RACE, ETHNICITY, AND GENDER IN U.S. POLITICS

POLITICAL SCIENCE 289B

SPRING 2018

WEDNESDAY 11:00-1:50
LOCATION: BUNCHE 4357

Professor Lorrie Frasure-Yokley
Office: 3278 Bunche Hall
Email: lfrasure@polisci.ucla.edu
Office Hours: Tuesday 3-5 PM (or by appointment)
Sign up via doodle poll link: https://doodle.com/poll/sn24upmbsqfvd88c

Course Description

This graduate course is a 10-week introduction to the ways in which the intersections of race, ethnicity, and gender enters and shapes politics, political behaviors, public opinions, group interests, and institutions. These factors will be examined in the U.S. context.

Course Requirements:

(IMPORTANT) Submission Format for All Submitted Work

Submit each assignment via TURNITIN in WORD format prior to 11:59 pm on the submission date. Submissions should be typed, double-spaced, using 12- point font, Times New Roman, one-inch margins with page numbers at the bottom. Lead each assignment with your name and do not use footers or headers. Submissions not having this format will be returned ungraded. It is your responsibility to ensure that your file is submitted in compatibility format that can be opened and viewed. No excuses.

In addition to active, professional and collegial participation in seminar discussions, you are expected to complete all assignments on time and with professional level quality.

Requirements:

Weekly memos (10%) (Beginning Week 2):
Weekly 1-page memos should be posted by the Tuesday before the class in question (11:59pm). Memos posted after this time will count as a 0 toward your grade. Timely completion of the memos is essential for professional development and to facilitate a healthy discussion. The memos will be public to the seminar participants. Rather than using CCLE, please upload memos to course PS 289B REG Dropbox folder named Weekly Memos (email link will be sent to you). There are no excuses for late or absent memos.

<u>Active</u> Seminar Participation and Discussion Facilitation: (30%)
Given the seminar format, students are expected to attend all seminar meetings, read the required readings and actively participate in the discussions. In addition, everyone will have an opportunity to co-facilitate a discussion.

Student discussion leaders will present for 15-20 minutes (each) and propose an agenda or sequence of questions for discussion. Each presenter should identify and frame the major issues addressed in the readings and provide some critical reflections on how the themes for the week, relate to the broader themes of the course. Each presenter should prepare a handout outlining the key points of their presentation to be distributed to the class at the start of the seminar. Each outline must also include 2 discussion questions (max). The number of times students present will depend upon the size of the seminar. Discussion leader handout should also be posted to the PS 289B REG Dropbox folder named Discussion Facilitators.

The goal is to present core aspects of the work in 15-20 minutes. This will include answering the following:

   A. What is the puzzle or research problem?
   B. What are the core concepts and questions in the work?
   C. What theories serve as a basis for the authors work?
   D. What is the author's methodological approach?
   E. What is the author's central finding or contribution?
   F. Does the method allow the author to effectively answer the research question(s)? If so, how and if not, why not.
   G. What are some possible alternatives to the approach taken by the author?

Literature Review (5 pages): (30%)
The review should develop the central theoretical and substantive claims in your selected area of research. The review should clearly identify the theoretical, substantive and methodological DEBATES in your key area of research. An effective analysis of those debates should identify the limitations or gaps in the existing literature. What steps need to be taken to address these gaps in the literature?

Research Design Proposal (5 pages): (30%)
Having developed a clear research question or set of research questions, students will be asked to develop a research design. What method or methods will be used to answer the overarching question and smaller questions generated by the literature review? What data will be used? How will it be collected? What are the alternatives to the argument advanced in the literature review and how will you adjudicate between your argument and the plausible alternative explanations empirically? What is evidence that you are right? What might be some inconvenient facts that would suggest you are wrong?

COURSE SCHEDULE AND OUTLINE OF READINGS
(Subject to amendments based on direction of course)

**DENOTES FULL BOOK

Week 1
Course Introduction

Film and Discussion: Chisholm '72: Unbought and Unbossed (2006)
http://www.pbs.org/pov/chisholm/

Supplement to film: Gallagher, Julie. 2007. "Waging 'the Good Fight': The Political Career of Shirley Chisholm, 1953-1982." *Journal of African American History* 92 (3): 392-416.

PART I: Intersectionality, Women's Interests and Movement Politics

Week 2
Theories of Intersectionality

- **Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2016. *Intersectionality: An Intellectual History*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé Williams. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43: 1241-99.
- Cohen, Cathy. 2003. "A Portrait of Continuing Marginality: The Study of Women of Color in American Politics." In *Women and American Politics: New Questions, New Directions,* edited by Carroll Susan J. Oxford University Press.
- Jordan-Zachery, Julia S. 2007. "Am I a Black Woman or a Woman Who is Black? A Few Thoughts on the Meaning of Intersectionality." *Politics & Gender* 3 (2): 254-63.
- Garcia Bedolla, Lisa. 2007. "Intersections of Inequality: Understanding Marginalization and Privilege in the Post-Civil Rights Era." *Politics & Gender* 3 (2): 232–248.
- Junn, Jane and Nadia Brown. 2008. "What Revolution? Incorporating Intersectionality in Women and Politics." In *Political Women and American Democracy*, eds. Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez. Cambridge Univ. Press, 64-78.

Week 3
The Politics of Women's Interests: For What and For Whom?

Film and Discussion: She's Beautiful When She's Angry (2016)
http://www.shesbeautifulwhenshesangry.com

- Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn. 1995. "African American Women and the Woman Suffrage Movement." In *One Woman One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, ed. Margaret Spruill Wheeler. Troutdale, OR: New Sage Press.
- River Collective, Combahee. 1981. A Black Feminist Statement. WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly. 42. 210-218. 10.1353/wsq.2014.0052.
- Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. 1992. "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 17, no. 2. 251-274.
- Cohen, Cathy J. 1997. "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?" GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies3 (4): 437-65.
- Simpson, Andrea Y. 2007. "Going It Alone: Black Women Activists and Black Organizational Quiescence." In *African American Perspectives on Political Science*, ed. Wilbur C. Rich. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. 151-168.
- Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." Journal of Politics 68 (4): 893
- (Short symposium of various authors) 2011. "The Meaning and Measurement of Women's Interests: Critical Perspectives on Gender and Politics", *Politics and Gender* pp. 417-435.

Week 4
Race, Ethnicity and Gender Consciousness

- Gurin, Patricia. 1985. "Women's Gender Consciousness." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 49:143-163.
- Young, Iris Marion. 1994. "Gender as Seriality: Thinking about Women as a Social Collective." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. University of Chicago Press. 19 (3): 713-738
- Jackman, Mary. 1994. *The Velvet Glove. Paternalism and Conflict in. Gender, Class and Race Relations.* Berkeley: University of California Press http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft958009k3;brand=ucpress
- Diamond, Lisa M. and Molly Butterworth. 2008. "Questioning Gender and Sexual Identity: Dynamic Links Over Time." *Sex Roles* 59:365-376.
- Harnois, Catherine E. 2015. "Race, Ethnicity, Sexuality, and Women's Political Consciousness of Gender." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 78 (4): 365–86.
- Stout, Christopher, T. Kelsey Kretschmer, and Leah Ruppanner. 2017. "Gender Linked Fate, Race/Ethnicity, and the Marriage Gap in American Politics." *Political Research Quarterly* 70(3): 509-522.

Week 5
White Womanhood and Conservative Movement Politics

- **Nickerson, Michelle M.. 2014. *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right* (Politics and Society in Modern America) Princeton University Press.
- **McRae, Elizabeth Gillespie. 2018. *Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy*. Oxford University Press.

PART II: The Stories We Tell: Getting Electing and Governing

Week 6
We Won't Turn Back: The Unpaved Road to Elective Office

- Prestage, Jewel Limar. 1977. "Black Women State Legislators: A Profile." In *A Portrait of Marginality: The Political Behavior of the African American Woman*. eds. Marianne Githens and Jewel L. Prestage, 410–418. New York: McKay
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" *Journal of Politics* 61 (August): 628-657.
- Smooth, Wendy. 2008. "Gender, Race, and the Exercise of Power and Influence." In *Legislative Women: Getting Elected, Getting Ahead*. Beth Reingold, Ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. 175-196.
- Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2010. "If Only They'd Ask: Gender, Recruitment, and Political Ambition." *Journal of Politics* 72 (2): 310-26.
- **Hardy-Fanta, Carol; Lien, Pei-te; Pinderhughes, Dianne; Sierra, Christine Marie. 2016. *Contested Transformation: Race, Gender, and Political Leadership in 21st Century America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lien, Pei-te, Nicole, Filler and Anisha Ahuja. 2018. "Changing Patterns of Asian Pacific American Women's Representation in Elective Offices, 1980-2016." Paper presented at the 2018 Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA.

Week 7
Women of Color and Legislative Decision Making

- Orey, B. D., W. Smooth, K. S. Adams, and K. Harris-Clark. 2006. "Race and gender matter: Refining models of legislative policy making in state legislatures." *Journal of Women Politics & Policy* 28 (3-4):97-119. doi: 10.1300/J501v28n03_05.
- Michael D. Minta and Valeria Sinclair-Chapman. 2013. "Diversity in Political Institutions and Congressional Responsiveness to Minority Interests." *Political Research Quarterly*. 66(1): 127-140.
- Bedolla, Lisa Garcia, Katherine Tate, and Janelle Wong. 2014. "Indelible Effects: The Impact of Women of Color in the U.S. Congress." In *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future,* Third Edition. Ed. Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox. New York: Oxford University. pp. 235-252.
- ** Brown, Nadia E. 2014. *Sisters in the Statehouse: Black Women and Legislative Decision Making*: Oxford University Press.

- Lemi, Danielle Casarez. 2017. "Identity and coalitions in a multiracial era: how state legislators navigate race and ethnicity." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, DOI: 10.1080/21565503.2017.1288144

Week 8
Women of Color and Electoral Politics

- Gay, Claudine, and Katherine Tate. 1998. "Doubly bound: The impact of gender and race on the politics of Black women." *Political Psychology* 19 (1):169-184.
- Philpot, Tasha S., and Hanes Walton Jr. 2007. "One of Our Own: Black Female Candidates and the Voters Who Support Them." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1):49-62.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2009. "An Untraditional Intersectional Analysis of the 2008 Election." *Politics & Gender* 5 (March): 96-105.
- Junn, Jane. 2009. "Making Room for Women of Color: Race and Gender Categories in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election." *Politics & Gender* 5 (March): 105-110.
- Harris-Perry, Melissa V. 2011. *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (selections)
- Brown, Nadia E. 2014. "Political Participation of Women of Color: An Intersectional Analysis." *Journal of Women, Politics, & Policy* 35: 315-348.
- Read, Jen'nan Ghazal. 2015. Gender, Religious Identity, and Civic Engagement among Arab Muslims in the United States, *Sociology of Religion*, Volume 76, Issue 1, Pages 30–48, https://doi.org/10.1093/socrel/sru042

Part III: Myths, Realities, and Racializing Women In Politics

Week 9
The Partisan Gender Gap and Implications
- Carroll, Susan J. 2006. "Moms Who Swing, or Why the Promise of the Gender Gap Remains Unfulfilled." *Politics & Gender* 2 (3):362-374. doi: 10.1017/S1743923X06231088.
- Smooth, Wendy. 2006. "Intersectionality in Electoral Politics: A Mess Worth Making." *Politics & Gender* 2 (03):400-414. doi: doi:10.1017/S1743923X06261087.
- Bejarano, Christina. 2014. "Latino Gender and Generation Gaps in Political Ideology. *Politics & Gender* 10 (1): 62-88.
- Bejarano, Christina. Sylvia Manzano and Celeste Montoya. 2011. "Tracking the Latino Gender Gap: Gender Attitudes Across Sex, Borders and Generations." *Politics & Gender* 7(4): 521-549.
- Lien, Pei-te. 1998. "Does the Gender Gap in Political Attitudes and Behavior Vary across Racial Groups?" *Political Research Quarterly* 51: 869-894.
- Junn, Jane. 2017. "The Trump majority: white womanhood and the making of female voters in the U.S.", *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 5:2, 343-352
- Frasure-Yokley, Lorrie. 2018. "Choosing the Velvet Glove: Women Voters, Ambivalent Sexism, and Vote Choice in 2016." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* (JREP). http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/rep.2017.35

Week 10
Racializing Gender, Public Opinion and Political Preferences

- Lee Sigelman and Susan Welch. 1984. Race, Gender, and Opinion Toward Black and Female Presidential Candidates, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Volume 48, Issue 2, Pages 467–475, https://doi.org/10.1086/268843
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira, and Kathleen Dolan. 2012 "Gender Stereotypes and Gender Preferences in American Politics." In *Improving Public Opinion Surveys: Interdisciplinary Innovation and the American National Election Studies*, edited by John H. Aldrich and Kathleen M. McGraw. Princeton University Press
- Merolla, Jennifer, Sarah Burns and Lindsay Eberhardt. 2013. "What is the difference between a Hockey Mom and a Pit Bull? Presentations of Palin and Gender Stereotypes in the 2008 Presidential Election" *Political Research Quarterly* 66(3): 687-701.
- Cassese, Erin C. , Tiffany D. Barnes, and Regina P. Branton. 2015. "Racializing Gender: Public Opinion at the Intersection." *Politics & Gender* 11:1-26. doi: 10.1017/S1743923X14000567.
- Sharrow, Elizabeth A., Dara Z. Strolovitch, Michael T. Heaney, Seth E. Masket, and Joanne M. Miller. 2016. "Gender Attitudes, Gendered Partisanship: Feminism and Support for Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton among Party Activists." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 37 (4):394-416. doi: 10.1080/1554477X.2016.1223444.
- Phillips, Christian. 2018. Wanting, and Weighting: White Women and Descriptive Representation in the 2016 Presidential Election. *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics,* 1-23. doi:10.1017/rep.2017.39
- Merolla, Jennifer. 2018. White Female Voters in the 2016 Presidential Election. *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics,* 1-3. doi:10.1017/rep.2018.5

Some *Recommended* Continued Readings on Researching Race, Ethnicity, and Gender

- Figart, Deb. (1997). Gender As More Than a Dummy Variable: Feminist Approaches to Discrimination. *Review of Social Economy*. 55. 1-32. 10.1080/00346769700000022
- Junn, Jane 2007. "Square Pegs and Round Holes: Challenges of Fitting Individual-Level Analysis to a Theory of Politicized Context of Gender," *Politics and Gender*, 3:1 (March 2007) 124-134.
- Berry, Justin, Yousef Chouhoud and Jane Junn. 2016. "Reaching Beyond Low-Hanging Fruit: Surveying Low-Incidence Populations" with, *Oxford Handbook on Polling and Polling Methods*, Eds., J. Michael Alvarez and Lonna Atkinson.
- Garcia, John. 2017. The Race Project: Researching Race in the Social Sciences Researchers, Measures, and Scope of Studies. *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, 2(2), 300-346. doi:10.1017/rep.2017.15
- Matt A. Barreto, Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, Edward D. Vargas & Janelle Wong. 2018. Best practices in collecting online data with Asian, Black, Latino, and White respondents: evidence from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey, *Politics, Groups, and Identities,* 6(1):171-180 https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2017.1419433