

SOCIOLOGY 309
Political Sociology: Focus on Gender
POLITICAL SCIENCE 390
Special Topics

GENDER, POLICY, POLITICS AND SOCIETY
SPRING 2016, TUESDAYS AND THURSDAYS, 3:30 – 4:45 pm
Harris L28

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“Despite important differences, all the modern feminist meanings of gender have roots in Simone deBeauvoir's claim that ‘one is not born a woman’... and in post-Second World War social conditions that have enabled construction of women as a collective historical subject-in-process. Gender is a concept developed to contest the naturalization of sexual difference in multiple arenas of struggle. Feminist theory and practice around gender seek to explain and change historical systems of sexual difference whereby ‘men’ and ‘women’ are socially constituted and positioned in relations of hierarchy and antagonism.” – Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs and Women* (Routledge, 1991), p.131

“Political freedom . . . means ‘the right to be a participator in government,’ or it means nothing.” -- Hannah Arendt

“The oppression of women knows no ethnic or racial boundaries, true, but that does not mean it is identical within those boundaries.” – Audre Lorde

Course Description: This course will investigate the relations among gender, policy, politics, and society, with a focus on the United States (historically and in the contemporary era). We will endeavor to place the US in comparative and global contexts. We will examine the gendered character of citizenship, political participation and representation, social rights and economic rights. We aim to understand gendered politics and policy from both "top down" and "bottom up" perspectives. What do states do, via institutions of political participation and representation, citizenship rights and policies, to shape gender relations? How do gender relations influence the nature of policy and citizenship? How has feminism emerged as a radical challenge to the androcentrism and restricted character of the democratic public sphere? We expand on conventional conceptions of political participation and citizenship rights to include the grassroots democratic activism that gave birth to modern women's movements. We explore how women's political efforts have given rise to the creation of counter-public

spheres and alternative visions of democracy, social provision and economic participation, as well as reshaping formal politics and policies. And, finally, we will take advantage of the fact that we are in the middle of a Presidential election to examine some of the ways gender shapes politics – and vice versa – in the contemporary United States.

The course readings feature different types of materials – original documents, scholarly books and articles, a textbook, policy reports, popular non-fiction work on aspects of gender, policy, politics and society, and a collection of essays advocating different policy and political approaches to overcoming gender inequalities. These are supplemented by films and online resources.

Course Organization and Requirements: The class will be a mix of lectures and discussion. We'll start each class with a "campaign or politics/policy/cultural politics minute" in which we discuss an item of current interest in the Presidential campaign or some other political arena as it is illuminated by social-scientific approaches to politics and gender.

Please note that **laptops and electronic devices must be closed** during class.

Attendance is mandatory. If you need to miss class due to illness or another valid reason, please email me to let me know, and you will be excused.

To demonstrate knowledge of the readings and the general themes of the course through **formal assignments (85% of course grade)**, you will take an **in-class exam on May 10 (60% of total grade)**, and write a **short final paper (25% of final grade)** applying what you have learned in the course to some aspect of gender politics or policy, in the United States or elsewhere (today or in earlier historical eras). The paper is due **June 7, 2016** with a hard copy in my mailbox (in the Sociology Department) and a copy posted to Canvas.

To encourage your contribution to the content of the course and regular reflection on the readings, I ask that you come to class prepared to discuss the readings and to ask questions. Please **post a short question (one or two lines) or comment (a paragraph or so) each week on the relevant Canvas discussion board, and take part in online and in-class discussions with your classmates.** (Comments should not be summaries of readings, but reflections about them.) You will also complete several **informal assignments**, such as examining websites of different research and advocacy groups specializing in gender issues. These tasks will not be graded, but simply checked off for completion (and will constitute **15% of your grade**).

I encourage you to bring your perspectives and your knowledge to wider communities beyond our classroom and Canvas discussion boards. You may want to post comments on relevant blogs, Facebook pages and Twitter accounts, or (especially

considering the dearth of women editors and authors on Wikipedia)¹ you might want to add new articles to Wikipedia, or to edit or add to existing articles.

Course Readings:

We will read three books, and a number of articles or excerpts from books which will be available online on Canvas; these readings are marked on the syllabus with an asterisk.

The following required books will be available for purchase at Norris (or you may order them online), and will also be placed on reserve:

Dorothy Sue Cobble, Linda Gordon and Astrid Henry, *Feminism Unfinished: A Short, Surprising History of American Women's Movements* (Liveright, 2014).
ISBN-13: 978-1631490545

Janet Gornick and Marcia Meyers, editors, *Gender Equality: Transforming Family Divisions of Labor* (Verso, 2009).
ISBN-13: 9781844673254

Pamela Paxton and Melanie Hughes, *Women, Politics and Power: A Global Perspective* (Pine Forge Press, 2007).
ISBN-13: 978-1412998666

As a supplemental (not required) text for those who would like some background in gender studies, Raewyn Connell's *Gender in World Perspective* (Polity, 2009 [second edition]) is a good, short introduction.
ISBN-13: 9780745645674

In addition, you will watch several films, some in class, some available streaming from the library. (These are noted in the course schedule.)

¹https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:WikiProject_Countering_systemic_bias/Gender_gap_task_force/Media_and_research

CLASS SCHEDULE

(March 31)

**Week 1: Introduction: Gender as Political and Social Difference,
Gender as Unequal Power**

Informal assignment for April 5, 2016: Visit the following websites, and print out a page you find particularly interesting and annotate it (this should be handed in next week in class, and posted on the Canvas discussion board):

Center for Women and Politics, Rutgers University:
www.cawp.rutgers.edu

Institute for Women's Policy Research, Washington, DC:
<http://www.iwpr.org>

Center for Women's Global Leadership, Rutgers University
<http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/>

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), Stockholm, Sweden
<http://www.idea.int/gender/>

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)
<http://www.oecd.org/gender/>

United Nations Women (UNWomen)
<http://www.unwomen.org/>

(April 5 and 7)

**Week 2: Theories of Gender and Politics,
The Gendering of Modern Citizenship: First-Wave Feminism and
Women's Suffrage**

Film: "Iron Jawed Angels"

Required Reading:

Pamela Paxton and Melanie Hughes, *Women, Politics and Power*, chapters 1-3.

*Ellen Carol Dubois, (*skim*) "Introduction: The Invention of Women's Rights," and (*read*) Elizabeth Cady Stanton's "Speech to the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society," document 6, both in *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches*, Ellen DuBois, ed. (NY: Schocken Books, 1981).

History of Woman Suffrage in the United States
<http://dpsinfo.com/women/history/timeline.html>

Timeline of women's suffrage worldwide
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_women's_suffrage

"The Declaration of Independence"
<http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration.html>

"The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Conference, 1848"
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/senecafalls.asp>

Sojourner Truth's Speech to the Akron Convention, 1851
<http://sojournertruthmemorial.org/sojourner-truth/her-words/>

Recommended Reading:

Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

Informal assignment for April 12, 2016: Quiz 4 or 5 of your friends, relations or classmates about women's rights to vote – do they know how or when women's suffrage was achieved? Do they know how the US stands relative to other countries? Post the results of your informal survey – and any commentary you'd like to add – on Canvas by April 12. (Extra good karma if you register anyone to vote along the way.)

(April 12 and 14)

Week 3: Gender, Social Citizenship, and the Maternalist Origins of Welfare States

Required Reading:

Dorothy Sue Cobble, Linda Gordon and Astrid Henry, *Feminism Unfinished*, chapter 1.

*Sonya Michel and Seth Koven, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of the Welfare State in France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, 1880-1920." *American Historical Review* 95(1990):1076-1108.

*Ann Shola Orloff, "Markets not States? The Weakness of State Social Provision for Breadwinning Men in the United States," pp.217-44, 283-93 in *Families of a New World: Gender, Politics and State Development in a Global Context*, edited by Lynne Haney and Lisa Pollard (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Recommended Reading:

Kimberly Morgan, *Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe and the United States* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

Jill Quadagno, *The Color of Welfare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

Informal assignment for April 19: Visit this website, which has some of the classic "manifestos" from the second wave; print and annotate one (to be handed in on Tuesday in class, and posted ahead of time on Canvas):

<http://www.cwluherstory.org/Classic-Feminist-Writings/>

(April 19 and 21)

Week 4: The Second-Wave Feminist Movement

Films: “**Makers: Women Who Make America, part 1**” (season 1); “**Mississippi: Is this America?**” (episode of “**Eyes on the Prize: America’s Civil Rights Years**”)

Dorothy Sue Cobble, Linda Gordon and Astrid Henry, *Feminism Unfinished*, chapter 2.

*Becky Thompson, “Multiracial Feminism: Recasting the Chronology of Second Wave Feminism,” *Feminist Studies* 28(Summer 2002).

Recommended Reading:

*Mary Childers and bell hooks, “A Conversation about Race and Class,” pp.60-81 in *Conflicts in Feminism*, edited by Marianne Hirsch and Evelyn Fox Keller (NY: Routledge, 1990).

*Claudia Goldin, “The Quiet Revolution That Transformed Women's Employment, Education, and Family,” *The American Economic Review*, 96/2(2006):1-21.

*Van Gosse, *The Movements of the New Left, 1950-1975*, “Introduction: A Movement of Movements” (Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2005).

Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua, editors, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (New York: Kitchen Table Press, 1983, second edition).

*Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (NY: Penguin, 2001), excerpt.

*Ann Snitow, "A Gender Diary," pp.9-43 in *Conflicts in Feminism*, edited by Marianne Hirsch and Evelyn Fox Keller (NY: Routledge, 1990).

Informal assignment for April 26: Watch part two of season 1 of the PBS documentary "**Makers: Women Who Make America**," available streaming from the library, then have a look at one of the multitude of online discussions/descriptions of second-wave feminism, and post a question or comment on Canvas in which you compare what you've learned in the documentary, class readings and original documents, with how the movement is represented.

(April 26 and 28)

Week 5: Gender, Politics and Power I

Required Reading:

Pamela Paxton and Melanie Hughes, *Women, Politics and Power*, chapters 4-6.

An **optional** take-home short exam will be given out in class on Thursday **April 28**, due Tuesday **May 3**; this will be graded by May 5, so that you will have information about your performance before the drop deadline of May 6, 2016. The grade will be advisory only (i.e., will not count toward your final grade).

Informal assignment for May 3, 2016: Visit the websites of at least one Democrat and one Republican running for office (President, Senator, Congressperson, etc.) and evaluate them for what they say (or imply) about gender relations; post a comment on Canvas about what you found (with a link to the websites you visited).

(May 3 and 5)

Week 6: Gender, Politics and Power II

Film: "**Miss Representation**"

Required Reading:

Pamela Paxton and Melanie Hughes, *Women, Politics and Power*, chapters 7-9.

*Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989): 139-68.

Recommended Reading:

R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, second edition, 2005), chapters 3, 7-9, afterword (on masculinities, states and politics).

(May 10)

Week 7: IN-CLASS EXAM

Informal assignment for May 12, 2016: Read one of the many gender-policy-relevant online debates about “having it all,” “leaning in,” “leaning out,” work/family balance, etc. and post a comment on the site of the debate (and post a copy of your comment on Canvas).

(May 12)

Week 7: Gender, Employment, Family, Care

Required Reading:

Stephen Rose and Heidi Hartmann, *Still a Man's Labor Market: The Long-Term Earnings Gap*, 2004 report from Institute for Women's Policy Research – read the (5 pp.) executive summary, skim the rest; free download available at <http://www.iwpr.org/publications/pubs/still-a-mans-labor-market-the-long-term-earnings-gap>

*Shelley Correll, Stephen Benard and In Paik. 2007. "Getting a Job: Is There a Motherhood Penalty?" *American Journal of Sociology* 112(5):1297-1339

*Michelle Budig, “The Fatherhood Bonus and the Motherhood Penalty: Parenthood and the Gender Gap in Pay,” Third Way Report (2014): <http://www.thirdway.org/report/the-fatherhood-bonus-and-the-motherhood-penalty-parenthood-and-the-gender-gap-in-pay>

*Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought* (New York: Routledge, 2000, second edition), chapter 3, “Work, Family and Black Women’s Oppression.”

Anne-Marie Slaughter, “Why Women Still Can’t Have it All,” *The Atlantic*, July/August 2012 (or read the book based on the article, *Unfinished Business* [New York: Random House, 2015]): <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07/why-women-still-cant-have-it-all/309020/>

*Sheryl Sandberg, *Lean In: Women, Work and the Will to Lead* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2013, excerpt.

(May 17 and 19 and May 24 and 26)

Weeks 8 and 9: Employment, Family, Care – Social Policy for Social Change?

Film: “Chain of Love”

Required Reading:

Janet Gornick and Marcia K. Meyers, editors, *Gender Equality: Transforming Family Divisions of Labor* (New York: Verso, 2009).

*Walter Korpi, “Faces of Inequality: Gender, Class, and Patterns of Inequalities in Different Types of Welfare States,” *Social Politics* 7(2000):127-191.

Recommended Reading:

Eileen Boris and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, editors, *Intimate Labors: Cultures, Technologies, and the Politics of Care* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

Informal assignment for May 31, 2016: Watch one or two episodes (your choice of episode) of season two of the PBS documentary “Makers: Women Who Make America,” available streaming from the library, then have a look at one of the multitude of online discussions/descriptions of contemporary feminism, and post a question or comment on Canvas in which you compare what you’ve learned in the documentary, class readings and original documents, with how the movement is represented.

(May 31)

Week 10: Contemporary Feminism, Gender and Politics

Dorothy Sue Cobble, Linda Gordon and Astrid Henry, *Feminism Unfinished*, chapter 3 and Afterword.

Recommended Reading:

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, *We Should All Be Feminists* (New York: Anchor Books, 2015).

Myra Marx Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012).

Nancy Fraser, *Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis* (Brooklyn: Verso, 2013).

**SHORT PAPER ON GENDER, SOCIAL POLICY, POLITICS AND SOCIAL CHANGE,
DUE JUNE 7, 2016**