

## PLAP 4140: Gender and American Political Behavior Summer 2025 (Session I)

M–F 10:30am–12:45pm  
Gibson Hall 241

**Professor Nicholas Winter**

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Gender is an important component of people's identities and their perceptions of others. At the same time, gender is central to a set of social, cultural, and political systems that define categories of people, proscribe appropriate traits and behavior for those categories, and regulate power between and among gendered individuals groups.

The gender system works in part by *naturalizing* the categories it creates—that is, by making them appear simple, inevitable, and immutable. We will begin by exploring the ways that gender categories—like all human social categories—are constructed in social and political life. Then we will explore gender's role in modern American politics, with a focus on content analysis, a research technique that also requires careful attention to categorization. Finally, after consideration of the complex nature of gender stereotypes, we will conclude by exploring ways that gender shapes ideas about American citizenship and public policy.

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.

### Syllabus changelog

25S.0.1–19MAY	initial release
25S.1.0–19MAY	added initial QQC schedule; fixed typos
25S.2.1–21MAY	updated Lakoff reading for 5/22 & added QQC schedule
25S.2.2–23MAY	fixed dates on QQC schedule
25S.3.0–27MAY	fixed typo; clarified that Friday 5/30 is in-person
25S.4.0–31MAY	changes to readings and plan for Tuesday, June 3
25S.5.0–5JUN	swapped 6/6 and 6/9 and updated readings

## Online Course Structure

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

### Asynchronous

**Reading:** In advance of each class meeting, you should read and be prepared to discuss the material on the syllabus for that date.

**Online discussion:** For seven of our meetings we will hold a mixed online-and-then in-person discussion. By 10:15am prior to designated class meetings (indicated below), you will each post a “QQC” (Quotation, Question, or Comment) about that day’s reading on Canvas Discussions. Then, during the first part of class (from 10:15–11:00), you will reply to each of your colleagues’ posts (and reply to the replies!). Finally, we will meet in person from 11:15–12:45 to continue the discussions in person.

**Movie discussion:** During the term we will watch two movies asynchronously, and conduct an asynchronous discussion through Canvas.

**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 two or three students to design and conduct a *content analysis* 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 in person. Most class meetings 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 class period will be devoted to working on your research project. On those days I will circulate to consult on your projects.

**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	10 percent
Synchronous discussion	30 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 (or major emergency). 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. I've included an Amazon link so you can purchase a physical copy if you wish. All other materials are on Canvas and/or linked from the syllabus.

Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2024. *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*. Fifth edition. New York: Routledge. ISBN 978-1-003-28842-8.

UVa library electronic copy: [https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva\\_library/items/u11023002](https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva_library/items/u11023002)

Amazon link: <https://www.amazon.com/dp/1032264675/>

## Quotation, Question, Comment (QQC)

Seven 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:

- For each QQC day, there will be two or three “QQC Leaders.” Each leader will post a Quotation, Question, or Comment through the Canvas “Discussion” tool (ideally **the night before class or (at the latest) by 10:15am on the day of class.**

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 2-3 paragraphs, explain why you chose it: what did you find interesting, confusing, thought-provoking, etc.

- In the morning, and no later than the first 30 minutes of our class time (10:30am-11:00am), everyone (Leaders and Followers) will respond. Followers will reply at least once to each of the posts. Leaders will reply at least once to each of the posts other than their own, and are encouraged to reply to one or more replies to their post.
- We will take a break and begin our in-person meeting at 11:15am. When we begin in-person 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.

### QQC Leader Schedule

QQC Schedule				QQC Leaders	
QQC					
	M	19-May	Welcome		
**	T	20-May	Views on Abortion	(everyone)	
	W	21-May	"Women" and "Men" as political groups		
**	R	22-May	The Psychology of Categorization	Nate	Madden
	F	23-May	<i>Miss Representation (asynchronous)</i>		
	M	26-May	No class (Memorial Day)		
**	T	27-May	Sex → Gender → Gender Categorization?	Bella	Juan
**	W	28-May	Biology & the Challenges of Research on Sex/Gende	Hazel	Bethany
	R	29-May	Content Analysis: Political Media Coverage		
	F	30-May	<i>Research Day I</i>		
	M	2-Jun	Midterm (asynchronous)		
	T	3-Jun	Content Analysis: Candidate Self-Presentation		
**	W	4-Jun	Voters' Reactions to Male and Female Candidates	Bella	Hazel
	R	5-Jun	<i>Research Day II</i>		
**	F	6-Jun	Gendered Politics (ASI)	Bethany	Nate
	M	9-Jun	<i>Overturing Roe (asynchronous)</i>		
	T	10-Jun	Founding & Early Republic		
**	W	11-Jun	Gender and Contemporary Conservatism	Juan	Madden
	R	12-Jun	<i>Research Day III</i>		
	F	13-Jun	Research presentations		

## Other Policies

### *Disabilities*

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. 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.

### *Academic integrity*

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>).

### *Generative AI*

You may not use generative AI in this course, except when specifically and explicitly allowed by the professor or your TA. Or, as Chat GPT puts it: "As we embark on this learning journey, I kindly remind all students that the use of generative AI tools is not permitted for the completion of assignments, projects, or any other course-related activities. Our goal is to foster your personal growth, critical thinking, and creative expression. Embracing the challenges presented in this course will significantly contribute to your skill development and understanding of the subject matter. Your unique perspectives and efforts are highly valued, and I encourage you to engage with the material authentically. Let's work together to create an enriching and equitable learning environment for everyone."

## 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, the Process of Categorization, and Politics

Monday May 19: Welcome	

Tuesday May 20: Views on Abortion	
<b>QQC submission:</b> due 10:15am <b>Read &amp; respond:</b> 10:15-11:00 <b>Synchronous class:</b> 11:15-12:45	<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 21: "Women" and "Men" as Political Groups	
<b>Synchronous class:</b> 10:30-12:45	<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/2kwQbdI">https://nyti.ms/2kwQbdI</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 22: The Psychology of Categorization	
<b>QQC submission:</b> due 10:15am  <b>Read &amp; respond:</b> 10:15-11:00  <b>Synchronous class:</b> 11:15-12:45	<p>Lakoff, George. 1987. <i>Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind</i>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. <i>Selections:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chapter 1(5-11)</li> <li>• Chapter 2: Wittgenstein (16-17); Berlin &amp; Kay (24-26); Kay &amp; McDaniel (26-29); Brown &amp; Berlin (31-38); Ekman (38-39); Rosch (39-42 and 46-48); Summary (56)</li> <li>• Chapter 3: Prototype Effects in Linguistic Categories: Markedness (59-61)</li> <li>• Chapter 4: Sources of &amp; Simplest Prototype Effects (68-71); Cluster Models (74-76)</li> <li>• Chapter 5: Metonymic Sources of Prototype Effects, The Housewife Stereotype, Working Mothers, Radial Stereotypes (79-84); Ideals, Paragons (87-88).</li> </ul> <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>

Friday May 23: Gender in Entertainment and Political Media	
<b>Asynchronous</b> Do reading, watch film, and participate in online discussion	<p>Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. <i>Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research</i>. Routledge. Chapters 1 ("Introduction") and 2 ("Defining Content Analysis as a Social Science Tool"), pp. 1-35.</p> <p>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></p>

Monday May 26: No Class	
	Happy Memorial Day!

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

Tuesday May 27: Sex → Sex categories → Gender → Gender Categories?	
<b>QQC submission:</b> due 10:15am  <b>Read &amp; respond:</b> 10:15-11:00  <b>Synchronous class:</b> 11:15-12:45	<p>Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1993. "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough." <i>The Sciences</i> 33(2):20-24.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Schudson, Zach, and Sari van Anders. 2019. "'You Have to Coin New Things': Sexual and Gender Identity Discourses in Asexual, Queer, and/or Trans Young People's Networked Counterpublics." <i>Psychology &amp; Sexuality</i> 10(4): 354-68.</p> <p>Schilt, Kristen, and Laurel Westbrook. 2015. "Bathroom Battlegrounds and Penis Panics." <i>Contexts</i> 14(3): 26-31.</p>
Wednesday May 28: Biology & the Challenges of Research on Sex/Gender	
<b>QQC submission:</b> due 10:15am  <b>Read &amp; respond:</b> 10:15-11:00  <b>Synchronous class:</b> 11:15-12:45	<p>Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2012. <i>Sex/Gender: Biology in a Social World</i>. New York: Routledge. Chapters 4 ("Of Hormones and Brains") and 8 ("Pink and Blue Forever"); pp. 27-42 and 109-111.</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>
Thursday May 29: Content Analysis I: Media Coverage & Society	
<b>Synchronous:</b> 10:30-12:45	<p>Please select <b>two</b> articles or chapters—one from each of these two lists:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political 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>



Friday May 30: Research Day	
<b>Synchronous:</b> 10:30-12:45  We will work together on your final projects	Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. 2014. <i>Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research</i> : Routledge. Chapters 3 (“Designing a Content Analysis”) and 5 (“Measurement”), pp. 36-56 & 71-91.  <i>Skim chapter 5, though note carefully the section on “Measurement steps,” pp. 91</i>

## Part Three: Gender in/and Politics

Monday June 2: Midterm	
<b>Asynchronous</b>	Online midterm on Canvas. You may complete the exam any time from 11am Saturday through 1pm Monday.  We will not meet as a class through I am available to make appointments to meet with research groups in person or on Zoom.

Tuesday June 3: Content Analysis II: <del>Candidate Self Presentation</del> Your Research Topics	
<p><b>Synchronous:</b> 10:30-12:45</p>	<p>Please select <del>two</del> articles or chapters from the list on Canvas. Read both, and prepare a written summary for each based on the guidelines available on Canvas (<del>“Content analysis summary guidelines.pdf” in the “Miscellaneous materials” folder.</del>)</p> <p>Each research pair should locate (at least) two articles or chapters relevant to your project. “Relevant” can mean any of the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• an objective, quantitative content analysis on addressing your research question (or a similar one) that you might replicate fairly directly</li> <li>• a subjective, interpretive analysis addressing your research question (or a similar one)</li> <li>• a content analysis using a coding system you might adapt for your project, even if it analyzes a different medium, context, etc. For example, the Kang article we discussed on Friday analyzed Instagram selfies using the coding system that Goffman’s developed for coding print advertising. If you were Kang, you could use the Goffman book as a “relevant” source. If you are analyzing advertising or social media content, you might use Kang as a relevant source</li> <li>• something else that is relevant in some other way—please contact me if you are unsure or if you have trouble finding articles</li> </ul> <p>You may use articles from the lists of content analysis examples I’ve provided, or locate different material, as long as they are either peer-reviewed academic research published in a book or journal or a master’s or doctoral thesis.</p> <p>You should coordinate with your research partner in choosing articles to summarize. You may collaborate with your partner beyond that, but each student should turn in a summary of one article.</p> <p>Each member of the research team should prepare a written summary of <b>one of the two articles</b> based on the guidelines on Canvas, with particular focus on the ways the article might be adapted for your final project.</p> <p>Please turn in your (individual) summary by 10:00am before class.</p>

Wednesday June 4: Voters' Reactions to Male and Female Candidates	
<b>QQC submission:</b> due 10:15am  <b>Read &amp; respond:</b> 10:15-11:00  <b>Synchronous class:</b> 11:15-12:45	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.  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>  Rosin, Christina Cauteurucci, 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>

Thursday June 5: 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"), <i>partial</i> : pp. 118-133.

Friday June 6: Back to the Future	
<b>Asynchronous:</b> Do reading, watch film & participate in online discussion	Watch the film <i>Reversing Roe</i> . Available on Netflix (and TBA from the library)

Monday June 9: Gendered Politics: the Case of Ambivalent Sexism	
<b>QQC submission:</b> due 10:15am  <b>Read &amp; respond:</b> 10:15-11:00  <b>Synchronous class:</b> 11:15-12:45	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.  Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2022. "Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, and American Elections." <i>Politics &amp; Gender</i> 19(2): 427-56.

Tuesday June 10: Founding & Early Republic	
<b>Synchronous:</b> 10:30-12:45	<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 11: Gender and Contemporary Conservatism	
<b>QQC submission:</b> due 10:15am  <b>Read &amp; respond:</b> 10:15-11:00  <b>Synchronous class:</b> 11:15-12:45	<b>Readings TBA</b>

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

## Conclusion: Your research

Friday June 13: In-class Research Symposium	
<b>Synchronous:</b> 10:30-12:45	You will present your final research projects.