

PLAP4140
Gender and American Political Behavior
Spring 2017

Monday 1:00pm-3:30pm
Gibson Hall 142

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office hours: Wednesday 1:30-2:45 ☞ 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.

Syllabus changelog

VI.0.0	initial syllabus
VI.0.1	corrected authorship of reading on Feb 27
VI.1.0	revised and dropped some readings
VI.1.1	fixed broken weblink
VI.2.0	updated for Feb 20 class
VI.3.0	revised midterm due date and readings

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 completing a final research project. 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	15 percent
Midterm exam	25 percent
Final project and presentation	40 percent

I do not accept late assignments without prior arrangement. 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 will be 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. ISBN 978-1439908945

Brooks, Deborah Jordan. 2013. *He Runs, She Runs: Why Gender Stereotypes Do Not Harm Women Candidates*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. ISBN 978-0691153421

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 12 classes with readings, so that means you must do an average of one every other class. You must turn in at least two reactions before the spring break.

REACTION CONTENT

Reaction should be no more than one page (i.e., no more than about 225 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 midnight on the evening before class. *Because other students must read your reactions, any reaction posted after the deadline will not count except in exceptional circumstances. 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 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/>).

Note on Course Content

At times this semester we will read and discuss work that touches on a number of sensitive, controversial, and difficult topics that may be disturbing to some students. If you suspect that specific material is likely to be emotionally challenging for you, I'd be happy to discuss any concerns you may have before the subject comes up in class. Likewise, if you ever wish to discuss your personal reactions to course material with the class or with me individually afterwards, I welcome such discussions as an appropriate part of our classwork.

If you ever feel the need to step outside during a class discussion you may always do so without academic penalty. You will, however, be responsible for any material you miss. If you do leave the room for a significant time, please make arrangements to get notes from another student or see me individually to discuss the situation.

In addition, I have posted some information on nonacademic support for UVA students here:
<https://goo.gl/IvXzH>.

I. CITIZENS

January 23: Welcome

January 30: 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.

February 6: "Women" and "Men" as Political Groups

- Young, Iris Marion. 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>
- Valenti, Jessica. 2010. "Who Stole Feminism? By focusing on gender alone, institutional feminists opened the door for the Mama Grizzlies." *The Nation*, October 18, 2010. <https://www.thenation.com/article/who-stole-feminism/>
- Traister, Rebecca. 2016. "Shattered: Hillary Clinton aimed at the highest glass ceiling. What broke instead was the coalition she thought would pierce it—and faith that it will happen." *New York Magazine*, November 12, 2016. <http://nymag.com/thecut/2016/11/hillary-clinton-didnt-shatter-the-glass-ceiling.html>
- Schreiber, Ronnee. 2016. "Gender Roles, Motherhood, and Politics: Conservative Women's Organizations Frame Sarah Palin and Michele Bachmann." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 37 (1):1-23.

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

February 13: Sex and Gender: Not So Simple?

- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1993. "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough." *The Sciences* 33(2):20-24.
- Macur, Juliet. 2014. "Fighting for the Body She Was Born With." *The New York Times*. 7 October. <https://goo.gl/ohCdZA>
- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2000. "Should there be only two sexes?" In *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. New York: Basic Books, chapter 4 (78-114).
- Westbrook, Laurel, and Kristen Schilt. 2013. "Doing Gender, Determining Gender." *Gender & Society* 28 (1):32-57.

February 20: 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 page 72; read to page 85; read carefully from there.

~~Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2000. "Do Sex Hormones Really Exist?" In *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. New York: Basic Books, chapter 7 (170-194).~~

Martin, Emily. 1991. "The Egg and the Sperm: How Science Has Constructed a Romance Based on Stereotypical Male-Female Roles." *Signs* 16 (3):485-501.

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.

February 27: "Doing Gender" and other Cultural Takes on Gender Difference

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

Barcan, Ruth. 2010. "Dirty Spaces: Separation, Concealment, and Shame in the Public Toilet." In *Toilet: Public Restrooms and the Politics of Sharing*, ed. Harvey Luskin Molotch and Laura Norén. New York: New York University Press, 25-43.

Hall, Elaine J. 1993. "Smiling, Deferring, and Flirting." *Work and Occupations* 20 (4):452-71.

~~Ortner, Sherry B. 1974. "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" In *Woman, Culture, and Society*, ed. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 67-88.~~

Scharff, Christina. 2011. "'It Is a Colour Thing and a Status Thing, Rather Than a Gender Thing': Negotiating Difference in Talk About Feminism." *Feminism & Psychology* 21 (4):458-76.

III. LEADERS' AND CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES

March 13: Male and Female 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. 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.

Monday, March 20: Midterm Exam Due on Collab by noon

March 20: Gender Stereotypes I

In-class work on research projects

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

March 27: Gender Stereotypes II

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.

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.

Holman, Mirya R., Jennifer L. Merolla, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2016. "Terrorist Threat, Male Stereotypes, and Candidate Evaluations." *Political Research Quarterly* 69 (1):134-47.

Sharrow, Elizabeth A., Dara Z. Strolovitch, Michael T. Heaney, Seth E. Masket, and Joanne M. Miller. 2016. "Gender Attitudes, Gendered Partisanship: Feminism and Support for Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton among Party Activists." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 37 (4):394-416.

~~Dolan, Kathleen, and Timothy Lynch. 2016. "The Impact of Gender Stereotypes on Voting for Women Candidates by Level and Type of Office." *Politics & Gender* 12 (3):573-95.~~

~~Schneider, Monica C., and Angela L. Bos. 2014. "Measuring Stereotypes of Female Politicians." *Political Psychology* 35(2): 245-266.~~

~~Bauer, Nichole M. 2015. "Emotional, Sensitive, and Unfit for Office? Gender Stereotype Activation and Support Female Candidates." *Political Psychology* 36 (6):691-708.~~

~~Bligh, Michelle C., Michèle M. Schlehofer, Bettina J. Casad, and Amber M. Gaffney. 2012. "Competent Enough, but Would You Vote for Her? Gender Stereotypes and Media Influences on Perceptions of Women Politicians." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 42 (3):560-97.~~

~~Ditonto, Tessa. 2016. "A High Bar or a Double Standard? Gender, Competence, and Information in Political Campaigns." *Political Behavior*:1-25.~~

April 3: Media Coverage

- 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 4 & Appendix 4 (pp. 43-56 & 158-161).
- Meeks, Lindsey. 2012. "Is She 'Man Enough'? Women Candidates, Executive Political Offices, and News Coverage." *Journal of Communication* 62 (1):175-93.
- Ward, Orlanda. 2016. "Seeing Double: Race, Gender, and Coverage of Minority Women's Campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives." *Politics & Gender* 12 (2):317-43.
- Ritchie, Jessica. 2013. "Creating a Monster: Online Media Constructions of Hillary Clinton During the Democratic Primary Campaign, 2007-8." *Feminist Media Studies* 13 (1):102-19.
- ~~Carlin, Diana B., and Kelly L. Winfrey. 2009. "Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage." *Communication Studies* 60 (4):326-43.~~

April 10: The (Gendered) Politics of Authenticity

- Szalai, Jennifer. 2016. "What Makes a Politician 'Authentic'?" *The New York Times Magazine*, July 5, 2016.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/10/magazine/what-makes-a-politician-authentic.html>
- Seifert, Erica J. 2012. *The Politics of Authenticity in Presidential Campaigns, 1976-2008*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co. Introduction (pp. 15-35).
- Eagly, Alice H. 2005. "Achieving Relational Authenticity in Leadership: Does Gender Matter?" *The Leadership Quarterly* 16 (3):459-74.
- Brewer, Paul R., Lindsay H. Hoffman, Ruby Harrington, Philip Edward Jones, and Jennifer L. Lambe. "Polls and elections public perceptions regarding the authenticity of the 2012 presidential candidates." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (2014): 742-757.
- Harp, Dustin, Jaime Loke, and Ingrid Bachmann. 2016. "Hillary Clinton's Benghazi Hearing Coverage: Political Competence, Authenticity, and the Persistence of the Double Bind." *Women's Studies in Communication* 39 (2):193-210.

IV. GENDER & HISTORY**April 17: 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)

April 24: Ambivalent Nature of Women and Citizenship through American History

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

Kogan, Terry S. 2010. "Sex Separation: The Cure-All for Victorian Social Anxiety." In *Toilet: Public Restrooms and the Politics of Sharing*, ed. Harvey Luskin Molotch and Laura Norén. New York: New York University Press, 145-64.

Anderson, Karrin Vasby. 2017. "Deflowering the Voting Virgin: Piety, Political Advertising, and the Pleasure Prerogative." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 103 (1-2):160-81.

V. YOUR RESEARCH**May 1: In-class Research Symposium**

You will present your final research project