READER.
- Ford, "All Rights are Not Equal: Suffrage Versus the Equal Rights Amendment." Ch. 2 in *Women and Politics*, pp. 34-69.
- Locke, "From Three-Fifths to Zero: Implications of the Constitution for African American Women, 1787-1870." Ch. 21 in Cohen, Jones, & Tronto, *Women Transforming Politics*, pp. 377-386. This is a very important chapter to read -- too often the suffrage movement is portrayed as involving only white women.

Session 4: Thursday, February 19, 2009

Topic: Presidential Politics, Women and Political Movements

Class Plan: Class will watch film *Chisolm 72: Unbought and Unbossed*. Lecture and discussion on issues in the more recent "women's movement": Equal rights or radical change? Echoes of earlier movement: roots in civil rights, anti-war, new left movements.

Required Readings: (Use Study Questions for Session #4.)

- Ford, "Suffrage Accomplished: Women as Political Participants." Ch. 3 in *Women and Politics*, pp. 70-101.
- Echols, "Nothing Distant About It: Women's Liberation and Sixties Radicalism." Ch. 27 in Cohen, Tronto, & Jones, *Women Transforming Politics*, pp. 456-476.
- Minkoff, "Organizational Mobilization, Institutional Access, and Institutional Change." Ch. 28 in Cohen, Tronto & Jones, *Women Transforming Politics*, pp. 477-496.

Session 5: Thursday, February 26, 2009

Topic: Liberalism and Its Critics: Feminist Challenges to Politics as Usual in the United States

Class Plan: Guest Speaker: Heike Schotten, Ph.D., Department of Political Science

Lecture on the basic concepts and political philosophy of liberalism, the conceptual underpinning of the U.S. American regime (consisting primarily of limited government, rights-based freedom, consent, the public/private distinction, and legal equality), and brief overview of a multitude of feminist critical perspectives on this hegemonic political theory. Interactive lecture and in-class discussion of these feminist critiques & challenges of liberalism, concluding with the critical question of whether or not liberalism is salvageable and/or worth preserving.

Required Readings:

- hooks, bell. "Feminism: A Movement to End Sexist Oppression." Ch. 2 in *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, pp. 17-31. IN READER.
- Bhabha, Homi K. "Liberalism's Sacred Cow." Selection from Susan Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* pp. 79-84. IN READER.
- Kittay, Eva. "Introduction," *Love's Labor*, pp. 1-19. IN READER.
- MacKinnon, Catharine. "Difference and Dominance: On Sex Discrimination (1984)." Ch. 2 in *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law*, pp. 32-45. IN READER.

Recommended Reading:

- Ducat, Stephen. "Fear and the Phallus" and "Permutations of the Presidential Phallus: Representations of Bill Clinton, from Emasculated Househusband to Envied Stud Muffin." Introduction and Ch. 5 in *The Wimp Factor: Gender Gaps, Holy Wars, and the Politics of Anxious Masculinity*, pp. 1-23, 150-167. IN READER.

Session 6: Thursday - March 5, 2009

Topic: Women as Candidates & Officeholders

Class Plan: Film: Women Mayors of Massachusetts with Guest Lecture: Senior Research Associate Paige Ransford

Assignment #1 Due Today: Paper on Presidential Politics 2008

Required Readings: (Use Study Questions for Session #6.)

- Ford, "Women Seeking Office: The Next Phase of Political Integration." Ch. 4 in *Women and Politics*, pp. 102-130.
- Women's Municipal Leadership in Massachusetts, Fact Sheet. Available online at <http://www.mccormack.umb.edu/centers/cwppp/docs/FACTSHEETfinalnocrops.pdf>
- Crow, Barbara A., "Rethinking Privilege? Reconsidering White Women's Participation in Municipal Politics." Ch. 25 in Cohen, Jones, & Tronto, *Women Transforming Politics*, pp. 435-446.

Recommended Readings:

- Petersen, Hardy-Fanta and Armenoff, "*As Tough As It Gets*": *Women in Boston Politics, 1921-2004*. Research Report. Boston: Center for Women in Politics & Public Policy, Spring 2005. Available online at www.mccormacktmp.umb.edu/cwppp/docs/ATAIG.pdf
- Ransford, Paige, Carol Hardy-Fanta, and Anne Marie Cammissa. "Women in New England Politics," *New England Journal of Public Policy*. Vol. 23, Nos. 1 and 2 (Spring 2007): 17-36: www.mccormacktmp.umb.edu/cwppp/publications/WomenNEpoliticsNEJPP2007-source.pdf

International Women's Day Breakfast
Friday, March 6th, 7:30am-9:30am
Simmons College
300 The Fenway
Linda Paretsky Conference Center
CWPPP is a co-sponsor!

Session 7: Thursday, March 12, 2009

Topic: Women's Paths to Political Leadership

Class Plan: Watch video presentation of "Diverse Paths: Women's Journeys to Political Leadership." National Archives Public Forum. Cosponsored by the Center for Women in Politics & Public Policy. Discussion of panel and readings

Required Readings:

- Belkin, Lisa. "The Senator Track." *New York Times Magazine*, January 4, 2009, pp. 9-10. Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/04/magazine/04wwln-lede-t.html?_r=1&pagewanted=print
- Hardy-Fanta, Carol. "Latina Women and Political Consciousness." Ch. 13 in Cohen, Jones, & Tronto, *Women Transforming Politics*, pp. 223-237.

Recommended Readings

- Hardy-Fanta, Carol, and Kacie Kelly, "Women of Talent: Gender and Government Appointments in Massachusetts, 2002-2007." Research Report. Boston: Center for Women in Politics & Public Policy, May 15, 2007. (Hand out in class.)
- Hardy-Fanta, Carol, and Donna Stewartson. "A Seat at the Table: Racial and Gender Diversity on Corporate, Hospital, Education, Cultural, and State Boards." Research Report. Boston: Center for Women in Politics & Public Policy, May 11, 2007. (Hand out in class.)

Thursday, March 19, 2009

Spring Break. No Class. Enjoy!

Session 8: Thursday, March 26, 2009

Topic: Global/Comparative Perspectives

Class Plan: Film: *Pray the Devil Back to Hell* and large class discussion

Required Readings: (Use Study Questions for Session #8.)

- Norris, Pippa. "Women's Power at the Ballot Box. Voter Turnout from 1945 to 2000: A Global Report on Political Participation (2001). IN READER.
- Read Carol Hardy-Fanta's November blog on women and politics in Chile: Available at www.hardy-fanta.blogspot.com (read from the bottom up).
- "Why Women Matter Briefing Book," The White House Project (WHP). IN READER. Read the following selections: "International Overview," WHP, p. 27-28; "'American Women Have a Long Way to Go': An In-Depth Look at Two Strategies," by Steven Hill and Rob Richie, Center for Voting and Democracy, WHP, p. 52-53; "Strategies for Equality: Initiatives from a Selection of Countries," WHP, p. 30-38; "B. What is Proportional Representation? Full Representation Will Get More Women Elected, by the Center for Voting & Democracy;" and "C: What is Instant Runoff Voting?" by Rob Richie, Center for Voting & Democracy, WHP, p. 49-51).

Session 9: Thursday, April 2, 2009

Topic: How to Run for Elected Office

Class Plan: Campaign Skills Training Workshop

Guest Speaker: The Honorable Sonia Chang-Diaz, Mass. State Senator

Required Readings:

- Ford, "Women as Political Actors: Emerging Insiders and Seasoned Outsiders." Ch. 5 in *Women and Politics*, pp. 131-172.
- Allen, Cathy. "Women Winning Campaigns: The National Women's Political Caucus' Hands-on Guide for Today's Leaders." Washington, DC: National Women's Political Caucus, 2005. Download provided.

Recommended Readings and Future Resources:

- Hardy-Fanta, Carol, and Rose Beatriz Stimson. "Say Yes! Recruiting Women to Run for Elected Office: Research Tips from Experts." Monograph produced by the Center for Women in Politics and Public Policy, December 2005. Distributed in class.

Session 10: Thursday, April 9, 2009

INTERNSHIP CLASS WITH PROF. KAREN COURTNEY

Session 11: Thursday, April 16, 2009

Topic: Politics & Policymaking for Economic Equity: Women, Wages and Work

Class Plan: Videos and presentations from the Women, Wages and Work Policy Conference

ASSIGNMENT # 2: Reflection Paper on Running for Office is DUE TODAY.

Required Readings:

- Ford, "Women and Work: In Pursuit of Economic Equity," Ch. 6 in *Women and Politics*, pp. 199-243.
- Murphy, Evelyn. "Why Not a Dollar?" *New England Journal of Public Policy* (Spring 2007), pp. 113-118. IN READER.
- Crandall, Susan, and Surabhi Jain. "New Directions in Workforce Development: Do They Lead to Gains for Women?" *New England Journal of Public Policy* (Spring 2007), pp. 81-98. IN READER.
- Kelly, Kacie. "Call to Action: A Pay Equity Resource Guide." Available online at www.mccormack.umb.edu/centers/cwppp/documents/payequityjune2008_000.pdf
- Freeman, Ann. (2008, April 23). "TAP Talks with Lilly Ledbetter," *The American Prospect*. Available online at www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=tap_talks_with_lilly_ledbetter

Session 12: Thursday, April 23, 2009

Topic: The Politics of Reproductive Rights

Class Plan: Class Discussion of Readings

Required Readings: (Use Study Questions for Session #12.)

- Ford, "The Politics of Family and Fertility: The Last Battleground in the Pursuit of Equality?" Ch. 8 in *Women and Politics*, pp. 244-279.
- Petchesky, Rosalind, "Spiraling Discourses of Reproductive & Sexual Rights: A Post-Beijing Assessment of Feminist Politics." Ch. 33 in *Women Transforming Politics*, 569-587.
- Shende, Susan, "Fighting Violence Against Our Sisters: Prosecution of Pregnant Women and the Coercive Use of Norplant." Ch. 7 in *Women Transforming Politics*, 123-135.

Session 13: April 30, 2009

Topic: Advocacy, Lobbying, and Activism: Challenging Perspectives

Class Plan: Judith Meredith, Executive Director, The Public Policy Institute, and author of "Real Clout."

Required Readings: (Use Study Questions for Session #13.)

- Meredith, Judith C., and Catherine M. Dunham. "How to Influence a Public Policy," and "Practical Applications," Chapters 5 and 6 in *Real Clout*, Boston: Access Project and Public Policy Institute, 2nd ed., 2005, pp. 144-194. Available online at <http://www.realclout.org/ppi/publications/RealCloutTextbook-v2.pdf>
- Sen, Rinku, "Winning Action for Gender Equity: A Plan for Organizing Communities of Color." Ch. 18 in Cohen, Jones, & Tronto, *Women Transforming Politics*, pp. 302-323. (*Read this chapter carefully. It is challenging material that we will discuss in some detail in class.*)

Session 14: Thursday, May 7, 2009

Topic: Do Women Make a Difference in Politics & Public Policy?

Class Plan: Discussion readings and "learnings" from the course.

Required Readings:

- O'Connor, Karen, "Do Women in Local, State and National Legislative Bodies Matter? A Definitive Yes Proves Three Decades of Research by Political Scientists." From *The White House Project Briefing Book* (2003), pp. 24-26. IN READER.
- Caiazza, Amy. "Does Women's Representation in Elected Office Lead to Women-Friendly Policy?" Research-in Brief, Institute for Women's Policy Research, IWPR Publication #1910, Washington, DC: IWPR, May 2002. IN READER.
- Ford, "Conclusion: New Challenges in the Pursuit of Equality." Ch. 9 *Women and Politics*, pp. 280-291.

Assignment #3 Due Today: Influencing Policy through Writing (The "Op Ed")