

PLAP 4140
Beyond the Gap: Gender and Political Behavior
Summer 2012 (Session I)

M–F 10:30am–12:45pm
Gibson Hall 142

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office hours: after class/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.

A Note on Summer Session Course Loads

This is a 4000-level seminar. We meet every day, and you will be expected to complete a substantial amount of reading daily, as well as preparing a series of seven reaction essays and reading your colleagues' reaction essays daily before class. One course is considered a full load during summer term, and I very strongly advise against taking more than one course at a time.

Course Requirements

Requirements for this course include: reading *and thinking about* the assigned material before each class meeting, attending and participating in class, submitting seven brief reading reaction essays (discussed below), reading other students' reaction essays before each class, and taking in-class midterm and final exams. 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. I will feel free to call on you in class to discuss the assigned material. 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.

Grades will be based on the following breakdown:

Item	Proportion	Date
Attendance and participation	20 percent	
Reading reaction essays	20 percent	
Midterm exam	30 percent	Friday, May 25 in Gibson 041
Final exam	30 percent	Take home, due Friday, June 8 at 5pm

Readings

There are four required books, available at the UVa Bookstore and from the usual online retailers. These books are also included in [an Amazon.com list](#).

All other materials are on Collab and/or linked from the syllabus.

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.

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.

Kornblut, Anne E. 2009. *Notes from the Cracked Ceiling: Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and What It Will Take for a Woman to Win*. New York: Crown Publishers.

Traister, Rebecca. 2010. *Big Girls Don't Cry: The Election That Changed Everything for American Women*. New York: Free Press.

Reading Reaction Essays

You must turn in seven (7) reading reaction essays over the course of the term, and you must read your colleagues' reactions before every class. We have fourteen classes with substantial readings, so that means you must do an average of one every other day. You must turn in at least three (3) reactions before the midterm exam.

Reaction content

Reaction should be about one page (300 words or so)

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; often they will include a brief quotation or quotations. 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.

I will use these as feedback about what you are taking from the reading and to help shape class discussions. They also will also help you to read and think carefully about the material before getting to class.

Reaction logistics

Reaction essays will be posted in the Forum area of Collab; each week has its own topic. You should post your reaction as the body of a new thread in the appropriate forum, with your name as the message title.

Reactions must be posted to the Forum no later than midnight on the evening before class. *Because other students must read your reactions, any reaction posted after midnight will not count toward your seven. If you skip too many early days you will not have an opportunity to make up missed reactions.*

In addition, you are also responsible for reading other students' reactions before each class, so you will need to check the forum after midnight each evening (or first thing in the morning). You may post a reply to a reaction essay if you wish to flag an issue for class discussion.

I will grade reactions on a three point scale: 3 for an excellent, insightful essay that goes beyond expectations; 2 for a solid essay; 1 for an essay that falls short in some real way; 0 for essays that are not turned in or that do not give evidence of any real effort. Most essays will be 2's.

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, and certainly by the end of the first week of class. 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/fraud.html>).

I. INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS

M May 14 Welcome to the Class

T May 15 The Gender Gap

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.

W May 16 "Women" as a Political Group

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).

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.

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

Stark, Steven. 1996. "Gap Politics." *Atlantic Monthly* 278 (1):70-80.

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

R May 17 What is Gender?

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

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

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>

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>

F May 18 Biological and Cultural Takes on Gender Difference

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)

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.

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.

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

M May 21 The Founding, Early Republic, and 19th Century

Kann, Mark E. 1999. *The Gendering of American Politics: Founding Mothers, Founding Fathers, and Political Patriarchy*. Westport, CT: Praeger. Chapters 3 & 4 (49-90).

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

Skocpol, Theda. 1992. "Expanding the Separate Sphere: Women's Civic Action and Political Reforms in the Early Twentieth Century." In *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Chapter 6.

Klatch, Rebecca. 1988. "Coalition and Conflict among Women of the New Right." *Signs* 13(4):671-94.

T May 22 Teddy Roosevelt & The Spanish-American War

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. *Everyone read the introduction, chapter 1 and the conclusion; we will divide and conquer the other chapters.*

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, Chapters 1 & 5 (1-44 & 170-215).

Explore the website "The Art of Manliness" at <http://artofmanliness.com/>.

Optional, for a brief historical overview of the Spanish-American war:

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).

W May 23 Ronald Reagan & Resurgent American Masculinity

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

Messner, Michael A. 2007. "The Masculinity of the Governor: Muscle and Compassion in American Politics." *Gender and Society* 21 (4):461-80.

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).

R May 24 Movie Day I

We will watch and then discuss *First Blood*.

F May 25 Midterm Exam in Gibson Hall Room S041**M May 28 No Class – Happy Memorial Day**

IV. GENDER IN MODERN AMERICAN POLITICS

T May 29 Male and Female Political Candidates

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. *Everyone read the introduction and chapters 1, 2, and 10; we will divide and conquer the other chapters.*

W May 30 More on Gender Stereotypes

~~Prentice, Deborah A., and Erica Carranza. 2002. "What Women and Men Should Be, Shouldn't Be, Are Allowed to Be, and Don't Have to Be: The Contents of Prescriptive Gender Stereotypes." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 26 (4):269-81.~~

Glick, Peter, and Susan T. Fiske. 2001. "An Ambivalent Alliance: Hostile and Benevolent Sexism as Complementary Justifications for Gender Inequality." *American Psychologist* 56 (2):109-18.

Rudman, Laurie A., and Peter Glick. 1999. "Feminized Management and Backlash toward Agentive Women: The Hidden Costs to Women of a Kinder, Gentler Image of Middle Managers." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 77 (5):1004-10.

~~Rudman, Laurie A., and Peter Glick. 2001. "Prescriptive Gender Stereotypes and Backlash Toward Agentive Women." *Journal of Social Issues* 57 (4):743-62.~~

Moss-Racusin, C. A., J. E. Phelan, and L. A. Rudman. 2010. "When Men Break the Gender Rules: Status Incongruity and Backlash Against Modest Men." *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* 11 (2):140-51.

R May 31 Candidate Sex, Gender, and Partisanship

Dolan, Kathleen. 2004. "The Impact of Candidate Sex on Evaluations of Candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives." *Social Science Quarterly* 85 (1):206-17.

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2010. "Masculine Republicans and Feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' Explicit and Implicit Images of the Political Parties." *Political Behavior* 32 (4):587-618.

F June 1 Movie Day II

In class we will watch and then discuss a modern action film with a female lead.

Mencimer, Stephanie. 2001 (September). "Violent Femmes." *Washington Monthly*.
<http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/2001/0109.mencimer.html>.

M June 4 Gender in 2008, 1

Kornblut, Anne E. 2009. *Notes from the Cracked Ceiling: Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and What It Will Take for a Woman to Win*. New York: Crown Publishers. Introduction and chapters 1–3.

T June 5 Gender in 2008, 2

Kornblut, Chapters 4–8.

W June 6 Gender in 2008, 3

Traister, Rebecca. 2010. *Big Girls Don't Cry: The Election That Changed Everything for American Women*. New York: Free Press. Introduction and chapters 1–6.

R June 7 Gender in 2008, 4

Traister, chapters 7–12.

F June 8 at 5pm Take home final exam due by email to nwinter@virginia.edu