

Gender and Politics

B.A. Seminar, Summer 2022

University of Cologne, WiSo Faculty, Cologne Center for Comparative Politics (CCCP)
Chair of International Comparative Political Economy and Economic Sociology

Nr. 14335. 0406, Exam Regulation 2022: SM Vergleichende Politische Ökonomie (Exam Regulation 2005: Schwerpunktmodul Seminar Politikwissenschaft II)

Instructor: Elifcan Çelebi (celebi@wiso.uni-koeln.de)

Day/Time: Mondays, 12:00 – 15:30 (Block Seminar)

First/Last Sessions: 04.04.2022 – 23.05.2022

Location: Room 3.40 (3rd floor), IBW Building (Building 211), Herbert-Lewin-Str. 2

Office hours: Please make an appointment via email.

Course overview

The course aims to introduce students to the fields of gender and politics by presenting the main contributions of feminist theories to the analysis of states, institutions, policymaking, and politics. The course uses the core concepts of gender and politics scholarship to analyze how citizenship, welfare policies, and societal relations are constructed. The readings engage with notions of sex and gender, analyze how they have shaped public policies, and how public policies have affected the social, economic, and political dynamics. The seminar closely examines the policy fields of political representation, labor, care, migration, violence and sexual health. Furthermore, considering the recent scientific publications, participants will focus on the role of international civil society and the European Union in mainstreaming the gender equality agenda. Finally, the course brings forth the contemporary debates of gender and politics scholarship: de-democratization, anti-gender politics, and intersectional politics.

The seminar will be held as block sessions for seven weeks. Each session includes theory lectures, empirical examples, group work/assignments, and class discussions. In addition, a participant will make a short presentation on one of the readings in each session to kick off the discussion.

Prerequisites

Gender and Politics is a seminar for students with a background in social science. Participants should be familiar with basic political science and social policy concepts. The seminar is held in English. Therefore, participants should be able to read, write and articulate themselves in English. However, perfection is not required, nor expected. Students are expected to attend the seminar on a regular basis, read the required readings, and participate in class discussions. Attendance to the first week is necessary since we will review the syllabus and allocate presentations.

Discrimination based on any social category (racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, ageism, ablism and etc.) will not be tolerated. Participants are encouraged to disagree with others based upon facts and documentation.

Assessment

1- Make a presentation (10 minutes) in one session (%30 of the final grade): During the course, each student should prepare a 10-minutes-long presentation for one seminar text in English. Students are expected to present the most critical information in the text. A PowerPoint presentation is not necessary. However, a one-page handout should be prepared and distributed to the seminar participants and the lecturer online no later than three days before the relevant session (Friday, 2 pm). The topics will be distributed in the first week of the class. Presentations account for %30 of the final grade.

2- Submit a term paper of 3.000-4.000 words (%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). For the term paper, participants will choose one policy field (such as, political representation, migration, employment, care, gendered violence, or sexual health policies) and one country that they are interested in. They will conduct a gendered analysis of contemporary developments in that specific policy realm in that country. Term papers should engage with the readings covered in the course and introduce new sources, such as additional literature, recent debates, reports, or comparative statistics.

The topic for the term paper should be individually agreed upon with the instructor (before June 1, 2022). Term paper accounts for %70 of the final grade and must be written in English. Please send your term paper via email to celebi@wiso.uni-koeln.de no later than July 1, 2022. Please be sure that you have received a confirmation of your email.

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. 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

Registration

Students should register via KLIPS2.

Readings will be available on ILIAS.

Course outline

WEEK I – 04.04.2022
SESSION 1 – Introduction
SESSION 2 – Dichotomies as conceptual tools
WEEK II – 11.04.2022
SESSION 3 – Equality and difference
SESSION 4 – Gendering the welfare state
WEEK III – 25.04.2022
SESSION 5 – POLICY I: Political representation
SESSION 6 – POLICY II: Migration
WEEK IV – 02.05.2022
SESSION 7 – POLICY III: Work and sexual division of labor
SESSION 8 – POLICY IV: Care
WEEK V – 09.05.2022
SESSION 9 – POLICY V: Violence
SESSION 10 – POLICY VI: Body and sexuality
WEEK VI – 16.05.2022
SESSION 11 – Global governance of gender politics
SESSION 12 – European Union and gender equality
WEEK VII – 23.05.2022
SESSION 13 – CONTEMPORARY DEBATES I: Gender backlash and the right-turn
SESSION 14 – CONTEMPORARY DEBATES II: Intersectional feminist politics

WEEK 1 (04.04.2022)

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

Session 1 – Introduction

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

Htun, Mala. (2005). "What it means to study gender and the state." *Politics & Gender* 1(1): 157-166.

Session 2 – Dichotomies as conceptual tools

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

Knijn, Trudie, and Monique Kremer. (1997). "Gender and the caring dimension of welfare states: toward inclusive citizenship." *Social Politics* 4 (3): 328-361.

WEEK 2 (11.04.2022)

*Theorizing the tension between equality and difference, as well as the struggles for recognition and redistribution, are fruitful debates in the literature. The second week introduces the feminist critique of citizenship and welfare state analysis considering the debate around equality and difference. The readings critically engage with 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 3 – Equality and difference

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.

Lister, Ruth. (1998). "Citizenship and difference: Towards a differentiated universalism" *European Journal of Social Theory* 1(1): 71-90.

Session 4 – Gendering the welfare state

O'Connor, Julia S. (2013) "Gender, citizenship and welfare state regimes in the early twenty-first century: 'incomplete revolution' and/or gender equality 'lost in translation'." In *A Handbook of Comparative Social Policy*, Second Edition. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013.

Walby, Sylvia. (2020). "Varieties of gender regimes." *Social Politics* 27 (3): 414 - 431.

WEEK 3 (25.04.2022)

Session 5 – POLICY I: Political representation

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.

Mansbridge, Jane. (1999). Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent" yes." *The Journal of politics*, 61(3), 628-657.

Session 6 – POLICY II: Migration

Schrover, Marlou. (2009). "Why Make a Difference? Migration Policy and Making Differences Between Migrant Men and Women (The Netherlands 1945–2005)" In *Gender, Migration, and the Public Sphere, 1850-2005* (Eds. Marlou Schrover and Eileen Yeo) 76-93. Routledge.

Kocak, Mert. (2020). "Who is "Queerer" and deserves resettlement? Queer asylum seekers and their deservingness of refugee status in Turkey." *Middle East Critique* 29(1): 29-46.

WEEK 4 (02.05.2022)

Session 7 – POLICY III: Work and sexual division of labor

Ferguson, Lucy. (2013). "Gender, work, and the sexual division of labor." In *the Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, pp. 337-362. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Orloff, Ann Shola. (1993). "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States." *American Sociological Review* 58(3): 303-328

Session 8 – POLICY VI: Care

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

Dotti Sani, Giulia M. (2020). "Is it 'Good' to Have a Stay-at-Home Mom? Parental Childcare Time and Work–Family Arrangements in Italy, 1988–2014." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 28 (4): 896–920.

WEEK 5 (09.05.2022)

Session 9 – POLICY V: Gendered Violence

Montoya, Celeste, and Lise Rolandsen Agustin. (2013). “The othering of domestic violence: The EU and cultural framings of violence against women.” *Social Politics* 20(4): 534-557.

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.

Session 10 – POLICY VI: Body and sexuality

Guest Lecturer: Danielle Pullan

Coole, Diana. (2013). “The body and politics.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. pp. 1-24, Oxford University Press.

Yilmaz, Volkan, and Paul Willis. (2020) “Challenges to a rights-based approach in sexual health policy: A comparative study of Turkey and England.” *Societies* 10 (33): 1-22.

WEEK 6 (16.05.2022)

The readings spotlight the global governance of gender politics in the world. The first part focuses on the international 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

Willis, Katie. (2018). “Gender, development, and human rights: exploring global governance.” *Geography*, 103, 70-77.

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

Session 12 – European Union and gender equality

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

Kantola, Johanna and Emanuela Lombardo. (2021). “Challenges to Democratic Practices and Discourses in the European Parliament: Feminist Perspectives on the Politics of Political Groups” *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 28 (3): 579–602.

WEEK 7 (23.05.2022)

The last week's readings 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 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

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

Ferree, Myra Marx (2021). “Democracy and Demography: Intersectional Dimensions of German Politics” *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 28 (3): 532–555.

Session 14 – CONTEMPORARY DEBATES II: Intersectional feminist politics

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

Ciccica, Rossella, and Conny Roggeband. (2021). “Unpacking intersectional solidarity: Dimensions of power in coalitions.” *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 4(2): 181-198.