

PLAP 4140  
Beyond the Gap: Gender and Political Behavior  
Fall 2010

Thursday 1:00–3:30pm  
New Cabell Hall B021

Professor Nicholas Winter  
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office hours: Wednesday 1–3 & 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*, completing 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 questions	10 percent	(weekly)
Midterm exam	30 percent	distributed October 7 due Friday, October 15 at 3pm
Final paper	40 percent	due Friday, December 3 at 3pm

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

## Readings

There are five required books, available at the UVa Bookstore and from the usual online retailers; I have created a list on Amazon if you wish to order from them:

<http://www.amazon.com/lm/R13BZ0AXW7GC47>. 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)
- 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 Questions

Each week, you will prepare a set of two (2) discussion questions, based on that week's reading, 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.

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 Questions-[date]-[your name]”**

There will be thirteen sets of discussion questions. You may skip one without penalty; after that your grade will suffer. I will not assign a formal grade to your questions, but will give you feedback if your questions need improvement or are particularly insightful. Feel free to get in touch if you want more feedback.

In formulating your questions, 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!

### Good Discussion Questions

Good discussion questions are not answered by “yes” or “no” or some simple statement of fact. Instead they lead to higher order thinking (comparison, evaluation, analysis, synthesis) about the work and the issues it raises.

Good discussion questions are open-ended, leading to a variety of responses or conversation. Good questions recognize that readers will have different perspectives and interpretations and such questions attempt to engage readers in dialogue with each other.

That said, if you are confused by something, you can and should incorporate craft a discussion question that focuses on that confusion. You should seek to develop questions that go beyond simply asking “What does author X mean on page 10 when she says Y?”

Good discussion questions depend on a careful reading of the text. They often cite particular scenes or passages and ask people to look at them closely and draw connections between these passages and the rest of the work.

Good discussion questions make (and challenge) connections between the text at issue and other works, and the themes and issues of the course.

**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.

## 0. WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

### WELCOME TO THE CLASS

August 26

## I. THE GENDER GAP

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

September 2

- Gilens, Martin. 1988. "Gender and Support for Reagan: a Comprehensive Model of Presidential Approval." *American Journal of Political Science* 32(1):19-49.
- 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.
- 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.
- Conover, Pamela J. 1988. "Feminists and the Gender Gap." *Journal of Politics* 50(4):985-1010.
- Cook, Elizabeth A., and Clyde Wilcox. 1991. "Feminism and the Gender Gap—a Second Look." *Journal of Politics* 53(4):1111-22.
- Huddy, Leonie, Erin Cassese, and Mary-Kate Lizotte. 2008. "Gender, Public Opinion, and Political Reasoning." In *Political Women and American Democracy*, ed. Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez. New York: Cambridge University Press, 31-49.

### "WOMEN" AS A POLITICAL GROUP

September 9

- 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 16

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.

Ridgeway, Cecilia L., and Shelley J. Correll. 2004. "Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations." *Gender and Society* 18(4):510-531.

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>

Moura, Sophie. 2010. "I'm a Woman with Male Chromosomes." *Marie Claire*.  
<http://www.marieclaire.com/sex-love/relationship-issues/articles/woman-with-male-chromosomes>

\*\*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 23

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.

Bem, Sandra L. 1987. "Masculinity and Femininity Exist Only in the Mind of the Perceiver." In *Masculinity/Femininity: Basic Perspectives*, ed. June M. Reinisch, Leonard A. Rosenblum, and Stephanie A. Sanders. New York: Oxford University Press, 304-11.

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>

\*\*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 30

- Kerber, Linda. 1976. "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment—An American Perspective." *American Quarterly* 28(2):187-205.
- Lewis, Jan. 1987. "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 44(4):689-721.
- 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.

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

October 7

- 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 1-7 (1-180)
- 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).
- Winter, David G., editor and translator. 2010. "Circulating Metaphors of Sexuality, Aggression, and Power: Otto Rank's Analysis of 'Conquering Cities and 'Conquering' Women'." *Political Psychology* 31(1):1-19.

**TAKE-HOME MIDTERM EXAMINATION HANDED OUT IN CLASS, DUE FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15**

#### JOHN F. KENNEDY AND THE COLD WAR

October 14

- 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.

October 15 (Friday)

**Midterm due at 3pm**

Turn in under my door (S385 Gibson Hall) or by e-mail ([nwinter@virginia.edu](mailto:nwinter@virginia.edu)).

## RONALD REAGAN AND RESURGENT AMERICAN MASCULINITY

October 21

*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).

Costain, Anne N. 1991. "After Reagan: New Party Attitudes Toward Gender." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 515:114-25.

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

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.

## IV. GENDER IN MODERN AMERICAN POLITICS

## MALE AND FEMALE POLITICAL CANDIDATES

October 28

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 & 9-10 (1-74 & 117-139).

Dolan, Kathleen. 2008. "Women As Candidates in American Politics: the Continuing Impact of Sex and Gender." In *Political Women and American Democracy*, ed. Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez. New York: Cambridge University Press, 110-127.

November 4

**Skim:** Kinder, Donald R., Mark D. Peters, Robert P. Abelson, and Susan T. Fiske. 1980. "Presidential Prototypes." *Political Behavior* 2(4):315-37.

**Skim:** Todorov, Alexander, Anesu N. Mandisodza, Amir Goren, and Crystal C. Hall. 2005. "Inferences of Competence From Faces Predict Election Outcomes." *Science* 308(5728):1623-26.

Chiao, Joan Y., Nicholas E. Bowman, and Harleen Gill. 2008. "The Political Gender Gap: Gender Bias in Facial Inferences That Predict Voting Behavior." *PLoS ONE* 3(10):e3666.

Anderson, Karrin V. 2002. "From Spouses to Candidates: Hillary Rodham Clinton, Elizabeth Dole, and the Gendered Office of U.S. President." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 5(1):105-32.

Carroll, Susan J. 2009. "Reflections on Gender and Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign: The Good, the Bad, and the Misogynic." *Politics & Gender* 5(01):1-20.

McGinley, Ann. 2009. "Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Michelle Obama: Performing Gender, Race, and Class on the Campaign Trail." *Denver University Law Review* 86:709.



## WHY NOT MORE WOMEN?

**November 11**

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

Beaman, Lori, Raghavendra Chattopadhyay, Esther Duflo, Rohini Pande, and Petia B. Topalova. 2008. "Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias?" MIT Department of Economics Working Paper No. 08-14. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1162358>.

## METAPHORICAL ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN GENDER AND POLITICS

**November 18**

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

**November 25**

No Class (Happy Thanksgiving)

## FINAL THOUGHTS

**December 2**

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.

Winter, Nicholas J. G. forthcoming. "Masculine Republicans and Feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' Explicit and Implicit Images of the Political Parties." *Political Behavior*.

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

**December 3**

**Final Research Papers due at 3pm**

Turn in under my door (S385 Gibson Hall) or by e-mail.