

Contents

Acknowledgments — VII

Prologue and the Scope of the Book — 1

Chapter 1

Introduction — 4

Learning the Lingo — 5

Sex, Gender, and Gender Norms — 5

Masculinity, Femininity, and the Gender Hierarchy — 7

Intersectionality and the Gender Hierarchy — 11

Gender Hierarchy as an Analytical Framework — 13

Contributions and Aims of this Book — 14

Section I: Politics and Gender Hierarchy

Chapter 2

Gender Hierarchy and Everyday Politics — 19

What Women (and Men) Want (Politically): Political Preference and Participation Gaps — 21

Gender Hierarchy and Socialization in the Home — 25

Parents as the First Example of Political Engagement — 27

Motherhood and Gendered Political Socialization — 28

Fatherhood and Political Socialization — 30

When Private Matters become Public Concerns — 31

Conclusion — 34

Chapter 3

Gender Hierarchy and Behavior of Political Elites — 36

Party People: Political Parties and Gender Hierarchy — 37

How Female Political Elites Behave — 40

Women on the Campaign Trail — 40

Women in Office — 42

Substantive and Descriptive Representation: Do Women Represent Other Women in Office? — 44

How Male Political Elites Behave — 45

On the Campaign Trail — 45

How Male Elites Behave in Office — **48**

Substantive and Descriptive Representation: Do Men Represent Other Men? — **51**

Conclusion — **53**

Section II: Economics and Gender Hierarchy

Chapter 4

Gender Hierarchy in the Household Economy — 57

The Household as an Economy — **58**

The Gendered Consequences of Household Economics — **59**

Historical Roots of Gendered Labor — **63**

Breadwinners and Homemakers: Gender Norms that Govern the Household Economy — **64**

Renegotiating the Household Bargain — **67**

Conclusion — **71**

Chapter 5

Gender Hierarchy and National Economies — 73

Gender Hierarchy, Government Regulations, and Taxation — **74**

Who Can Have—or be—Property — **75**

When Labor is Legal and When it is Exploitative — **78**

Tax Policies — **80**

Gender Hierarchy and Government Spending — **82**

Welfare Programs — **82**

Childcare Programs — **84**

Development and Industrial Policies — **86**

Optimism and Caveats about Economic Policies and Gender Hierarchy — **88**

Conclusion — **89**

Chapter 6

Gender Hierarchy and International Economics — 91

Gender and International Trade — **92**

Gender and International Austerity Programs and Liberalization — **97**

Gender Hierarchy and International Economic Sanctions — **99**

Conclusion — **103**

Section III: **Security and Gender Hierarchy**

Chapter 7

Gender Hierarchy and Justifying War — 107

Why do We Go to War? — 108

Masculinity and Warfighting — 108

Femininity and Recruitment into Armed Groups — 113

Conclusions — 120

Chapter 8

Gender Hierarchy and War — 121

Gender Hierarchy and Socialization in Armed Groups — 122

Men's Socialization in Armed Groups — 124

Women's Socialization in Armed Groups — 127

Gender Hierarchy and Patterns of Violence in War — 130

The Legacies of Wartime Socialization under Gender Hierarchy — 134

Gender Hierarchy and the Socialization of Civilians in War Zones — 137

Conclusion — 138

Chapter 9

Gender Hierarchy and International Security — 140

Gender Hierarchy and Likelihood of War — 142

The Women, Peace, and Security Agenda, Feminist Foreign Policy, and State Security — 142

The State as a Masculine Protector — 147

Masculine Protectors Abroad — 147

Masculine Protectors at Home — 150

Conclusions — 154

Section IV: **The Fight Ahead**

Chapter 10

Gender Hierarchy and Backlash — 157

Backlash: What is it and Where Does it Come From? — 159

The Precarity of Masculinity and Backlash Politics — 160

“Good Girls” and Backlash — 162

How and Where Backlash Manifests — 163

The International Community and Backlash — 163

Backlash at the National Level — **164**
Backlash at the Individual Level — **169**
Conclusions — **170**

Chapter 11

Conclusions and the Way Forward — 172
Way Forward: — **173**
Eroding Gender Hierarchy — **173**
In Our Personal Lives, We Can: — **174**
In National Politics, We Can: — **175**
We Can Also Push for Change in the International System: — **178**
Being a Feminist in Public — **179**
Closing on a Note of Hope — **181**

Works Cited — 182

Index — 212