

POSC346/WGST346 WOMEN, POWER, AND POLITICS

Karen Beckwith, Professor

Spring Semester 2023

Clark Hall 308

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POSC346/WGST346 Women, Power, and Politics involves a critical examination of the impact of gender on the forms and distributions of power and politics, and on women's access to political representation, with a focus on the United States. The course is particularly interested how politics is gendered, the consequences of gendered political inequalities, and the role of the state in confirming and/or transforming the gendered nature of politics. The course will ask how constitutions, political system structures, and election law shape gendered opportunities for men and women. Major concerns of the course include what we mean by "sex," "gender," and "politics;" the identification and diversity of women; the relationship between women and the state; how women organize collectively to influence state policies; and how the state facilitates and constrains women's access to and exercise of political power.

The syllabus is organized around these several issues central to the study of women and politics. The first section of the course concerns what we mean by the concepts of sex, gender, politics, femininity, and masculinity. This section of the course will provide a critical intersectional examination of these concepts, developing tools for assessing women's and men's relationship to politics and to the state.

The second section of the course focuses on gender and political institutions, asking how the state and state structures are gendered. In this section, we will consider how political institutions, in their construction, may facilitate (or constrain) women's access to political representation and power, with specific attention to constitutional arrangements of the state and the gendered impact of facially neutral institutions, to deepen our understanding of the workings of governments and political systems, and of women's political empowerment.

The third section of the course concerns political representation: what constitutes gendered interests, where organized women dispute shared issue positions (on, e.g., reproductive rights, social welfare policies, employment), and which women are being represented. This section also considers women's access to elective office, asking how women and men gain access to positions of political power.

The final section of the course focuses on abortion law and its relationship to women's rights in the United States.

Evaluation of student performance is based on the following criteria. First, each student is expected to attend class and to be prepared for each class meeting by having read, in advance, the materials assigned for that day. Students should be prepared to discuss the material in detail in class every day, and all students are expected to participate. Students are expected, and obliged, to comport themselves, in class, in a professional manner. Professionalism refers to adherence to standards of behavior and performance expected from political scientists. This includes, but is not limited to, courteous attention to other speakers; engagement with the work at hand; and, of course, adherence to university standards of academic integrity. Informed class participation and professionalism are requirements of the course, and account for 10 percent of the final course grade.

Second, each student will facilitate an in-class discussion of course readings, the specific dates and readings of which will be assigned by the professor. In addition to facilitating discussion of readings, each facilitator will submit a short paper, analyzing the readings and identifying questions and problems posed in and by the readings. Discussion facilitation and the summary paper are each worth 5 percent of the final grade. See *Guidelines for Discussion Facilitation and Summary Papers*, posted on Canvas.

Third, students will complete three short research papers, each of which accounts for 25 percent of the final grade. Details of these assignments are available on Canvas; see *Guidelines for Research Papers and Presentations*.

Finally, each student will make an in-class presentation of their final research papers' preliminary findings, which accounts for remaining 5 percent of the course grade. Details of all assignments are available on Canvas; see again *Guidelines for Research Papers and Presentations*. Due dates for assignments are indicated in the reading schedule, below.

Note that students are required to attend all classes and to complete all course assignments to receive a grade in the course.

Books required for this course are listed below and are available online at Kelvin Smith Library as e-books.

Diana Green Foster. 2021. *The Turnaway Study*. New York: Scribner.

Helen Irving. 2008. *Gender and the Constitution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. KSL offers a full book download at <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/ebookviewer/ebook/ZTAwMHhuYV9fMjIwMzg5X19BTg2?sid=cdf43c5c-40ae-4045-9947-5c445e53efbe@pdc-v-sessmgr02&vid=0&format=EB&rid=5>.

Additional readings are available as e-journal articles through the Kelvin Smith Library or through the Canvas course site, as noted in the syllabus. Students are encouraged to read the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* daily.

There are several excellent **political science blogs** that include a focus on women gender, and politics, including *Mischief of Faction* (<https://www.mischiefsoffaction.com>), and *Gender Policy Report* (<https://genderpolicyreport.umn.edu/>). Students may wish to peruse some of these blogs from time to time, for current political science analysis and news related to US women and politics. Additional political information and data can be found at the Center for American Women and Politics (<http://cawp.rutgers.edu/>); the *Inter-Parliamentary Union* (<http://archive.ipu.org/iss-e/women.htm>); International IDEA Democracy and Gender (<https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas>); *Political Parity* (<https://www.politicalparity.org/>); *RepresentWomen* (<https://www.representwomen.org/>); *UN Women* (<http://www.unwomen.org/en>); and *WomanStats* (<http://www.womanstats.org/mobile/index.html?fbclid=IwAR3sNtQIR2TcAEDw5GyLfYNg9nHdVJ1LsB2ObcYbXRN3IEgVRYK-ORDJ0v0>) In addition to these, please refer to the *Research Resources* list, provided on the Canvas course site.

Students are not to record or to photograph class sessions, or to share recordings of class sessions with others; this course requirement honors and protects the privacy of rigorous in-class discussion.

It is a requirement of this course that students use their CWRU email account for correspondence with the professor.

Standards of academic integrity are an integral component of this course. Students are reminded that they are obliged to understand, to uphold, and to comply with the Academic Integrity Policy of the University. A copy of the Code may be found online at <https://bulletin.case.edu/undergraduatestudies/academicintegrity/>. Students who do not understand this Policy after having read it should make an appointment with me to discuss it; indeed, I welcome this discussion and encourage students to consult with me in advance of any assignment about which they have doubts or questions. It is a course requirement that students read the University's Academic Integrity Policy.

SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS

January 17 **Introduction to the Course: Women, Sex, Gender, and the State**

January 19 **Sex, Gender, and Intersectionality**

READ: Karen Beckwith, "A Common Language of Gender?" *Politics & Gender*, 1 (1), March 2005: 128-137; Myra Marx Ferree, "The Crisis of Masculinity for Gendered Democracies," *Sociological Forum*, 35 (1), 2020: 818-917; Gretchen Ritter, "Gender as a Category of Analysis in American Political Development," in *Political Women and American Democracy*, eds. Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 12- [available on Canvas].

January 24 READ: Kimberle Crenshaw, "[Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color](#)," *Stanford Law Review*, 42 (1990-91): 1241-1299.

January 26 READ: Nikol G. Alexander-Floyd, "Disappearing Acts: Reclaiming Intersectionality in the Social Sciences in a Post—Black Feminist Era," *Feminist Formations*, 24 (1): 1-25; and Cynthia Levine-Rasky, "Intersectionality theory applied to whiteness and middle-classness," *Social Identities*, 17 (2), 2011: 239-253 [available on Canvas].

January 31 READ: Eileen McDonagh, "Political Citizenship and Democratization: The Gender Paradox," *American Political Science Review*, 96 (3), September 2002: 535-552; and Jill Vickers, "Gender and State Architectures: The Impact of Governance Structures on Women's Politics," *Politics & Gender*, 7 (2), 2011: 254-262 [available on Canvas].

February 2 READ: Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon, "When Do Governments Promote Women's Rights?" *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1), March 2010: 207-216; and Mala Htun and Laurel Weldon, "Religious Power, the State, Women's Rights, and Family Law," *Politics & Gender*, 11, 2015: 451-477 [available on Canvas].

February 7 READ: Priscilla A. Lambert and Druscilla L. Scribner, "Constitutions and women's rights advocacy: strategic uses of gender provisions in Argentina, Chile, Botswana, and South Africa," *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 8 (2) 2020: 228-247 [available on Canvas].

February 9 DISCUSSION

February 14 **Gender and Political Institutions: Making a Constitution, Making a State**

READ: Irving, *Gender and the Constitution*, Introduction and Chapters 1 and 2

February 16 READ: Irving, *Gender and the Constitution*, Chapters 3 and 4

COUNTRY CONSTITUTION CHOICE DUE TODAY BY EMAIL

February 21 READ: Irving, *Gender and the Constitution*, Chapters 5 and 7

February 23 READ: Irving, *Gender and the Constitution*, Chapters 8 and 10

February 28 READ: Mona Lena Krook and Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, “Electoral Institutions,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, eds. Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, and S. Laurel Weldon. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 554-578 [available on Canvas]; and Michael Hansen and Agustín Goenaga, “Gender and Democratic Attitudes: Do Women and Men Prioritize Different Democratic Institutions?,” *Politics & Gender*, 17 (1), 2021: 21-52 [available on Canvas].

March 2 DISCUSSION

FIRST SHORT PAPER DUE BY EMAIL

March 7 **Women, Gender and Elective Office**

READ: Karen Beckwith, “Plotting the Path from One to the Other: Women’s Interests and Political Representation,” in *Representation: The Case of Women’s Interests*, eds. Michelle Taylor-Robinson and Maria Escobar-Lemmon. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 19-40 [available on Canvas]

CANDIDATE SELECTION FOR SECOND PAPER DUE BY EMAIL

March 8 INTERNATIONAL WOMEN’S DAY

March 9 READ: Jennifer L. Lawless, “Female Candidates and Legislators,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18 (2015): 349-366; and Jennifer Wolak, “Descriptive Representation and the Political Engagement of Women,” *Politics & Gender*, 16 (2020): 339-362 [available on Canvas].

March 14-16 SPRING BREAK

March 21 READ: Orlanda Ward, “Seeing Double: Race, Gender, and Coverage of Minority Women’s Campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives,” *Politics & Gender*, 12 (2016): 317-343; Barbara Palmer and Dennis M. Simon, “When Women Run against Women,” *Politics & Gender*, 1 (1), March 2005: 39-63; Richard L. Fox and Zoe M. Oxley, “Does Running with a Woman Help?,” *Politics & Gender*, 1 (4), December 2005: 525-546; and Stephen C. Craig and Paulina S. Rippere, “He Said, She Said: The Impact of Candidate Gender in Negative Campaigns,” *Politics & Gender*, 12 (2016): 391-414 [available on Canvas].

March 23 READ: Mary Hawkesworth, “Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions,” *American Political Science Review*, 97 (4), 1997: 529-550, and Mona Lena Krook and Juliana Restrepo Sanín, “The Cost of Doing Politics? Analyzing Violence and Harassment against Female Politicians,” *Perspectives on Politics*, 18 (3): 740-755 [available on Canvas].

March 28 DISCUSSION

SECOND SHORT PAPER DUE BY EMAIL

March 30 **Gender, Power, and Abortion Rights**

READ: *The Turnaway Study*, Introduction and Chapters 1, 2, and 3

April 4 READ: *The Turnaway Study*, Chapters 10, 11, and Afterword

April 6 READ: “Syllabus,” *Roe v. Wade* (1973) [<https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/410/113/#tab-opinion-1950136>]; and “Opinions” [<https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/410/113/#tab-opinion-1950136>]; and *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization et al.* (2022), “Syllabus and Opinions” [available on Canvas]

RECOMMENDED: Kimberly Hamlin, “Fetal Rights or Women’s Rights” (<https://msmagazine.com/2021/12/13/fetal-personhood-women-equality-abortion-roe-v-wade-dobbs-v-jackson/>); “[Abortion on the Ballot](#),” *New York Times*, November 2022.

April 11 In-class presentations of third short papers in progress

April 13 NO CLASS; PROFESSOR ATTENDING MIDWEST POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION MEETINGS

April 18 In-class presentations of third short papers in progress

April 20 In-class presentations of third short papers in progress

April 25 In-class presentations of third short papers in progress

April 27 **Conclusion to the Course**

THIRD SHORT PAPERS DUE NO LATER THAN THURSDAY, MAY 4 BY 11:00AM