

Winter Term 2020/2021

University of Cologne, Faculty of Management, Economics and Social Sciences

Cologne Center for Comparative Politics (CCCP)

Chair of International Comparative Political Economy and Economic Sociology

“Gender and Politics”

Bachelor Course No.14335.0407 (ECTS Points: 6)

(Ergänzungsmodul Seminar Politikwissenschaft)

Time: Wednesday, 14:00 – 15:45

First – Last Sessions: November 4, 2020 – December 16, 2020

Location: via ZOOM

Instructor: Elifcan Celebi

Email: ec@mpifg.de

Office hours: Please make an appointment via email.

Course description and structure

This is an introductory course to the study of politics from a gender perspective. The course aims to introduce students to the fields of gender and politics by presenting main contributions of feminist theories to the analysis of states, institutions, policymaking and politics. This includes the introduction of basic concepts of gender and politics scholarship and using these theoretical approaches to analyze how citizenship is gendered. The readings engage with feminist analysis of politics in relation to various policy fields of political representation, labor, care and migration. Furthermore, the readings focus on the role of civil society, international governance and European Union on mainstreaming the gender equality agenda. Finally, the course brings forth the contemporary debates of the gender and politics scholarship: the feminist backlash and the right-turn in gender politics, as well as intersectionality and intersectional politics.

This is a Bachelor course for students with a background in social science. The course is held as two sessions with 5 minutes break for seven weeks. Each week consists of 50 mins. first session + 5 mins. break + 50 mins. second session. Each session includes theory lectures, empirical examples, group work/assignments and class discussions. The seminar is held in English. Participants should be able to understand, write and articulate themselves in English, as this will be the general classroom language. Perfection is not required, but you should be able to make yourself understood.

Course requirements and assessment

- 1- Prepare a **short memo and at least two discussion questions** about the readings for a given session (%30 of the final grade)

During the course, each student should prepare a short memo for one session in English. Students are not expected to summarize the readings. Instead, they are expected to critically engage with the weekly readings and give further information on the topic (contemporary debates, reports or comparative statistics). Short memo accounts for %30 of the final grade. It must be two-pages long (single-spaced, 12-pt, Times New Roman) with two related questions at the end and must be sent via email to ec@mpifg.de, no later than 2 days before the relevant session (Monday, 2pm.). Please be sure that you have received a confirmation of your email.

The topics will be distributed in the first week of the class. Thus, attendance to first week is obligatory, since we will review the syllabus and allocate short memos in the beginning of the first session. Students are expected to attend the seminar on a regular basis, read the required readings (2 mandatory readings for each week) and participate in class discussions as far as possible in the current situation.

- 2- Submit a **term paper** of 3.000-4.000 words in English (%70 of the final grade)

At the end of the semester, each student should submit a term paper of 3.000-4.000 words (12 pts, double line spacing). All term papers should build on the readings covered in the course. The topic for the term paper should be individually agreed with the instructor. Term paper accounts for %70 of the final grade and must be written in English. Please send your term paper via email to ec@mpifg.de, no later than January 20, 2020. Please be sure that you have received a confirmation of your email.

Additional readings are especially provided for the students who wants to write a term paper on a specific subject(s).

All students writing a term paper will have to sign the following declaration on the originality of the paper: https://cccp.uni-koeln.de/sites/cccp/Lehre/Erklaerung_fuer_Hausarbeiten.pdf

Students should consult the information on writing a term paper and plagiarism on our website. Please note that submitted term papers may be checked anonymously for plagiarism.

Registration

Students should register via KLIPS2.

Readings will be available on ILIAS.

Course outline

WEEK I – 04.11.2020
SESSION 1 – Introduction
SESSION 2 – Dichotomies as conceptual tools
WEEK II – 11.11.2020
SESSION 3 – Equality and difference I
SESSION 4 – Equality and difference II
WEEK III – 18.11.2020
SESSION 5 – Gender, states and citizenship
SESSION 6 – Gendering the welfare states
WEEK IV – 25.11.2020
SESSION 7 – POLICY I: Politics and representation
SESSION 8 – POLICY II: Work and sexual division of labor
WEEK V – 02.12.2020
SESSION 9 – POLICY III: Care and migration
SESSION 10 – POLICY IV: Body, sexuality and violence
WEEK VI – 09.12.2020
SESSION 11 – Global governance of gender politics
SESSION 12 – European Union and gender equality
WEEK VII – 16.12.2020
SESSION 13 – CONTEMPORARY DEBATES I: Gender backlash and the right-turn
SESSION 14 – CONTEMPORARY DEBATES II: Intersectional feminist politics

WEEK 1 (04.11.2020)

By using gender as an analytical category of analysis, feminist critiques raised important questions about the way politics and societal relations are constructed. First week introduces conceptual dichotomies (visible/paid-invisible/unpaid, public-private, dependence-interdependence) as important tools of analysis. Attendance to first week is obligatory, since we will review the syllabus and allocate short memos in the beginning of the first session.

Session 1 – Introduction

Required Reading

- Scott, Joan W. (1986). “Gender: a useful category of historical analysis.” *The American Historical Review*, 91(5): 1053-1075.

Additional Literature

- Waylen, Georgina, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, and Laurel Weldon. (2013). *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 1: “Gender and Politics: A Gendered World, a Gendered Discipline”.
- De Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*, Random House (several dates, publishers, translations available)
- Walby, Sylvia. (1990). *Theorizing Patriarchy*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Session 2 – Dichotomies as conceptual tools

Required Reading

- Okin, Susan Moller. (1998). “Gender, the Public, and the Private” In Anne Phillips (ed.), *Feminism and Politics*, 116-141.

Additional Literature

- Joseph, Suad. "The public/private—The imagined boundary in the imagined nation/state/community: The Lebanese case." *Feminist review* 57, no. 1 (1997): 73-92.
- Fraser, Nancy and Linda Gordon. (1994). “A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (19)2: 309-336.
- Benhabib, Seyla. (1998). “Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas” in *Feminism the Public and the Private*, Joan Landes (Ed.), 65-99. Oxford University Press.

WEEK 2 (11.11.2020)

The readings of the second week have a special focus on theoretical debates around the intersection of gender and politics. Theorizing the tension between equality and difference, as well as the struggles for recognition and redistribution are fruitful debates in the feminist literature.

Session 3 – Equality and difference I

Required Reading

- Pateman, Carole. (2005). “Equality, difference, subordination: the politics of motherhood and women’s citizenship.” In *Beyond equality and difference* (eds. Gisela Bock and Susan James), pp. 22-35. Routledge, 2005.

Additional Literature

- M. Wollstonecraft (1792), *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Penguin Classics, 2004

- Lister, Ruth. (1998). "Citizenship and difference: Towards a differentiated universalism." *European Journal of Social Theory* 1, no. 1 (1998): 71-90.

Session 4 – Equality and difference II

Required Reading

- Fraser, Nancy. (2015). "Feminism's two legacies: A tale of ambivalence." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 114 (4): 699-712.

Additional Literature

- Phillips, Anne. (1997). "From inequality to difference: a severe case of displacement?." *New Left Review*, 143-153.
- Scott, Joan W. (1988) "Deconstructing equality-versus-difference: Or, the uses of post-structuralist theory for feminism", *Feminist studies*, 14(1): 33-50.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. "Women, citizenship and difference." *Feminist review* 57, no. 1 (1997): 4-27.

WEEK 3 (18.11.2020)

Third week introduces the feminist critique of citizenship and welfare state analysis. The readings criticize Gosta Esping-Andersen's seminal typology of welfare regimes (Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, 1990) as a starting point and introduce gender-centered variables into the analysis of welfare states.

Session 5 – Gender, states and citizenship

Required Reading

- Htun, Mala. (2005). "What it means to study gender and the state." *Politics & Gender* 1, No. 1: 157-166.

Additional Literature

- Htun, Mala and Laurel Weldon. (2010). "When Do Governments Promote Women's Rights? A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Sex Equality Policy." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 207-216.
- Skocpol, Theda. (1992). *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. (1999). "Gender, national identity and citizenship: reflections on the Middle East and North Africa." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 19 (1): 137-157.

Session 6 – Gendering the welfare states

Required Reading

- Korpi, Walter. (2000). "Faces of inequality: Gender, class, and patterns of inequalities in different types of welfare states." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 7, No. 2 (2000): 127-191.

Additional Literature

- Sainsbury, Diane. (2008). "Gendering the welfare state". In G. Goertz & A. Mazur (Eds.), *Politics, Gender, and Concepts: Theory and Methodology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 94-113.
- Lewis, Jane. (1992). "Gender and the development of welfare regimes." *Journal of European Social Policy* 2, No. 3: 159-173.
- Orloff, Ann Shola. (1993). "Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states." *American Sociological Review*, 58 (1993): 303-328.

WEEK 4 (25.11.2020)

The readings of this week concentrate on specific policy areas: politics and representation, as well as work and sexual division of labor.

Session 7 – POLICY I: Politics and representation

Required Reading

- Celis, Karen. (2009). "Substantive representation of women (and improving it): What it is and should be about?" *Comparative European Politics*, (7)1: 95-113.

Additional Literature

- Mazur, Amy G. (2016). "Toward the systematic study of feminist policy in practice: An essential first step." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 38(1), 64-83.
- Childs, Sarah, and Mona Lena Krook. (2009) "Analysing women's substantive representation: From critical mass to critical actors." *Government and opposition* 44 (2): 125-145.
- Phillips, Anne. (1995). *The Politics of Presence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Session 8 – POLICY II: Work and sexual division of labor

Required Reading

- Ferguson, Lucy. (2013). "Gender, work, and the sexual division of labor." In *the Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, pp. 337-62. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Additional Literature

- O'Connor, Julia. Ann Shola Orloff and Sheila Shaver. (1999). *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States* (New York, Cambridge, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Morgan, Kimberly. (2006). *Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe and the United States*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

WEEK 5 (02.12.2020)

The readings of this week concentrate on specific policy areas: care and migration, as well as body, sexuality and violence.

Session 9 – POLICY III: Care and migration

Required Reading

- Daly, Mary. (2002), “Care as a Good for Social Policy.” *Journal of Social Policy*, 31 (2): 251–70.

Additional Literature

- Williams, Fiona and Deborah Brennan. (2012). “Care, markets and migration in a globalizing world” special Issue of *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22(4):355.
- Leitner, Sigrid. (2010), “Varieties of Familialism: The Caring Function of the Family in Comparative Perspective.” *European Societies*, 5(4):353-375.
- A focus on Germany: Henninger, Annette, Christine Wimbauer und Rosine Dombrowski (2008): “Demography as a Push towards Gender Equality? Current Reforms of German Family Policy.” In: *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 15(3), 287-314.

Session 10 – POLICY IV: Body, sexuality and violence

Required Reading

- Htun, Mala, and Laurel Weldon. (2012). “The civic origins of progressive policy change: Combating violence against women in global perspective 1975–2005”. *American Political Science Review*, 106(3), 548-569.

Additional Literature

- Raewyn Connell. (2016). "Masculinities in global perspective: Hegemony, contestation, and changing structures of power," *Theory and Society* (45) 4: 303-318.

- Coole, Diana. (2013). "The body and politics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Paternotte, David. "Coming out of the political science closet: the study of LGBT politics in Europe." *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 1, no. 1-2 (2018): 55-74.

WEEK 6 (09.12.2020)

The readings spotlight the global governance of gender politics in the world. First part focuses on the global institutions and their role in the governance of gender and political economy, while the second part of this week focuses on European Union and its gender equality agenda.

Session 11 – Global governance of gender politics

Required Reading

- Molyneux, Maxine, and Marilyn Thomson. (2011). "Cash transfers, gender equity and women's empowerment in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia." *Gender & Development* 19 (2) (2011): 195-212.

Additional Literature

- Willis, Katie. (2018). Gender, development and human rights: exploring global governance. *Geography*, 103, 70-77.
- Jenson, Jane. (2015). "The Fading Goal of Gender Equality: Three Policy Directions that Underpin the Resilience of Gendered Socio-economic Inequalities." *Social Politics*: 539–560
- Walby, Sylvia. (2005). "Introduction: Comparative gender mainstreaming in a global era." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, (7) 4: 453-470.

Session 12 – European Union and gender equality

Required Reading

- Lombardo, Emanuela. (2003). "EU Gender Policy: Trapped in the Wollstonecraft Dilemma?." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 10(2): 159-180.

Additional Literature

- Roth, Silke, ed. (2008). *Gender politics in the expanding European Union: Mobilization, inclusion, exclusion*. Berghahn Books.
- Lewis, Jane. (2006). "Work/family reconciliation, equal opportunities and social policies: the interpretation of policy trajectories at the EU level and the meaning of gender equality." *Journal of European public policy* (13)3: 420-437.

WEEK 7 (16.12.2020)

The readings of the last week engage with contemporary debates on gender and politics. The first part is interested in the relationship/tension between gender backlash and the contemporary right-turn of the world politics, while the second part draws attention to the concept of intersectionality, its shortcomings and political possibilities for feminist politics.

Session 13 – CONTEMPORARY DEBATES I: Gender backlash and the right-turn

Required Reading

- Verloo, Mieke, and David Paternotte. (2018). "The feminist project under threat in Europe." *Politics and Governance* 6, No. 3: 1-5.

Additional Literature

- Engeli, Isabelle. (2019). "Gender and sexuality research in the age of populism: lessons for political science." *European Political Science*, 1-10.
- Kuhar, Roman, and Paternotte, David. (2018). *Anti-gender Campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing Against Equality*. Rowman & Littlefield International.

Session 14 – CONTEMPORARY DEBATES II: Intersectional feminist politics

Required Reading

- Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) "Intersectionality and feminist politics", *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3): 193-209.

Additional Literature

- Chow, E. N. L., Segal, M. T., & Lin, T. (Eds.). (2011). *Analyzing gender, intersectionality, and multiple inequalities: global-transnational and local contexts*. Emerald Group Publishing.
- Mansbridge, J. (1999). Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent "yes". *The Journal of politics*, 61(3), 628-657.
- Cross-Border Feminists. (20 April 2020). *Cross-Border Feminist Manifesto: Emerging From the Pandemic Together*. <https://spectrejournal.com/cross-border-feminist-manifesto/>