

# POL 346 / GST 344 Women and Politics

## Fall 2015

### Basic Information

Class meets: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 11:00 a.m.-12:15 p.m. in 107 Bishop

Instructor: Dr. Heather L. Ondercin

Office: 233 Deupree Hall

E-mail: ondercin@olemiss.edu

Office Phone: 915-7218

Office hours: Tuesdays 1:00 - 4:00 p.m. and by appointment

E-mail is an effective way to reach me, I check my messages several times a day. If you can't attend my office hours, talk to me and we can make an appointment. Never hesitate to talk to me if you have a problem, comment, or concern.

### Course Description

Gender is a social and historical construction loosely tied to the biological categories of male and female. Gender can be an identity possessed by an individual. Gender also acts as an institution structuring individual experiences and political outcomes. Additionally, gender is not limited to only the study of women. It applies to men as well.

This class is designed as an overview of the field of gender and politics, specifically American politics. We will examine critically the role gender plays in shaping U.S. politics at the individual level and how gender shapes the institutions of the U.S. political system.

The class begins by introducing some fundamentals of feminist theory; providing the critical lenses we will use throughout the semester. We move on to examine how gender structures the political status of individuals in the United States. We will discuss the three waves of the women's movement to understand how the relationships among gender, citizenship, and law has changed over time. In the second section of the class we explore how gender structures the political participation of both men and women. In this section we ask how and why women's political participation differs from men's. The third section of the class addresses how gender shapes who runs and wins elective office in the United States. In this section we also explore the impact of gender on the various institutions of government: Executive, Legislative, Judicial, and the federal bureaucracy.

### Course and Learning Objectives:

- Overall, students will have an understanding of how gender is shaped by and shapes politics in the United States.

- In class participation, students will further their basic knowledge about the role of gender in politics and critically analyze ideas presented in the readings, lecture, and class discussion.
- With the exams, students will apply their knowledge of gender and the U.S. political system obtained in class discussion, lectures, and readings.
- With the short writing assignments, students will analytically apply material from both class and the readings to analyze contemporary issues in politics.

### Class Practices and Policies

The class meets twice a week. I expect you to be there at **all times**. It is the student's responsibility to come to class and arrive on time and prepared for class. It will be extremely hard to do well in this class if you do not regularly attend. A lot of material for the exams will only be covered in class. You are paying far too much money for college not to attend. Moreover, I assume that since you are here to learn, you will want to come to class so you can do so. (If you are not here to learn, you should be asking yourself far bigger questions about why you are here!). This is a serious class for serious students – those of you looking to get a good grade while doing little or no work should seek a different instructor.

I will run the class in a variety of formats. You can expect a mixture of lecture, class discussion, small group projects, and individual projects. At all times, my aim will be to help you achieve a deep understanding of the material. Since so much of what I want you to learn will be dealt with only in class, it is important that you attend. Two things are very important to the success of this class: 1) your participation in every class; and 2) that you have completed the readings **before** the class in which we will discuss them. You cannot learn from each other, and I cannot learn from you, if you are not prepared for class. I encourage you to ask questions you may have about lectures, class discussions, readings, and things you see in the news. Do not be passive; class will be much more interesting and you will learn the material better if you are an active participant.

I expect you to observe common courtesy when you are in class. Please come on time: lateness is very rude! Please turn off cell phones. Please leave the newspaper, crossword puzzles, and other work at home. **NO LAPTOPS ALLOWED or TABLETS**. If I see you using electronics, work for other classes, or non-class related material you will lose all participation points for that day. If this happens 3 or more times in the class you will get a zero for participation for the semester. I do not teach in your bedroom; therefore, please do not sleep in my classroom. I expect you to be mentally present as well as physically present in class; this is the best way to ensure that you learn the course material.

This is a class about gender and American politics. In this class we will engage in discussions about politics and policies. During our discussions I want everyone to feel free to share their opinions with each other. Each of us brings a unique perspective to the class and we can all

learn from this diversity. In order to make this possible you need to be respectful of other people's opinions, even if they are the direct opposite of your own beliefs. I will not tolerate personal attacks on each other or the use of disrespectful language. There is no room for an atmosphere of intimidation, and I will not tolerate it in this class. If there are any issues that you feel uncomfortable with please feel free to talk to me.

I will not discuss or send grades via e-mail. E-mail is not a secure form of communication, meaning anyone can read your messages. In order to protect your privacy I will not e-mail you your grades. I am happy to discuss your grades with you in person anytime during office hours or by appointment.

### Grading

Grades for the class will be based on participation, brief writing assignments, and two exams. A total of 100 points are available. Below you will find a description of each of the factors that go into the final grade, the due dates, and the grade distribution.

Table 1: Assignments and Due Dates

	Points Available	Due Dates
Participation	15	Everyday
Writing Assignments	25	See outline below
Exam 1	30	October 8 <sup>th</sup>
Exam 2	30	December 8 <sup>th</sup> at noon
Total	100	

**Participation.** Participation in class discussions and other classroom activities is extremely important; as a result participation is worth 15% of your final grade. This means if you fail to participate the highest grade you will be able to receive in this class is a B. Participation will be assessed in two different ways. First, there will be a variety of in-class and out-of-class assignments throughout the semester that will count for participation. Second, your in-class contributions will also count towards participation. You are expected to be engaged in class discussions, ask questions, and contribute to group work. Participation is not simply about quantity or quality. While taking notes and listening attentively is important, it does not count as class participation. You should participate on a regular basis in a meaningful way.

A few words on attendance. Attendance will be taken daily using the attendance scanners in the classrooms. Students should scan their student id card before class. The scanners will not record your attendance after the class has started, thus if you are late for class you will not be counted as present. You must bring your student id with you, there will be no alternative method for recording your attendance. Scanning any student id other than your own student id an act of academic dishonesty. Additionally, scanning your id before class

and leaving class is also an act of academic dishonesty. All cases of academic dishonesty will be reported to the University.

The university requires us to verify your attendance at least once during the first two weeks of the semester for financial aid and other administrative purposes. Students whose attendance is not verified after a certain period will be dropped from the class. If attendance is not verified, then a student will be dropped from the course and any financial aid will be adjusted accordingly. Please see <http://olemiss.edu/gotoclass> for more information.

**Writing Assignments.** You will complete 5 short writing assignments throughout the semester. There are 11 total writing prompts that you can respond to throughout the semester; however, they are divided into sub-groups. You must complete 2 writing assignments for group A, two writing assignments in group B, and 1 writing assignment in group C. See the course outline for the specific dates each writing prompt is due. It is the student's responsibility to make sure they have completed the required number of writing assignments for each group. There will be no extensions for missed assignments. Extra assignments will not be graded.

These assignments are designed to help you think critically about the readings and themes of the class. While the instructor will be the only one reading these assignments, you should think of your audience for these assignments a peer who is interested in the topic but has not completed the readings or attended class. Assignments should be about 3-4 paragraphs in length, or about 1 single-spaced page.

All assignments will be completed in Blackboard as a journal entry. While assignments are completed in Blackboard, I advise you to compose your assignment in a word processing program and then copy and paste it into Blackboard. After copying and pasting the assignment into Blackboard make sure to review the formatting of the entry. Do not upload documents as part of your assignment. You can submit the assignment until the start of class on the day that it is due. No late assignments will be accepted.

Writing counts. I expect assignments to be clearly written with complete sentences and proper grammar. I highly recommend that you read them over before you turn in the assignments.

#### Grading Rubric for Writing Assignments

- Effort/Content: Did the response respond directly to the questions? (4 points)
  - Novice: Author attempts to address main question or issue, but fails. The author has retained some information from the course, but does not fully understand its meaning or context and cannot clearly convey it to others. Relevant material from reading, lecture, and/or class discussion are cited in the paper. Connections

to the subject of the paper are superficial. Fulfills few of the requirements of the assignment. (0-1).

- Competent: Author competently addresses main question or issue, but does not add much new insight into the subject. That said, it is clear that the author has learned a great deal and is able to communicate this knowledge to others. Relevant material from reading, lecture, and/or class discussion are cited in the paper. The material is used in an appropriate manner. Connections to the subject of the paper are present. Fulfills some of the requirements of the assignment. Addresses the prompt or question directly (2).
- Proficient: Author directly addresses main question or issue, and adds new insight to the subject not provided in lectures, readings, or class discussions. The author has retained nearly all of the knowledge presented in class. He/She is able to synthesize this knowledge in new ways and relate to material not covered in the course. Relevant material from reading, lecture, and/or class discussion are fully integrated into the paper. The material demonstrates the the author knows the material and is able to apply it in appropriate and creative ways Exceeds the requirements of the assignment and have put care and effort into the process (3-4).
- Clarity: Was the response clear and understandable? (1 point)
  - Novice: Can understand less than half of what is being communicated (0).
  - Competent: Can understand most of what is being communicated (.5).
  - Proficient: Can understand all of what is being communicated (1).

**Exams.** There will be two exams. Both exams will be essay format. The second exam is not cumulative. You will be expected to bring a blank blue book to class.

Make-up exams will be given at the discretion of the instructor and only in extreme circumstances. You must contact the instructor before the exam. No make-up exams will be given if you contact the instructor after the missed exam.

Remember if you are a political science major and wish to have this class count towards the major requirements you must receive at least a C.

**Grade Appeal.** I will not discuss changes in grades for 24 hours after a paper or exam has been handed back. If you feel that I missed an important point that you made or there is some other problem with your grade after 24 hours you may submit a grade appeal. Your appeal should be a typed argument for why your grade should be changed. It should be no longer than 1 page. You will need to hand the appeal and the original exam back into me for review. I will then ask you to schedule a time to meet with me to discuss the appeal. Appealing the grade does not mean that I will automatically increase your grade.

Table 2: Grade Distribution

A	100 – 93
A–	92–90
B+	89–87
B	86–83
B–	82–80
C+	79–77
C	76–73
C–	72–70
D	69–60
F	59 and below

**Extra Credit.** Extra credit will not be given on an individual basis. Everyone in the class has the opportunity to earn extra credit by completing the extra credit assignment. You can earn up to 3 points of extra credit. Simply completing the extra credit does not guarantee that you will receive a full 3 points. The extra credit assignment and grading rubric are posted on Black Board. You can turn in the extra credit any time up until the due date, but pay attention to the class schedule because I will not accept extra credit after the due date.

### **Other Important Policies**

All students are expected to work independently on all assignments. Group and collaborative work is not permitted unless specific instructions are given. If you are not clear on how to properly give credit to others, please see me before turning in any assignment. I take this issue very seriously and will check all things turned into me for signs of plagiarism. Remember if you can find it on the Internet, so can I. Proper citations must be used to acknowledge any ideas, concepts, theories, organizational formats, and writing that is not your own.

Students with disabilities: Reasonable accommodations will be made for any student with a documented disability to ensure that the student is able to participate in class to the best of their abilities. If you anticipate needing any type of accommodation in this course or have questions about physical access, please tell the instructor as soon as possible. Reasonable accommodations will be made for all students with disabilities, but it is the student's responsibility to inform the instructor early in the term. It is also the student's responsibility to register with the disability services office on campus. Do not wait until just before an exam to decide you want to inform the instructor of a learning disability; any accommodations for disabilities must be arranged well in advance.

If you did not attend the first day of class and/or added the class late, all class policies apply equally to you. It is your responsible to find out any information gone over during the class periods you missed. Deadlines **will not** be adjusted on an individual basis.

## Course Outline<sup>1</sup>

### Week 1: The Study of Gender & Politics

How is the study of gender and politics different than the study of women and politics? What does it mean to consider gender as a category of analysis? How is gender related to our ideas of citizenship?

Tuesday, August 25<sup>th</sup>: Class Overview

Thursday, August 27<sup>th</sup>: What does it mean to study gender and politics?

- Syllabus.
- Ritter, Gretchen. 2008 “Gender as a Category of Analysis in American Political Development.” in *Political Women and American Democracy* ed. Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez.

### Week 2: Gender as a Social Construction.

What is the difference between sex and gender? What does it mean to say something is socially constructed? How does gender relate to categories of race, class, and sexual identity? What is hegemonic masculinity? How are the traits of a politician gendered? What impact does this have for male politicians? Female politicians? What is the double bind women face?

Tuesday, September 1<sup>st</sup>: Masculinity and Politics

- Lorber, Judith. 2009. “The Social Construction of Gender” in *The Social Constructions of Difference and Inequality 4<sup>th</sup> Edition* ed. Tracy E. Ore. Boston, MA: McGraw Hill.
- Messner, Michael A. 2007. “The Masculinity of the Governorator Muscle and Compassion in American Politics.” *Gender & Society* 21(4): 461-480.

**Writing Prompt A1:** The reading by Judith Lorber, “The Social Construction of Gender,” argues that the meaning we attribute to masculinity and femininity is created by society. Before you write anything spend about a half an hour in a public location around campus or town (e.g., the grove, student union, bookstore) and observe how people are performing their gender. It will be helpful to bring a notebook to jot down some of your observations. Then, based on your observations construct definitions of what it means to be masculine and feminine in our society.

<sup>1</sup>Any changes to this schedule will be announced verbally in class. It is the student’s responsibility to note changes and adhere to the new schedule.

Thursday, September 4<sup>th</sup>: Femininity and Politics

- Jamison, Kathleen Hall. 1997. “Hillary Clinton as Rorschach Test” in *Beyond the Double Bind* Oxford University Press.

### **Week 3: Suffrage Movement**

What was women’s legal/Constitutional status before suffrage? What role did race play in the suffrage movement? Why did women’s suffrage take so long?

Tuesday, September 8<sup>th</sup>: The foundation of the movement.

- Kerber, Linda K. 1995. “‘Ourselves and Our Daughters Forever’: Women and the Constitution, 1787-1876” in *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Women’s Suffrage Movement* ed Marjorie Spruill Wheeler. Troutdale, OR: New Sage Press.
- “Constitutional Argument” Susan B. Anthony.

**Writing Prompt A2:** Susan B. Anthony and several other suffragists were arrested for voting in the 1872 presidential election. Anthony constructs her argument for why she is not guilty of any crime in her essay “Constitutional Argument.” You are going to play the role of the prosecutor in Anthony’s case and need to construct a response to her argument about why she is not allowed to vote.

Thursday, September 10<sup>th</sup>: A movement not just about sex.

- 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.
- “Declaration of Sentiments”

### **Week 4: Modern Women’s Movement**

What factors lead to the development of the 2nd wave of the women’s movement? What made the 2nd wave of the women’s movement different from the 1st wave? What is feminism? Is there a single feminism? What forms did feminist activism take during the 2nd wave?

Tuesday, September 15<sup>th</sup>: Origins of the movement.

- Freeman, Jo. 1973 “The Origins of the Women’s Liberation Movement.” *American Journal of Sociology* 78(4): 792-811.

Thursday, September 17<sup>th</sup>: The diversity of the 2nd wave.

- Evans, Sara M. 2003. Tidal Wave (Chapter 5, Crest) pp. 128-175.

**Writing Prompt A3:** A stereotype is a widely held but oversimplified image or idea of a particular type of person or thing. There are a lot of stereotypes about feminism. Identify one stereotype about feminism. Based on class discussions and readings critically analyze this stereotype. Your response should explain where this stereotype originated and assess how well it reflects reality.

### Week 5: Modern's Women's Movement

What are the major policy accomplishments of the 2nd wave of the women's movement? What is women's Constitutional status as a result of the 2nd wave of the women's movement? Have women achieved equality?

Tuesday, September 22<sup>nd</sup>: Policy and politics of the 2nd wave.

- Freeman, Jo. 2008. We Will be Heard: Womens Struggles for Political Power in the United States. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. Chapter 12. How Sex Got into Title VII: Persistent Opportunism as a Maker of Public Policy. Pp. 171-190.

Thursday, September 24<sup>th</sup>: Legal battles of the 2nd wave.

- Mezey, Susan Gluck. 2003. *Elusive Equality: Women's Rights, Public Policy, and The Law*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Chapter 1 Seeking Constitutional Parity

**Writing Prompt A4:** While passing the U.S. Congress, the Equal Rights Amendment failed to be ratified by the states and is not part of the U.S. Constitution. Do we need the Equal Rights Amendment? Your answer should address the current constitutional status of women.

## Week 6: Conservative women and the 3rd Wave of the Women's Movement

How have conservative women shaped American politics? What role does gender play in the identities of conservative women? Why have socially conservative women opposed the women's movement? What is the 3rd wave of the women's movement? What role does identity politics play in the 3rd wave compared to the 2nd wave? How is activism different in the 3rd wave compared to the 2nd wave?

Tuesday, September 28<sup>st</sup>: Conservative women and the response to the 2nd wave.

- Chapters 2 and 3 in Schreiber, Ronnee. 2008. *Righting Feminism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Writing Prompt A5:** Recently many conservative women, such as Sarah Palin and Megyn Kelly, have either identified as feminists or advocated for policies that have traditionally been associated with feminism. However, today's readings suggest that conservative women are anti-feminist. Are the political/gender ideologies of conservative women inherently anti-feminist?

Thursday, October 1<sup>th</sup>: 3rd Wave.

- Whitter, Nancy 2005. "From the Second to Third Wave: Continuity and Change in Grassroots Feminism" *U.S. Women's Movements in a Dynamic and Global Perspective* ed. Lee Ann Banaszak. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

**Writing Prompt B1:** One of the first activities of the Third Wave Foundation was a campaign called *I Spy Sexism*. The idea behind this campaign was that the first step to eliminating sexism was identifying sexist behavior. They expanded the campaign to also identify racist and homophobic behavior. Observe the world around you for several days. Do you spy sexism, racism, or homophobia? In your essay explain what you observed and critically analyze the act or behavior to identify its source. Then explain what liberal feminists and radical feminists would suggest for eliminating this behavior.

**Week 7: Midterm Exam** Tuesday, October 6<sup>th</sup>: Feminism today.

- Baumgardner, Jennifer and Amy Richards “Prologue: A Day with Feminism” In *Manifesta*

**Writing Prompt B2:** Baumgardner and Richards examine how their lives are different as a result of feminism. How would your life be different if the 2nd and 3rd wave of the women’s movement never existed?

Thursday, October 8<sup>th</sup>:

- Midterm Exam

**Week 8: Women’s Interest, Issues, and Preferences**

What are women’s interests? How do interests differ from issues and preferences? Are there such things as men’s interests or issues? When do men’s and women’s preferences diverge? Are women’s preferences unified?

Tuesday, October 13<sup>th</sup>: What are women’s interests?

- Beckwith, Karen. 2014. “Plotting the Path from One to the Other: Women’s Interests and Political Representation” in *Representation The Case of Women* ed Maria C. Esobar-Lemmon and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. Oxford University Press.

**Writing Prompt B3:** Beckwith’s essay seeks to develop the idea of “women’s interests.” If there is such a thing as women’s interests, are there men’s interests? And if so, what are men’s interests?

Thursday, October 15<sup>th</sup>: Differences (and Similarities) in Policy Preferences.

- Huddy, Leonie, Erin Cassese, and Mary-kate Lizotte. 2008. “Sources of Political Unity and Disunity among Women: Placing the Gender Gap in Perspective” in *Voting The Gender Gap* ed Lois Duke Whitaker. Illinois University Press.

**Week 9: Voting and Partisanship**

Why are women’s preferences different than men’s preferences? What role does workforce participation play in creating different preferences? When will women’s preferences resemble

men's preferences? How does experience create variation in preferences for Latino women?

Tuesday, October 20<sup>th</sup>: Explaining the Gender Gap.

- Chapters 1 & 5 *Women, Work, and Politics The Political Economy of Gender Inequality* by Torben Iversen and Frances Rosenbluth. 2010. Yale University Press.

**Writing Prompt B4:** Women currently participate in the workforce at the same rate as men. If this is the case, then how can women's workforce participation explain differences between men and women on different policies?

Thursday, October 22<sup>nd</sup>: Intersection of sex and ethnicity and the gender gap.

- Bejarano, Christina E. 2014. The Latino Gender Gap in U.S. Politics. Chapter 1, "Gender Differences in the Immigrant Experience." New York: Routledge. Pp. 17-51.

### **Week 10: Women and Elected Office**

What are women's current levels of representation in the United States? How does the United States compare to the rest of the World in terms of women's representation? How do quotas work to increase representation? What barriers exist to increasing women's level of representation?

Tuesday, October 27<sup>th</sup>: Putting the U.S. in context.

- "Current Numbers" Center for American Women and Politics <http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/current-numbers>
- "Press release: Sluggish progress on women in politics will hamper development" UN Women <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2015/3/press-release-sluggish-progress-on-women-in-politics-will-hamper-development>
- "Gender Quotas I" 2005. *Gender and Politics* 1(4): 622-652.

Thursday, October 29<sup>th</sup>: Barriers to women and elected office.

- Chapters 2 & 3 *It Still Takes A Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. Jennifer L. Lawless and Richard Fox.

**Writing Prompt B5:** How does the U.S. compare to the rest of the world in regards to women's level of representation in elected office? What are two things that would help explain the variation between countries (why does Sweden have 43.6% women serving in parliament and Thailand only have 6.1% )? Explain.

### **Week 11: Gender Stereotypes, Candidates, and Elected Officials**

What traits are masculine? feminine? How do these traits influence our evaluation of female candidates/politicians and male candidates/politicians? How do these traits influence the behavior of elected officials?

Tuesday, November 3<sup>rd</sup>: Sex Stereotypes and Politicians.

- Schneider, Monica C., and Angela L. Bos. 2014. "Measuring Stereotypes of Female Politicians." *Political Psychology* 35 (2):245-66.

**Writing Prompt C1:** You have been hired as a campaign advisor for Carly Fiorina. Write a strategy memo describing how she should construct her public image related to gender.

Thursday, November 5<sup>th</sup>:

- Dittmar, Kelly 2015. "Gender Dynamics in Image and Message Creation" in *Navigating Gendered Terrain Stereotypes and Strategy in Political Campaigns* Temple University Press.

## Week 12: Women's Representation

What is descriptive representation? Why do we value descriptive representation? How should we achieve descriptive representation? How does race intersect with gender to shape representation?

Tuesday, November 10<sup>th</sup>: An argument for descriptive representation.

- Mansbridge, Jane. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'" *The Journal of Politics* 61(3): 628-657.

Thursday, November 12<sup>th</sup>: Race, Sex, and Representation.

- Brown Nadia E. 2014. "Black Women's Representation" in *Sisters in the State House Black Women & Legislative Decisions Making*. Oxford University Press.

**Writing Prompt C2:** Members of Congress use websites as a main way to communicate to their constituents what they are doing in Congress. Identify a female Member of Congress and find her official website. Evaluate the website in terms of descriptive representation.

## Week 13: Women's Representation

How do the parties differ in their representation of women? Women's issues? How have women's representation in the parties changed over time? How do women in Congress differ from men? How does party condition the behavior of men and women?

Tuesday, November 17<sup>th</sup>: Parties and women's issues.

- Chapter 2 in Wolbrecht, Christina. 2000. *The Politics of Women's Rights* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**Writing Prompt C3:** Visit either the official website for the Democratic Party or Republican Party. Critically analyze the text and images in terms of gendered appeals. Your analysis should address how the party is attempting to recruit and represent men and women.

Thursday, November 19<sup>th</sup>: Policy impact of women in elected office.

- Swers, Michele L. 2014. “Unpacking Women’s Issues: Gender and Policymaking on Health Care, Education, and Women’s Health in the US Senate” in *Representation The Case of Women* ed Maria C. Esobar-Lemmon and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. Oxford University Press.

**Week 14** -Thanksgiving Break

**Week 15: Women in the executive**

Where does power come from in the executive? Can something be gender neutral? What happens when positions in the executive are transgendered? regendered? Where does the power of the First Lady come from? What constrains the power of the First Lady? What are the barriers to a women being elected President?

Tuesday, December 1<sup>st</sup>: Power and the executive

- Duerst-Lahti, Georgia. 1997 “Reconceiving Theories of Power: Consequences of Masculinism in the Executive Branch.”
- O’Connor, Karen, Bernadette Nye, and Laura van Assendelft 1996. “Wives in the White House: The Political Influence of First Ladies.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 5(1):171-197.

Thursday, December 3<sup>rd</sup>: A woman president?

- Dittmar, Kelly, and Susan J. Carroll. 2014. Cracking the Highest, Hardest Glass Ceiling: Women as Presidential and Vice Presidential Contenders. In *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics* (3rd Ed.), eds. Susan J. Carroll and Richard L. Fox. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.