PLAP 4140: Gender and American Political Behavior Summer 2021 (Session I)

M–F 10:30am-12:45pm Class Zoom Meeting: https://virginia.zoom.us/j/99802071464?pwd=SVc3bTIyVklOaVhFeWZSSzUrVE9zdz09 (password "Gender")

Professor Nicholas Winter

nwinter@virginia.edu https://www.nicholasjgwinter.com

Office: ha ha ha ha "Office" hours: after class & by appointment

Personal Zoom room: https://virginia.zoom.us/my/nwinter

Gender is a social system that defines categories of people, proscribes appropriate traits and behavior to those categories, and regulates and power relations. Children are socialized very early to recognize, understand, and enact gender, and adults understand and enact it as well. The gender system works in part by *naturalizing* the categories it creates—that is, by making them appear inevitable and immutable. We will begin by exploring the ways that gender categories—like any human social categories—are constructed in social and political life. Then we will explore gender's role in modern electoral politics, with a focus on content analysis, a research technique that also requires careful attention to categorization. Then, after consideration of the complex nature of gender stereotypes, we will conclude with exploration of the connections among ideas about masculinity, femininity, and citizenship throughout American history.

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

21s.0.0—21MAY initial syllabus 21s.1.1—24MAY updated book list; readings 21s.2.0—24MAY updated QQC schedule 21s.3.0—02JUN updated readings for 6/3

Online Course Structure

This class will involve a mix of asynchronous and synchronous activities.

Asynchronous

- **Reading:** Most days. In advance of each synchronous class meeting, you are expected to read and be prepared to discuss the material on the syllabus for that date.
- Online discussion: By 10:20 on the morning of most synchronous class discussions (indicated below), several students will each post a "QQC" (Quotation, Question, or Comment) about that day's reading on Collab Discussions. All other students will reply to each of the day's QQCs during the first part of class (from 10:30-11:15), at which point we will begin our synchronous class.
- **Movie discussion**: During the term we will watch two movies asynchronously, and conduct an asynchronous discussion.
- Midterm exam: you will complete an open-book, open-note, essay-based midterm exam. You can work on the exam for up to eight hours total (broken into two or three sessions if you like). The exam will be posted on Friday, June 24, and is due by 1pm on Sunday, June 6.
- Final research project: You will work in a small group of about three students to design and conduct a content analysis of media or campaign material on a topic you develop related to gender and politics. There will be a number of interim assignments due over the course of the term to help guide you through the research process. You will present your results as a group, and will turn in an individual final paper based on the project. At the end of the term you will also complete a survey assessing your group's work and evaluating each of your partners.

Synchronous

Class discussion: We will hold class meetings through Zoom. Most synchronous classes will involve a combination of whole-class discussion, mini-lecture, small-group discussion, and other small-group work. On several days, as noted on the syllabus, the synchronous class period will be devoted to working with your group on your research project. On those days I will drop in to each group's meeting to consult on your projects.

During synchronous class time the expectation is that we're all here with cameras on, paying attention, and participating as we would during an in-person class.

Final project presentations: On the final class meeting, each group will present their research and answer questions from the class.

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, participate in asynchronous and synchronous class participation, and work with a small group to develop and execute 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. This is my standard advice; I offer it even more emphatically this year when we are online.

Grading

Grading is back to the standard (letter grade) system. Course grades will be based on the following breakdown:

Asynchronous discussion 15 percent
Synchronous discussion 25 percent
Midterm exam 20 percent
Final project 40 percent

Research design 5 percent
Content analysis instrument 10 percent
Final paper 17.5 percent
Final presentation 7.5 percent

I do not accept late assignments without prior arrangement. That said, if something comes up that prevents you from completing an assignment on time, I am happy to work with you if you get in touch in advance.

Readings

The required books are freely available electronically through the UVa library; the links are included below. If you wish to purchase a physical copies, I've included Amazon links as well. All other materials are on Collab and/or linked from the syllabus.

Bederman, Gail. 1995. Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva_library/items/u5737174

Amazon link: https://amzn.com/0226041395

Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2019. *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research.* Fourth ed. New York: Routledge. ISBN 978-1-138-61398-0.

UVa library electronic copy: https://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u8515845

Amazon link: https://amzn.com/1138613983

Quotation, Question, Comment

We have 6 classes that include asynchronous, reading based discussion in advance of our class meeting. (We also have two movie-based asynchronous discussions; these are handled separately.) The reading-based asynchronous discussion will be structured as follows:

- Four (or occasionally five) students will be assigned to submit a Quotation, Question, or Comment (QQC) through the Collab "Discussion" tool by 10:20 on the morning of class. (I encourage you to complete these the night before.)
 - Your QQC should begin with a quotation from the reading, a question you would like to discuss, or a comment about the reading. Then you should, in 2-4 paragraphs, explain why you chose it: what did you find interesting, confusing, thought-provoking, etc.
- During the first 45 minutes of our class time (10:30-11:15), all students will read the four QQCs and reply to each or reply to the replies. (Students who wrote the initial QQCs are included here: you should reply to the others and to the discussion of yours.)
- We will take a break from 11:15 to 11:30; when we begin synchronous class we will have a set of four discussion threads.

Important: Please be sure to click "Mark as Read" for each QQC and reply that you read so you get participation credit!



The syllabus reading schedule indicates which days will have QQC; we may adjust this somewhat as the semester progresses. I will randomly assign students to the classes for which they will complete their QQCs.

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 (https://www.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 https://honor.virginia.edu/academic-fraud).

Note on Course Content

At times this semester we will read and discuss work the 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.

Part One: Women, Men, and the Process of Categorization

Monday May 24: Welcome	
Synchronous:	
10:30-12:45	

Tuesday May 25: The Gender Gap	
QQC:	Shapiro, Robert Y., and Harpreet Mahajan. 1986. "Gender Differences in Policy
due 10:20am	Preferences: A Summary of Trends From the 1960s to the 1980s." Public
	Opinion Quarterly 50(1):42-61.
QQC response: 10:30-11:15	Conover, Pamela J. 1988. "Feminists and the Gender Gap." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 50(4):985-1010.
Synchronous: 11:30-12:45	Cook, Elizabeth A., and Clyde Wilcox. 1991. "Feminism and the Gender Gap—a Second Look." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 53(4):1111-22.
	Barnes, Tiffany D., and Erin C. Cassese. 2016. "American Party Women: A Look at the Gender Gap within Parties." <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> . https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912916675738

Wednesday May 26: Categorization & Content Analysis Introduction		
Asynchronous Do reading, watch film &	Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. <i>Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research</i> : Routledge. Chapters 1, 2, & 8 (pp. 1-35 & 148-167).	
participate in online discussion	Dean, Jeffrey T. 2003. "The Nature of Concepts and the Definition of Art." <i>The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism</i> 61(1): 29–35.	
	Watch the film <i>Miss Representation</i> . Available to stream from the UVa Library: https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva-library/items/avalon:21498	

Thursday May 27: "Women" and "Men" as Political Groups		
Synchronous: 10:30-12:45	Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 2015. "Why Intersectionality Can't Wait." <i>The Washington Post.</i> September 24. https://wapo.st/10VzQIT	
small groups 10:30-11:30 full-group	Hubbard, Shanita. 2017. "Russell Simmons, R. Kelly, and Why Black Women Can't Say #MeToo" <i>The New York Times.</i> December 15. https://nyti.ms/2kwQbdl	
11:40-12:45	Young, Iris Marion. 1994. "Gender As Seriality: Thinking About Women As a Social Collective." <i>Signs</i> 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." <i>The Daily Beast</i> , 3/15/2017. http://thebea.st/2mqEROA	
	Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2017. "Clarifying." Facebook post, March 12. https://www.facebook.com/chimamandaadichie/posts/10154893542340944:0	

Part Two: What Is Gender? How Do We Make It? How Do We Use It?

Friday May 28: Gender, Sex, Intersex, Transgender	
QQC: due 10:20am	Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1993. "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough." <i>The Sciences</i> 33(2):20-24.
QQC response:	Longman, Jeré, and Juliet Macur. 2019. "Caster Semenya Loses Case to Compete as a Woman in All Races." <i>The New York Times.</i> 1 May. https://nyti.ms/2J3QIB8
Synchronous: II:30-I2:45	Schilt, Kristen, and Laurel Westbrook. 2015. "Bathroom Battlegrounds and Penis Panics." <i>Contexts</i> 14(3): 26–31. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1536504215596943
	Davis, Heath Fogg. 2018. "Why the 'Transgender' Bathroom Controversy Should Make Us Rethink Sex-Segregated Public Bathrooms." <i>Politics, Groups, and Identities</i> 6(2): 199–216.
	<u>Optional</u>
	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

Monday May 31: No Class	
	Happy Memorial Day!

Tuesday June 1: Biology & the Challenges of Research on Sex/Gender	
QQC: due 10:20am	Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1992. "Of Genes and Gender." In Myths of Gender:
due 10.20am	Biological Theories About Women and Men. 2nd ed. New York: Basic Books, chapter 3 (61-89).
QQC response:	Skim to p. 72; read to p. 85; read carefully from there.
10:30-11:15	Condry, John, and Sandra Condry. 1976. "Sex Differences: A Study of the Eye of
Synchronous: 11:30-12:45	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." <i>Current Biology</i> 17(16):R623-R625.

Part Three: Gender in Campaigns

Wednesday June 2: Content Analysis I: Candidate Self-Presentation	
Synchronous:	Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. Analyzing Media Messages:
10:30-12:45	Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research: Routledge. Chapter 4 ("Measurement").
	Please select two articles or chapters from the list on Collab. Read both, and prepare a written summary for each based on the guidelines available on Collab ("Content analysis summary guidelines.pdf" in the "Miscellaneous materials" folder.)

Thursday June 3: Content Analysis II: Media Coverage ಆ Society	
Synchronous: 10:30-12:45	Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. <i>Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research</i> : Routledge. Chapter 5 ("Sampling").
	Please select two articles or chapters—one from each of these two lists: • Media coverage • Society & gender
	Read the two and prepare a written summary for each based on the guidelines available on Collab ("Content analysis summary guidelines.pdf" in the "Miscellaneous materials" folder.)
	Please turn in those summaries by 10:30am before class.

Friday June 4: Research Day	
Synchronous:	Robinson, Nick, and Marcus Schulzke. 2016. "Visualizing War? Towards a Visual
10:30-12:45	Analysis of Videogames and Social Media." <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 14 (4):995-1010. https://goo.gl/YkjdpB
We will work in class on your final research projects	Skim with a focus on how we might content-analyze visual imagery. Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research: Routledge. Chapter 6 & 7 ("Reliability" and "Validity").

Asynchronous Online midterm via Collab	You must complete the exam by 1pm on Sunday, June 7

Monday June 7: Voters' Reactions to Male and Female Candidates	
QQC: due 10:20am	Brooks, Deborah Jordan. 2011. "Testing the Double Standard for Candidate Emotionality: Voter Reactions to the Tears and Anger of Male and Female Politicians." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 73 (2):597-615.
QQC response: 10:30-11:15 Synchronous:	Bauer, Nichole M. 2015. "Emotional, Sensitive, and Unfit for Office? Gender Stereotype Activation and Support Female Candidates." <i>Political Psychology</i> 36(6): 691–708.
11:30-12:45	Bennett, Jessica. 2020. "Leaders Are Crying on the Job. Maybe That's a Good Thing." <i>The New York Times</i> . https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/03/us/politics/crying-politicians-leadership.html Rosin, Christina Cauterucci, Celeste Katz, Latifa Lyles, Hanna. 2018. "Female Candidates Finally Feel OK About Being Female Candidates." <i>Slate Magazine</i> . **The Control of the Candidates of the
	https://slate.com/human-interest/2018/10/2018-midterms-women-candidates-campaign-trail.html

Tuesday June 8: Ambivalent Sexism ಆ Politics	
QQC:	Glick, Peter, and Susan T. Fiske. 2001. "An Ambivalent Alliance: Hostile and
due 10:20am	Benevolent Sexism as Complementary Justifications for Gender Inequality."
	American Psychologist 56 (2):109-18.
QQC response: 10:30-11:15	Scotto di Carlo, Giuseppina. 2020. "The Velvet Glove: Benevolent Sexism in President Trump's Tweets." European Journal of Women's Studies
Synchronous:	(forthcoming): 1–19.
11:30-12:45	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.

Wednesday June 9: Women Running for Congress	
Asynchronous: Do reading, watch film & participate in online discussion	Watch the film <i>Knock Down the House</i> . Available on Netflix, and also YouTube: https://youtu.be/YCSo2hZRcXk

Thursday June 10: Research Day	
Synchronous: 10:30-12:45	We will work in class on your final research projects

Part Four: Masculinity, Femininity, and Citizenship

Friday June 11: Fou	ınding ಆ Early Republic
Synchronous: 10:30-12:45	Kerber, Linda K. 1992. "The Paradox of Women's Citizenship in the Early Republic: The Case of Martin vs. Massachusetts, 1805." <i>The American Historical Review</i> 97 (2):349-78.
	Vogel, Ursula. 1994. "Marriage and the Boundaries of Citizenship." In <i>Condition of Citizenship</i> , ed. Bart van Seenbergen. London: Sage Publications, 76-89
	Kann, Mark E. 1999. <i>The Gendering of American Politics: Founding Mothers,</i> Founding Fathers, and Political Patriarchy. Westport, CT: Praeger. Chapters 3 & 4 (49-90).
	Paquette, Danielle. 2016. "Donald Trump and the Disturbing History of Calling Women 'Nasty." <i>The Washington Post</i> . https://wapo.st/2dDpbqm

Saturday June 12: No class	

Monday June 14:	Turn of the 20th Century
	Bederman, Gail. 1995. Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and
Synchronous:	Race in the United States, 1880-1917. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
10:30-12:45	Available online:
	https://hdl-handle-net.proxy01.its.virginia.edu/2027/heb.02528
	Everyone read Chapter 1 (1-44) and Conclusion (217-239). We will randomly divide and conquer the other chapters.
	Optional: Harris, John F. 2020. "What Kind Of Man Gets Impeached?" Politico. https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/01/30/trump-what-kind-of-man-gets-impeached-109417 .

Tuesday June 15: Research Day	
Synchronous: 10:30-12:45	We will work in class on your final research projects

Wednesday June 16: Modern and Modern-ish	
QQC: due 10:20am	Deckman, Melissa, and Erin Cassese. 2020. "Gendered Nationalism and the 2016 US Presidential Election: How Party, Class, and Beliefs about Masculinity Shaped Voting Behavior." <i>Politics & Gender</i> : 1–24.
QQC response:	Kelly, Annie. 2017. "The Alt-Right: Reactionary Rehabilitation for White Masculinity." <i>Soundings</i> 66: 68–78.
Synchronous: 11:30-12:45	Kusz, Kyle. 2019. "Winning Bigly': Sporting Fantasies of White Male Omnipotence in the Rise of Trump and Alt Right White Supremacy." <i>Journal of Hate Studies</i> 14(1): 113–35.
	Glick, Peter. 2020. "Masks and Emasculation: Why Some Men Refuse to Take Safety Precautions." <i>Scientific American Blog Network</i> . https://blogs.scientificamerican.com/observations/masks-and-emasculation-why-some-men-refuse-to-take-safety-precautions/

Part Five: Your Research

Thursday June 17: In-class Research Symposium	
Synchronous: 10:30-12:45	You will present your final research projects during the final exam slot.