

PLAP4140
Gender and American Political Behavior
Fall 2018

Tuesday 1:00pm-3:30pm
New Cabell Hall 211

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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 (in any social science discipline) **or** on political behavior.

Syllabus changelog

v18.0.0 initial syllabus
v18.1.0 updated material on ambivalent sexism

Course Requirements

Requirements for this course include: reading *and thinking about* the assigned material before each class meeting, attending and participating in class discussion, submitting reading reaction essays (discussed below), 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.

Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2016. *Women on the Run: Gender, Media, and Political Campaigns in a Polarized Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-1107535862

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. ISBN 978-0300085549

MacLean, Nancy. 1995. *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan*. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN 978-0195098365

Reading Reaction Essays

You must turn in six (6) reading reaction essays over the course of the term. We have 11 classes with readings, so that means you must do an average of slightly more than one every other class. **You must turn in at least 3 reactions before the fall 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!

Generally you should *not* try to touch on all the readings for a particular class—that is a recipe for bland summary rather than engagement.

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

You will submit your reactions through the “Assignments” section of Collab; each week has its own assignment. You should post your reaction as a Word or PDF file attachment; be sure to include your name at the top of the page!

Reactions are due by 2am on the night/morning before class.

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 should contact the Student Disability Access Center (<http://studenthealth.virginia.edu/sdac>) 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 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 <http://honor.virginia.edu/academic-fraud>).

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:

<http://faculty.virginia.edu/nwinter/syllabusAddendum.pdf>.

I. CITIZENS

August 28: Welcome

September 4: 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.

Enten, Harry and Kathryn Casteel. 2018. "What Women Thought of Trump Through Year One." Fivethirtyeight.com.

<https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/across-all-parties-ages-and-races-trump-is-less-popular-with-women-than-with-men/>

September 11: "Women" and "Men" as Political Categories

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 2015. "Why Intersectionality Can't Wait." *The Washington Post*. September 24.

<https://wapo.st/1OVzQIT>

Hubbard, Shanita. 2017. "Russell Simmons, R. Kelly, and Why Black Women Can't Say #MeToo" *The New York Times*. December 15. <https://nyti.ms/2kwQbdl>

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>

Allen, Samantha. 2017. "What Makes a 'Real' Woman? Welcome to the New Liberal Transphobia." *The Daily Beast*, 3/15/2017.

<https://www.thedailybeast.com/what-makes-a-real-woman-welcome-to-the-new-liberal-transphobia>

Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2017. "Clarifying." Facebook post, March 12.

<https://www.facebook.com/chimamandaadichie/posts/10154893542340944:0>

Davidson, Megan. 2007. "Seeking Refuge under the Umbrella: Inclusion, Exclusion, and Organizing within the Category Transgender." *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* 4 (4):60.

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

September 18: 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>
- Bostwick, J. Michael, and Michael J. Joyner. 2012. "The Limits of Acceptable Biological Variation in Elite Athletes: Should Sex Ambiguity Be Treated Differently from Other Advantageous Genetic Traits?" *Mayo Clinic Proceedings* 87 (6):508-13. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3538474/pdf/main.pdf>
- Chase, Cheryl. 1998. "Hermaphrodites with Attitude: Mapping the Emergence of Intersex Political Activism." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 4 (2):189-211.
- Westbrook, Laurel, and Kristen Schilt. 2013. "Doing Gender, Determining Gender: Transgender People, Gender Panics, and the Maintenance of the Sex/Gender/Sexuality System" *Gender & Society* 28 (1):32-57.

September 25: Biological and Cultural Approaches to 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.
- Wade, Lisa. 2013. "The New Science of Sex Difference." *Sociology Compass* 7 (4):278-93. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12028>
- 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.
- Chemaly, Soraya. 2016. "Does Your Daughter Know It's OK to be Angry?" May 9. *Role Reboot: Culture + Politics*. <https://goo.gl/oGjErn>
- Hurlbert, Anya C., and Yazhu Ling. 2007. "Biological Components of Sex Differences in Color Preference." *Current Biology* 17(16):R623-R625.

III. LEADERS' AND CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES

October 2: 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).
- Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2016. *Women on the Run: Gender, Media, and Political Campaigns in a Polarized Era*.
- Brooks, Deborah Jordan. 2011. "Testing the Double Standard for Candidate Emotionality: Voter Reactions to the Tears and Anger of Male and Female Politicians." *Journal of Politics* 73 (2):597-615.

October 9: No class (fall break)**October 16: Ambivalent Sexism and Gender Stereotypes**

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.

Stiehm, Judith Hicks. 1982. "The Protected, the Protector, the Defender." *Women's Studies International Forum* 5 (3):367-76.

Cassese, Erin C., Tiffany D. Barnes, and Mirya Holman. 2018. "How 'Hostile Sexism' Came to Shape Our Politics." *Washington Post*. <https://wapo.st/2NffAjk> (October 3, 2018).

**Herzog, Sergio, and Shaul Oreg. 2008. "Chivalry and the Moderating Effect of Ambivalent Sexism: Individual Differences in Crime Seriousness Judgments." *Law & Society Review* 42 (1):45-74.

**Abrams, Dominic, G. Tendayi Viki, Barbara Masser, and Gerd Bohner. 2003. "Perceptions of Stranger and Acquaintance Rape: The Role of Benevolent and Hostile Sexism in Victim Blame and Rape Proclivity." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84 (1):111-25.

**Doan, Alesha E., and Donald P. Haider-Markel. 2010. "The Role of Intersectional Stereotypes on Evaluations of Gay and Lesbian Political Candidates." *Politics & Gender* 6 (1):63-91.

** *Each student will be assigned to read one of the three starred readings.*

Friday, October 19: Midterm Exam Due on Collab by noon**October 23: The 2016 Election (and Ambivalent Sexism)**

Schaffner, Brian F., Matthew MacWilliams, and Tatishe Nteta. 2017. "Understanding White Polarization in the 2016 Vote for President: The Sobering Role of Racism and Sexism." *Political Science Quarterly* (forthcoming).

Valentino, Nicholas, Carly Wayne, and Marzia O'ceno. 2018. "Mobilizing Sexism: The Interaction of Emotion and Gender Attitudes in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election." *Public Opinion Quarterly* (forthcoming).

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2018. "Ambivalent Sexism and Election 2016." Working Paper, University of Virginia.

McThomas, Mary, and Michael Tesler. 2016. "The Growing Influence of Gender Attitudes on Public Support for Hillary Clinton, 2008–2012." *Politics & Gender* 12 (1):28-49.

October 30: Research Projects

You will work in class on your team research projects.

IV. GENDER & HISTORY

November 6: 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)
- Paquette, Danielle. 2016. "Donald Trump and the Disturbing History of Calling Women 'Nasty.'" *The Washington Post*. <https://wapo.st/2dDpbqm>

November 13: Chivalry, Honor, and 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).
- 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.
- Saucier, Donald A., and Jessica L. McManus. 2014. "Men of Honor: Examining Individual Differences in Masculine Honor Beliefs." In *Masculinities in a Global Era*, ed. Joseph Gelfer. New York, NY: Springer New York, 85-99.

Optional, for an 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).

Or, this somewhat crass YouTube video:

Hughes, Keith. 2017. "The Spanish-American War for Dummies: US History Review."
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5LjonMjuBn4>

November 20: Race/Gender: white supremacy and the KKK

- MacLean, Nancy. 1995. *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McMahon, Jean M., and Kimberly Barsamian Kahn. 2018. "When Sexism Leads to Racism: Threat, Protecting Women, and Racial Bias." *Sex Roles* 78 (9):591-605.

November 27: Sexual violence, war, and gender

- Block, Sharon. 2002. "Rape without Women: Print Culture and the Politicization of Rape, 1765-1815." *The Journal of American History* 89 (3):849-68.
- Freedman, Estelle. 2011. "'Crimes Which Startle and Horrify': Gender, Age, and the Racialization of Sexual Violence in White American Newspapers, 1870-1900." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20 (3): 465-97. <http://www.utexaspressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.5555/jhs.2011.20.3.465>
- Winter, David G. 2010. "Circulating Metaphors of Sexuality, Aggression, and Power: Otto Rank's Analysis of 'Conquering Cities and 'Conquering' Women'." *Political Psychology* 31 (1):1-19.

Edwards, Katie M., Jessica A. Turchik, Christina M. Dardis, Nicole Reynolds, and Christine A. Gidycz. 2011. "Rape Myths: History, Individual and Institutional-Level Presence, and Implications for Change." *Sex Roles* 65 (11):761-73.

V. YOUR RESEARCH

December 4: In-class Research Symposium

You will present your final research project