SOCIOLGY 309
Political Sociology: Focus on Gender

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

GENDER & SEXUALITY STUDIES 331
GENDER, POLICY, POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Fall 2022, TUESDAYS AND THURSDAYS, 5:00-6:20 pm Central time

Professor Ann Shola Orloff
1808 Chicago Ave., Room 201, Department of Sociology
Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60208
Phone: +1 847 491 5415
Email (quickest way to reach me): a-orloff@northwestern.edu
Office Hours: Fridays 1:30-2:45 pm, and by appointment

Land Acknowledgement: The Northwestern campus sits on the traditional homelands of the people of the Council of Three Fires, the Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and Odawa as well as the Menominee, Miami and Ho-Chunk nations. It is still home to a vibrant and thriving Native community.

“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 class will investigate how gender shapes politics and policy, and how these in turn shape gender, with a focus on the United States, in comparative and global context. Gender is conceptualized as a set of relations, identifications and cultural schema, always constituted with other dimensions of power, difference and inequality (e.g., race, class, sexuality, religion, citizenship status). We will analyze 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? And how has anti-feminism come to be a significant dimension of politics? 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 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 the gendered aspects of the political landscape in the contemporary United States.

The course readings feature different types of materials – original documents, scholarly books and articles, policy reports, popular non-fiction work on aspects of gender, policy, politics and society. These are supplemented by films and online resources.

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the course, students should understand how gender influences politics in the US historically and in the present, how gender interacts with other forms of difference and inequality in the US polity, how the US polity and state are organized along gendered lines, and how public policies and political processes shape gendered relations.

**Course Organization:** The class features a combination of lectures and class discussions about the readings and films. Students help to shape the discussion agenda by contributing blog entries and replies on the readings, films and current events. Each week, we will have lead bloggers who will also serve as discussion panelists in class, meaning I will ask you questions and ask for your thoughts, and you can ask me questions about lectures, films, readings as well (more on the blogs below).

Our classroom will be a supportive and professional environment, in which we respect students of differing backgrounds and diverse opinions. I'm committed to facilitating an inclusive learning environment and believe that each student has something of value to contribute. In that spirit, I encourage everyone to participate. I recognize, however, that our varied perspectives and experiences can sometimes make open and honest dialogue difficult. We will read, watch and listen to stories that will challenge your views and tackle difficult and sensitive topics. As we explore this material, we must take care to respect the intellectual commitments, backgrounds, identifications that we each bring to our learning inside and outside the classroom. I encourage you to speak with me directly if you have any concerns. We will devote some time in the first week to how we can create a safe and inclusive space for critical discussion on gender, race, class, sex, citizenship, discrimination, sexuality, violence.

**Gender Pronouns:** This course affirms all gender expressions and gender identities. When I collect contact information in the first week, you may provide the name and pronouns that you use, if you wish. I welcome you to correct me on your name or gender pronoun if a mistake is made. If you have concerns, please contact me in person or by email, whatever is most comfortable for you.

**Please, no cellphones in class,** as they distract you, your peers and me. I know many of you take notes on your laptops, but I’d like to encourage you to try taking notes by hand; research shows that this may be beneficial to your mastery of the materials:
Communication: This course will use the Canvas course management system. You are responsible for logging in to Canvas, checking regularly for posted announcements, and obtaining readings and assignments from the site. You will receive course announcements that will be sent to the students’ registered campus email address. I usually communicate with you by email, so please check every weekday.

The easiest way to reach me – besides in class and during office hours – is via email at a-orloff@northwestern.edu. I generally respond to emails within 48 hours (excepting weekends and university holidays/vacations). It’s helpful if you can put the name or number of the course in the subject line of your email.

Other NU policy statements appear at the end of this syllabus.

Course Requirements and Grading:

1. Attendance (10% of grade), including one meeting with me during office hours or by appointment during the first four weeks of class.
2. Lead blog (1, chosen from weeks 2-9) and participation in class panels (15% of grade)
3. Participation in class discussions and replies to the lead blogs (15% of the grade)
4. Quiz will be given out in week 4, October 13, and will be due at the end of week 5, October 21 (20% of grade).
5. Final exam will be given out in week 10, November 22, and will be due during exam week, Tuesday, December 6 (40% of grade).
6. Optional: a final research paper, 12-18 pp., instead of the quiz and exam (60% of grade), due December 6, with due dates for different steps of producing the paper – topic statement, provisional bibliography, draft of final paper – agreed between student and Professor Orloff.

1. Class attendance: The lectures, discussions, readings, films and podcasts are the heart of the course and are intended to complement one another. During class, I may not cover all of the material in the assigned readings, and I will certainly address additional material not found in the readings. On the quiz and exam, students will be responsible for all material covered in class and in the assigned readings. I post lecture notes on Canvas, and I will be happy to meet with you during office hours to go over any material you miss.

Absences: Please email me if you must miss class due to medical, athletic or work-related (e.g., job interview) reasons, and we can arrange for you to make up any coursework. Students are allowed two (2) unexcused absences, but I appreciate getting a heads up if you must miss class.

2. Lead blogs and class panels: Each week, starting with week 2 and ending with week 9, selected students will serve as lead bloggers. Lead bloggers will write a blog entry – a reflection on that week’s readings/films/podcasts, about 2-3 pp. single-spaced -- to be posted by 10:00 am CDT/CST on Tuesdays. You should cover all the readings and other materials for the week among the lead
bloggers, but each of you may go into greater depth on one or two pieces. Your entries will first, re-express the author’s argument so clearly that the author would thank you, and briefly say what you learned. Then, you can discuss at least one thing you think the author got wrong or underplayed or ignored; say what difference this makes to their argument and to our understanding of the phenomenon in question. Finally, what is your own opinion about the topic or argument? Be sure to include at least one carefully constructed discussion question in your entry. If you’d like, I can meet with you the week before the readings for which you are responsible to go over your ideas.

What is a carefully constructed discussion question? One with which your peers can easily engage. It should be prefaced with an insight from the required reading or film or podcast and include a specific page number or chapter (or moment in a film or podcast) to which people can refer. What is a carefully constructed response? One that links back to the original reading and/or makes a connection to other content raised in class discussions or earlier readings during the quarter.

For the week in which you are a lead blogger, you’ll participate in the class panel, a group of students who will be prepared to ask me questions, and to answer questions that I pose. (Other students should also feel free to ask and answer questions, ranging from factual questions about the assigned readings to broader and more speculative questions about the themes of the course.)

3. Class participation and replies to lead blogs: You should come to class having read and thought about the assigned readings, and you should feel free to test out ideas and enter into conversations with your fellow students, in class and online. I want to encourage your participation in class, your thoughtfulness and your engagement with the materials, whether or not you agree with me, with other students or with the assigned materials. We will be discussing a number of sensitive topics in this course, about which we are almost sure to have divergent opinions. As long as we treat one another with respect, we’ll be fine.

When you are not a lead blogger, you will post a short response to one question posed by the lead essay on the discussion board by 10:00 am (CDT/CST) Thursday. You are not graded on your responses, but I do keep track of their completion. Everyone can take one week off.

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 social media, or (especially considering the dearth of women and nonbinary editors and authors on Wikipedia) you might want to add new articles to Wikipedia, or to edit or add to existing articles.

4 & 5. Quiz and exam: Both the quiz and final are take-home exams, with the assignments to be posted to Canvas. The quiz and final exam will contain short-answer and essay questions; the final will cover the whole course and will be longer than the quiz.

**DUE DATES:** You do need to get your lead blogs, replies and exams in on time. If you anticipate difficulties in meeting deadlines for the take-home exams or other assignments, or if something unexpected comes up, please get in touch as soon as possible to discuss an extension. I am prepared to offer extensions if you have a good reason (e.g., illness) for needing one. Unexcused late assignments will be docked a half grade for lateness.

**Optional: final paper in lieu of the quiz and exam.** Students may want the experience of writing a paper and producing a writing sample to use for applications to graduate school or for other purposes. If so, you may write a 12 -18 pp. (double-spaced) paper focusing on topics covered in the class, in the US or another country. I will work on this step by step with students choosing this option through the quarter, starting with defining a topic and research question, developing a bibliography and research strategy, producing a draft (and, if several students elect to pursue this option, commenting on each other's efforts), and, lastly, writing a paper. You are free to select the countries and time periods you'd like to investigate; for instance, you could examine social policies around work, care, reproduction or violence, or the activities of NGOs or social movements.

**Course Readings:**

We will read three books, and a number of articles or excerpts from books, all of 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 use as e-books on the NU Libraries site or as pdfs on the Canvas course website, or for purchase online from Norris or other websites. If you do want a hard copy of any of these books, I encourage you to use [https://bookshop.org/](https://bookshop.org/) which supports local independent bookstores.

Online e-book available at Canvas course website.

Online e-book available at NU Library

online e-book available at NU Library

In addition, you will watch several films, all available streaming from the library. (These are noted in the course schedule.)
Because the New York *Times* is an important source for up-to-date information on gender, politics and policy (among other things), I often make reference to articles in my lectures, and encourage you to subscribe. Please feel free to contribute your understandings of, and questions about, current events vis-à-vis gender, policy, and politics, drawing on New York *Times* and other sources.

There is a digital subscription special for $1 per week for a year: [https://www.nytimes.com/subscription](https://www.nytimes.com/subscription). I’m happy to gift you a subscription if needed!
CLASS SCHEDULE

Week 1:
Introduction: Gender Gaps, Gendered Political and Social Differences, Gender as Unequal Power
Tuesday and Thursday, September 20 and 22, 2022

Required Reading and website visits for Tuesday:

*Pamela Paxton, Melanie Hughes, and Tiffany Barnes, Women, Politics and Power, read pp. 1-19 in chapter 1, skim chapter 3, and read chapter 4 (fourth edition) (Rowman and Littlefield, 2021); available online through Northwestern Libraries, or on the course Canvas website

Please visit some of the following websites dealing with gender and politics:

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/

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

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

Required reading for Thursday:


By noon on Thursday September 22, post a short (1-2 paragraph) comment on a page or statistic from the Paxton et al book or one of the websites (or from a relevant website you find yourself) that you find particularly interesting on the Canvas discussion board.
Week 2:
Gendered Political Foundations: Settler Colonialism, Political Rights and Social Provision
Tuesday and Thursday, September 27 and 29, 2022

Required reading/website visits for Tuesday:


Sojourner Truth’s Speech to the Akron Convention, 1851 (watch the video of Alice Walker reading the speech): http://sojournertruthmemorial.org/sojourner-truth/her-words/


Required Reading for Thursday:

* Dorothy Sue Cobble, Linda Gordon and Astrid Henry, Feminism Unfinished (Liveright, 2014), Prologue and chapter 1.

Recommended Readings:


*Ellen Carol Dubois, “Introduction: The Invention of Women’s Rights,” in Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches, Ellen DuBois, ed. (Schocken Books, 1981).*

“Suffrage syllabus,” Radcliffe Institute (drawing on the collections of the Schlesinger library); there are units on seven key historical turning points in the “tangled history of gender and United States citizenship”; *browse the first four units*, which have lots of links to original documents (e.g., letter from Abigail Adams) as well as scholarly articles: [https://long19.radcliffe.harvard.edu/teaching/suffrage-syllabus/](https://long19.radcliffe.harvard.edu/teaching/suffrage-syllabus/)

“The Declaration of Independence”

“The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Conference, 1848”


**Recommended film:**

“*Suffragette*” (on struggle for the suffrage in the UK) (available through course reserved)

**Recommended podcasts:**

“The Raid,” *Uncivil*, on the Combahee River raid during the Civil War, led by Harriet Tubman
[https://gimletmedia.com/shows/uncivil/49hl3d/the-raid](https://gimletmedia.com/shows/uncivil/49hl3d/the-raid)

“The 15th and the 19th [Amendments],” *Talking Politics*
Week 3:  
The Second-Wave Feminist Movement, backlash and the political “right turn” 
Tuesday and Thursday, October 4 and 6, 2022

**Required Reading for Tuesday:**

*Dorothy Sue Cobble, Linda Gordon and Astrid Henry, *Feminism Unfinished* (Liveright, 2014), chapter 2.

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor (editor), *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective*, Introduction, CRC statement and interviews with Barbara Smith, Beverly Smith and Demita Frazier; available online through Northwestern Libraries.

Visit this website, which has some of the classic "manifestos" from the second wave; please devote a paragraph (or more, if you are so moved) in your blog comments/replies to at least one document, in addition to your engagement with the other readings and films. [https://www.cwluherstory.org/classic-feminist-writings](https://www.cwluherstory.org/classic-feminist-writings)

**Required Reading for Thursday:**


*Dorothy Sue Cobble, Linda Gordon and Astrid Henry, *Feminism Unfinished* (Liveright, 2014), chapter 3.

**Required films:**

“Makers: Women Who Make America,” (season 1, episodes 1, 2, 3)

**Recommended film:**

“Mississippi: Is This America?” (episode 5 of “Eyes on the Prize: America’s Civil Rights Years”)

**Recommended Reading:**

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


“Suffrage syllabus”; browse the fifth unit, on the second wave feminist movement, and the sixth unit for links to the pro- and anti-ERA campaigns [https://long19.radcliffe.harvard.edu/teaching/suffrage-syllabus/](https://long19.radcliffe.harvard.edu/teaching/suffrage-syllabus/).


[https://newrepublic.com/article/157580/mrs-america-fx-hulu-review-cate-blanchett-right-wing-women](https://newrepublic.com/article/157580/mrs-america-fx-hulu-review-cate-blanchett-right-wing-women)


**Week 4:**
*Contemporary Gender Politics 1: Electoral politics and gender*
**Tuesday and Thursday, October 11 and 13, 2022**

**Required Reading** (continues on following page):


Lara Putnam and Theda Skocpol, “Middle America Reboots Democracy,” in *Democracy*, February 20, 2018: [https://democracyjournal.org/arguments/middle-america-reboots-democracy/](https://democracyjournal.org/arguments/middle-america-reboots-democracy/)


Visit the websites of at least one Democrat and one Republican running for office (Governor, Senator, Congressperson, etc.) and please, in addition to your engagement with the other readings and podcast, devote a paragraph (or more, if you are so moved) in your blog comments/replies to at least one website/candidate -- evaluate them for what they say (or imply) about gender relations.

**Required video OR podcast (you choose):**

*Hidden Brain*, “The Double Bind for Women in Leadership”
[https://www.npr.org/2018/03/05/590881966/-shes-shrill-but-hes-just-being-a-boss-the-double-bind-for-women-in-leadership](https://www.npr.org/2018/03/05/590881966/-shes-shrill-but-hes-just-being-a-boss-the-double-bind-for-women-in-leadership)

“Women and Leadership,” Former Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard and former Nigerian Foreign Minister Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala discussed women and leadership with Professor Linda Zerilli, University of Chicago:

**Recommended video:**

Julia Gillard (Prime Minister of Australia, 2010-2013), the “misogyny speech”:
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fCNuPcf8L00](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fCNuPcf8L00)

**Week 5:**
Contemporary Gender Politics 2: Social movements and gender
Tuesday and Thursday, October 18 and 20, 2022

**Required Reading/website visits** (continues on following page):

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor (editor), *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective*, interview with Alicia Garza (on #BLM) and essay by Barbara Ransby.


*Dorothy Sue Cobble, Linda Gordon and Astrid Henry, *Feminism Unfinished*, Afterword.*
Visit the websites of at least one contemporary social movement organization involved in gendered issues (left, right, center, or something else); in addition to your engagement with the other readings, please devote a paragraph (or more, if you are so moved) in your blog comments/replies to at least one website -- evaluate them for what they say (or imply) about how to undertake political action to achieve their goals.

Class members will split up the following readings and report on them in class discussion on Thursday:


* Students may also suggest alternate readings on social movements of interest.

**Recommended readings:**


Nancy Fraser, *Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis* (Brooklyn: Verso, 2013).
Week 6:
States, Policies, Gender 1: Gender and the State, Violence
Tuesday and Thursday, October 25 and 27, 2022

Required Reading:

Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon. The logics of gender justice: State action on women's rights around the world (Cambridge University Press, 2018), chapters 1, 2.

Students will choose to read
OR
and report on their selected reading in class discussion

Week 7:
States, Policies, Gender 2: Work and Care
Tuesday and Thursday, November 1 and 3, 2022

Required Reading:


Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon. The logics of gender justice: State action on women's rights around the world (Cambridge University Press, 2018), chapters 3, 5.


Required Film:

“Chain of Love”

Recommended Reading:


Week 8:
States, Policies, Gender 3: Family Law, Regulation of Sexuality
Tuesday and Thursday, November 8 and 10, 2022

Required Reading (continues on following page):

Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon, The logics of gender justice: State action on women's rights around the world (Cambridge University Press, 2018), chapter 4.
Students will choose one of the following to read, and report on this in class discussion:

https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2022/05/27/what-sex-does/


Week 9:
States, Policies, Gender 4: Abortion and Reproductive Rights
Tuesday and Thursday, November 15 and 17, 2022

Required Reading:

Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon. The logics of gender justice: State action on women’s rights around the world (Cambridge University Press, 2018), chapter 6.


Recommended film:

“The Janes”

Week 10:
Summing Up: Multiple Logics of State Action and Final thoughts on gender, politics, policy, society
Tuesday, November 22, 2022

Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon. The logics of gender justice: State action on women’s rights around the world (Cambridge University Press, 2018), chapter 7.

NORTHWESTERN POLICIES:

Academic integrity: Students in this course are required to comply with the policies found in the booklet, “Academic Integrity at Northwestern University: A Basic Guide”. All papers submitted for credit in this course must be submitted electronically unless otherwise instructed by the professor. Your written work may be tested for plagiarized content. For details regarding academic integrity at Northwestern or to download the guide, visit: https://www.northwestern.edu/provost/policies-procedures/academic-integrity/index.html

Accessibility: Northwestern University is committed to providing the most accessible learning environment as possible for students with disabilities. Should you anticipate or experience disability-related barriers in the academic setting, please contact AccessibleNU to move forward with the university’s established accommodation process (e: accessiblenu@northwestern.edu; p: 847-467-5530). If you already have established accommodations with AccessibleNU, please let me know as soon as possible, preferably within the first two weeks of the term, so we can work together to implement your disability accommodations. Disability information, including academic accommodations, is confidential under the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act.

COVID-19 Classroom Expectations: Students, faculty and staff must comply with University expectations regarding appropriate classroom behavior, including those outlined below and in the COVID-19 Expectations for Students. With respect to classroom procedures, this includes:

- Policies regarding masking, social distancing and other public health measures evolve as the situation changes. Students are responsible for understanding and complying with current University, state and city requirements.
- In some classes, masking and/or social distancing may be required as a result of an Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) accommodation for the instructor or a student in the class even when not generally required on campus. In such cases, the instructor will notify the class.

If a student fails to comply with the COVID-19 Expectations for Students or other University expectations related to COVID-19, the instructor may ask the student to leave the class. The instructor is asked to report the incident to the Office of Community Standards for additional follow-up.

Exceptions to in-person class modality: Class sessions for this course will occur in person. Individual students will not be granted permission to attend remotely except as the result of an Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) accommodation as determined by AccessibleNU.

Maintaining the health of the community remains our priority. If you are experiencing any symptoms of COVID do not attend class and update your Symptom Tracker application right away to connect with Northwestern’s Case Management Team for guidance on next steps. Also contact me or the TA as soon as possible to arrange to complete coursework.
Students who experience a personal emergency should contact me as soon as possible to arrange to complete coursework.

Should public health recommendations prevent in person class from being held on a given day, I (or the university) will notify students.

**Recording of class sessions by students is not authorized.** Unauthorized student recording of classroom or other academic activities (including advising sessions or office hours) is prohibited. Unauthorized recording is unethical and may also be a violation of University policy and state law. Students requesting the use of assistive technology as an accommodation should contact AccessibleNU. Unauthorized use of classroom recordings – including distributing or posting them – is also prohibited. Under the University’s Copyright Policy, faculty own the copyright to instructional materials – including those resources created specifically for the purposes of instruction, such as syllabi, lectures and lecture notes, and presentations. Students cannot copy, reproduce, display, or distribute these materials. Students who engage in unauthorized recording, unauthorized use of a recording, or unauthorized distribution of instructional materials will be referred to the appropriate University office for follow-up.

**Support for Wellness and Mental Health:** Northwestern University is committed to supporting the wellness of our students. Student Affairs has multiple resources to support student wellness and mental health. If you are feeling distressed or overwhelmed, please reach out for help. Students can access confidential resources through the Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS), Religious and Spiritual Life (RSL) and the Center for Awareness, Response and Education (CARE). Additional information on all of the resources mentioned above can be found here:

https://www.northwestern.edu/counseling/
https://www.northwestern.edu/religious-life/
https://www.northwestern.edu/care/

Please know that I am happy to discuss any questions or problems you may have about student life, Northwestern, academia, sociology, or any of your other interests.