

PLAP 4140  
Beyond the Gap: Gender and Political Behavior  
Fall 2009

Tuesday & Thursday 2:00–3:15pm  
Cabell Hall 424

Course web page:  
<http://collab.itc.virginia.edu/portal>

Professor Nicholas Winter  
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office hours: Wednesday 12–1:30pm & by appointment

Gender is a social system that defines relevant categories of people, proscribes appropriate attributes and behaviors to those categories, and regularizes power relations among individuals and between society and individuals. Children are socialized very early to recognize, understand, and enact gender, and adults understand and enact it as well.

Yet an amazing proportion of the work on gender and mass political behavior has focused on the *gender gap*—the average difference between women and men in political attitudes, voting, and other political action. These differences are important, both theoretically and politically, but the gender gap only scratches the surface of the ways that gender can matter for mass politics. This course, therefore, explores the ways gender structures the political system and our understanding of it, and therefore affects political behavior in ways that go well beyond the gender gap.

We will consider the theoretical place of gender in American politics. Has politics been constructed as a symbolically masculine realm? What effects does that have on citizens' attitudes and behavior? Is that changing? We will also take up a number of topics, including the unavoidable gender gap, the role of masculinity and femininity in conditioning our perceptions of issues and political candidates, the ways gender, politics, and society have interacted historically, and the ways race and gender (and class) interact in conditioning political behavior.

To explore these topics we will draw on literature from a variety of disciplines, including political science, history, feminist theory, psychology and policy studies.

This course has a prerequisite: you must have taken at least one course **either** on gender **or** on political behavior.

### Course Requirements

Requirements for this course include reading the assigned material before each class meeting, attending and participating in class, submitting weekly *discussion questions*, taking a take home *midterm examination*, submitting a two-page research *proposal*, and a writing a final *research paper*. In addition, there may be additional brief in-class written work.

Because this course is a seminar, what we all get out of it will depend greatly on what you put into it. Therefore, I expect that you will attend all classes, do the assigned reading before each class, and participate in the discussion. Your participation grade will reflect the quality (not simply quantity!) of your class participation. If an emergency prevents you from attending class you should let me know in advance.

For the final paper you will connect material from the second half of the course with research you conduct on a political topic. I will hand out additional information on the research paper as the term progresses.

Grades will be based on the following breakdown:

Item	Proportion	Date
Attendance and participation	20 percent	(ongoing)
Discussion essays	10 percent	(weekly)
Midterm exam	30 percent	distributed Thursday, 10/22 in class due Friday, 10/30 at 3pm
Final paper	40 percent	Wednesday, December 10 at 10am

**Papers and exams turned in late without prior arrangement will not be considered for a grade.**

### Readings

There are six required books, available at the UVa Bookstore. They are also all available from the usual online retailers; I have indicated below the date on which we will first use each book in class, so you can plan to have it in time if you order online. All other materials are on Collab.

Cuordileone, K. A. 2005. *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War*. New York: Routledge.

Hoganson, Kristin L. 1998. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. (September 30)

Kahn, Kim F. 1996. *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman: How Stereotypes Influence the Conduct and Consequences of Political Campaigns*. New York: Columbia University Press. (October 30)

Malin, Brenton J. 2005. *American Masculinity Under Clinton: Popular Media and the "Crisis of Masculinity."* New York: Peter Lang.

McDonagh, Eileen L. 2009. *The Motherless State : Women's Political Leadership and American Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2008. *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas About Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. (November 13)

### Discussion Essays

Each week, for the Thursday class meeting, you will prepare brief discussion essay of *no more than one page* (double spaced, normal font and margins) that you will email to me before class. I will use these as feedback to me about what you are taking from the reading and to help structure class discussions. They also will also help you to read and think carefully about the material before getting to class.

Your essays should engage with the reading for that Thursday, though you can and should draw on earlier material as appropriate.

Each week's questions are due by 5am on the day of class, and must be submitted by email to me at [nwinter@virginia.edu](mailto:nwinter@virginia.edu). You should include your name, the date, and your questions in the *body of the email*, not as an attachment. For each question, indicate which reading or readings the question is based on.

**The subject line of your email should read "PLAP 4140 Discussion Essay-[date]-[your name]."**

There will be twelve essays (one for each Thursday, except for the Thanksgiving and the week of the midterm). You may skip one without penalty; after that your grade will suffer. I will not assign a formal grade to your essays, but will give you feedback if yours need improvement or are particularly insightful. Feel free to get in touch if you want more feedback.

Your essay should engage with the material. This could consist of raising a theoretically-informed question and suggesting avenues for answering it; applying the insights from the reading to a novel example drawn from modern or historical politics; comparing and contrasting parts of two or more readings; or something else. Good essays generally will be relatively specific in some way, in order to reach beyond vague generalities. In formulating your essay, you should go with issues, concerns, comparisons, questions, or confusions that struck you when reading the material. If none struck you while reading, go back and read more carefully!

Because your space is limited, you should get right to the point without wasting space on description or summary of the readings. Your essays need not be overly formal, though they should of course be clear, grammatical, and proof-read.

### Other Policies

I respect and uphold University policies and regulations pertaining to the observation of religious holidays; assistance available to the physically handicapped, visually, and/or hearing impaired students; plagiarism; racial, ethnic, gender, sexual orientation, or religious discrimination; and all forms of harassment.

If you have (or suspect you have) a learning or other disability that requires academic accommodations, you must contact the Learning Needs and Evaluation Center (<http://www.virginia.edu/studenthealth/lhec.html>) as soon as possible, at least two to three weeks before any assignments are due. I take learning disabilities very seriously and will make whatever accommodations you need to be successful in this class but they must be properly documented by the LNEC.

Plagiarism, or academic theft, is passing off someone else's words or ideas as your own without giving proper credit to the source. You are responsible for not plagiarizing and are expected to abide by the University of Virginia Honor Code (see <http://www.virginia.edu/honor/proc/fraud.html>).

Participation in this class implies permission from students to submit their written work to services that check for plagiarism; you may be required to submit both hard and digital copies of your papers.

## O. WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

### WELCOME TO THE CLASS

August 25

## I. THE GENDER GAP

### THE GENDER GAP IN VOTING, PARTISANSHIP, AND ATTITUDES

August 27

Gilens, Martin. 1988. "Gender and Support for Reagan: a Comprehensive Model of Presidential Approval." *American Journal of Political Science* 32(1):19-49.

Kaufmann, Karen M. 2002. "Culture Wars, Secular Realignment, and the Gender Gap in Party Identification." *Political Behavior* 24(3):283-307.

Mansbridge, Jane J. 1985. "Myth and Reality: The ERA and the Gender Gap in the 1980 Election." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 49(2):164-78.

Mueller, Carol. 1991. "The Gender Gap and Women's Political Influence." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 515(1):23-37.

September 1

Shapiro, Robert Y., and Harpreet Mahajan. 1986. "Gender Differences in Policy Preferences: A Summary of Trends From the 1960s to the 1980s." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 50(1):42-61.

Conover, Pamela J. 1988. "Feminists and the Gender Gap." *Journal of Politics* 50(4):985-1010.

Conover, Pamela J., and Virginia Sapiro. 1993. "Gender, Feminist Consciousness, and War." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(4):1079-99.

Cook, Elizabeth A., and Clyde Wilcox. 1991. "Feminism and the Gender Gap—a Second Look." *Journal of Politics* 53(4):1111-22.

September 3

No Class (APSA Annual Meeting)

### "WOMEN" AS A POLITICAL GROUP

September 8

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. "Membership in Social Groups." In *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, chap. 12 (295-332).

Sears, David O., and Leonie Huddy. 1992. "On the Origins of Political Disunity Among Women." In *Women, Politics, and Change*, ed. Louise Tilly, and Patricia Gurin. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 249-80.

Ladd, Everett C. 1997. "Media Framing of the Gender Gap." In *Women, Media, and Politics*, ed. Pippa Norris. New York: Oxford University Press, 113-28.

## II. WHAT IS GENDER? HOW DO WE MAKE IT? HOW DO WE USE IT?

### WHAT IS GENDER?

#### September 10

Lorber, Judith. 1994. *Paradoxes of Gender*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chap. 1, 13-36.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1993. "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough." *The Sciences* 33(2):20-24.

West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender and Society* 1(2):125-51.

Clarey, Christopher and Gina Kolata. 2009. "Gold Awarded Amid Dispute Over Runner's Sex." *The New York Times*. 21 August. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/21/sports/21runner.html>

#### September 15

Young, Iris M. 1994. "Gender As Seriality: Thinking About Women As a Social Collective." *Signs* 19(3):713-38.

### BIOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL TAKES ON GENDER DIFFERENCE

#### September 17

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1992. "Of Genes and Gender." In *Myths of Gender: Biological Theories About Women and Men*. 2nd ed. New York: Basic Books, chap. 3 (61-89)

Condry, John, and Sandra Condry. 1976. "Sex Differences: A Study of the Eye of the Beholder." *Child Development* 47(3):812-19.

Hurlbert, Anya C., and Yazhu Ling. 2007. "Biological Components of Sex Differences in Color Preference." *Current Biology* 17(16):R623-R625.

Goldacre, Ben. 2007. "Bad Science: Out of the Blue and in the Pink." *The Guardian*. 25 August 2007. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/science/2007/aug/25/genderissues>

#### September 22

Ortner, Sherry B. [1974] 1996. "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" In *Making Gender: the Politics and Erotics of Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press, chapter 2.

### III. GENDER, HISTORY, AND AMERICAN POLITICS

#### THE FOUNDING & EARLY REPUBLIC

##### September 24

Kerber, Linda K. 1986. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. New York: Norton. Introduction (7-12) and chapter 9 (265-288).

Rotundo, E. Anthony. 1993. "Community to Individual: The Transformation of Manhood at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century." In *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity From the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: Basic Books, chapter 1 (10-30).

Bloch, Ruth H. 1987. "The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America." *Signs* 13(1):37-58.

##### September 29

Kang, John M. 2009. "Manliness and the Constitution." *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 32(1):261-332.

Baker, Paula. 1984. "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920." *The American Historical Review* 89(3):620-647.

~~Kraus, Natasha K. 2008. "True Womanhood, the Economy, and Woman's Rights." In *A New Type of Womanhood: Discursive Politics and Social Change in Antebellum America*. Durham: Duke University Press, chapter 1 (15-43).~~

#### TEDDY ROOSEVELT, THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, AND THE PHILIPPINES

##### October 1

*Optional, for a brief historical overview of the Spanish-American and Philippines wars:*

Brinkley, Alan. 1993. "The Imperial Republic." In *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chap. 20 (537-555).

Hoganson, Kristin L. 1998. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, introduction & chapters 1-5 (1-132)

##### October 6

No Class (Reading Day)

##### October 8

Bederman, Gail. 1995. "Theodore Roosevelt: Manhood, Nation, and 'Civilization'." In *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chapter 5 (170-215).

Rotundo, E. Anthony. 1993. "Roots of Change: The Woman Without and the Woman Within." In *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity From the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: Basic Books, chapter 11 (245-283).

**October 13**

Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, chapters 6-8 & conclusion (133-208).

**JOHN F. KENNEDY AND THE COLD WAR****October 15**

Optional, for a brief historical overview of the Cold War era and its antecedents:

Brinkley, Alan. 1993. "The Cold War." In *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chap. 29.

Cuordileone, K. A. 2005. *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War*. New York: Routledge, prologue & chapters 1-2 (vii-xxiii and 1-96).

**October 20**

Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War*, chapters 3-4 & afterword (97-246).

**RONALD REAGAN AND RESURGENT AMERICAN MASCULINITY****October 22**

Optional, for a brief historical overview of the Reagan era and its antecedents:

Brinkley, Alan. 1993. "The Unfinished Nation." In *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chap. 33 (872-896).

Jeffords, Susan. 1994. *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. Chapters 1-2 (1-63)

**TAKE-HOME MIDTERM EXAMINATION HANDED OUT IN CLASS, DUE FRIDAY, 10/30 AT 3PM**

**October 27**

In-class movie: *First Blood*

(We will finish most of the movie in class; you will need to finish it on your own time before class on the 29th.)

**October 29**

Michael S. Kimmel, "The Cult of Masculinity: American Social Character and the Legacy of the Cowboy," in *Beyond Patriarchy*, ed. E. Michael Kaufman (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 235-249.

**October 30 (Friday)**

Midterm due at 3pm

**BILL CLINTON AND (ANOTHER) CRISIS OF MASCULINITY****November 3**

Malin, Brenton J. 2005. *American Masculinity Under Clinton: Popular Media and the "Crisis of Masculinity"*. New York: Peter Lang, introduction & chapters 1-3 (1-96).

**November 5**

Malin, *American Masculinity Under Clinton*, chapters 4-5 & conclusion (97-193).

#### IV. GENDER IN MODERN AMERICAN POLITICS

##### MALE AND FEMALE POLITICAL CANDIDATES

###### November 10

Kahn, Kim F. 1996. *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman: How Stereotypes Influence the Conduct and Consequences of Political Campaigns*. New York: Columbia University Press, chapters 1-5 (1-74).

###### November 12

Kahn, *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman*, chapters 6-10 (75-140).

##### WHY NOT MORE WOMEN?

###### November 17

McDonagh, Eileen L. 2009. *The Motherless State: Women's Political Leadership and American Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapters 1-3 (1-88).

###### November 19

McDonagh, *The Motherless State*, chapters 4-5 (89-174).

###### November 24

McDonagh, *The Motherless State*, chapters 6-7 (175-222).

###### November 26

No Class (Thanksgiving)

##### METAPHORICAL ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN GENDER AND POLITICS

###### December 1

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2008. *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas About Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, chapters 1-4 (1-81).

###### December 3

Winter, *Dangerous Frames*, chapters 5-7 (83-173).



## FINAL THOUGHTS

## December 8

~~Young, Iris Marion. 2003. "The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State." *Signs* 29(1):1-25.~~

Fahey, Anna C. 2007. "French and Feminine: Hegemonic Masculinity and the Emasculation of John Kerry in the 2004 Presidential Race." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 24(2):132-50.

~~Faludi, Susan. 2008. "Think the Gender War is Over? Think Again." *New York Times* (15 June).  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/15/opinion/15faludi.html?ex=1371182400&en=7787a0bd3443f1eb&ei=5124&partner=permalink&expprod=permalink>~~

Cooper, Frank R. 2008. "Our First Unisex President?: Black Masculinity and Obama's Feminine Side." *Denver University Law Review* 86.

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. 2009. "Michelle Obama, Mom-in-Chief." *The Nation Online*.  
[http://www.thenation.com/blogs/notion/432957/michelle\\_obama\\_mom\\_in\\_chief](http://www.thenation.com/blogs/notion/432957/michelle_obama_mom_in_chief)

## December 9 (Wednesday)

## Final Research Papers due, 3pm

Turn in under my door (100 Cabell Hall) or by e-mail.