

**POLISCI 9536B: Gender and Politics**  
**Department of Political Science**  
**Thursdays, 1:30 to 3:30 p.m., SSC 7236**  
**Instructor: Dr. Amanda Friesen**  
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**Office Hours: 12:30 to 1:30 p.m. Thursdays**

Understanding how individual dispositions impact political participation has important implications for the health of democracies. If the conflictual and risky nature of politics pushes some citizens (e.g., women and under-represented groups) out of the public sphere, then the promise of governance by the people is not met. Though there are clear historical and structural roots to this participation gap, the white, masculine and competitive nature of political engagement continues to discourage women from participating – from small acts like discussions to running for office. This alienation can be exacerbated for those from under-represented groups, disrupting the benefits of full citizen participation in solving collective problems. How deep are these roots of dispositions and orientations toward politics? What are the foundations of dispositions and political behaviors, particularly as they relate to social identities? How can we best measure and model these effects with a combination of individual differences and context?

**Course objectives:**

- (1) Understand the history and current state of women’s involvement in political processes in democracies and the associated impact on public policy, especially as it relates to representation and interest.
- (2) Understand the effects and intersections of sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, and citizenship status on access to power and resources as well as political attitudes and engagement.
- (3) Use psychological theories and methods to better understand gender identity and group differences.
- (4) Critically evaluate scholarly research as well as pose research puzzles, offer testable hypotheses, and gather evidence to analyze.

Course Materials: All class readings and course materials are available on our OWL site.

**Course Requirements:**

*Discussion Questions (10 points):* Students will write 7-10 discussion questions for their assigned day of readings, dedicating at least 1-2 questions per reading and including any questions that might address the overall theme of the class period. These will be submitted to the entire class through Owl by 9 p.m. the evening before the class period so classmates have a chance to think through answers as they complete the reading. Questions should go beyond “what was this article about?” or “What was the key variable?” to ask broad questions about theory and method. Or to inquire about implications of the findings for advancing science or applying to understanding political behavior and events. Dr. Friesen will help facilitate the class discussion with the assigned student.

*Participation (10 points):* This is a graduate-level seminar so group discussion is an important component of the learning environment. Students are not required to speak in every discussion but rather should demonstrate a pattern of being engaged, asking questions, and offering comments on a regular basis.

*The following assignments should be submitted on Owl in 12-point font, double-spaced with 1-inch margins. More assignment details and examples are located on Owl.*

*Short Papers (20 points total)* – Students will write **two, two-page** papers addressing a day's readings. Papers are due on the day of the reading assignment. The paper should include no more than one paragraph of summary but then move on to discuss the strength of the argument or research design, offer further research questions and pose hypotheses to questions raised, and a proposed research design to test the hypotheses. Students may also raise implications for public policy or politics in a democracy. Because you may choose any of the days' readings on which to write, **NO LATE PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED**. If you run out of time, simply choose to write a paper another day.

*Final Paper (60 points)* – Students will write a research paper that poses an empirical question related to gender and politics. These papers should be modeled after a journal article or scholarly book chapter in that the extant literature is reviewed to build a case for the student's hypotheses regarding the chosen research question, data is gathered to test the hypotheses, and a discussion is provided to explain limitations, findings, next steps and implications for politics and policy. The data may include interviews, surveys, newspaper content analysis, etc. There are numerous free data sources (Canadian Election Study, Pew Forum, General Social Survey, American National Election Study, Eurobarometer, World Values Survey, WomenStats.org) where students may extract variables to test their claims.

For MA students: Statistical analysis need not be complex or sophisticated – cross-tabs, summary statistics, frequencies are perfectly acceptable. Students may also use qualitative evidence (e.g., newspaper content analysis, interviews, archival research, theoretical argument) to explore their research question.

For PhD students: More complex models are expected – think of applying what you have learned in your methods sequence to this paper.

Papers should be 15-20 pages long and include at least 20 sources (properly cited) in addition to any course materials used.

### **Jan. 12 - Introduction**

Gidengil, E., & Stolle, D. (2021). Beyond the Gender Gap: The Role of Gender Identity. *The Journal of Politics*, 83(4), 1818-1822.

### **Jan. 19 – Intersectionality, Dispositions & Mechanisms**

Hancock Ange-Marie. (2007). When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition: examining intersectionality as a research paradigm. *Perspectives on Politics* 5, 63–79.

McCormick-Huhn, K., Warner, L. R., Settles, I. H., & Shields, S. A. (2019). What if psychology took intersectionality seriously? Changing how psychologists think about participants. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 43(4), 445-456.

Medie, Peace A., and Alice Kang. 2018. "Power, knowledge, and the politics of gender in the Global South." *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 1 (1-2): 37-54.

Schneider, M. C., & Bos, A. L. (2019). The application of social role theory to the study of gender in politics. *Political Psychology*, 40, 173-213.

Giani, M., Hope, D., & Skorge, Ø. S. (2021). Household education gaps and gender role attitudes. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 1-8.

Cassar, A., & Rigdon, M. L. (2021). Option to cooperate increases women's competitiveness and closes the gender gap. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 42(6), 556-572.

Liu, E. M., & Zuo, S. X. (2019). Measuring the impact of interaction between children of a matrilineal and a patriarchal culture on gender differences in risk aversion. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(14), 6713-6719.

### **Jan. 26 – Men and Masculinities**

Stanaland, Adam, Sarah Gaither, and Anna Gassman-Pines. 2022. When is masculinity "fragile"? An expectancy-discrepancy-threat model of masculine identity. Accepted for publication at Personality and Social Psychology Review. Pre-print here: <https://psyarxiv.com/fgbk9/>

Blog post. <https://datepsychology.com/the-testosterone-blackpill/>

Hunt, K., & Friesen, A. (2021). 'You can't repeal regret': targeting men for mobilisation in Ireland's abortion debate. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 4(3), 423-439.

Deckman, M., & Cassese, E. (2021). Gendered nationalism and the 2016 US presidential election: How party, class, and beliefs about masculinity shaped voting behavior. *Politics & Gender*, 17(2), 277-300.

Reny, T. T. (2020). Masculine norms and infectious disease: The case of COVID-19. *Politics & Gender*, 16(4), 1028-1035.

### **Gender and the Political Process**

## Feb. 2 – Gender and Participation

- Coffé, H., & Bolzendahl, C. (2021). Are all politics masculine? Gender socialised personality traits and diversity in political engagement. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 4(1), 113-133.
- Stauffer, K. E. (2021). Public perceptions of women's inclusion and feelings of political efficacy. *American Political Science Review*, 115(4), 1226-1241.
- Allam, N. (2022). Women's Unveiling in the 2011 Egyptian Uprising: Political Opportunities and Modesty Politics. *Politics & Gender*, 1-22.
- Beauvais, E. (2020). The gender gap in political discussion group attendance. *Politics & Gender*, 16(2), 315-338.
- Barnes, T. D., & Burchard, S. M. (2013). "Engendering" politics: The impact of descriptive representation on women's political engagement in sub-Saharan Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(7), 767-790.
- Franceschet, S., Piscopo, J., and Thomas, G. 2017. "Motherhood and Politics in Latin America: Continuity and Change." In *Mothers & Others: The Role of Parenthood in Politics*. Thomas, M., & Bittner, A., eds. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

## Feb. 9 – Ideology, Partisanship and Public Opinion

- Woo, B., Goldberg, L., & Solt, F. (2022). Public Gender Egalitarianism: A Dataset of Dynamic Comparative Public Opinion toward Egalitarian Gender Roles in the Public Sphere. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-10. doi:10.1017/S0007123422000436
- Gothreau, C., Arceneaux, K., & Friesen, A. (2022). Hostile, Benevolent, Implicit: How Different Shades of Sexism Impact Gendered Policy Attitudes. *Frontiers in Political Science*, 66.
- Dhima, K., Golder, S. N., Stephenson, L. B., & Van der Straeten, K. (2021). Permissive electoral systems and descriptive representation. *Electoral Studies*, 73, 102381.
- Beauregard, K., O'Neill, B., & Gidengil, E. (2022). Women, support for sovereignty, and feminism: the case of Quebec. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 10(1), 41-62.
- Harteveld, E., Dahlberg, S., Kokkonen, A., & Van Der Brug, W. (2019). Gender differences in vote choice: Social cues and social harmony as heuristics. *British Journal of Political Science*, 49(3), 1141-1161.
- Goodyear-Grant, E., & Bittner, A. 2017. "The Parent Gap in Political Attitudes: Mothers versus Others." In *Mothers & Others: The Role of Parenthood in Politics*. Thomas, M., & Bittner, A., eds. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

## **Feb. 16 – Political Ambition and Running for Office**

Gruneau, M. F. (2021). The persistence of social norms, family formation, and gender balance in politics. *Politics & Gender*, 1-33.

Schneider, M. C., Holman, M. R., Diekman, A. B., & McAndrew, T. (2016). Power, conflict, and community: How gendered views of political power influence women's political ambition. *Political Psychology*, 37(4), 515-531.

Silva, Andrea, and Carrie Skulley. 2019. "Always running: candidate emergence among women of color over time." *Political Research Quarterly* 72: (2): 342-359.

Conroy, M., & Green, J. (2020). It Takes a Motive: Communal and Agentic Articulated Interest and Candidate Emergence. *Political Research Quarterly*, 73(4), 942–956.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912920933668>

Bejarano, C., Brown, N. E., Gershon, S. A., & Montoya, C. (2021). Shared identities: Intersectionality, linked fate, and perceptions of political candidates. *Political Research Quarterly*, 74(4), 970-985.

Anzia, S. F., & Bernhard, R. (2022). Gender Stereotyping and the Electoral Success of Women Candidates: New Evidence from Local Elections in the United States. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-20.

## **Feb. 23 – No Class, Reading Week**

## **March 2 – When Women Govern**

Clayton, Amanda, and Pär Zetterberg. 2018. "Quota shocks: Electoral gender quotas and government spending priorities worldwide." *The Journal of Politics* 80 (3): 916-932.

Dietrich, B. J., Hayes, M., & O'Brien, D. Z. (2019). Pitch perfect: Vocal pitch and the emotional intensity of congressional speech. *American Political Science Review*, 113(4), 941-962.

Holman, M. R., Merolla, J. L., & Zechmeister, E. J. (2022). The curious case of Theresa May and the public that did not rally: Gendered reactions to terrorist attacks can cause slumps not Bumps. *American Political Science Review*, 116(1), 249-264.

Vallejo Vera, S., & Gómez Vidal, A. (2022). The politics of interruptions: Gendered disruptions of legislative speeches. *The Journal of Politics*, 84(3), 000-000.

Wagner, A., Trimble, L., Curtin, J., Auer, M., & Woodman, V. K. G. (2021). Representations of Political Leadership Qualities in News Coverage of Australian and Canadian Government Leaders. *Politics & Gender*, 1-32.

Barnes, T. D., & O'Brien, D. Z. (2018). Defending the realm: The appointment of female defense ministers worldwide. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(2), 355-368.

### **March 9 - Gender, Culture, Society and Politics**

Thomas, M. B., & Wright, J. E. (2022). We can't just shut up and play: How the NBA and WNBA are helping dismantle systemic racism. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 44(2), 143-157.

Blake, K. R., Anjum, G., & Brooks, R. C. (2021). Family and Gendered Fitness Interests Effects on Attitudes Toward Women's Veiling, Status-Seeking and Stereotyping of Women in Pakistan. *Adaptive Human Behavior and Physiology*, 7(4), 382-402.

Carrick, S., Culvin, A., & Bowes, A. (2021). The Butterfly Effect? Title IX and the USWNT as Catalysts for Global Equal Pay. *J. Legal Aspects Sport*, 31, 289.

Riccioni, I., & Halley, J. A. (2021). Performance as Social Resistance: Pussy Riot as a Feminist Avant-garde. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 38(7-8), 211-231.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/02632764211032726>

Tao, C., Glosenber, A., Tracey, T.J.G. *et al.* Are Gender Differences in Vocational Interests Universal?: Moderating Effects of Cultural Dimensions. *Sex Roles* 87, 327-349 (2022).  
<https://doi-org.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/10.1007/s11199-022-01318-w>

Blake, K. R., Bastian, B., Denson, T. F., Grosjean, P., & Brooks, R. C. (2018). Income inequality not gender inequality positively covaries with female sexualization on social media. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(35), 8722-8727.

### **Gender and Public Policy**

#### **March 16 – Sexual Orientation & Gender Identity: Participation and Rights**

Jones, P. E. (2021). Political distinctiveness and diversity among LGBT Americans. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 85(2), 594-622.

Guntermann, E., & Beauvais, E. (2022). The Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Vote in a More Tolerant Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, 1-31.

Turnbull-Dugarte, S. J. (2022). Rainbows and traffic lights: queer voters at the German ballot box. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 1(aop), 1-5.

Jones, P. E., Brewer, P. R., Young, D. G., Lambe, J. L., & Hoffman, L. H. (2018). Explaining public opinion toward transgender people, rights, and candidates. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 82(2), 252-278.

Harrison, B. F., & Michelson, M. R. (2019). Gender, masculinity threat, and support for transgender rights: An experimental study. *Sex Roles*, 80(1), 63-75.

Sharrow, E. A. (2017). “Female athlete” politic: Title IX and the naturalization of sex difference in public policy. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 5(1), 46-66.

Also read: <https://theconversation.com/how-high-school-sports-became-the-latest-battleground-over-transgender-rights-151361>

Henry, P. J., Steiger, R. L., & Bellovary, A. (2022). The contribution of gender equality to the coexistence of progressive abortion and sexual orientation laws. *Sex Roles*, 86(3), 263-281.

### **March 23 – Sexuality, Reproductive Rights, and Policy**

Krems, J. A., Ko, A., Moon, J. W., & Varnum, M. E. (2021). Lay beliefs about gender and sexual behavior: First evidence for a pervasive, robust (but seemingly unfounded) stereotype. *Psychological Science*, 32(6), 871-889.

Platt, L., Grenfell, P., Meiksin, R., Elmes, J., Sherman, S. G., Sanders, T., ... & Crago, A. L. (2018). Associations between sex work laws and sex workers' health: A systematic review and meta-analysis of quantitative and qualitative studies. *PLoS medicine*, 15(12), e1002680.

Sohn, K. (2019). More educated sex workers Earn more in Indonesia. *Feminist Economics*, 25(3), 201-223.

Kreitzer, R. J., Smith, C. W., Kane, K. A., & Saunders, T. M. (2021). Affordable but inaccessible? Contraception deserts in the US states. *Journal of health politics, policy and law*, 46(2), 277-304.

Hunt, K., & Gruszczynski, M. (2019). The ratification of CEDAW and the liberalization of abortion laws. *Politics & Gender*, 15(4), 722-745.

Knight, Amber. 2017. “Disability and the meaning of reproductive liberty.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5 (1): 67-83.

### **March 30 – Gender, Disability and Health Outcomes**

Hirschmann, N. J. (2012). Disability as a new frontier for feminist intersectionality research. *Politics & Gender*, 8(3), 396-405.

Jenks, A. (2019). Crip theory and the disabled identity: why disability politics needs impairment. *Disability & Society*, 34(3), 449-469.

Sheppard, L. D., Loi, T. I., & Kmec, J. A. (2022). Too Tired to Lean In? Sleep Quality Impacts Women's Daily Intentions to Pursue Workplace Status. *Sex Roles*, 1-11.

Weitzman, A., & Goosby, B. J. (2021). Intimate partner violence, circulating glucose, and non-communicable Disease: Adding insult to injury?. *SSM-population Health*, 13, 100701.

Smith, D.T., Mouzon, D.M. & Elliott, M. Hegemonic Masculinity and Mental Health Among Older White Men in the U.S.: The Role of Health and Wealth Decline. *Sex Roles* 86, 605–619 (2022). <https://doi-org.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/10.1007/s11199-022-01291-4>

Benenson, J. F., Webb, C. E., & Wrangham, R. W. (2021). Self-protection as an adaptive female strategy. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 1-86.

### **April 6 – Parenthood and Politics**

Naurin, E., Stolle, D., & Markstedt, E. (2022). The Effect of Pregnancy on Engagement with Politics. Toward a Model of the Political Consequences of the Earliest Stages of Parenthood. *American Political Science Review*, 1-7. doi:10.1017/S0003055422000430

Brooks, R. C., & Blake, K. R. (2021). Gendered fitness interests: A method partitioning the effects of family composition on socio-political attitudes and behaviors. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 42(4), 295-303.

Hutchinson, A., Khan, S., & Matfess, H. (2020). Childcare, Work, and Household Labor During a Pandemic: Evidence on Parents' Preferences in the United States. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 1-19.

Morosow, K., & Cooke, L. P. (2022). The impact of taking family leaves across Finnish fathers' wage distribution. *Social Forces*, 101(1), 202-226.

Sharrow, E. A., Rhodes, J. H., Nteta, T. M., & Greenlee, J. S. (2018). The first-daughter effect: The impact of fathering daughters on men's preferences for gender-equality policies. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 82(3), 493-523.