PLAP 424B
Beyond the Gap: Gender and Political Behavior
Fall 2007

Tuesday & Thursday 3:30–4:45pm
Cabell Hall 119

Course web page:
https://toolkit.itc.virginia.edu/cgi-local/tk/UVa_CLAS_2007_Fall_PLAP424B-1/

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office hours: Wednesday 12–2pm & 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.

Yet an amazing proportion of the work on gender and mass political behavior has focused on the *gender gap*—the average difference between women and men in political attitudes, voting, and other political action. These differences are important, both theoretically and politically, but the gender gap only scratches the surface of the ways that gender can matter for mass politics. This course, therefore, explores the ways gender structures the political system and our understanding of it, and therefore affects political behavior in ways that go well beyond the gender gap.

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.

To explore these topics we will draw on literature from a variety of disciplines, including political science, history, feminist theory, psychology and policy studies.

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 the assigned material before each class meeting, attending and participating in class, submitting weekly *discussion questions*, taking an in-class *midterm examination*, submitting a one-page research *proposal*, and a writing a final *research paper*. In addition, there may 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. You participation grade will reflect the quality (not simply quantity!) of your class participation. If an unavoidable emergency prevents you from attending class you should notify me in advance.

For the final paper you will connect material from the second half of the course with research you conduct on a political topic. I will hand out additional information on the research paper as the term progresses.

Grades will be based on the following breakdown:

Item	Proportion	Date
Attendance and participation	15 percent	(ongoing)
Discussion questions	10 percent	(weekly)
Midterm exam	30 percent	October 11, in class
Final paper	45 percent	Monday, December 10 at 10am

Papers turned in late without prior arrangement will not be considered for a grade.

Readings

There are five required books for this course, which are available at the UVa Bookstore. They are also all available from the usual online retailers; I have indicated below the date on which we will first use each book in class, so you can plan to have it in time if you order online.

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. (October 16)

Jeffords, Susan. 1994. *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. (October 25)

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. (November 8)

Mettler, Suzanne. 1998. *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. (November 29)

Metaphors We Live By, *by Lakoff and Johnson—is also listed at the bookstore as required. We will only be reading a small selection from this book, which is available on the Toolkit, so you do **not** need to buy this book.*

All other readings for the course are available through the Toolkit page for the course.

Discussion Questions
Each week, for the Thursday class meeting, you will prepare a set of two (2) discussion questions that you will email to me before class. I will use these as feedback to me about what you are taking from the reading and to help structure class discussions. They also will also help you to read and think carefully about the material before getting to class.

Your questions will be based on the reading for that Thursday. (If the Thursday class is a continuation of a topic that we discussed on Tuesday, your questions may also reference the earlier readings as long as they focus on the Thursday readings.)

Each week's questions are due by 5am on the day of class, and must be submitted by email to me at nwinter@virginia.edu. You should include your name, the date, and your questions *in the body of the email*, not as an attachment. For each question, indicate which reading or readings the question is based on. The subject line of your email should read "PLAP 424 Discussion Questions–[date]–[your name]."

There will be eleven sets of discussion questions (one for Thursday between 9/6 and 11/29, except for the midterm). They will be graded (check-plus / check/ check-minus), and the lowest grade will be dropped. This means you may skip one week but after that your grade will suffer.

In formulating your questions, 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!

<u>Good Discussion Questions</u>
Good discussion questions are not answered by "yes" or "no" or some simple statement of fact. Instead they lead to higher order thinking (comparison, evaluation, analysis, synthesis) about the work and the issues it raises.

Good discussion questions are open-ended, leading to a variety of responses. Good questions recognize that readers will have different perspectives and interpretations and such questions attempt to engage readers in dialogue with each other.

That said, if you are confused by something, you can and should incorporate craft a discussion question that focuses on that confusion. You should seek to develop questions that go beyond simply asking "What does author X mean on page 10 when she says Y?"

Good discussion questions depend on a careful reading of the text. They often cite particular scenes or passages and ask people to look at them closely and draw connections between these passages and the rest of the work.
Good discussion questions make (and challenge) connections between the text at issue and other works, and the themes and issues of the course.

Other Policies
I respect and uphold University policies and regulations pertaining to the observation of religious holidays; assistance available to the physically handicapped, visually, and/or hearing impaired students; 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 Learning Needs and Evaluation Center (http://www.virginia.edu/studenthealth/lnec.html) as soon as possible, at least two to three weeks before any assignments are due. I take learning disabilities very seriously and will make whatever accommodations you need to be successful in this class but they must be properly documented by the LNEC.

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/proc/fraud.html).

Participation in this class implies permission from students to submit their written work to services that check for plagiarism; you may be required to submit both hard and digital copies of your papers.

0. WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

8/28 Welcome to the class

8/30 No class—American Political Science Association annual meeting

I. THE GENDER GAP

9/4 & 9/6 The gender gap in voting and partisanship

Gilens, Martin. 1988. "Gender and Support for Reagan: a Comprehensive Model of Presidential Approval." *American Journal of Political Science* 32(1):19-49.

Kaufmann, Karen M. 2002. "Culture Wars, Secular Realignment, and the Gender Gap in Party Identification." *Political Behavior* 24(3):283-307.

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.

Kaufmann, Karen M., and John R. Petrocik. 1999. "The Changing Politics of American Men: Understanding the Sources of the Gender Gap." *American Journal of Political Science* 43(3):864-87.
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Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. "Membership in Social Groups." In *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, chap. 12 (295-332).

Mueller, Carol. 1991. "The Gender Gap and Women's Political Influence." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 515(1):23-37.

Chaney, Carole K., R. M. Alvarez, and Jonathan Nagler. 1998. "Explaining the Gender Gap in U. S. Presidential Elections, 1980-1992." *Political Research Quarterly* 51(2):311-39.

9/11 & 9/13 The gender gap in attitudes

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.

Conover, Pamela J. 1988. "Feminists and the Gender Gap." *Journal of Politics* 50(4):985-1010.

Conover, Pamela J., and Virginia Sapiro. 1993. "Gender, Feminist Consciousness, and War." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(4):1079-99.

Cook, Elizabeth A., and Clyde Wilcox. 1991. "Feminism and the Gender Gap—a Second Look." *Journal of Politics* 53(4):1111-22.

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Clark, Cal and Janet Clark. "The Gender Gap in the Early 21st Century: Volatility from Security Concerns." In *Women in Politics: Outsiders or Insiders?*, ed. Lois Duke Whitaker. 4th ed., 45-64.

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.

Sapiro, Virginia. 2003. "Theorizing Gender in Political Psychology Research." In *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, ed. David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 605-610.

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

9/18 & 9/20 What is gender?

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

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1993. "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough." *The Sciences* 33(2):20-24.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2003. "The Five Sexes, Revisited." *The Sciences* 43(4):19-23.

Goffman, Erving. 1977. "The Arrangement Between the Sexes." *Theory and Society* 4(3):301-31.
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Kimmel, Michael. 2005. "Invisible Masculinity" In *The History of Men: Essays in the History of American and British Masculinities*. Albany: State University of New York Press, chap. 1 (3-15)

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

9/25 Biological arguments about 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, chap. 3 (61-89)

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1992. "Hormones and Aggression: An Explanation of Power?" In *Myths of Gender: Biological Theories About Women and Men*. 2nd ed. New York: Basic Books, chap. 5 (123-154)

Condry, John, and Sandra Condry. 1976. "Sex Differences: A Study of the Eye of the Beholder." *Child Development* 47(3):812-19.

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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

9/27 A different voice for men and women?

Gilligan, Carol. 1977. "In a Different Voice: Women's Conception of the Self and of Morality." *Harvard Educational Review* 47(4):481-517.

Broughton, John M. 1983. "Women's Rationality and Men's Virtues: A Critique of Gender Dualism in Gilligan's Theory of Moral Development." *Social Research* 50(3):597-642.

10/2 Metaphors of gender

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 2003. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2d ed. Chap. 1-5 (3-24)

Ortner, Sherry B. 1974. "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" In *Woman, Culture, and Society*, ed. Michelle Z. Rosaldo, and Louise Lamphere. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 67-88. [also chap. 2 in *Making Gender*]

Ortner, Sherry B. 1996. "So, *Is* Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" In *Making Gender: the Politics and Erotics of Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press. Chap 7 (173-180).

III. GENDER, HISTORY, AND AMERICAN POLITICS

10/4 The founding era & early republic

Kerber, Linda K. 1986. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. New York: Norton. Chapter 9 (265-288).

Bloch, Ruth H. 1987. "The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America." *Signs* 13(1):37-58.

Baker, Paula. 1984. "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920." *The American Historical Review* 89(3):620-647.

10/9 No class—UVa reading day

10/11 Midterm examination in class

10/16, 10/18 & 10/23 The Spanish-American War, The Philippines, Teddy Roosevelt

For a brief historical overview of the Spanish-American and Philippines wars:
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).

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. (1-132)
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Bederman, Gail. 1995. "Theodore Roosevelt: Manhood, Nation, and 'Civilization'." In *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chapter 5 (170-215).

Kaplan, Amy. 1998. "Manifest Domesticity." *American Literature* 70(3):581-606.
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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. (133-208)

10/25, 10/30 & 11/1 Ronald Reagan and resurgent American masculinity

For a brief historical overview of the Reagan era and its antecedents:
Brinkley, Alan. 1993. "The Unfinished Nation." In *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chap. 33 (872-896).

Michael S. Kimmel, "The Cult of Masculinity: American Social Character and the Legacy of the Cowboy," in Beyond Patriarchy, ed. E. Michael Kaufman (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 235–249.

Jeffords, Susan. 1994. *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

IV. GENDER IN MODERN AMERICAN POLITICS

11/6 Modern gender ideology(ies?)

McHugh, Maureen C., and Irene H. Frieze. 1997. "The Measurement of Gender-Role Attitudes: a Review and Commentary." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 21(1):1-16. **Skim**

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.

Hurtado, Aída. 1989. "Relating to Privilege: Seduction and Rejection in the Subordination of White Women and Women of Color." *Signs* 14(4):833-55.

Klatch, Rebecca E. 1987. "Two World Views." In *Women of the New Right*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, chap. 2 (20-54).

11/8 & 11/13 Male and female political 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. Chaps. 1-5 (1-74).

Iyengar, Shanto, Nicholas A. Valentino, Stephen Ansolabehere, and Adam F. Simon. 1997. "Running As a Woman: Gender Stereotyping in Women's Campaigns." In *Women, Media, and Politics*, ed. Pippa Norris. New York: Oxford University Press, 77-98.
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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. Chaps. 6-10 (75-140)

11/15 & 11/20 The First Lady, The female President?

Guy, Mary E. 1995. "Hillary, Health Care, and Gender Power." In *Gender Power, Leadership, and Governance*, ed. Georgia Duerst-Lahti, and Rita M. Kelly. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 239-56.

Gardetto, Darlaine C. 1997. "Hillary Rodham Clinton, Symbolic Gender Politics, and the New York Times: January-November 1992." *Political Communication* 14(2):225-40.

Edwards, Janis L., and Huey-Rong Chen. 2000. "The First Lady/First Wife in Editorial Cartoons: Rhetorical Visions Through Gendered Lenses." *Women's Studies in Communication* 23(3):367-91.

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Bostdorff, Denise M. 1998. "Hillary Rodham Clinton and Elizabeth Dole As Running 'Mates' in the 1996 Campaign: Parallels in the Rhetorical Constraints of First Ladies and Vice Presidents." In *The 1996 Presidential Campaign: a Communication Perspective*, ed. Robert E. Denton. Westport, CT: Praeger. Chap. 9 (199-228).
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Anderson, Karrin V. 2002. "From Spouses to Candidates: Hillary Rodham Clinton, Elizabeth Dole, and the Gendered Office of U.S. President." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 5(1):105-32.

Welch, Susan, and Donley T. Studlar. 1986. "British Public Opinion Toward Women in Politics: A Comparative Perspective." *The Western Political Quarterly* 39(1):138-54.

11/22 No Class—Thanksgiving Break

11/27 Metaphorical associations between gender and opinion

Sapiro, Virginia. 2003. "Theorizing Gender in Political Psychology Research." In *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, ed. David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 616-620.

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2005. "Framing Gender: Political Rhetoric, Gender Schemas, and Public Opinion on U.S. Health Care Reform." *Politics* and *Gender* 1(3):453-80.

Soss, Joe, and Danielle LeClair. 2004. "Race, Sex, and the Implicit Politics of Welfare Reform." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé W. 1997. "Beyond Racism and Misogyny: Black Feminism and 2 Live Crew." In *Feminist Social Thought: A Reader*, ed. Diana T. Meyers. New York: Routledge, 246-63.

11/29 & 12/4 Policy creating gender

Mettler, Suzanne. 1998. *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

12/6 Catch up, overflow, etc.

12/10, 10am—Final Research Papers DUE
Turn in under my door, 100 Cabell Hall