

Gender and Politics

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Course Overview

The aim of this course is to examine gender dynamics in political life, exploring the roles of individuals as citizens, voters, activists, candidates, and officeholders. We will also consider the ways in which public policies shape the lives of people of different genders. In doing so, we will analyze the effects of gender on electoral behavior and political institutions, as well as the impact of law, policy, and politics on individuals across the gender spectrum. Currently, gender inequalities persist across political, social, and economic spheres. Understanding why this is the case will sometimes lead us beyond the boundaries of traditional political science, as cultural, social, and economic symbols, messages, and debates about gender profoundly shape political realities.

Course Objectives

There will be several goals that this course will focus upon; among them are:

1. To understand the difference between sex and gender.
2. To understand basic theories about sex and gender as they apply to politics.
3. To be able to articulate how sex/gender matters to politics, generally and for specific aspects.
4. To master basic empirical facts about sex/gender in contemporary politics
5. To gain knowledge about political institutions and processes.
6. To learn to critically evaluate empirical research.
7. To increase analytic ability.

Class Schedule

NOTE: Reading for a particular day should be done before attending class on that particular day. Notes from the readings should be brought to the class session.

Part I - History on Women's Rights

Meeting 1: 14 January, 10-12.00

Topic: *Women and Politics: The Path to Equality*

Read:

- Ford, Lynne E. 2017. Ch.1 "Two Paths to Equality," in *Women and Politics: The Pursuit for Equality*. Routledge Press.
- Irvine, Janice M. 1990. "From Difference to Sameness: Gender Ideology in Sexual Science," *The Journal of Sex Research* 27(1): 7-24.
- Rhode, Deborah. 1996. "The Ideology and Biology of Gender Difference," *The Southern Journal of Philosophy* XXXV: 73- 98.
- Paxton, Pamela and Melanie M. Hughes. 2020. "Ch.1 Introduction to Women in Politics" and "Ch.2 Women Struggle for the Vote," in *Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective*, 4th edition, Rowan & Littlefield: 1-56.

Additional Supplemental Reading:

- Klysing, Amanda. 2020. "Exposure to Scientific Explanations for Gender Differences Influences Individuals Personal Theories of Gender and Their Evaluations of a Discriminatory Situation," *Sex Roles* 82: 253-265.

Meeting 2: 21 January, 10-12.00

Topic: *The History of Women's Movements & Conservative Women's Movement*

Read:

- Mansbridge, Jane J. 1986. "Chapter 1: Why We Lost the ERA," and "Chapter 2: A Very Brief History," in *Why We Lost the ERA*, University of Chicago Press: 1-19.
- Kraditor, Aileen S. 1967. "Chapter 2: The Rationale of Antisuffragism," in *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920*, Columbia University Press: 14-42.
- Mansbridge, Jane J. 1986. Ch. 9 "Of Men and Toilets," in *Why We Lost the ERA*. University of Chicago Press.
- Schlafly, Phyllis. 1977. "Chapter 1: Understanding the Difference," in *The Power of Positive Women*, Arlington House Publishers: 11-28.
- Sigvaldason, Gunnar and Silja Bára Ómarsdóttir. 2022. "Opposing abortion in a feminist paradise: Conservative rhetoric in Iceland," *Global Constitutionalism*, 11(3):430-449.

Additional Supplemental Reading:

- Ford, Lynne E. 2017. Ch. 2 All Rights Are Not Equal: Suffrage Versus the Equal Rights Amendment,” in *Women and Politics: The Pursuit for Equality*. Routledge Press.
- Ryan, Barbara. 1992. “Chapter 1: The Early Women’s Movement: From Equal Rights to Representation,” “Chapter 2: The Women’s Suffrage Movement and the Aftermath of Victory,” and “Chapter 3: Resurgence of Feminism: The Contemporary Women’s Movement,” in *Feminism and the Women’s Movement: Dynamics of Change in Social Movement Ideology and Activism*, Psychology Press: 1-51.
- Deckman, Melissa. 2016. “Introduction: Mama Grizzlies Rising up,” in *Tea Party Women: Mama Grizzlies, Grassroots Leaders, and the Changing Face of the American Right*, New York University Press: 1-30.
- Schreiber, Ronnee. 2018. “Is There a Conservative Feminism? An Empirical Account,” *Politics & Gender* 14: 56-79.
- Von Knop, Katharina. 2007. “The Female Jihad: Al Qaeda’s Women,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30(5): 397-414.

Part II - Gender and Attitudes and Behavior

Meeting 3: 28 January, 10-12.00

Topic: *Political Attitudes and the Gender Gap*

Read:

- Kaufmann, Karen M. and John R. Petrocik. 1999. “The Changing Politics of American Men: Understanding the Sources of the Gender Gap,” *American Journal of Political Science* 43(3): 864-887.
- Hansen, Michael A. and Kathleen Dolan. 2023. “Cross-Pressures on Political Attitudes: Gender, Party, and the #MeToo Movement in the United States,” *Political Behavior* 45(4): 1377-1400.
- Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2000. “The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women’s and Men’s Voting Behavior in Global Perspective,” *International Political Science Review* 21(4): 441-463.
- Bush, Sarah Sunn and Amanda Clayton. 2023. “Facing Change: Gender and Climate Change Attitudes Worldwide,” *American Political Science Review* 117(2):591-608.
- Hansen, Michael A. and Agustín Goenaga. 2021. “Gender and Democratic Attitudes: Do Women and Men Prioritize Different Democratic Institutions?” *Politics & Gender*: 17(1); 23-52.

Additional Supplemental Reading:

- Ford, Lynne E. 2017. Ch. 3 “Suffrage Accomplished: Women as Political Participants,” in *Women and Politics: The Pursuit for Equality*. Routledge Press.
- Norrander, Barabara and Clyde Wilcox. 2008. “The Gender Gap in Ideology,” *Political Behavior* 30(4): 503-523.
- Hansen, Michael A. and Kathleen Dolan. 2020. “Voter Sex, Party, and Gender-Salient Issues: Attitudes about Sexual Harassment and Brett Kavanaugh in the 2018 Elections,” *American Politics Research* 48(5): 532-542.
- Barnes, Tiffany D. and Erin C. Cassese. 2017. “American Party Women: A Look at the Gender Gap within Parties,” *Political Research Quarterly* 70(1): 127-141.
- Barnes, Tiffany D., Victoria D. Beall, and Erin C. Cassese. 2021. “American Party Women Redux: Stability in Partisan Gender Gaps,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 54(3): 406-410.
- Hansen, Michael A, Jennifer L. Clemens, and Kathleen Dolan. 2022. “Gender Gaps and Party Gaps: An Examination of American Attitudes Toward the Use of Force,” *Politics & Gender* 18(1): 273-295.
- Gottlieb, Jessica, Guy Grossman, and Amanda Lea Robinson. 2018. “Do Men and Women Have Different Policy Preferences in Africa? Determinants and Implications of Gender Gaps in Policy Prioritization,” *British Journal of Political Science* 48(3): 611-636.
- Kostenko, Veronica V., Pavel A. Kuzmichev, and Eduard D. Ponarin. 2015. “Attitudes towards gender equality and perception of democracy in the Arab world,” *Democratization* 23(5): 862-891.
- Mayer, Nonna. 2015. “The closing of the radical right gender gap in France?” *French Politics* 13(4): 391-414.
- Hansen, Michael A. 2019. “Women and the Radical Right: Exploring Gendered Differences in Vote Choice for Radical Right Parties in Europe,” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* (41)2: 1-21.

Meeting 4: 4 February, 10-12.00

Topic: *Political Engagement and Participation*

Read:

- Preece, Jessica Robinson. 2016. “Mind the Gender Gap: An Experiment on the Influence of Self-Efficacy on Political Interest,” *Politics & Gender* 12: 198-217.
- Coffé, Hilde and Selin Dilli. 2015. “The gender gap in political participation in Muslim-majority countries,” *International Political Science Review* 36(5): 526-544.

- Wolak, Jennifer. 2020. "Conflict Avoidance and Gender Gaps in Political Engagement," *Political Behavior* 44: 1433-156.
- Ferrín, Monica, Marta Fraile, Gema M. García-Albacete, and Raul Gómez. 2020. "The gender gap in political interest revisited," *International Political Science Review* 41(4): 473-489.
- Fraile, Marta and Carolina de Miguel Moyer. 2022. "Risk and the gender gap in internal political efficacy in Europe," *West European Politics* 45(7): 1462-1480.

Additional Supplemental Reading:

- Verba, Sidney, Nancy Burns, Kay Lehman Scholzman. 1997. "Knowing and Caring about Politics: Gender and Political Engagement," *Journal of Politics* 59(4): 1051-1072.
- Beauvais, Edana. 2020. "The Gender Gap in Political Discussion Group Attendance," *Politics & Gender* 16(2): 315-338.
- Matthieu Joke, Silvia Erzeel, and Didier Caluwaerts. 2024. "Intensifying Gender Inequality: Why Belgian Female Students (Sometimes) Gain Less Internal Political Efficacy from Citizenship Education Than Male Students," *Politics & Gender* First View: 1-24.
- Fraile, Marta and Raul Gómez. 2017. "Bridging the enduring gender gap in political interest in Europe: The relevance of promoting gender equality," *European Journal of Political Research* 56: 601-618.
- Pfanzelt, Hannah and Dennis C. Spies. 2019. "The Gender Gap in Youth Political Participation: Evidence from Germany," *Political Research Quarterly* 72(1): 34-48.

Meeting 5: 11 February, 10-12.00

Topic: *Political Knowledge*

Read:

- Dolan, Kathleen and Michael A. Hansen. 2020. "Understanding the Gender Gap in Knowledge," *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 41(2): 127-143.
- Kraft, Patrick W. 2024. "Women Also Know Stuff: Challenging the Gender Gap in Political Sophistication," *American Political Science Review* 118(2): 903-921.
- Fortin-Rittberger, Jessica. 2016. "Cross-National Gender Gaps in Political Knowledge: How Much Is Due to Context?" *Political Research Quarterly* 69(3): 391-402.
- Fortin-Rittberger, Jessica. 2020. "Political Knowledge: Assessing the Stability of Gender Gaps Cross-Nationally," *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 32(1): 46-65.

- Fraile, Marta and Raul Gomez. 2017. “Why does Alejandro Know More about Politics than Catalina? Explaining the Latin American Gender Gap in Political Knowledge,” *British Journal of Political Science* 47(1): 91-112.

Additional Supplemental Reading:

- Mondak, Jeffery J. and Mary R. Anderson. 2004. “The Knowledge Gap: A Reexamination of Gender-Based Differences in Political Knowledge,” *Journal of Politics* 66(2): 492-512.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2011. “Do Women and Men Know Different Things? Measuring Gender Differences in Political Knowledge,” *Journal of Politics* 73(1): 97-107.
- Dassonneville, Ruth and Ian McAllister. 2018. “Gender, Political Knowledge, and Descriptive Representation,” *American Journal of Political Science* 62(2): 249-265.
- Jerit, Jennifer and Jason Barabas. 2017. “Revisiting the Gender Gap in Political Knowledge,” *Political Behavior* 39: 817-838.
- Kraft, Patrick W. and Kathleen Dolan. 2023. “Asking the Right Questions: A Framework for Developing Gender-Balanced Political Knowledge Batteries,” *Political Research Quarterly* 76(1): 393-406.
- Goenaga, Agustín and Michael A. Hansen. 2022. “Guy-Guessing Democracy: Gender and Item Non-Response Bias in Evaluations of Democratic Institutions,” *Journal of Women, Politics, & Policy* 43(4): 499-513.

Part II - Gender and Elections

Meeting 6: 18 February, 10-12.00

Topic: *Women as Candidates: Why So Few?*

Read:

- Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2004. “Entering the Arena? Gender and the Decision to Run for Office,” *American Journal of Political Science* 48(2): 264-280.
- Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2024. “The Invincible Gender Gap in Political Ambition,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 57(2): 231-237.
- Stockemer, Daniel and Aksel Sundström. 2019. “Do young female candidates face double barriers or an outgroup advantage? The case of the European Parliament,” *European Journal of Political Research* 58: 373-384.
- Galais, Carol, Patrik Öhberg, and Xavier Coller. 2016. “Endurance at the Top: Gender and Political Ambition of Spanish and Swedish MPs,” *Politics & Gender* 12: 596-621.
- Kolltveit, Kristoffer. 2022. “Gender and ambitions for elected and appointed political positions: insights from Norway,” *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 5(1): 109-125.

Additional Supplemental Reading:

- Ford, Lynne E. 2017. Ch. 4 “Women Seeking Office: The Next Phase of Political Integration,” in *Women and Politics: The Pursuit for Equality*. Routledge Press.
- Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2010. “If Only They’d Ask: Gender, Recruitment, and Political Ambition,” *Journal of Politics* 72(2): 310-326.
- Eder, Christina, Jessica Fortin-Rittberger, and Corinna Kroeber. 2016. “The Higher the Fewer? Patterns of Female Representation Across Levels of Government in Germany,” *Parliamentary Affairs* 69: 366-386.
- Kitchens, Karin E. and Michele L. Swers. 2016. “Why Aren’t There More Republican Women in Congress? Gender, Partisanship, and Fundraising in the 2010 and 2012 Elections,” *Politics & Gender* 12: 648-676.
- Devroe, Robin, Hilde Coff, Audrey Vandeleene, and Bram Wauters. 2022. “Gender Gaps in Political Ambition on Different Levels of Policy-Making,” *Parliamentary Affairs* 76(4): 924-946.
- Dahl, Malte and Jacob Nyrup. 2021. “Confident and cautious candidates: Explaining under-representation of women in Danish municipal politics,” *European Journal of Political Research* 60: 199-224.
- *European Journal of Politics and Gender* Special Issue on the gendered ambition gap in comparative perspective.

Meeting 7: 25 February, 10-12.00

Topic: *Women as Candidates: Public Perceptions*

Read:

- Dolan, Kathleen and Michael A. Hansen. 2018. “Blaming Women or Blaming the System? Public Perceptions of Women’s Underrepresentation in Elected Office,” *Political Research Quarterly* 71(3): 668-680.
- Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2022. “The Contingent Effects of Sexism in Primary Elections,” *Political Research Quarterly* 75(4): 1021-1036.
- Saha, Sparsha and Ana Catalano Weeks. 2022. “Ambitious Women: Gender and Voter Perceptions of Candidate Ambition,” *Political Behavior* 44: 779-805.
- McEvoy, Caroline. 2016. “Does the Descriptive Representation of Women Matter? A Comparison of Gendered Differences in Political Attitudes between Voters and Representatives in the European Parliament,” *Politics & Gender* 12: 754-780.
- Helimäki, Theodora, Josefina Sipinen, Peter Söderlund, and Åsa von Schoultz. 2024. “Voting for a woman: ideology and gendered candidate choice in Finland,” *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 34(3): 448-465.

Additional Supplemental Reading:

- Dolan, Kathleen. 2014. "Gender Stereotypes, Candidate Evaluations, and Voting for Women Candidates: What Really Matters?," *Political Research Quarterly* 67(1): 96-107.
- Dolan, Kathleen and Timothy Lynch. 2016. "The Impact of Gender Stereotypes on Voting for Women Candidates by Level and Type of Office," *Politics & Gender* 12(3): 573-595.
- Kraft, Patrick and Kathleen Dolan. 2022. "Glass Half Full or Half Empty: Does Optimism about Women's Representation in Elected Office Matter?," *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 44(2): 139-151.
- Hayes, Danny, Jennifer L. Lawless, and Gail Baitinger. 2014. "Who Cares What They Wear? Media, Gender, and the Influence of Candidate Appearance," *Social Science Quarterly* 95: 1194-1212.
- Campbell, Rosie and Oliver Heath. 2017. "Do Women Vote for Women Candidates? Attitudes toward Descriptive Representation and Voting Behavior in the 2010 British Election," *Politics & Gender* 13: 209-231.
- Watson, David and Amy Moreland. 2014. "Perceptions of Corruption and the Dynamics of Women's Representation," *Politics & Gender* 10: 392-412.
- Coffé, Hilde, Theodora Helimäki, and Åsa von Schoultz. 2023. "How Gender Affects Negative and Positive Campaigning," *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 44(3): 319-335.

Part II - Gender and Holding Office

Meeting 8: 4 March, 10-12.00

Topic: *Women as Office Holders: Different From Men?*

Read:

- Anzia, Sarah F. and Christopher R. Berry. 2011. "The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect: Why Do Congresswomen Outperform Congressmen?" *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3): 478-493.
- Ramstetter, Lena and Fabian Habersack. 2020. "Do women make a difference? Analysing environmental attitudes and actions of Members of the European Parliament," *Environmental Politics* 29(6): 1063-1084.
- Castanho Silva, Bruno, Danielle Pullan, and Jens Wäckerle. 2024. "Blending in or standing out? Gendered political communication in 24 democracies," *American Journal of Political Science* Early View: 116.

- Senk Kailtin, Nicholas M. Coulombe, and Jessica Edry. 2024. “Women’s Legislative Representation and Human Rights Treaty Ratification,” *Politics & Gender* First View: 1-33.
- Franceschet Susan, Jack Lucas, Erica Rayment. 2024. “Do Women Politicians Know More about Womens Policy Preferences? Evidence from Canada,” *Politics & Gender* First View: 1-19.

Additional Supplemental Reading:

- Swers, Michele L. 1998. “Are Women More Likely to Vote for Women’s Issue Bills than Their Male Colleagues?” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23(3): 435-448.
- Evans, Heather K. and Jennifer Hayes Clark. 2016. ““You Tweet Like a Girl!”: How Female Candidates Campaign on Twitter,” *American Politics Research* 44(2): 326-352.
- Ladam, Christina, Jeffrey J. Harden, and Jason H. Windett. 2018. “Prominent Role Models: High-Profile Female Politicians and the Emergence of Women as Candidates for Public Office,” *American Journal of Political Science* 62(2): 369-381.
- O’Brien, Diana. 2015. “Rising to the Top: Gender, Political Performance, and Party Leadership in Parliamentary Democracies,” *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4): 1022-1039.
- Lawless, Jennifer L., Sean M Theriault, and Samantha Guthrie. 2018. “Nice Girls? Sex, Collegiality, and Bipartisan Cooperation in the US Congress,” *Journal of Politics* 80(4): 1268-1282.
- Allen, Peter, David Cutts, and Rosie Campbell. 2016. “Measuring the Quality of Politicians Elected by Gender Quotas - Are They Any Different?” *Political Studies* 64(1): 143-163.
- Bauer, Nichole B. and Ivy A. M. Cargile. 2023.. “Women Get the Job Done: Differences in Constituent Communication from Female and Male Lawmakers,” *Politics & Gender* 19(4): 1110-1133.
- Bauhr, Monika, Nicholas Charron, and Lena Wängnerud. 2024. “Will Womens Representation Reduce Bribery? Trends in Corruption and Public Service Delivery Across European Regions,” *Political Behavior* 46: 2427-2450.
- McLaughlin, Peter T. 2024. “More Money, Less Credit? Legislator Gender and the Effectiveness of Congressional Credit Claiming,” *Politics & Gender* 20(2): 346-362.
- Cornacchione, Teresa and Rachel Tuning. 2020. “Women Behaving Differently: Anti-Establishment Party Membership and Female Parliamentary Activity,” *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 41(4): 457-476.