

**PLAP 4140**  
**Beyond the Gap: Gender and Political Behavior**  
**Spring 2014**

Wednesday 1:00–3:30  
Nau Hall 142

**Professor Nicholas Winter**  
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office hours: Monday 12:30–2:00  
☞ 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.

Gender matters lots of ways. We'll focus on two related ways in particular: first, on citizen identities and relationship with the state, and second, on candidates' and leaders' identities and the perceptions of them by citizens. Less directly, we will touch on the ways the substance of politics—political issues—take on gender connotations, sometimes explicit, sometimes more subtle.

To do this, we will develop theoretical tools, drawing first from psychology, sociology, anthropology, feminist theory, and beyond, and then from American history. 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.

In addition, this course will emphasize research. We will pay careful attention to the different methods and types of evidence that scholars from diverse fields use to learn about gender and the social and political world. We will explore the ways that science informs our understanding of gender, as well as the reciprocal influence of those ideas on how we understand what the data show. And we will conduct and present research ourselves: in class exercises as well as in the culminating research project.

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 *and thinking about* the assigned material before each class meeting, attending and participating in class, submitting reading reaction essays (discussed below), reading other students' reaction essays before each class, completing a take-home midterm, and writing a final research paper. In addition, there will 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
Attendance and participation	20 percent
Reading reaction essays	20 percent
Take home midterm exam	20 percent
Final research project	30 percent
Research presentation	10 percent

## Readings

The required books are available at the UVa Bookstore and from the usual online retailers. All other materials are on Collab and/or linked from the syllabus.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2000. *Sexing the Body : Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. New York: Basic Books.

Forth, Christopher E. 2008. *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

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.

Ridgeway, Cecilia L. 2011. *Framed by Gender: How Gender Inequality Persists in the Modern World*. New York: Oxford University Press.

## Reading Reaction Essays

You must turn in six (6) reading reaction essays over the course of the term, and you must read your colleagues' reactions before every class. We have ten classes with readings (i.e., not research days), so that means you must do an average of a bit more than one every other week. You must turn in at least four (4) reactions before the midterm exam.

### REACTION CONTENT

Reaction should be no more than one page (250–300 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 (not an attachment) 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 10pm on the evening before class. *Because other students must read your reactions, any reaction posted after the deadline will not count. 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 students with physical, visual, hearing, and other disabilities or impairments; 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 Student Disability Access Center (formerly known as LNEC, [://www.virginia.edu/studenthealth/sdac/sdac.html](http://www.virginia.edu/studenthealth/sdac/sdac.html)) as soon as possible, at least two to three weeks before any assignments are due. I take learning disabilities very seriously and we will make whatever accommodations you need to be successful in this class. However, they must be properly documented by the SDAC and I must have enough notice to make appropriate arrangements.

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 [://www.virginia.edu/honor/what-is-academic-fraud-2/](http://www.virginia.edu/honor/what-is-academic-fraud-2/)).

**Assignments turned in late without prior arrangement will not be considered for a grade.**

## I. CITIZENS

**Jan 15**      **Welcome**

**Jan 22**      **Gendered Citizens: the Gender Gap**

Gilens, Martin. 1988. "Gender and Support for Reagan: A Comprehensive Model of Presidential Approval." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (1):19-49.  
[://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2111308.pdf](http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2111308.pdf)

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.  
[://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2748969.pdf](http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2748969.pdf)

Conover, Pamela J. 1988. "Feminists and the Gender Gap." *Journal of Politics* 50(4):985-1010.  
[://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.2307/2131388.pdf](http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.2307/2131388.pdf)

Cook, Elizabeth A., and Clyde Wilcox. 1991. "Feminism and the Gender Gap—a Second Look." *Journal of Politics* 53(4):1111-22. [://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.2307/2131869.pdf](http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.2307/2131869.pdf)

Mansbridge, Jane J. 1985. "Myth and Reality: The ERA and the Gender Gap in the 1980 Election." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 49(2):164-78.  
[://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.2307/2748825.pdf](http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.2307/2748825.pdf)

**Jan 29**      **"Women" and "Men" as a Political Groups**

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).  
*Skim this to get the basics of their model and to think about how the groups "women" and "men" might work in their model.*

Young, Iris M. 1994. "Gender As Seriality: Thinking About Women As a Social Collective." *Signs* 19(3):713-38. [://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.2307/3174775.pdf](http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.2307/3174775.pdf)

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.

Elder, L., and S. Greene. 2007. "The Myth of 'Security Moms' and 'NASCAR Dads': Parenthood, Political Stereotypes, and the 2004 Election." *Social Science Quarterly* 88 (1):1-19.  
[://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2007.00443.x/pdf](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2007.00443.x/pdf)

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

### Feb 5 What is Gender & How Does it Work?

- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1993. "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough." *The Sciences* 33(2):20-24.
- Clarey, Christopher and Gina Kolata. 2009. "Gold Awarded Amid Dispute Over Runner's Sex." *The New York Times*. 21 August. [://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/21/sports/21runner.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/21/sports/21runner.html)
- Ellison, Jesse. 2012. "Caster Semenya and the IOC's Olympics Gender Bender." *The Daily Beast*. 26 July. [://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/07/26/caster-semenya-and-the-ioc-s-olympics-gender-bender.html](http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/07/26/caster-semenya-and-the-ioc-s-olympics-gender-bender.html)
- Lorber, Judith. 1994. *Paradoxes of Gender*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chap. 1, 13-36.
- Ridgeway, Cecilia L. 2011. *Framed by Gender: How Gender Inequality Persists in the Modern World*. New York: Oxford University Press.

### Feb 12 Biological 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, chapter 3 (61-89).  
*Skim to p. 72; read to p. 85; read carefully from there.*
- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2000. *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. New York: Basic Books, chapters 6–8 (146-232). *Also, see page 109 on DHT deficiency.*
- Condry, John, and Sandra Condry. 1976. "Sex Differences: A Study of the Eye of the Beholder." *Child Development* 47(3):812-19.  
*Focus on the research design and on the findings about how subjects perceive the baby's emotions.*
- 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. [://www.guardian.co.uk/science/2007/aug/25/genderissues](http://www.guardian.co.uk/science/2007/aug/25/genderissues)  
*This is a commentary on Hurlbert & Ling*
- 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.

### III. LEADERS' AND CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES

#### Feb 19 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.

Lippa, Richard A. 2005. "Masculinity and Femininity: Gender within Gender" In *Gender, Nature, and Nurture*. 2nd ed. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, chapter 2 (46-80).

#### Feb 26 Gender Stereotypes

Eckes, Thomas. 1994. "Features of Men, Features of Women: Assessing Stereotypic Beliefs About Gender Subtypes." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 33 (1):107-23.

Schneider, Monica C., and Angela L. Bos. 2013. "Measuring Stereotypes of Female Politicians." *Political Psychology* (forthcoming).

[://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/pops.12040/abstract](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/pops.12040/abstract)

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.

Cuddy, A. J. C., S. T. Fiske, and P. Glick. 2004. "When Professionals Become Mothers, Warmth Doesn't Cut the Ice." *Journal of Social Issues* 60 (4):701-18.

[://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.0022-4537.2004.00381.x/pdf](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.0022-4537.2004.00381.x/pdf)

Heflick, Nathan A., and Jamie L. Goldenberg. 2009. "Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence That Objectification Causes Women to Be Perceived as Less Competent and Less Fully Human." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 45 (3):598-601.

Loke, J., D. Harp, and I. Bachmann. 2011. "Mothering and Governing." *Journalism Studies* 12 (2):205-20.

#### Mar 5 Gender Stereotypes and Candidate Gender--continued

Group work and presentations in class

### IV. GENDER & HISTORY

#### Mar 12 No Class – Spring Break

#### Mar 19 Masculinity & Politics through the Ages

Forth, Christopher E. 2008. *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

#### Fri, Mar 21 5pm—Take-home Midterm Due on Collab

#### Mar 26 The Founding & Early Republic

Kerber, Linda K. 1992. "The Paradox of Women's Citizenship in the Early Republic: The Case of Martin Vs. Massachusetts, 1805." *The American Historical Review* 97 (2):349-78.

Vogel, Ursula. 1994. "Marriage and the Boundaries of Citizenship." In *Condition of Citizenship*, ed. Bart van Seenbergen. London: Sage Publications, 76-89

Kann, Mark E. 1999. *The Gendering of American Politics: Founding Mothers, Founding Fathers, and Political Patriarchy*. Westport, CT: Praeger. Chapter 3 (49-67).

Kann, Mark E. 1998. *A Republic of Men: The American Founders, Gendered Language, and Patriarchal Politics*. New York: New York University Press, chapters 2 (30-51) & 7 (155-177)

**Apr 2      No Class Meeting**

*Work on research projects.*

**Apr 9      Teddy Roosevelt & The Spanish-American War**

Bederman, Gail. 1995. *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).

Nagel, Joane. 1998. "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21 (2):242-69.  
[:/www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/014198798330007](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/014198798330007)

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 Introduction, Chapter 1 & Conclusion; we will divide and conquer the other chapters.*

*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).

## V. THE MODERN PICTURE: 2008 & YOUR RESEARCH

**April 17      Gender in 2008 and beyond**

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.

Hall, Ann C. 2009. "Running the Home, House, and Senate: Political Moms Pelosi, Clinton, and Palin." In *Mommy Angst: Motherhood in American Popular Culture*, ed. Ann C. Hall and Mardia Bishop. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 113-27.

**April 24      In-class Research Symposium, Part I**

*We will schedule an additional meeting for Part II of the research symposium.*