#### **POS 6933 Special Topics**

#### **Gender & Politics**

#### **University of Florida**

Dr. Juliana Restrepo Sanín Email: jsanin@ufl.edu Office Hours: Tuesday, 1-3pm Office: Grinter Hall 331 Course meeting times: Tuesday, 8:30-11:30 am. Flint Hall 101

## **Course Description**

In what ways has the inclusion of gender and intersectional perspectives changed the study of comparative policies and international relations? How is our understanding of politics transformed by adopting an intersectional feminist perspective?

This course evaluates the contributions of feminist scholars to the study of diverse topics in political science. In particular, the course will analyze how the adoption of a gender and an intersectional approach transforms how we understand and measure democracy, the state, institutions, social movements, violence, among other topics. The course draws examples from various world regions, including the United States. This course aims to introduce students to basic concepts and debates in gender and politics.

## Requirements

#### Class discussant & response papers: 20%

Twice during the semester, students will be required to lead the class discussion. On the first day of class students will select the dates they want to lead the discussion. In the same manner as a discussant in a professional conference, the lead discussant should briefly explain the main concepts and theories developed by the authors read for the class, analyze how the readings 'talk' to each other, and what points of convergence or divergence there are. In addition, students will write a 2 to 4 page response paper, developing these points. The response papers are not summaries of the readings but must critically assess a particular topic or subfield within the gender and politics literature. A useful question to guide this analysis is "what is the contribution of feminist scholarship to the topic?". Although there will be a class discussant, <u>all students are required</u> read all the assigned documents and be prepared to engage in class discussions.

#### Meeting and final research paper: 40% + 10%

Students are required to write an original research paper on a topic related to gender and politics. You must discuss the topic, research design, and general argument during office hours prior to March 1 (Spring Break). This meeting is 10% of your final grade. The finished paper is worth 40% of your final grade. The final paper is expected to be a complete paper (leaving sections of your paper outlined is not acceptable and will affect your grade).

## Class participation and engagement: 20%

As a graduate class, students are <u>expected</u> to attend and to <u>actively participate</u> in class discussion. This is only possible if students read the assigned articles and books in advance and come to class prepared to contribute to the discussion and raise questions.

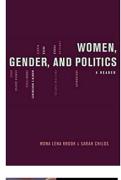
#### Books

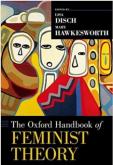
The recommended book for this class is: Krook, Mona Lena; and Sarah Childs. 2010. *Women, Gender, and Politics: A Reader.* Oxford University Press.

The book has <u>summarized</u> versions of many of the articles and book chapters we will read for the class. You can find the articles and books through the library if you do not want to buy the book. However, because this seminar requires substantial reading every week, I highly encourage you to get the book as they are significantly shorter than the full-length versions. Articles available from this book are marked with \*.

We will also read a few chapters from: Disch, Lisa; and Mary Hawkesworth. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*. Oxford University Press.

Because it is a handbook, the chapters from this book present overviews of different topics. They are particularly important in presenting the major debates and contributions of feminist theory regarding these topics but, by themselves, do not present new contributions to the field. This book is available from the library so you do not need to buy it. Articles available from this book are marked with \*\*.





Many of the assigned articles and book chapters are available in Canvas. However, there may be some missing. You are still responsible for readings those documents that have not been uploaded to Canvas, you can find these documents through the library.

## Policies

## **Grading Scale**

>=93 A 90-92 A-87-89 B+ 83-86 B 80-82 B-77-79 C+ 73-76 C 70-72 C-67-69 D+ 63-66 D 60-62 D-<= 60 E

## Plagiarism and Academic Integrity:

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Honor Code specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.

## Attendance

For successfully passing this course, your attendance is **expected**. Students must arrive to class prepared to discuss the readings listed for that day. You are not required to memorize every detail about the readings but you should be able to critically engage the topics in a substantive manner. To be prepared for class discussion, you should critically engage the texts. Bring any questions you have about the readings' premises, assumptions, questions, research design, and findings.

# Technology

You can bring your laptop or tablet to class as long as you use them to take notes and access readings. However, I strongly encourage you to not use your computer in class and instead, take notes by hand. It is more time consuming but studies have shown that is more effective and will improve learning. You can find studies on this topic <u>here</u>.

Cell phones should not be used during class.

## **Online Evaluation**

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing online evaluations at https://evaluations.ufl.edu. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students <u>here</u>.

## **Students with Disabilities**

Students with disabilities requesting accommodations should first register with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565, www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter which must be presented to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Students with disabilities should follow this procedure as early as possible in the semester.

## **Topics & readings**

These readings are subject to change.

#### January 7 – Introduction

Introduction, presentation of course, discussion of syllabus

#### January 14 - Gender and Politics

What are the challenges of studying gender and politics in comparative perspective? In international relations? What does it mean to study gender and politics?

- \*\*Viveros Vigoya, Mara. "Sex/Gender" in Disch, Lisa; and Mary Hawkesworth. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*. Oxford University Press. 852-873.
- Hawkesworth, Mary. 2013. "Sex, Gender, and Sexuality: From Naturalized Presumption to Analytical Categories. In Waylen, Georgina; Celis, Karen; Kantola, Johana; and Weldon, S. Laurel. *The Oxford handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford University Press. p. 31-56
- Carver, Terrell. 1998. "A Political Theory of Gender: Perspectives on the 'Universal Subject'". In: Randall, Vicky; Waylen, Georgina. *Gender, Politics and the State.* Routledge. p. 18-28.
- Beckwith, Karen. 2005. "A Common Language of Gender?" Politics & Gender 1 (1): 128-137.
- Hawkesworth, Mary. 2005. "Engendering Political Science: An Immodest Proposal." *Politics & Gender* 1(1): 141-156
- Tripp, Aili Mari. 2006. "Why So Slow? The Challenges of Gendering Comparative Politics." Critical Perspectives. *Politics & Gender* 2 (2): 249-263.
- Caraway, Teri L. 2010. "Gendering Comparative Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 169-175.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2011. "Gendering Comparative Politics: Achievements and Challenges." *Politics & Gender* 7 (1): 99-105
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2008. "The Norm of Tradition: Gender Subordination and Women's Exclusion in International Relations". *Politics & Gender.* 4 (1). 173-180.

# January 21

## <u>Intersectionality</u>

In what ways have Black feminist in the U.S. and scholars from the Global South challenged the study of gender and politics? What does it mean to adopt an 'intersectional perspective'?

- Crenshaw, K., 1991. Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, p. 1241
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "Intersectionality as a normative and empirical paradigm." *Politics & Gender* 3(2): 248-254.
- Yuval-Davis, N., 2006. Intersectionality and feminist politics. *European journal of women's studies*, *13*(3), pp.193-209.
- Mügge, L., Montoya, C., Emejulu, A. and Weldon, S.L., 2018. Intersectionality and the politics of knowledge production. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, *1*(1-2), pp.17-36.
- Weldon, Laurel. 2006. "The Structure of Intersectionality: A Comparative Politics of Gender" *Politics & Gender*, 2 (2006), 235-248.
- Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2012. "Intersectionality in Time: Sexuality and the Shifting Boundaries of Intersectional Marginalization". *Politics & Gender*. 8 (30), 386-396.

## Recommended:

Crenshaw, K., 1989. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *u. Chi. Legal f.*, p.139.

King, Deborah K. "Multiple jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a Black feminist ideology." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14.1 (1988): 42-72.

Alexander-Floyd, Nikol G. "Disappearing Acts: Reclaiming Intersectionality in the Social Sciences in a Post—Black Feminist Era." *Feminist Formations*, 24, (1) 2012, pp. 1–25

## **January 28**

<u>Feminist methods</u>

What are the main feminist critiques to traditional perspectives on knowledge production in political science? Is there a 'feminist' way of doing political science?

Kantola, Johanna; Lombardo, Emanuela. 2017. *Gender & Political Analysis*. Red Globe Press. Introduction and Ch. 2.

Ackerly, Brooke; True, Jacqui. 2010. *Doing feminist research in political and social science.* Palgrave Ch. 2 "A feminist research ethic explained".

Hawkesworth, Mary. 2006. Feminist Inquiry. Rutgers University Press. Ch. 3-5

Ackerly, Brooke; Stern, Maria; True, Jacqui. 2006. *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations.* Cambridge University Press.

## Recommended:

Goertz, Gary and Amy G. Mazur, eds. 2008. *Politics, Gender, and Concepts: Theory and Methodology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

## February 4

<u>Gender & the State</u>

In what ways have feminist scholars contributed to our understanding of the state as an object of study in political science and as a structure? What does adopting a 'gender lens' mean for the study of the state?

Htun, Mala. 2005. "What It Means to Study Gender and the State". Politics & Gender. 1(1). 157-166. \*MacKinnon, Catharine A. 1989. "The Liberal State." In *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 157-170.

- \*Kantola, Johanna. 2006. "Gender and the State: Theories and Debates." In: *Feminists Theorize the State*. New York: Palgrave, 1-21.
- \*Orloff, A., 1996. Gender in the welfare state. *Annual review of sociology*, 22(1), pp. 51-78.

\*Chappell, L., 2000. Interacting with the state: Feminist strategies and political opportunities. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *2*(2), pp. 244-275.

\* Stetson, D.M. and Mazur, A., 2010. Introduction to Comparative State Feminism. *Women, Gender, and Politics. A Reader*, pp. 319-325.

Piscopo, Jennifer M. 2015. "States as Gender Equality Activists: The Evolution of Quota Laws in Latin America." Latin American Politics and Society 57 (3): 27-49.

Towns, Ann E. 2010. *Women and States: Norms and Hierarchies in International Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press. Introduction.

Charrad, Mounira. 2001. *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Introduction & Ch. 1.

Kantola, Johanna. 2007. "The Gendered Reproduction of the State in International Relations." British Journal of Politics & International Relations 9 (2): 270-283

\*Htun, Mala. 2003. Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce, and the Family Under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies. Cambridge University Press. Introduction

## February 11

**Democracy & Democratization** 

How have feminist political scientists challenged our understanding of democratization? of democracy?

Pateman, Carole. 1989. "Feminism and Democracy." In The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory. Stanford University Press, 210-225.

Paxton, Pamela. 2000. "Women's Suffrage in the Measurement of Democracy: Problems of Operationalization." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35 (3): 92-111

- Waylen, Georgina. "Women and democratization conceptualizing gender relations in transition politics." *World politics* 46.3 (1994): 327-354.
- Ríos Tobar, Marcela. 2003. "Chilean Feminism(s) in the 1990s Paradoxes of an Unfinished Transition". International Feminist Journal of Politics, 5:2, 256-280
- Cornwall, Andrea and Anne Marie Goetz. 2005. "Democratizing Democracy: Feminist Perspectives." *Democratization* 12 (5): 783-800.
- Comparative Perspectives Symposium: Democratization. 2006. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society.* (31): 4. 915-923.
- Watson, Peggy. 2000. "Re-thinking Transition: Globalism, Gender and Class". *International Feminist Journal of Politics.* (2)2. 185-213.

# February 18

Political institutions & feminist institutionalism

In what ways are political institutions gendered/raced? How can political scientists measure and understand gender/race within political institutions?

- Mackay, Fiona, and Mona Lena Krook. 2011. *Gender, Politics and Institutions: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Waylen, Georgina. 2014. "Informal Institutions, Institutional Change, and Gender Equality." *Political Research Quarterly* 67 (1): 212-223
- \*Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of RacedGendered Institutions." American Political Science Review 97 (4): 529-550

## February 25

Feminist theory and Political Representation

What is representation? How can gender and race issues be represented? In what ways are women represented in politics?

- \*Phillips, Anne. 1995. "Quotas for Women." In *The Politics of Presence: The Political Representation of Gender, Ethnicity, and Race.* New York: Oxford University Press, 57-83.
- \*Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" *Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 628-657.
- \*Dovi, Suzanne. 2002. "Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black, or Latino Do?" *American Political Science Review* 96 (4): 729-743.
- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. and William Mishler. 2005. "An Integrated Model of Women's Representation." *Journal of Politics* 67 (2): 407-428.
- Childs, Sarah and Mona Lena Krook. 2009. "Analyzing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors." *Government and Opposition* 44 (2): 125-145

\*Weldon, S. Laurel. 2002. "Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policymaking." *Journal of Politics* 64 (4): 1153-1174.

- Celis, Karen, Sarah Childs, Johanna Kantola, and Mona Lena Krook. 2008. "Rethinking Women's Substantive Representation." *Representation* 44 (2): 99-110.
- \*Childs, Sarah and Mona Lena Krook. 2006. "Should Feminists Give Up on Critical Mass? A Contingent Yes." Politics & Gender 2 (4): 522-530.

# March 3

<mark>Spring break</mark>

## March 10

#### Representation in practice

In what ways does representation theory translate into research on representation? How do we measure women and other identity-based interests?

- Reynolds, Andrew. 2019. *The Children of Harvey Milk. How LGBTQ Politicians Changed the World.* Oxford University Press.
- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2018. *Gender and Representation in Latin America*. Oxford University Press. Read the Introduction and select one chapter from the first part and one country-case chapter.
- Dittmar, Kelly; Sanbonmatsu, Kira; Carroll, Susan J. 2018. *A Seat at the Table: Congresswomen's Perspectives on Why Their Presence Matters*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 2.
- \*Sainsbury, Diane. 2004. "Women's Political Representation in Sweden: Discursive Politics and Institutional Presence." Scandinavian Political Studies 27 (1): 65-87
- \*Goetz, Anne Marie. 2003. "The Problem with Patronage: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda." In *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy-Making*, ed. Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim. New York: Zed, 110-139.
- \*Yoon, Mi Yung. 2004. "Explaining Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa." Legislative Studies Quarterly 29 (3): 447-466

## **Recommended**

Wylie, Kristin. 2018. *Party Institutionalization and Women's Representation in Democratic Brazil.* Cambridge University Press

## March 17

Elections & Electoral systems

- O'Brien, Diana Z. 2015. "Rising to the Top: Gender, Political Performance, and Party Leadership in Parliamentary Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (4): 1022-1039
- Hughes, Melanie M. 2009. "Armed Conflict, International Linkages, and Women's Parliamentary Representation in Developing Nations." Social Problems 56 (1): 174-204
- \*Norris, Pippa and Joni Lovenduski. 1995. "Puzzles in Political Recruitment." In Political Recruitment: Gender, Race, and Class in the British Parliament. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-19.
- \*Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2004. "Entering the Arena? Gender and the Decision to Run for Office." American Journal of Political Science 48 (2): 264-280.
- \*Niven, David. 1998. "Party Elites and Women Candidates: The Shape of Bias." Women & Politics 19 (2): 57-80.

\*Caul, Miki. 1999. "Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties." Party Politics 5 (1): 79-98.

Mc Allister, Ian and Donley T. Studlar. 2001. "Electoral Systems and Women's Representation: A Long Term Perspective." *Representation* 39 (1): 3-14

## March 24

<u>Gender Quotas</u>

- Krook, Mona Lena. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hughes, Melanie M. 2011. "Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide." American Political Science Review 105 (3): 604-620.
- Besley, T., Folke, O., Persson, T. and Rickne, J., 2017. Gender quotas and the crisis of the mediocre man: Theory and evidence from Sweden. *American Economic Review*, *107* (8), pp.2204-42.
- Wylie, Kristin. 2018. "Brazil's Quota Law and the Challenges of Institutional Change Amidst Weak and Gendered Institutions". In: *Party Institutionalization and Women's Representation in Democratic Brazil.* Cambridge University Press.
- Murray, Rainbow. "Parity and Legislative Competence in France"; Larson, Anna "Collective Identities, Institutions, Security, and State Building in Afghanistan"; Beaman, et al "Politics as a Male Domain and Empowerment in India" In: Franceschet, Susa; Krook, Mona Lena; Piscopo, Jennifer. 2012. *The Impact of Gender Quotas*. Oxford University Press.

## March 31

Gender & Public Policy

- Htun, Mala, & Weldon, S. Laurel. 2018. *The logics of gender justice: state action on women's rights around the world*. Cambridge University Press.
- \*Sarvasy, Wendy. 1992. "Beyond the Difference versus Equality Policy Debate: Postsuffrage Feminism, Citizenship, and the Quest for a Feminist Welfare State." Signs 17 (2): 329-362.
- \*Squires, Judith. 2005. "Is Mainstreaming Transformative? Theorizing Mainstreaming in the Context of Diversity and Deliberation." Social Politics 12 (3): 366-388.
- \*Threlfall, Monica. 1998. "State Feminism or Party Feminism? Feminist Politics and the Spanish Institute for Women." *European Journal of Women's Studies.* 5 (1): 69-93

# April 7

## <u>Social movements</u>

- \*Beckwith, Karen. 2000. "Beyond Compare? Women's Movements in Comparative Perspective." European Journal of Political Research 37 (4): 431-468.
- \*Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." *Journal of Politics* 68 (4): 894-910
- Weldon, S. Laurel. 2011. *When Protest Makes Policy: How Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Sonia E. Alvarez, Elisabeth Jay Friedman, Ericka Beckman, Maylei Blackwell, Norma Stoltz Chinchilla, Nathalie Lebon, Marysa Navarro, and Marcela Ríos Tobar. 2003. "Encountering Latin American and Caribbean Feminisms" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. (28):2, 537-579
- \*Molyneux, Maxine. 1985. "Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua." *Feminist Studies* 11 (2): 227-254.
- Tripp, Aili. 2001. "Women's Movements and Challenges to Neopatrimonial Rule: Preliminary Observations from Africa." *Development and Change* 32 (1): 33-54.

\*Alvarez, Sonia E. 2000. "Translating the Global: Effects of Transnational Organizing on Latin American Feminist Discourses and Practices." *Meridians* 1 (1): 29-67.

\*Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod. 1998. *Faithful and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest inside the Church and Military*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3-22.

\*Banaszak, Lee Ann, Karen Beckwith, and Dieter Rucht, eds. 2003. Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-29

#### Recommended:

- Basu, Amrita. 1995. *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective*. Boulder: Westview Press, 131-162, 276-301, 374-404.
- Baldez, Lisa. 2002. "Why Women Protest: Tipping, Timing, and Framing." In *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-20.
- Bouvard, Marguerite Guzman. 2002. *Revolutionizing Motherhood: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield
- Weldon, S. Laurel. 2006. "Inclusion, Solidarity, and Social Movements: The Global Movement against Gender Violence." *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (1): 55-74.
- Wright, Robin. 2011. Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion Across the Islamic World. New York: Simon & Schuster, 138-159

#### April 14

<u>Gender & violence</u>

How do feminist scholars think about violence? How are feminist conceptualizations of violence different from mainstream definitions of violence?

- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2018. "Rape as a Practice of War: Toward a Typology of Political Violence" Politics & Society. 46(4) 513-537
- Pain, Rachel. 2014. "Everyday terrorism: Connecting domestic violence and global terrorism". *Progress in Human Geography.* 38: (4) 531-550.
- Engle-Merry, Sally. "Measuring Violence against Women". In *The Seduction of Quantification*. University of Chicago Press. 44-74.
- Krook, Mona Lena, and Juliana Restrepo Sanin. Forthcoming "The Cost of Doing Politics? Analyzing Violence and Harassment against Female Politicians". *Perspectives on Politics.*

## <mark>April 21</mark>

Gender, War & Peace

- Sjoberg, Laura. 2013. *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War.* Columbia University Press.
- Cynthia Cockburn (2010) Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 12:2, 139-157
- Berry, M. E. 2018. *War, women, and power: From violence to mobilization in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Cambridge University Press.