

PLAP 4140
Beyond the Gap: Gender and Political Behavior
Spring 2015

Monday 1:00–3:30
Gibson Hall 142

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office hours: Wednesday 12–1:30
☞ 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 group 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. I do not distinguish excused and unexcused absences: it is my expectation that you will take this class seriously, which means, among other things, that you will be here unless something extraordinary happens in your life to prevent it. That said, if you are very ill, please do *not* attend.

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

Assignments turned in late without prior arrangement will not be considered for a grade. If something comes up that prevents you from completing an assignment on time, you must get in touch with me as far in advance as possible.

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.

- Boryczka, Jocelyn M. 2012. *Suspect Citizens : Women, Virtue, and Vice in Backlash Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Brooks, Deborah Jordan. 2013. *He Runs, She Runs: Why Gender Stereotypes Do Not Harm Women Candidates*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Dolan, Kathleen A. 2014. *When Does Gender Matter? Women Candidates and Gender Stereotypes in American Elections*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2000. *Sexing the Body : Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. New York: Basic Books.
- 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 five (5) reading reaction essays over the course of the term, and you must read your colleagues' reactions before every class. We have 11 classes with readings (i.e., not research days), so that means you must do an average of just under one every other week. You must turn in at least three (3) reactions before the midterm exam.

REACTION CONTENT

Reaction should be no more than one page (200–253 words)

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 (<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 I will make whatever accommodations you need to be successful in this class. However, they must be properly documented by the LNEC 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 <http://www.virginia.edu/honor/what-is-academic-fraud-2/>).

If you or someone you know is struggling with gender, sexual, or domestic violence, there are many community and University of Virginia resources available. [The Office of the Dean of Students](#): 434- 924-7133 (or after hours and weekends 434-924-7166 for the University Police Department; ask them to refer the issue to the Dean on Call), [Sexual Assault Resources Agency](#) (SARA) hotline: 434-977-7273 (24/7), [Shelter for Help in Emergency](#) (SHE) hotline: 434-293-8509 (24/7), and [UVA Women's Center](#): 435-982-2361. If you prefer to speak anonymously and confidentially over the phone to UVa student volunteers, call [Madison House's HELP Line](#) (24/7): 434-295-8255.

As your teacher and as a person, I care about your well-being and stand ready to provide support and resources as I can. As a faculty member I am a "Responsible Employee," which means that I am required by University policy and federal law to report anything you tell me about sexual violence to the University's Title IX Coordinator. The Title IX Coordinator's job is to ensure that you receive the resources and support you need, while also reviewing the information presented to determine whether further action is necessary to ensure the safety of you and the University community. If you would rather keep information confidential, there are "Confidential Employees" you can talk to on Grounds (http://www.virginia.edu/justreportit/confidential_resources.pdf). The worst possible situation would be for you or your friends to remain silent when there are so many here willing and able to help.

I. CITIZENS

Jan 12 **Welcome**

Jan 19 **No Class (MLK Day)**

Jan 26 **The Gender Gap and “Women” & “Men” as Political Groups**

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.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2748969.pdf>

Conover, Pamela J. 1988. “Feminists and the Gender Gap.” *Journal of Politics* 50(4):985-1010.
<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.
<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.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.2307/2748825.pdf>

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

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

Feb 2 **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.

Ellison, Jesse. 2012. “Caster Semenya and the IOC’s Olympics Gender Bender.” *The Daily Beast*. 26 July.
<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/07/26/caster-semenya-and-the-ioc-s-olympics-gender-bender.html>

Macur, Juliet. 2014. “Fighting for the Body She Was Born With.” *The New York Times*. 7 October.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/07/sports/sprinter-dutee-chand-fights-ban-over-her-testosterone-level.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 9 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. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/science/2007/aug/25/genderissues>
This is a commentary on Hurlbert & Ling

Maglaty, Jeanne. 2011. "When Did Girls Start Wearing Pink?" *Smithsonian Magazine*. April 7. <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/when-did-girls-start-wearing-pink-1370097/?no-ist>

III. LEADERS' AND CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES

Feb 16 Male and Female Candidates I

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. Chapter 1 (1-17).

Brooks, Deborah Jordan. 2013. *He Runs, She Runs: Why Gender Stereotypes Do Not Harm Women Candidates*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bauer, Nichole M. 2013. "Rethinking Stereotype Reliance." *Politics and the Life Sciences* 32 (1):22-42.

Feb 23 Male and Female Candidates II

Dolan, Kathleen A. 2014. *When Does Gender Matter? Women Candidates and Gender Stereotypes in American Elections*. New York: Oxford 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 (46-69).~~

Mar 2 Gender Stereotypes

Lippa, Richard A. 2005. "Masculinity and Femininity: Gender within Gender" In *Gender, Nature, and Nurture*. 2nd ed. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, chapter 2 (46-69).

Schneider, Monica C., and Angela L. Bos. 2014. "Measuring Stereotypes of Female Politicians." *Political Psychology* 35(2): 245-266.
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/pops.12040/abstract>

DeWall, C. Nathan, T. William Altermatt, and Heather Thompson. 2005. "Understanding the Structure of Stereotypes of Women: Virtue and Agency as Dimensions Distinguishing Female Subgroups." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 29 (4):396-405.

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.

~~Eagly, Alice H. 2007. "Female Leadership Advantage and Disadvantage: Resolving the Contradictions." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 31 (1):1-12.~~

~~Rudman, Laurie A. 1998. "Self Promotion as a Risk Factor for Women: The Costs and Benefits of Counterstereotypical Impression Management." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74 (3):629-45.~~

Friday, March 6 at 1pm: Take-home Midterm Due on Collab

Mar 9 No Class – Spring Break

Mar 16 Group Research Projects

In-class work day

Readings TBA

IV. GENDER & HISTORY

Mar 23 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)

Mar 30 The Ambivalent Relationship Between Women and Citizenship

Boryczka, Jocelyn M. 2012. *Suspect Citizens: Women, Virtue, and Vice in Backlash Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Apr 6 Group Research Projects*In-class work day**Readings TBA***Apr 13 Masculine Political Bodies from the 1980s through the War on Terror**

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

Bloodsworth-Lugo, Mary K., and Carmen R. Lugo-Lugo. 2005. "‘The War on Terror’ and Same-Sex Marriage: Narratives of Containment and the Shaping of U.S. Public Opinion." *Peace & Change* 30 (4):469-88.

Coe, Kevin, David Domke, Meredith M. Bagley, Sheryl Cunningham, and Nancy Van Leuven. 2007. "Masculinity as Political Strategy: George W. Bush, the ‘War on Terrorism,’ and an Echoing Press." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 29 (1):31-55.

April 20 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.

Greenlee, Jill S. 2014. "Soccer Moms, Hockey Moms, and Waitress Moms: 1980-2008." In *The Political Consequences of Motherhood*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 3 (74-118).

V. YOUR RESEARCH

April 27 In-class Research Symposium*Each group will present the preliminary results of their research*