

#### UNIVERSITY OF BATH

PL51030: The Politics of Gender Inequality

2023-2024

Mondays, 11:15 – 1:05, 1 West 3.30

## **Unit Description**

Why are women underrepresented in national parliaments and top leadership roles? How does unpaid work within households relate to gender inequality in the public sphere? Can policy interventions shift culture and gender norms, and how can we prevent backlash? This unit examines the causes and consequences of gender inequality broadly considered (in the workforce, political life, and the household) from an interdisciplinary perspective. We will draw on theory and literature from political science, economics, sociology and other disciplines to learn about cutting edge research in the field. Starting with definitions of gender and the evolution of gender norms and preferences over time, we will critically analyze links between gender identity and multiple facets of life, from reaching senior management roles to organizing child care within the family to running for office. The unit takes an in-depth look into areas where ongoing challenges exist, paying special attention to promising policies or interventions to close gender gaps. Additionally, the unit introduces students to the process of writing an independent research proposal, with a focus on selecting an appropriate method to answering the research question.

## **Unit Aims**

The goals of the course are for students to become experts in the politics of gender inequality, to improve their writing, learn to give and receive academic feedback, and to hone critical thinking skills by analyzing potential solutions to gender inequality across democracies. By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Describe the current state of gender gaps in politics, within households, and in the workplace
- Assess the efficacy (advantages and limitations) of various methods of closing these gender gaps
- Develop their own perspectives of what we know and don't know yet about the causes, consequences, and proposed solutions to gender inequality, and debate these with peers

• Design a feasible empirical research proposal related to closing gender gaps, and give feedback to peers on their proposals

#### **Assessment**

- Policy brief: 20%. Students will design a short (3 page) policy brief on a topic of their interest. The objective of this assignment is for you to teach yourself (and others) more about a problem related to gender equality as well as potential solutions to that problem. You will argue in favor of a particular policy or set of actions. The format will be a 1-page eye-catching infographic followed by a concise 2-page memo expanding on the points made in the infographic. References are not included in the page count. The material from the policy brief exercise can be incorporated into your research questions and final research proposal. Guidelines are posted on Moodle. Deadline: Oct 30, 3pm
- Initial research questions proposal: 25%. Students will propose two empirical research questions related to gender equality (they may be on the same overall topic). Each research question should include the motivation for studying the question, theory, and 1-2 methods of answering the research question. You will receive feedback from me and peers on the research questions, and you will select one to develop into a research proposal. 1500 total words, not including references (+/ 10%). Deadline: Nov 27, 3pm
- **Peer review exercise: not marked.** Students will provide peer review comments (constructive criticism) on 2 peers' research questions proposal (each review is thus worth 7.5%). Guidelines for peer review will be posted on Moodle. Feedback is to be written, 300-500 words for each review, and talked through in discussion in group breakout sessions in class. **Deadline: Dec 11, 11:15am (in time for class)**
- **Final research proposal: 55%.** Students will submit a research proposal of 3500 words, not including references (+/ 10%), demonstrating the student's ability to formulate an interesting and important empirical research question related to gender equality (Introduction), discuss the relation of the question to existing research in this area (Literature Review), propose initial theory and hypotheses (Theory), and identify an appropriate method to answer the question (Methods). Please note that the proposal is hypothetical; you are not expected to carry out the research for the sake of this unit. The proposal is however an excellent way to start thinking about the final MA dissertation. It is in your interest to be realistic about what is possible / the scope of research given your timeline and resources. **Deadline: TBA (January)**

The pass mark for assignments is 40%.

\*\*Extensions can only be agreed by your Director of Studies.\*\*

**Organization** 

**Unit Convenor:** 

Dr. Ana Catalano Weeks (A.C.Weeks@bath.ac.uk)

Office hours (you can choose in person, 1 West North 4.02, or online): Mondays 2:30-4:30pm. sign up here:

 $\underline{https://outlook.office365.com/owa/calendar/AnaWeeksofficehours@ComputingServices.onm}\\\underline{icrosoft.com/bookings/}$ 

If this time does not work for you, email me and we can arrange an alternative meeting time.

The course is structured as 2-hour lecture/seminar sessions in person each week. These are usually on Mondays at 11:15am. There is one exception when we have a class on Friday Oct 27 (instead of Monday Oct 23 when there will be no class) at 2:15pm, in EB 0.15.

Students are expected to prepare for class by reading the key literature listed in the unit outline below (and Moodle page – see Library List, which also lists many additional background readings).

## **Summary of Class Sessions**

Class	Date	Theme	Topic
1	Oct 2	Introduction	The empirical study of gender
2	Oct 9	Gender equality in the household	Gender norms and gendered preferences
3	Oct 16		The second shift and "mental load"
4	Oct 27 **Fri **		Work-family policies
5	Oct 30	Gender equality in politics	Gender, sexuality, and running for office **Coursework 1 due**
6	Nov 13		Gender quotas
7	Nov 20		Gender backlash and the far right
8	Nov 27	Gender equality in the workplace	The gender pay gap  **Initial research questions proposal due**
9	Dec 4		Women in the executive
10	Dec 11	Conclusion	The future of gender equality? Broadening the discussion **Peer review sessions, comments due**

## LECTURE 1: THE EMPIRICAL STUDY OF GENDER

"Sex Redefined", Nature, 18 February 2015. Link

Joni Lovenduski, "Gendering Research in Political Science," Annual Review of Politics 1 (1998), 333-356. Link

Hawkesworth, Mary. "Sex, Gender, and Sexuality: From Naturalized Presumption to Analytical Categories." In *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, eds. Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, and Laurel Weldon, Oxford University Press, 2013, 31-56. Link

Lindqvist, Anna, Marie Gustafsson Sendén and Emma A. Renström. 2021. What is Gender, Anyway: A Review of the Options for Operationalising Gender. *Psychology & Sexuality* 12(4): 332-344. Link

Bowleg, Lisa, and Greta Bauer. "Invited reflection: Quantifying intersectionality." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (2016): 337-341. Link

## Theme 1: Gender Equality in the Household

#### LECTURE 2: GENDER NORMS AND GENDERED PREFERENCES

Becker, Gary S. 1991. A treatise on the family: Enlarged edition. Harvard university press. Introduction and Chapter 2. \*read for ideas; you can skip the mathematical details. Book available online via Bath library.

Iversen, Torben, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 2010. *Women, work, and politics: The political economy of gender inequality*. Yale University Press, 2010. Introduction and Chapters 2: "The Structure of Patriarchy." and 5 "Political Preferences". Book available online via Bath library.

Beckwith, K., 2014. "Plotting the path from one to the other: Women's interests and political representation". Chapter 2 in: *Representation: The case of women*, pp.19-40. Book available online via Bath Library.

Smooth, Wendy, 2011. "Standing for women? Which women? The substantive representation of women's interests and the research imperative of intersectionality". *Politics & Gender*, 7(3), pp.436-441. Link

For seminar: Take a gender IAT: <a href="https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html">https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html</a>

#### LECTURE 3: THE SECOND SHIFT AND THE "MENTAL LOAD"

Hochschild, A. and Machung, A., 2012. *The second shift: Working families and the revolution at home*. Penguin. Preface, Introduction & Chapter 2. Online via Bath library.

Bauer, Gerrit. 2016. "Gender roles, comparative advantages and the life course: the division of domestic labor in same-sex and different-sex couples." *European Journal of Population* 32: 99-128. Link

"You Should've Asked" comic by Emma: <a href="https://english.emmaclit.com/2017/05/20/you-shouldve-asked/">https://english.emmaclit.com/2017/05/20/you-shouldve-asked/</a>

Daminger, A., 2019. The Cognitive Dimension of Household Labor. *American Sociological Review*, 84(4), pp.609-633. <u>Link</u>

#### **LECTURE 4: WORK-FAMILY POLICIES**

Collins, C., 2019. *Making motherhood work: How women manage careers and caregiving*. Princeton University Press. Whole book. Available <u>online</u> via Bath library, or at booksellers.

Tanquerel, S. and Grau-Grau, M., 2020. Unmasking work-family balance barriers and strategies among working fathers in the workplace. *Organization*, 27(5), pp.680-700. Link

# **Theme 2: Gender Equality in Politics**

## LECTURE 5: GENDER, SEXUALITY, AND RUNNING FOR OFFICE

Teele, Dawn Langan, Joshua Kalla, and Frances Rosenbluth. 2018. "The ties that double bind: social roles and women's underrepresentation in politics." *American Political Science Review* 112, no. 3 (2018): 525-541. <u>Link</u>

Bos, Angela L., Jill S. Greenlee, Mirya R. Holman, Zoe M. Oxley, and J. Celeste Lay. "This one's for the boys: How gendered political socialization limits girls' political ambition and interest." *American Political Science Review* 116, no. 2 (2022): 484-501. <u>Link</u>

Krook, Mona Lena, and Juliana Restrepo Sanín. "The cost of doing politics? Analyzing violence and harassment against female politicians." *Perspectives on Politics* 18, no. 3 (2020): 740-755. Link

Magni, Gabriele and Reynolds, Andrew, 2021. "Voter preferences and the political underrepresentation of minority groups: lesbian, gay, and transgender candidates in advanced democracies." *The Journal of Politics*, 83(4), pp.1199-1215. <u>Link</u>

Magni, Gabriele and Elliot Imse. 2023. When We Run: The Motivations, Experiences and Challenges of LGBTQ+ Candidates in the United States LMU LGBTQ+ Politics Research Initiative & LGBTQ+ Victory Institute. (report)

## **LECTURE 6: GENDER QUOTAS**

Dahlerup, Drude, and Lenita Freidenvall. 2005. "Quotas as a 'fast track'to equal representation for women: Why Scandinavia is no longer the model." *International feminist journal of politics* 7, no. 1: 26-48.

Weeks, A.C., 2022. *Making Gender Salient: From Gender Quota Laws to Policy*. Cambridge University Press. Online via Bath library.

## LECTURE 7: GENDER BACKLASH AND THE FAR RIGHT

Gidron, N. and Hall, P.A., 2017. The politics of social status: Economic and cultural roots of the populist right. *The British journal of sociology*, 68, pp.S57-S84. <u>Link</u>

Paternotte, D. and Kuhar, R., 2018. Disentangling and locating the "global right": Anti-gender campaigns in Europe. *Politics and Governance*, 6(3), pp.6-19. <u>Link</u>

Anduiza, Eva, and Guillem Rico. 2022. "Sexism and the Far-Right Vote: The Individual Dynamics of Gender Backlash." *American Journal of Political Science*. Link

Weeks, Ana Catalano, Bonnie M. Meguid, Miki Caul Kittilson, and Hilde Coffé. 2023. "When do Männerparteien elect women? Radical right populist parties and strategic descriptive representation." *American Political Science Review* 117, no. 2: 421-438. Link

Turnbull-Dugarte, Stuart J. and Alberto López Ortega. "Instrumentally Inclusive: The Political Psychology of Homonationalism." *American Political Science Review* (2023): 1-19. Link

## Theme 3: Gender Equality in the Workplace

#### **LECTURE 8: THE GENDER PAY GAP**

Budig, Michelle J., and Paula England. 2001. "The wage penalty for motherhood." *American sociological review* (2001): 204-225. Link

Goldin, Claudia. *Career and family: Women's century-long journey toward equity*. Princeton University Press, 2021. Online via Bath library. Especially Chapters 1, 2, 8,

Iversen, Torben, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 2010. *Women, work, and politics: The political economy of gender inequality.* Yale University Press, 2010. Chapter 3: "The Gender Division of Labor" Book available online via Bath library.

#### LECTURE 9: WOMEN IN THE EXECUTIVE

Eagly, Alice and Steven Karau. 2002. "Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice Toward Female Leaders." Psychological Review. 109(3), pp. 573-598. <u>Link</u>

Bruckmüller, S., Ryan, M.K., Rink, F. and Haslam, S.A., 2014. Beyond the glass ceiling: The glass cliff and its lessons for organizational policy. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 8(1), pp.202-232. <u>Link</u>

O'Brien, Diana Z. "Rising to the top: Gender, political performance, and party leadership in parliamentary democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 59, no. 4 (2015): 1022-1039. Link

Williams, Christine L. 2013. "The glass escalator, revisited: Gender inequality in neoliberal times, SWS feminist lecturer." *Gender & Society* 27, no. 5: 609-629. Link

#### **Conclusion**

# LECTURE 10: THE FUTURE OF GENDER EQUALITY? BROADENING THE DISCUSSION

Iversen, Torben, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 2010. *Women, work, and politics: The political economy of gender inequality*. Yale University Press. Chapter 7: "Conclusions." Online via Moodle.

Murray, R., 2014. Quotas for men: Reframing gender quotas as a means of improving representation for all. *American Political Science Review*, 108(03), pp.520-532. <u>Link</u>

Goldin, C., 2014. A grand gender convergence: Its last chapter. *The American Economic Review*, 104(4), pp.1091-1119. <u>Link</u>

Bohnet, Iris. 2016. *What works*. Harvard University Press. Especially Chapters 3, 9 and 12. Will be available online via Bath library.

#### ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

#### Fun TV series and documentaries

- *Borgen* on Netflix (drama series about a Female PM in Denmark / gender in parliamentary democracies and coalition politics)
- *Mrs. America* on BBC iPlayer (drama series about the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment in the US)
- *RBG* on Netflix (documentary about Ruth Bader Ginsburg)
- *Knock Down the House* on Netflix (documentary about AOC and other women running in 2018 US congressional elections)
- Chisolm '72: Unbought and Unbossed on Netflix (documentary about Shirley Chisolm's campaign for the Democratic party's presidential nomination in 1972)

# Gender gaps data

- OECD gender equality data portal <a href="https://www.oecd.org/gender/">https://www.oecd.org/gender/</a>
- Women in parliaments data: http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm
- Gender quotas in politics data: <a href="https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas-database">https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas-database</a> and <a href="https://www.openicpsr.org/openicpsr/project/100918/version/V1/view">https://www.openicpsr.org/openicpsr/project/100918/version/V1/view</a>
- Harvard Kennedy School WAPPP Gender Action Portal https://gap.hks.harvard.edu/,
- Kings College London Global Institute for Women's Leadership Podcast series <a href="https://www.kcl.ac.uk/giwl/podcast">https://www.kcl.ac.uk/giwl/podcast</a>

## **Cross-national Survey Research Projects and Data**

- The World Values Survey: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp
- European Values Survey: http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu
- European Social Survey: http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org
- International Social Survey Programme http://www.issp.org/menu-top/home/
- European Elections Studies: <a href="https://www.gesis.org/en/services/finding-and-accessing-data/international-survey-programs/european-election-studies">https://www.gesis.org/en/services/finding-and-accessing-data/international-survey-programs/european-election-studies</a>
- Eurobarometer: https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/screen/home
- Latinobarometer: http://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp
- Afrobarometer: <a href="http://www.afrobarometer.org/">http://www.afrobarometer.org/</a>

## **Political party data (cross-national)**

• The Manifesto Project: https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/

#### **National Election Studies:**

You can also find online data and relevant documentation from several election studies across the world. For instance:

- American National Election Studies (<a href="http://www.electionstudies.org">http://www.electionstudies.org</a>)
- British Election Study (<a href="http://www.britishelectionstudy.com">http://www.britishelectionstudy.com</a>)
- German Election Study (<a href="https://gles.eu/">https://gles.eu/</a>) to name a few.

## ON WRITING IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Shively, W.P., 2016. The craft of political research. Routledge.

George Orwell, On Politics and the English Language:

 $\underline{https://faculty.washington.edu/rsoder/EDLPS579/HonorsOrwellPoliticsEnglishLanguage.pdf}$ 

Patrick Dunleavy blog on how to write paragraphs:

https://medium.com/advice-and-help-in-authoring-a-phd-or-non-fiction/how-to-write-paragraphs-80781e2f3054

Gerring et al. advice on social science writing:

http://www.bu.edu/polisci/files/people/faculty/gerring/documents/WritingAdvice.pdf

Advice on literature reviews:

Baglione, L.A., 2018. Writing a research paper in political science: A practical guide to inquiry, structure, and methods. Cq Press. Chapter 4 (Literature Review). Book available in Bath library.

Raul Panchego-Vega's blog on many aspects of writing process, including

How to write an introduction

How to do a literature review