

PLAP 4140
Gender and American Political Behavior
Summer 2018 (Session I)

M–F 10:30am–12:45pm
New Cabell Hall 056

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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 **or** on political behavior.

Syllabus changelog:

v18s.0.0	initial syllabus
v18s.0.1	renamed June 6 class; added Amazon links for required books; fixed typos
v18s.1.0	new room; midterm changed to take-home; more typos
v18s.2.0	updated readings for 5/24

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 reaction essays, and developing and executing a research project. 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 reading reaction essays (discussed below), completing a 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	20 percent
Midterm exam	20 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 (soon!) and from the usual online retailers. 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. ISBN 978-0300085549. Amazon link: <http://a.co/6neVDbx>
- Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*. Third ed. New York: Routledge. ISBN 978-0415517676. Amazon link: <http://a.co/ekz5M5W>
- MacLean, Nancy. 1995. *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan*. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN 978-0195098365. Amazon link: <http://a.co/oS7oB1z>

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 or movie days), so that means you must do an average of just under one every other class. **You must turn in at least two reactions before the midterm exam.** The classes that are eligible for a reaction are marked with "@" in the schedule, below.

Reaction should be no more than one page (i.e., 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

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 must be submitted by 3am 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; or 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: <http://faculty.virginia.edu/nwinter/syllabusAddendum.pdf>.

I. CITIZENS

M May 21: Welcome

@ T May 22: 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 23: "Women" and "Men" as Political Groups

- 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/2kwQbdI>
- 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. <http://thebea.st/2mqEROA>
- Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2017. "Clarifying." Facebook post, March 12. <https://www.facebook.com/chimamandaadichie/posts/10154893542340944:0>
- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2015/2017. "Responding to Responses to Caitlyn Jenner's Vanity Fair event." *The Blog*. <https://goo.gl/q1LHXd>

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

@ R May 24: Gender & Sex: 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://nyti.ms/1s3nbtu>
- 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.
- 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>
- ~~Lorber, Judith. 1994. *Paradoxes of Gender*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chap. 1, 13-36.~~

F May 25: Movie Day

We will watch and then discuss *Miss Representation*.

Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*: Routledge. Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-50).

M May 28: No Class – Happy Memorial Day**@ T May 29: 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, chapter 3 (61-89).

Skim to p. 72; read to p. 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. GENDER IN CAMPAIGNS**@ W May 30: Candidate Self-Presentation**

Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*: Routledge. Chapter 4.

We will each sign up to come to class having read different examples of content analyses of candidate self-presentation—see the end of the syllabus.

@ R May 31: Political Media Coverage

Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*: Routledge. Chapter 5.

We will each sign up to come to class having read different examples of content analyses of media coverage—see the end of the syllabus.

F June 1 Research Day I

We will work in class on your final research projects.

Robinson, Nick, and Marcus Schulzke. 2016. "Visualizing War? Towards a Visual Analysis of Videogames and Social Media." *Perspectives on Politics* 14 (4):995-1010. <https://goo.gl/YkjdpB>

Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*: Routledge. Chapter 6 & 7.

Take-home midterm will be distributed by 5pm on Collab; it is due Monday June 4 at 2pm

M June 4: No Class**Take-home midterm due at 2pm****@ T June 5: Voters' Reactions to Male and Female Candidates**

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.

Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2016. "The Party, Not the Person." In *Women on the Run: Gender, Media, and Political Campaigns in a Polarized Era*. Chapter 5 (92-110).

Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. "Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (1):20-34.

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.

@ W June 6: Ambivalent Sexism & Politics

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.

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.

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

IV. GENDER & HISTORY**R Jun 7 Research Day II**

We will work in class on your final research projects.

@ F Jun 8: 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>

@ M Jun 11: 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).

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.

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>

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).

Or, this slightly crass YouTube video:

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

T Jun 12: Research Day III

We will work in class on your final research projects.

@ W Jun 13: 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.
We will divide and conquer.

Ferber, Abby L. 2000. "Racial Warriors and Weekend Warriors: The Construction of Masculinity in Mythopoetic and White Supremacist Discourse." *Men and Masculinities* 3 (1):30-56.

V. YOUR RESEARCH**R Jun 14: In-class Research Symposium**

You will present your final research project

Candidate Self-Presentation: Examples of content analyses

- Banwart, Mary C. 2006. "Webstyles in 2004: The Gendering of Candidates on Campaign Web Sites?" In *The Internet Election : Perspectives on the Web in Campaign 2004*, ed. Andrew Paul Williams and John C. Tedesco. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 37-55.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2005. "Do Women Candidates Play to Gender Stereotypes? Do Men Candidates Play to Women? Candidate Sex and Issues Priorities on Campaign Websites." *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (1):31-44.
- Dolan, Kathleen, and Timothy Lynch. 2017. "Do Candidates Run as Women and Men or Democrats and Republicans? The Impact of Party and Sex on Issue Campaigns." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*:1-25.
- Evans, Heather. 2016. "Do Women Only Talk About "Female Issues"? Gender and Issue Discussion on Twitter." *Online Information Review* 40 (5):660-72.
- Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2016. "That's What She Said, and So Did She." In *Women on the Run: Gender, Media, and Political Campaigns in a Polarized Era*. Chapter 3 (33-58).
- Lee, Jayeon. 2013. "'You Know How Tough I Am?' Discourse Analysis of Us Midwestern Congresswomen's Self-Presentation." *Discourse & Communication* 7 (3):299-317.
- Niven, David, and Jeremy Zilber. 2001. "Do Women and Men in Congress Cultivate Different Images? Evidence from Congressional Web Sites." *Political Communication* 18 (4):395-405.
- Papacharissi, Zizi. 2007. "Audiences as Media Producers: Content Analysis of 260 Blogs." In *Blogging, Citizenship, and the Future of Media*, ed. Theo Van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, 21-38.
- Robertson, Terry, Kristin Froemling, Scott Wells, and Shannon McCraw. 1999. "Sex, Lies, and Videotape: An Analysis of Gender in Campaign Advertisements." *Communication Quarterly* 47 (3):333-41.
- Schneider, Monica C. 2014. "Gender-Based Strategies on Candidate Websites." *Journal of Political Marketing* 13 (4):264-90.
- Wagner, Kevin M., Jason Gainous, and Mirya R. Holman. 2017. "I Am Woman, Hear Me Tweet! Gender Differences in Twitter Use among Congressional Candidates." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*:1-26
- Windett, Jason Harold. 2013. "Gendered Campaign Strategies in U.S. Elections." *American Politics Research* 42 (4):628-55.
- Woolley, Julia K., Anthony M. Limperos, and Mary Beth Oliver. 2010. "The 2008 Presidential Election, 2.0: A Content Analysis of User-Generated Political Facebook Groups." *Mass Communication and Society* 13 (5):631-52.

Media Coverage: Examples of content analyses

- Bystrom, Dianne G., Terry A. Robertson, and Mary Christine Banwart. 2001. "Framing the Fight: An Analysis of Media Coverage of Female and Male Candidates in Primary Races for Governor and U.S. Senate in 2000." *American Behavioral Scientist* 44 (12):1999-2013.
- Devitt, James. 2002. "Framing Gender on the Campaign Trail: Female Gubernatorial Candidates and the Press." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 79 (2):445-63.
- Gidengil, Elisabeth, and Joanna Everitt. 2003. "Talking Tough: Gender and Reported Speech in Campaign News Coverage." *Political Communication* 20 (3):209-32.
- Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2016. "Sex is No Story." In *Women on the Run: Gender, Media, and Political Campaigns in a Polarized Era*. Chapters 4 (59-91).
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1994. "The Distorted Mirror: Press Coverage of Women Candidates for Statewide Office." *The Journal of Politics* 56 (1):154-73.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin, and Edie N. Goldenberg. 1991. "Women Candidates in the News: An Examination of Gender Differences in U.S. Senate Campaign Coverage." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 55 (2):180-99.
- Meeks, Lindsey. 2012. "Is She 'Man Enough'? Women Candidates, Executive Political Offices, and News Coverage." *Journal of Communication* 62 (1):175-93.
- 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.
- Scharrer, Erica. 2002. "An 'Improbable Leap': A Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of Hillary Clinton's Transition from First Lady to Senate Candidate." *Journalism Studies* 3 (3):393-406.
- Smith, Kevin B. 1997. "When All's Fair: Signs of Parity in Media Coverage of Female Candidates." *Political Communication* 14 (1):71-82.
- Ward, Orlanda. 2016. "Intersectionality and Press Coverage of Political Campaigns: Representations of Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic Female Candidates at the U.K. 2010 General Election." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 22 (1):43-66.
- 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.
- Zeldes, Geri Alunit, and Frederick Fico. 2005. "Race and Gender: An Analysis of Sources and Reporters in the Networks' Coverage of the 2000 Presidential Campaign." *Mass Communication and Society* 8 (4):373-85.
- Zurbriggen, Eileen L., and Aurora M. Sherman. 2010. "Race and Gender in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election: A Content Analysis of Editorial Cartoons." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 10 (1):223-47.