

tions in the business and professional worlds, there are fewer women rubbing shoulders with the big earner, and thus with potential big contributors. The hurdles are higher for women. But that does not excuse ineptitude in the political arena by either men or women. A man who believes strongly in the need to return to the gold standard, or in making beer the official national drink, or in demanding the right to a government-subsidized vasectomy, may proclaim his platform but is unlikely to be elected on it. He must, instead, learn specific techniques, from identifying potential supporters to getting them to the polls, and understand those constituent concerns that will increase the chances of electoral victory. Women must do the same thing.

America is changing. Women are properly demanding their place at the tables where public policies are established, and those seats are available. That is a welcome and long-overdue development in the political world. What matters now is whether a sufficient number of women are willing to master the means of getting there.

Where Are the Women in Public Policy Cases?1

by Sally J. Kenney, PhD

Feminism and Policy Schools

In my sixth year on the faculty of a policy school, I am still struggling to make sense of their many anomalies and contradictions. Social policy holds a central place in research and teaching,² yet it coexists with the burgeoning feminist scholarship on welfare as two non-intersecting tracks. Policy schools arose amidst the upheavals of the 1960s, yet they operate as if there has not been a worldwide women's movement. They favor an interdisciplinary approach to policy analysis, yet remain largely untouched by one of the most successful interdisciplinary projects of the last thirty years — women's studies. Unlike their student bodies, the faculties of policy schools are still male dominated. And most of the women faculty members do not conduct research on gender. While women's caucuses in political science and other disciplines celebrate 30-year anniversaries, the Association of Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) Women's Caucus has only just formed. Policy schools as a group have been behind the disciplines in integrating women, gender, and feminist analysis into their curricula, in part because they are dominated by economists, one of the last social science disciplines to be impacted by feminist analysis.

At the Humphrey Institute, Professor Barbara Nelson and Ambassador Arvonne Fraser founded the Center on Women and Public Policy in 1985; developed a concentration in women and public policy for master's students; and conducted research on women's international human rights, comparable worth, and women's political participation. We have added new foci: women and the law, feminist economics, and feminist social movements.³ Yet our analysis of the 52 top-ranked public affairs graduate programs by *U.S. News and World Report* revealed that only six have women and public policy centers or programs.⁴ Only five have women and public policy or related concentrations.⁵ Of the public affairs schools that do not offer concentrations or centers, only six programs even offer a single course in women and public policy.⁶

As a relative newcomer to the policy school world, I have been puzzled by why public policy as an enterprise, if not a discipline, has been even slower than the discipline of political science as a whole to embrace feminist scholarship and curriculum. I approached public policy through the political science subfields of public law, women, and politics, and comparative politics. As one who studies

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discrimination law and policy, I am naturally skeptical about what law and society scholars call the disjuncture between "law on the books" and "law in action" — what policy analysts would call implementation failure. As a feminist, I am interested in how public policies have constructed women, how they have shaped women's lives, and how feminists have tried to harness the state to promote social change. But I had never formally studied the public policy canon within political science or more broadly. What little I knew about the public policy world when I took up my post in 1995 derived from my spouse who had a master's of public policy from the Kennedy School of Government. While I was hired to direct the Center on Women and Public Policy and staff the women and public policy concentration, I was also (as one of the few political scientists on the faculty) assigned responsibility for teaching the core course on the politics of the policy process. I faced, as case writers would say, a daunting challenge.

It was immediately clear to me that dissecting competing paradigms, mastering arcane jargon, and exploring theoretical debates among leading political scientists that appealed to political science doctoral students would hold little interest for prospective practitioners who lacked a background in political science. Although I had used the Socratic method to teach legal cases, I was initially hesitant to use public policy cases. Did not cases just hide their narrative closer under the cloak of pretended neutrality? Was not putting students in the role of policymakers silly — a public policy version of "you make the call" seen on televised football games with instant replay? Was not teaching with cases inefficient — taking hours to extract the theoretical argument that scholarly journals conveniently displayed in the first sentence of the abstract? Or worse than inefficient, was not teaching with cases merely teaching by storytelling and anecdote rather than questing for general principles?

Two features of case learning did appeal to me — their accessibility and their ability to promote class discussion. I needed to reach students from varied academic backgrounds and I have always believed that you have to talk to learn. Furthermore, my new colleagues all seemed to use cases, and I was eager to adapt. I enrolled in a case training at my debut appearance at APPAM. My search for cases was disappointing — a finding that intrigued me. Virtually no teaching cases existed of feminist organizations of the kind I was familiar with from the academic case study literature in sociology, history, and political science.⁷ Such works pondered whether the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues should expand its membership to include men.⁸ Should the rape crisis center take state money if it meant greater state control?⁹ How could the battered women's shelter reconcile demands for professionalization with competing demands that the work be done by survivors?¹⁰ How could Jane, the underground abortion service, function as an egalitarian collective if only a few women performed the abortions and thereby held all the power?¹¹ How did feminist international lawyers expand the human rights frame to encompass violence against women?¹² How could women activists work outside of the dominant political

party?¹³ Did the maternalist frame of social reformers lead inevitably to classist and racist public policies?¹⁴ How can feminists separate reproductive freedom from racist eugenics?¹⁵

In a critique of the case genre, ¹⁶ Chetkovich and Kirp analyze the top ten best-selling cases that include three cases in which gender is a central component. This 30 percent number is not representative of the universe of cases as a whole. According to our best estimates, the Kennedy School of Government has 1,800 cases of which 13 have a female protagonist and 14 raise women's issues, and a number are historical. Others deal with employment discrimination (principally sexual harassment), and others are about management of programs offering services to women, such as operating a maternity center or treating cocaine-addicted mothers. The University of Washington's Electronic Hallway has several cases that may raise some issues of gender-based challenges to women managers' authority (a total of 14 cases with female protagonists) and one that raises some gender issues on women and development in Nepal. The Harvard Business School has 7,500 cases of which at least 48 have female protagonists and 26 are about women's issues (sexual harassment and employment discrimination, the Women's NBA, RU486, etc.). The University of Virginia's Darden School of Business has 1,700 cases of which 123 have a woman protagonist and two are about women's issues.

Some cases with a female protagonist contain subterranean gender issues ripe for analysis (along the lines of April Glaspie causes the Gulf War¹⁷), but the gender issues are subtle, would take time and skill to unearth, and would detract from the exploration of other public policy issues. I ordered the Kennedy School of Government Case, "Tailhook: The Navy Response,"¹⁸ which looked promising. It would supplement my international relations materials, pair well with the organizational focus supported by readings by Graham Allison¹⁹ and James Wilson,²⁰ and address questions of regulation and implementation in a policy area I knew a lot about — employment discrimination and sexual harassment. The case deftly reveals the contrast in the standard operating procedures of the Naval Investigation Service and Naval Inspector General, perfectly illustrating both Allison and Wilson's arguments about organizations and bureaucracy. By situating the issue of sexual harassment and sexism within an organizational context, the case shows how organizational capacity, rather than merely will or attitudes, constrains managers and makes addressing the problem so difficult.

Existing Cases Frame Policy Issues Posing Women as the Policy Problem

Despite the many virtues of the case, a limitation became immediately apparent. Because the case centers on the challenges faced by managers, the central problem for the protagonist becomes women rather than discrimination. The Tailhook case laudably assumes that Lieutenant Paula Coughlin is telling the

truth about her sexual assault by "the gauntlet" of male aviators. At one point, however, the author hints at what should have been done. The narrative subtly suggests that Coughlin's boss should have said something along the lines of "we're never going to find the culprit and looking for him will do a lot of damage. But we can make sure that this never happens again." The idea that a single commander could eliminate sex-based violence in such a large organization through the force of will, of course, is laughable, (as is the proposition that organizations that not only condoned but facilitated such behavior would reverse years of practice because of the horror of one woman's complaint). But the lesson remains that Coughlin would have been less of a "troublemaker" when going to the media, resulting in the firing of high-level officials, if her superiors had appeared to have taken her complaint seriously. The complaint of sexual harassment becomes the management problem rather than sexism and sexual harassment itself.

A starker example comes from business cases, and we should recall that the genre of decision cases originates in the Harvard Business School. By taking the CEO's point of view, the controversial issue of breast implants becomes a management problem of marketing and presentation.²¹ Dow must figure out what to do about complaints from sales reps that plastic surgeons who fondle the implants at conventions recoil when the implants ooze silicone, leaving a slimy residue on hands and in the carrying cases. The leaking of the implants presents a problem of presentation and marketing rather than flagging that the implants may leak inside women's bodies. The company must also decide how to quell the escalating concerns of company scientists about safety. Ultimately, of course, the manager's problem is how to avoid liability and the ensuing falling stock prices. The case never addresses how to protect women's health. Framing women and public policy issues exclusively as management problems erases women's concerns and perspectives, thereby reproducing the very devaluation of women that having a token case about women was presumably meant to rectify.

Even in the single case about a feminist organization, the Kennedy School of Government's case on Emily's List,²² frames the issue problematically. The case positions Emily's List, not the National Rifle Association, the pharmaceutical industry, or big tobacco, as opposed to reform — despite the fact that Emily's List does not lobby the women it helps elect once they are in office. Although the case does a good job of describing the formation of the organization and its activities, it ends with a clearly stated and patronizing conclusion that its founder, Ellen Malcolm, all the staff and consultants, and the women who support it are deeply misguided about how to elect more women to Congress. They should join Common Cause in outlawing bundling of campaign contributions rather than work with the system.²³ The case departs from case-writing conventions by stating the moral of the fable rather than leaving the analysis for the reader to supply. Emily's List is not only a dangerous impediment to reform, but it does not even know itself how to best achieve its goals.

Unearthing Troubling Assumptions in Non-Gender Cases

Problematic framing of gender issues is evident in cases without a female protagonist or women's issue. "Finding Black Parents: One Church, One Child" tells the story of Illinois' innovative attempt to find permanent homes for black children languishing in foster care. Gender, as always, is present, but because the gender issues are submerged, opportunities for a gender analysis are squandered. Who are the mothers whose parental rights have been terminated? Whose daily lives are changed most when ministers pressure lower middle-class black couples to adopt children, men or women? Even if one were to leave aside such "quibbles" on the grounds that gender may not always be the primary issue, bracketing or excising gender from the analysis has important policy consequences.

Gender analysis begins with noticing small things and expands to an interrogation of the absences and silences of the text. Women enter this case not as biological mothers whose rights are terminated or as black women desperate to adopt, but as white social workers. Women are the problem — they are obstacles to the success of the program. A few grumble about the sexism of male ministers. They resent being told they cannot wear pants to meetings, they bristle at being ordered to fetch coffee and "genuflect" to male ministers' egos, and they do not like having to work evenings and weekends. The narrative presents these concerns as illegitimate (rather than, perhaps as the latter complaint may be, dictated by their own parenting responsibilities) and ultimately racist, leading to an inability to place black children. The case offers many valuable lessons: That the institutions and strengths of the black community must be harnessed to solve problems, that bureaucracies staffed by members of one group will find working with "others" more difficult than if members of the served population are integrated into the bureaucracy, that racial stereotypes about fitness preclude solving this problem, that it is hard to get people to do things differently, and that governors' economic concerns can sometimes be harnessed to serve social concerns.

Pointing to gender is not feminist nitpicking but crucial to policy analysis. By constructing the concerns of white women social workers as mere speed bumps on the road to policy success for innovative managers barreling forward, and, I might add, similarly constructing the problem of race as merely a problem of mistaken assumptions (lower middle-class black families are unfit) rather than the result of deep-rooted structural patterns, the case misses the opportunity to anticipate future implementation problems due to race and gender that are likely to arise as public/non-profit partnerships become more prevalent. In an odd way, by trying to highlight race, and showcase the successful overcoming of a race-based problem — placing black children, race and racism are re-suppressed, as is gender. Both "Tailhook" and "Finding Black Parents" are useful cases. But a careful analysis of race and gender in these cases suggests that policy problems cannot be solved by treating race and gender as asides. Putting race and gender at the center of the policy analysis radically shifts how we think about the problem and the solution.

Policy Is Driven by a Lone Decisionmaker Who Is Not Part of a Web of Connection

Like the business cases they emulate, policy cases posit a lone decisionmaker (CEO) who must choose among alternatives and then impose a solution. To work their magic, particularly for adult learners who may have little preparation time, cases have to be short. Students with different backgrounds and abilities must all be able to “inhabit” the case quickly and on a somewhat equal footing. In order for the identification to occur, with or without role-play, there must be a hero and few characters.

One solution that I have argued elsewhere²⁴ is to teach against the case. For example, the case “A Towering Dilemma” on first read appears to demand that park manager Deborah Liggett simply conduct her own policy analysis and impose a solution. As the discussion develops, however, the case soon generates a discussion about process — which needs to be at the table, as opposed to whose interests Liggett must accommodate. The case supports the conclusion that the lone decisionmaker cannot impose a sustainable solution on the parties; rather, she will need to initiate an inclusive process to secure consensus.

In teaching the case, my first objective would be to undermine the conception of the policy process as one where the lone policy analyst chooses and then executes. Further analysis of the actual controversy reveals that the courts stepped in to impose a different solution.²⁵ I would then try to foster a discussion of the different arenas of conflicts, to show how moving to the legal arena reframes the policy questions with significant consequences. One could also envision using the case to discuss leadership, contrasting the stereotypical leadership styles of the macho male “command and control” model versus a more inclusive consensus model. While I am quite skeptical of much of the essentialism and poor empirics of much of the women and leadership literature, I find it unlikely to be an accident that the lone decisionmaker model emerges in a male-dominated domain.²⁶

Yet presenting policy questions as problems facing individual protagonists, cases necessarily frame gender questions in ways that may well impede feminist insights. In “Sexploitation? Sex Tourism in Cuba,”²⁷ Mary Geske and Michael Clancy, political scientists who teach international relations (IR), sought to rectify deficiencies in the Pew Case Studies in International Affairs. The database of 248 cases had no cases on women, gender, or feminism (the case on Margaret Thatcher’s demise within her party appears to have no gender analysis).

Feminist scholars in IR have recently challenged the conclusion that, because few women have been heads of state or secretaries of state and defense, gender analysis, while perhaps helpful in understanding social policy, has nothing to offer IR. Rather than asking whether women diplomats or heads of state are less hawkish than men (the ubiquitous different-voice frame that feminists have routinely criticized), scholars such as Cynthia Enloe have simply asked, Where are the women? They are prostitutes servicing military bases, maids in large tourist

hotels, workers on banana plantations and textile factories, consumers, and tourists. International relations is not just about wars, although feminists have analyzed rape as a weapon of war and prostitution military bases generate. Women are both workers and consumers in a world economy radically structured by gender. Gender analysis thus can illuminate security policy and international political economy in important ways. Yet international relations has been one of the last subfields of political science to entertain gender analysis.

Geske and Clancy presented their case at an APSA panel on case teaching in 1998 and have now substantially revised it. They provide the historical context of Cuba’s economy and place prostitution within the world economic order (although they do not fully reflect the breadth of feminist writing and activism on this topic). They document the rise in sex-tourism to Cuba. The earlier draft, in my view, supports the reader in placing the blame for the sexual exploitation of Cuban women on men from Western developed countries who travel to buy women who are cheaper, more compliant, and more “exotic” because of the racialization of Latin women. Tour operators who explicitly organize tours and market them accordingly, as well as those who encourage tourism for Third World development are additional potential villains. The first version has no single protagonist, a “no no” for a decision-forcing case. The case offers one example of international organizing to prevent the sexual exploitation of children as a possible way forward but also shows the economic constraints under which Cuban officials operate. As revised, however, the central characters are Cuban officials. The question posed is whether Cuban governmental policy should be allowed to continue to market and sell Cuban women to tourists — to build on what economists would call its comparative advantage, cheap sex — or suffer even more severe economic consequences.

The case skillfully demonstrates how prostitution is produced, not only by intentional governmental policy, but also by the world economic system, rather than merely resulting from the “free choices” of women and men. The imperative to have a single protagonist (Cuban governmental officials), however, ultimately distorts our understanding of the issue by inflating the agency of the Cubans and by leaving the other characters off stage, implicitly exonerating them. The revised version may have a single identifiable decisionmaker whose unhappy alternatives may generate student discussion, but the price of conformity to the formula is too high. Our understanding of prostitution in the world economic order has been diminished as a result.

Cases Are Not Neutral

Cases, contrary to their journalistic aspirations of objectivity and neutrality and the injunction to avoid editorializing, contain hidden positions. Policy schools, perhaps because they arose out of a desire to bring science, good evidence, and analysis to public problems, are often even less willing to talk about

positionality than the disciplines, hiding behind “best practices,” “what works,” and “common sense.” Identification of the implicit messages and assumptions in cases, governmental reports, or social science journal articles requires skill — a skill we want our students to acquire.

A Bottom-up Rather than Top-down Approach

Cases that center on the apex of a governmental agency and leave out the organizational, historical, and structural context, also neglect social movements and the constitutive aspects of politics. Two of my favorite cases are not decision cases at all; one has many named characters, the other none. “The Case for Redress Against Japanese Americans” brilliantly documents how a broad social movement changed how people thought about internment.²⁸ As new institutionalists would lead us to expect,²⁹ players did not enter the arena with fixed, fully formed preferences but changed how they thought about the world through political engagement. The YWCA case shows how black women organized themselves separately to change the mission of the YWCA to add “eliminate racism” to its mission of “empower women and girls.”³⁰ Their separatism enabled the institution to integrate. Interest group analysis fails to explain both cases — how do minority groups persuade the majority to see the world their way? To accept the injustice of internment and the importance of eliminating racism? The contest is not primarily about power, numbers, bargaining, and interest, but about persuasion, framing, and construction. Both cases are retrospective. Neither has a single protagonist who narrates and drives the action. Neither offers a specific single tough decision for students to sink their teeth into.

Feminist scholars have, by and large, rejected a narrow definition of politics and taken a bottom-up rather than top-down approach to politics. For example, as Geske and Clancy do with Cuban prostitutes, feminists tend to start with the women affected by policies as important theorists of how the world works. Feminists more often focus on leaders drawn from everyday life, rather than constructing history as the moves in a game played by men. Furthermore, early second wave feminists in the United States pronounced that there are no personal solutions to social problems, only accommodations. Rather than trying to figure out the perfect retort to silence the sexual harasser, or the right clothes to wear to break through the glass ceiling or to avoid sexual assault, feminists tend to favor large, structural changes and collective action. While we do want to disseminate “what works” and applaud successful experiments, it would be misguided to believe that a naval officer is going to “solve” sexism or racism or even create an oasis of non-discrimination through his individual actions and good intentions alone. One can learn from approaches and strategies, but it would be a mistake to think managers or policy analysts could read a ten-page case and find the magic bullet. Rather, one hopes that a lesson students take away from the case is the complexity of the issues.

The Center on Women and Public Policy’s Case Study Program

Operating on the assumption that it is easier to teach feminists how to write cases than it is to teach case writers how to think like a feminist, the Center on Women and Public Policy embarked on a project to produce case studies in the summer of 2000, pulling together scholars, activists, and extension educators from many different disciplinary backgrounds. All of us were intrigued by Chekovich and Kirp’s critique of the lone decisionmaker model. Feminists tend to recognize social change as the work of many rather than of one charismatic leader. And we already subscribed to an understanding of politics as constitutive.

We produced eight cases that should be available on our Web site in 2001, and we hope that the Electronic Hallway will distribute some. A professor of rhetoric prepared a case on how direct entry (or lay) midwives in Minnesota strategized about how to secure the benefits of state licensing without having to give up procedures they routinely performed under the radar of legal and medical control. An historian described Emily’s List’s quandary over whether to endorse Geraldine Ferraro or Elizabeth Holzman for the 1992 U.S. Senate race in New York. A political scientist looked at how feminist activists joined in coalition to secure the appointment of the first woman to the Minnesota Supreme Court in 1977. The business manager of the Minnesota Women’s Press recounted the drama of how a bank officer’s refusal to allow them to make good on their promise to distribute profits to low-waged workers nearly led to the demise of the enterprise. A sociologist described how the deadlock over a development plan for Morocco, which included divorce reform, polarized French-speaking elite women reformers from Arabic-speaking fundamentalist women, dividing those who had previously found some common ground. An extension educator recounted how African American settlement house workers leveraged their networks of white supporters to advance the educational careers of African American women in times of strict segregation. A professor in public health narrated the trauma and subsequent litigation arising when the management of a home for developmentally disabled adults refused to respond to repeated sexual assaults of women caretakers. And a women’s studies professor and creative writer analyzed how two rural women transgressed traditional gender roles to develop legal expertise necessary to prevent farm foreclosures in rural Minnesota.

As the program grows, we will continue to educate university teachers about case teaching, tell the untold stories of women and feminist social movements, bring the insights of practitioners to scholars and vice versa, improve practice and build capacity in feminist organizations, and integrate women, gender, and feminism in case teaching. As we progress, we suspect that we will continue to be ambivalent about the case genre as it exists in practice as well as in its ideal form. Our cases will no doubt continue to violate some case-writing conventions.

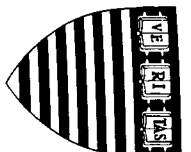
Conclusion

Cases have many virtues. Through story telling, cases present lessons of public policymaking, bringing to life the dilemmas faced by real people. They convey the wisdom to be gleaned from successes and failures, compensate somewhat for the lack of experience on the part of students, and facilitate vigorous participation and engagement by students as well as critical thinking. Cases help to breathe life into theory by showing its relevance even for students who are practically oriented and just want the "tools." Nevertheless, these stories, when read carefully, reveal the underlying theoretical orientations of the case writers. Cases, like the policy schools that produced them, have almost completely ignored women's issues. Yet even when they are not directly about women's issues, or even if the protagonists are not women, cases contain powerful messages about gender — messages feminists dispute. The cases I analyzed frame women, rather than sexism, as the problem facing managers. In other cases, women's concerns, often presented unsympathetically are obstacles to be swept away. In others, women are the misguided obstacles to reform. By focusing on a lone decision-maker, cases sideline women's concerns as irrelevant. Other times, focusing on a single decision point obscures the causes of women's oppression. Forcing episodes into the narrative structure of the case may distort our understanding of social movements, social and economic structures, and human agency, as well as spotlight individual leaders rather than collectivities. The goal of the Center on Women and Public Policy's case project is to avoid these shortcomings while still capitalizing on the pedagogical value of the case.

Endnotes:

- 1 Thanks to Jessica Webster for her research assistance. And special thanks to John Boehrer who has taught me so much about case teaching, and teaching and learning in general, and who has offered enormous support to our case-writing project.
- 2 Although social policy is listed as one of 29 possible areas of interest on the APPAM membership form, gender and public policy was only just added as a result of my suggestion.
- 3 www.hhh.umn.edu/centers/wpp/
- 4 University of Minnesota (Center on Women and Public Policy), SUNY Albany (Center for Women in Government), University of Maryland (Women in International Security), Rutgers University (Center for the American Woman and Politics, Center for Women's Global Leadership, and Institute for Women's Leadership), Harvard University (Women and Public Policy Program), and American University (Women and Politics Institute).
- 5 University of Minnesota, Humphrey Institute (Women and Public Policy), George Washington University (Gender and Social Policy), SUNY Albany (Women and Policy), University of Colorado, Denver (The Domestic Violence Program), and Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government (Women and Public Policy).
- 6 Princeton University (Gender and Development, Reproductive Health and Reproductive Rights), University of Michigan (Women and Employment), Virginia Tech (Women, Environment, and Development), Georgetown University (Race, Gender and the Job Market, Maternal and Child Health), Johns Hopkins University (Gender, Justice, and Social Policy, Seminar on Women and Work), University of Virginia (Gender Politics).
- 7 For an excellent collection of essays and a comprehensive bibliography, see Myra Marx Ferree and Patricia Yancey Martin. 1995. *Feminist Organizations: Harvest of the New Women's Movement*. Philadelphia: Temple.
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- 17 Dickert, Jillian. 1991. *Twisting in the Wind: Ambassador April Glaspie and the Persian Gulf Crisis*. Kennedy School of Government. Case 1056.0.
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- 21 Lawrence, Anne T. 1993. *Dow Coming and the Silicone Breast Plant Implant Controversy*. *Case Research Journal*, 87-112.
- 22 Simon, Harvey. 1994. *Emily's List and Campaign Finance Reform*. Kennedy School of Government, Case C16-94-1238.0.
- 23 This harsh evaluation is ironic given that in the United States, analysts, pundits, and even social scientists have long regularly scolded feminists for being radical, utopian, and unwilling to compromise.
- 24 Using the Master's Tools to Dismantle the Master's House: Can we harness the virtues of case teaching? Forthcoming. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*.
- 25 See Burton, Lloyd, and David Ruppert. 1999. *Bear's Lodge or Devils Tower: Intercultural Relations, Legal Pluralism, and the Management of Sacred Sites on Public Lands*. *Cornell Journal of Law and Public Policy* 8(2):201-247.
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