

## PLAP 4140: Gender and American Political Behavior Summer 2023 (Session I)

M–F 10:30am–12:45pm

Zoom meeting:

<https://virginia.zoom.us/j/96942666046?pwd=TDRibEJkU096MFhzcExuR2xhTDZzUT09>

Professor Nicholas Winter

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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 quasi-prerequisite: it would be great if you have taken at least one course **either** on gender **or** on political behavior, though during the summer I don’t enforce this very strictly.

### Syllabus changelog:

- 23S.O.1—22MAY initial syllabus
- 23S.I.O—22MAY updates throughout
- 23S.I.I—22MAY minor corrections
- 23S.2.O—14JUN revised 6/14 readings

## 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:** In the evening before most synchronous class discussions (indicated below), several students will each post a “QQC” (Quotation, Question, or Comment) about that day’s reading on Canvas Discussions. Everyone will then read and respond in an online discussion. See below for complete instructions.

**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.

**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 class, 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.

## Grading

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 book is freely available electronically through the UVa library; the link is included below. If you wish to purchase a physical copy, I've included an Amazon link as well. All other materials are on Canvas and/or linked from the syllabus.

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://www.amazon.com/dp/1138613983>

## Quotation, Question, Comment (QQC)

Approximately half of our 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:

- **QQC Leaders:** Several students will be assigned to submit a Quotation, Question, or Comment (QQC) through the Canvas “Discussion” tool **by 10:00pm on the evening before of class.**

Your QQC should begin with a quotation from the reading, a specific question you would like to discuss, and/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.

Your QQC should *not* attempt to “cover the readings.” This is not the place to summarize the readings as a whole (or even to summarize one of them). Instead, you should find something more concrete with which to engage. This might involve making connections between two or more readings, but it may only engage with one reading—either is fine.

- **Everyone:** Prior to the first 45 minutes of our class time (i.e., **by 10:30am**), all students will read the QQCs and reply to each (and/or reply to the replies).
- **Everyone:** During the first 45 minutes of our class time (i.e., **10:30am-11:15am**) everyone will read (or re-read) the all the reactions (and re-reply if moved to do so).
- When we begin synchronous class we will have a set of discussion threads.

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 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.

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

Monday May 22: Welcome	

Tuesday May 23: Views on Abortion	
<p><b>QQC leaders:</b> due 10pm</p> <p><b>QQC responses:</b> due 10:30am</p> <p><b>Reread QQC:</b> 10:30-11:15</p> <p><b>Synchronous class:</b> 11:30-12:45</p>	<p>Conroy, Meredith, and Amelia Thomson-DeVeaux. 2022. "The Real Dividing Line On Abortion." <i>FiveThirtyEight</i>. <a href="https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-real-dividing-line-on-abortion/">https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-real-dividing-line-on-abortion/</a></p> <p>Luker, Kristin. 1984. "Introduction" and "World Views of the Activists." In <i>Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood</i>, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1-10 &amp; 158-91.</p> <p>Melendez, Tanya. 2021. "How TV Lied about Abortion." <i>Vox</i>. <a href="https://www.vox.com/culture/22715333/tv-abortion-plot-storyline-lies">https://www.vox.com/culture/22715333/tv-abortion-plot-storyline-lies</a>.</p>

Wednesday May 24: "Women" and "Men" as Political Groups	
<p><b>Synchronous class:</b> 10:30-12:45</p>	<p>Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 2015. "Why Intersectionality Can't Wait." <i>The Washington Post</i>. September 24. <a href="https://wapo.st/1OVzQIT">https://wapo.st/1OVzQIT</a></p> <p>Hubbard, Shanita. 2017. "Russell Simmons, R. Kelly, and Why Black Women Can't Say #MeToo" <i>The New York Times</i>. December 15. <a href="https://nyti.ms/2kwQBdl">https://nyti.ms/2kwQBdl</a></p> <p>Young, Iris Marion. 1994. "Gender As Seriality: Thinking About Women As a Social Collective." <i>Signs</i> 19(3):713-38. <i>Focus on sections I through III (pp. 713-728)</i></p>

Thursday May 25: The Psychology of Categorization	
<p><b>QQC leaders:</b> due 10pm</p> <p><b>QQC responses:</b> due 10:30am</p> <p><b>Reread QQC:</b> 10:30-11:15</p> <p><b>Synchronous class:</b> 11:30-12:45</p>	<p>Lakoff, George. 1987. <i>Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind</i>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1 &amp; 2 (pp. 5-57).</p> <p>Gantt-Shafer, Jessica, Cara Wallis, and Caitlin Miles. 2019. "Intersectionality, (Dis)Unity, and Processes of Becoming at the 2017 Women's March." <i>Women's Studies in Communication</i> 42(2): 221-40.</p> <p>Cohen, Cathy J. 2000. "Contested Membership: Black Gay Identities and the Politics of AIDS." In <i>Creating Change: Sexuality, Public Policy, and Civil Rights</i>, eds. John D'Emilio, William B. Turner, and Urvashi Vaid. New York: St. Martin's Press, 382-406.</p>

Friday May 26: Gender in Entertainment and Political Media	
<b>Asynchronous</b> Do reading, watch film & participate in online discussion	Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. <i>Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research</i> . Routledge. Chapter 1 (pp. 1–19).  Watch the film <i>Miss Representation</i> . Available to stream from the UVa Library: <a href="https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva_library/items/avalon_2v23vt40n">https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva_library/items/avalon_2v23vt40n</a>

Monday May 29: No Class	
	Happy Memorial Day!

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

Tuesday May 30: Sex → Gender → Gender Categorization?	
<b>QQC leaders:</b> due 10pm  <b>QQC responses:</b> due 10:30am  <b>Reread QQC:</b> 10:30–11:15  <b>Synchronous class:</b> 11:30–12:45	Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1993. “The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough.” <i>The Sciences</i> 33(2):20–24.  Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2012. <i>Sex/Gender: Biology in a Social World</i> . New York: Routledge. Chapters 1 (“A Genderless Future?”) and 2 (Of Spirals and Layers); pp. 1–11.  Currah, Paisley. 2021. “The Work That Sex Does.” In <i>Intimate States: Gender, Sexuality, and Governance in Modern US History</i> , eds. Margot Canaday, Nancy F. Cott, and Robert O. Self. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 303–23.  Schilt, Kristen, and Laurel Westbrook. 2015. “Bathroom Battlegrounds and Penis Panics.” <i>Contexts</i> 14(3): 26–31.

Wednesday May 31: Biology & the Challenges of Research on Sex/Gender	
<p>QQC leaders: due 10pm</p> <p>QQC responses: due 10:30am</p> <p>Reread QQC's: 10:30-11:15</p> <p>Synchronous class: 11:30-12:45</p>	<p>Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2012. <i>Sex/Gender: Biology in a Social World</i>. New York: Routledge. Chapter 4 (Of Hormones and Brains) and 8 ("Pink and Blue Forever"; pp. 27-42 and 109-111).</p> <p>Condry, John, and Sandra Condry. 1976. "Sex Differences: A Study of the Eye of the Beholder." <i>Child Development</i> 47(3):812-19. <i>Focus on the research design and on the findings about how subjects perceive the baby's emotions.</i></p> <p>Chemaly, Soraya. 2016. "Does Your Daughter Know It's OK to be Angry?" May 9. <i>Role Reboot: Culture + Politics</i>. <a href="https://goo.gl/oGjErn">https://goo.gl/oGjErn</a></p> <p>Hurlbert, Anya C., and Yazhu Ling. 2007. "Biological Components of Sex Differences in Color Preference." <i>Current Biology</i> 17(16):R623-R625.</p>

## Part Three: Gender in Campaigns

Thursday June 1: Content Analysis I: Candidate Self-Presentation	
<p>Synchronous: 10:30-12:45</p>	<p>Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. <i>Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research</i>. Routledge. Chapter 2 ("Defining Content Analysis as a Social Science Tool").</p> <p>Please select <b>two</b> articles or chapters from the list on Canvas. Read both, and prepare a written summary for each based on the guidelines available on Canvas ("Content analysis summary guidelines.pdf" in the "Miscellaneous materials" folder.)</p> <p>Please turn in those summaries by 10:00am before class.</p>

Friday June 2: Research Day	
<p>We will work in class on your final research projects</p>	<p>Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. <i>Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research</i>. Routledge. Chapter 8 ("Designing a Content Analysis").</p> <p>Knaak, Stephanie. "On the Reconceptualizing of Gender: Implications for Research Design." <i>Sociological Inquiry</i> 74, no. 3 (2004): 302-17.</p>

Monday June 5: Midterm	
<p>Asynchronous</p>	<p>Online midterm on Canvas. You may complete the exam any time from Friday afternoon through 1pm on Monday.</p>



Tuesday June 6: Content Analysis II: Media Coverage & Society	
<b>Synchronous:</b> 10:30-12:45	<p>Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. <i>Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research</i>. Routledge. Chapter 4 (“Measurement”).</p> <p>Please select <b>two</b> articles or chapters—one from each of these two lists:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Media coverage</li> <li>• Society &amp; gender</li> </ul> <p>Read the two and prepare a written summary for each based on the guidelines available on Canvas (“Content analysis summary guidelines.pdf” in the “Miscellaneous materials” folder.)</p> <p>Please turn in those summaries by 10:00am before class.</p>

Wednesday June 7: Women Running for Congress	
<b>Asynchronous:</b> Do reading, watch film & participate in online discussion	<p>Watch the film <i>Knock Down the House</i>. Available on Netflix and also YouTube: <a href="https://youtu.be/YCSo2hZRcXk">https://youtu.be/YCSo2hZRcXk</a></p>

Thursday June 8: Voters’ Reactions to Male and Female Candidates	
<b>QQC leaders:</b> due 10pm <b>QQC responses:</b> due 10:30am <b>Reread QQC:</b> 10:30-11:15 <b>Synchronous class:</b> 11:30-12:45	<p>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.</p> <p>Fulton, Sarah A., and Kostas Dhima. 2021. “The Gendered Politics of Congressional Elections.” <i>Political Behavior</i> 43(4): 1611-37.</p> <p>Bennett, Jessica. 2020. “Leaders Are Crying on the Job. Maybe That’s a Good Thing.” <i>The New York Times</i>.  <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/03/us/politics/crying-politicians-leadership.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/03/us/politics/crying-politicians-leadership.html</a></p> <p>Rosin, Christina Cauterucci, Celeste Katz, Latifa Lyles, Hanna. 2018. “Female Candidates Finally Feel OK About Being Female Candidates.” <i>Slate Magazine</i>.  <a href="https://slate.com/human-interest/2018/10/2018-midterms-women-candidates-campaign-trail.html">https://slate.com/human-interest/2018/10/2018-midterms-women-candidates-campaign-trail.html</a></p>

Friday June 9: Research Day	
We will work in class on your final research projects	Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. <i>Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research</i> . Routledge. Chapter 6 (“Reliability”).

Monday June 12: Gendered Politics	
<p>QQC leaders: due 10pm</p> <p>QQC responses: due 10:30am</p> <p>Reread QQC: 10:30-11:15</p> <p>Synchronous class: 11:30-12:45</p>	<p>Glick, Peter, and Susan T. Fiske. 2001. “An Ambivalent Alliance: Hostile and Benevolent Sexism as Complementary Justifications for Gender Inequality.” <i>American Psychologist</i> 56 (2):109-18.</p> <p>Roberts, Damon C., and Stephen Utych. 2022. “A Delicate Hand or Two-Fisted Aggression? How Gendered Language Influences Candidate Perceptions.” <i>American Politics Research</i> 50(3): 353-65.</p> <p>Erichsen, Kristen, Douglas Schrock, Benjamin Dowd-Arrow, and Pierce Dignam. “Bitchifying Hillary: Trump Supporters’ Vilification of Clinton during the 2016 Presidential Election.” <i>Social Currents</i> 7, no. 6 (December 1, 2020): 526-42.</p>

## Part Four: Masculinity, Femininity, and Citizenship

Tuesday June 13: Founding & Early Republic	
<p>Synchronous: 10:30-12:45</p>	<p>Gundersen, Joan R. 1987. “Independence, Citizenship, and the American Revolution.” <i>Signs</i> 13(1): 59-77.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Paquette, Danielle. 2016. “Donald Trump and the Disturbing History of Calling Women ‘Nasty.’” <i>The Washington Post</i>. <a href="https://wapo.st/2dDpbqm">https://wapo.st/2dDpbqm</a></p>

Wednesday June 14: Gender and Contemporary Conservatism	
QQC leaders: due 10pm	Carian, Emily K., and Taggart Cain Sobotka. 2018. "Playing the Trump Card: Masculinity Threat and the U.S. 2016 Presidential Election." <i>Socius</i> 4(1): 1–6.
QQC responses: due 10:30am	Cassino, Dan. 2018. "Emasculation, Conservatism, and the 2016 Election." <i>Contexts</i> 17(1): 48–53.
Reread QQC: 10:30–11:15	de Saint Felix, Skye, and Lisa M. Corrigan. 2022. "The Rhetorical Style of Predatory White Masculinity in Judge Brett Kavanaugh's 2018 Testimony Before the Senate Judiciary Committee." <i>Women's Studies in Communication</i> 45(3): 293–315.
Synchronous class: 11:30–12:45	Anduiza, Eva, and Guillem Rico. 2022. "Sexism and the Far-Right Vote: The Individual Dynamics of Gender Backlash." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> (online first).  Off, Gefjon. 2023. "Complexities and Nuances in Radical Right Voters' (Anti)Feminism." <i>Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State &amp; Society</i> .

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

## Part Five: Your Research

Friday June 16: In-class Research Symposium	
Synchronous: 10:30–12:45	You will present your final research projects.