



Madrid Complutense University
Faculty of Political Science and Sociology
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Syllabus

GENDER AND POLITICS

Political Science Degree
Academic year 2020-2021, 2nd semester

Group 4.8

Prof Emanuela Lombardo

Lectures Monday and Tuesday: h 9.00-11.00

Office hours

Monday h 11.00-15.00

Office 2204

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Students' tutorials will be attended by email, through virtual campus (Collaborate) or Google Meet. Please use the virtual campus email for making an appointment with the professor.

Short outline

This is an introductory course to the study of politics from a gender perspective and to the analysis of gender equality policies.

Requirements

The course requires knowledge of written and spoken English.

Aims

The course aims at familiarizing students with the study of politics from a gender perspective. This includes an understanding of what are the major contributions of feminist theories to the analysis of politics in general and gender equality policies in particular.

Skills

Learning how to apply a gender perspective to the analysis of politics

Understanding gender equality policies, actors, strategies, and issues

Contents

Key concepts and theories for studying politics from a gender perspective. Political actors: feminist movements, equality institutions. The analysis of gender equality

policies: strategies, institutions, instruments, and issues. Women's political representation and power.

This course is structured into 4 issues. The first issue offers an introduction to the main concepts of a feminist analysis of politics and the main feminist theories of the state. The second theme examines gender equality policies. This includes exploring the framing of gender equality policies and the main current political strategies used in policymaking (equal opportunities, positive actions, gender mainstreaming, and intersectionality). The third issue introduces the main actors in gender equality policies, that is feminist movements and equality institutions, analyzes the institutionalization of equality in the contexts of Spain and the European Union, and considers the problem of opposition to gender equality. The fourth theme focuses on the study of women's political representation and gender quotas.

Methodology

The methodology of work includes theory lectures and students' active participation through written essays, reports based on the syllabus' readings (that students will upload in virtual campus through the 'entrega' application, and oral presentations about exercises and readings. The virtual campus is an essential tool for this course. Course material will be placed in the virtual campus (Word documents, powerpoint, videos). If online teaching were necessary (for public health reasons due to Covid19), theory classes will take place through videoconference in virtual campus (Collaborate or, in case of problems with virtual campus, through Google Meet) that will be recorded and stored in campus. Exercises (including reading reports and essays) will be submitted through virtual campus and presentations will take place either in class or online through Collaborate (or GMeet) depending on the guidelines established by the university.

Assessment

The assessment will take into account students' autonomous work aimed at the resolution of exercises (this includes: critical reports on the readings, oral presentations, essays) and an exam at the end of the course that will cover all the themes discussed in the theory and practical classes, as well as all compulsory readings. The exam grade will count for 40% of the final grade. The grade of the exercises (including reading reports, oral presentations, and essays) will count for 60% of the final grade. In case of presential exam, it will be a test. In case of online exam, it will be an exam with few questions to develop in a given time through the virtual campus.

Contents

Issue 1. Gender and politics: concepts and theories

- Gender and politics: questions and concepts
- Basic concepts of a feminist analysis of politics (gender, equality, patriarchy, feminism, public/private dichotomy)
- Feminist theories of the state

Mon 15F	Tue 16F	Mon 22F	Tue 23F	Mon 1M	Tue 2M
Introduction and theory class 1	Theory class 1	Theory class 1	Movie (on female PM: Borgen series ¹ or If women counted by Marylin Waring	Theory class 2	Discuss readings issue 1
Create groups and spokespersons			Cinema room B05 and/or virtual campus link		Submit reading reports 1

Compulsory readings Issue 1

- Connell, R. W. 2002. *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity. (chs 1 The question of gender and 4 Gender relations in CV).
- Kantola, Johanna. 2006. *Feminist Theorize the State*. Houndmills: Palgrave (ch 1 in CV).
- Kantola, Johanna and Emanuela Lombardo (2017) *Gender and Political Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan. (ch 1 Introduction in CV and library: L396.9KAN)
- Walby, Sylvia. 1990. *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford: Blackwell, ch 1.
<http://libcom.org/files/Theorizing%20Patriarchy%20-%20Sylvia%20Walby.pdf>
- Pateman, Carole. 1996. Feminist critiques of the public/private dichotomy. In *Public and Private in Social Life*. S.I. Benn and G.F. Gaus, eds. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press. pp. 281-303 (CV).

Additional readings

- Celis, Karen, Johanna Kantola, Georgina Waylen, and S. Laurel Weldon. 2013. Introduction: Gender and Politics: A Gendered World, a Gendered Discipline. *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics* Edited by Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, and S. Laurel Weldon.
- Mügge, Liza, Elizabeth Evans and Isabelle Engeli (2016 aop) Introduction: gender in European political science education –taking stock and future directions. *European Political Science*, pp 1-11.
- Scott, J. (1986). 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis'. *American Historical Review* 91(5): 1053–1075.

Issue 2. Gender equality policies: strategies and policy frames

- Framing gender equality policies
- Gender equality policy strategies
 - Equal opportunities
 - Positive actions
 - Gender mainstreaming
 - Intersectionality

¹ <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1526318/>

Mon 8M	Tue 9M	Mon 15M	Tue 16M	Mon 22M	Tue 23M	Tue 6A	Mon 12A
Theory class 2	Exercise 1 in class (frame analysis)	Work in class on frame analysis exercise	Exercise 1 frame analysis: presentation of results	Theory class 2	Theory class 2	Exercise 2 in class (GM project)	Discuss readings issue 2
			Submit reports exercise 1				Submit reading reports 2

Compulsory readings Issue 2

- Bacchi, Carol. 2006. Arguing for and against quotas, en Drude Dahlerup *Women, Quotas and Politics*, Londres: Routledge. (CV)
- Crenshaw Kimberlé Williams. 1989. "Demarginalising the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics". University of Chicago Legal Forum: 139-167. (CV)
- Lombardo, Emanuela (2003) 'EU Gender Policy : 'Trapped in the Wollstonecraft Dilemma ??', *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, Sage, 10-2: 159-180.
- Verloo, Mieke. 2001. Another velvet revolution? Gender mainstreaming and the politics of implementation. Vienna: IWM (CV).
<http://www.iiav.nl/epublications/2001/anothervelvetrevolution.pdf>
- Verloo, Mieke and Emanuela Lombardo. 2007. 'Contested Gender Equality and Policy Variety in Europe: Introducing a Critical Frame Analysis Approach'. In Verloo, Mieke ed. *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality*. Budapest: CPS. (CV)
http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/target/Art%20Chs%20EN/CH1Intr_M AGEEQbookVerloo_07EN.pdf

Additional readings

- Alonso, Alba and Emanuela Lombardo. 2016. 'Ending ghettoization? Mainstreaming gender in Spanish political science education'. *European Political Science*. Aop 22 January 2016; doi:10.1057/eps.2015.77. (CV)
- Barnett-Donaghy, Tahnya. 2004. "Mainstreaming: Northern Ireland's participative-democratic approach." *Policy and Politics* 32(1): 49–62.
- Benschop, Yvonne and Verloo, Mieke (2006) "'Sisyphus' Sisters": Can Gender Mainstreaming Escape the Genderedness of Organizations?', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 15(1), 19-33.
- Elizondo, Arantxa. 2015 (aop). The status of women in Spanish political science. *European Political Science* 14: 96-104.
- Engeli, Isabelle, & Mazur, Amy (2018). Taking implementation seriously in assessing success: The Politics of gender equality policy. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 1(1–2), 111–129.
- Verge, Tània, Mariona Ferrer-Fons and María José González (2017) 'Resistance to mainstreaming gender into the higher education curriculum' *European Journal of Women's Studies*, aop January 2017.
- Verloo, Mieke. 2006. "Multiple Inequalities, Intersectionality and the European Union". *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 211-228.

Walby, Sylvia (2005) ‘Gender mainstreaming: Productive tensions in theory and practice’, *Social Politics* 12(3): 321-343.

Issue 3. Actors: feminist movements, equality institutions and opposition to gender equality

- Feminist agency
- Feminist movements
- Equality institutions
- Institutionalizing equality in the European Union
- Institutionalizing equality in Spain
- Opposition to gender equality

Tue 13A	Mon 19A	Tue20A	Mon26A	Tue27A	Mon3M
Theory class 3	Exercise 2 presentation of results (GM project)	Theory class 3	Movies on feminist movement (She's beautiful when she's angry V1123)	Theory class 3	Discuss readings issue 3
	<i>Submit reports and ex 2</i>		Cinema room B05 and/or campus link		<i>Submit reading reports 3</i>

Compulsory readings Issue 3

Bustelo, María. 2014 (aop) “Three Decades of State Feminism and Gender Equality Policies in Multi-Governed Spain”. *Sex Roles* (CV).

Ferree, Myra Marx. 2006. "Introduction." In *Globalization and Feminism: Opportunities and Obstacles for Activism in the Global Arena*, edited by M. M. Ferree and A. M. Tripp. New York: New York University Press.
<http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mferree/documents/FerreeGlobalIntro.pdf>

Lombardo, Emanuela and Mieke Verloo (2009) ‘[Institutionalising intersectionality in the European Union? Policy developments and contestations](#) *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11(4): 478-495. (CV)

McBride Stetson, Dorothy and Amy Mazur. 2013. ‘Womens’s policy agencies and state feminism’ in Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola and Laurel Weldon eds *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford: OUP, pp 654-678.

Paternotte, David and Roman Kuhar (2018) Disentangling and Locating the “Global Right”: Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe *Politics and Governance*, Volume 6, Issue 3, Pages 6–19 (CV).

Verloo, Mieke and David Paternotte (2018) The Feminist Project under Threat in Europe. *Politics and Governance*, Volume 6, Issue 3, Pages 1–5 (CV).

Additional readings

Ewig, Christina and Myra Marx Ferree (2013) ‘Feminist organizing: what’s old, what’s new?’ In Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola and Laurel Weldon

eds *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 437-461.

Kantola, Johanna (2010) *Gender and the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan (ch4 Policymaking processes, actors and institutions in the EU from a gender perspective pp 76-103).

Kantola, Johanna and Emanuela Lombardo eds (2017) ‘Gender and the Politics of the Economic Crisis in Europe’ in *Gender and the Economic Crisis in Europe: Politics, Institutions and Intersectionality*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan. (Ch 1)

Kuhar, Roman, & Paternotte, David (Eds.). (2017). *Anti-gender campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing against equality*. London: Rowman & Littlefield.

McBride Dorothy & Amy Mazur, eds (2010) *The Politics of State Feminism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press (ch 1).

Squires, Judith. 2007. *The New Politics of Gender Equality*. Basingstoke: Palgrave (Women’s policy agencies pp 115-135).

Verloo, Mieke (Ed.). (2018). *Varieties of opposition to gender equality in Europe*. New York: Routledge.

Issue 4. Women’s political representation and power

- Political representation: descriptive, substantive and symbolic
- Gender quotas
- Power and gender

Tue 4M	Mon 10M	Tue 11M	Mon 17M	Tue 18M	Mon 24M	Tue 25M
Theory class 4	Exercise 3: wikiwomen	Theory class 4 + wikiwomen work	Movie on women’s suffrage (Suffragette ²) or woman PM (Borgen series ³)	Discuss readings issue 4	Exercise 3: wikiwomen: presentation of results + assessment of Gender & Politics class	Review of all topics
		<i>Woman political scientist</i> wikientry	Cinema room B05 and/or virtual campus (Suffragette online link)	<i>Submit reading reports 4</i>	<i>Submit wikiarticle</i>	

² <http://www.focusfeatures.com/suffragette>

³ <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1526318/>

Compulsory readings Issue 4

- Allen, Amy. 2016. Feminist perspectives on power. Stanford Encyclopedia of philosophy <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminist-power/>
- Celis, Karen. 2009. "Substantive Representation of women (and improving it): what it is and should be about?" *Comparative European Politics* 7 (1): 95–113.
- Lombardo, Emanuela and Petra Meier (2014) *The symbolic representation of gender. A discursive approach*. Aldershot: Ashgate. (Ch 1 in CV)
- Verge, Tània and Emanuela Lombardo. 2015. The differential approach to gender quotas in Spain: regulated politics and self-regulated corporate boards. EUI Working papers <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/35807>

Additional readings

- Franceschet, Susan, Mona Lena Krook and Jennifer Piscopo, eds. 2012. *The impact of gender quotas*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gavron Sarah, director. 2015. *Suffragette*. Movie that tells the story of the women movement's struggles to obtain the right to vote in UK in the 20th century. [DVD in library]
- Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. 1967. *The concept of representation*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Squires, Judith. 2007. *The New Politics of Gender Equality*. Basingstoke: Palgrave (quotas: pp 24-32; 53-60; 88-114).
- Squires, Judith. 1999. *Gender in Political Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press (ch 6 citizenship).
- Talbot, Mary, Kate Charlesworth, and Brian Talbot (2014) *Sally Heathcote: Suffragette*. London: Jonathan Cape. [Comic in library]
- Valiente, Celia (2005) 'The women's movement, gender equality agencies and central-state debates on political representation in Spain' in Joni Lovenduski (ed.) *State Feminism and Political Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) pp. 174-194.
- Verge, Tània (2013) Regulating gender equality in political office in Southern Europe: the cases of Greece, Portugal and Spain, *Representation*, 49:4, 439-452.
- Verge, Tània and Maria de la Fuente. 2014. "Playing with different cards: party politics, gender quotas and women's empowerment." *International Political Science Review* 35 (1): 67-79. <http://ips.sagepub.com/content/35/1/67.full.pdf+html>

Additional readings on all issues

- Bacchi, Carol (1999) *Women, policy and politics. The construction of policy problems*. London: Sage.
- Bacchi, Carol (1996) *The Politics of Affirmative Action*. London: Sage.
- Banaszack, Lee Ann, Karen Beckwith & Dieter Rucht (2003) *Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Barnett Donaghy, Tanya (2003) 'Mainstreaming: Northern Ireland Participative-democratic Approach', paper for the Centre for the Advancement of Women in politics, School of Politics, Queen's University Belfast.
<http://www.qub.ac.uk/cawp/research/mainstreaming.PDF>
- Cavaghan, Rosalind (2017). *Making gender equality happen. Knowledge, change and resistance in EU gender mainstreaming*. London: Routledge.

- Dahlerup, Drude (2006) *Women, Quotas and Politics* (ed), Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006.
- Ferree, Myra M. 2012. “*Varieties of feminism. German gender politics in global perspective.*” Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Hobson, Barbara ed (2003) *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoskyns, Catherine (1996) *Integrating Gender. Women, Law and Politics*. Verso: London.
- Jones, K.B. y A. Jónasdóttir (1988) *The political interest of gender*. Londres: Sage.
- Köttig, Michaela, Bitzan, Renate, & Petö, Andrea(Eds.). (2017). *Gender and far right politics in Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kuhar, Roman, & Paternotte, David (Eds.). (2017). *Anti-gender campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing against equality*. Rowman & Littlefield International, Limited.
- Lombardo, Emanuela, Petra Meier and Mieke Verloo eds. 2009. *The discursive politics of gender equality. Stretching, bending and policymaking*. London: Routledge.
- Lovenduski, Joni ed (2005) *State Feminism and Political Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lovenduski, Joni. *Feminizing Politics*. Cambridge: Polity, 2005.
- Mateo, Mercedes (2005) *Representing women? Female Legislators in West European Parliaments*. Essex: ECPR.
- Okin, Susan Moller. “Gender, the Public and the Private” . In *Political Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.
- Outshoorn, Joyce y Johanna Kantola eds. (2007) *Changing State Feminism*. Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Phillips, Anne, ed. *Feminism and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Phillips, Anne. “Recognition and the Struggle for Political Voice”. In *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Stratigaki, Maria (2005) ‘Gender Mainstreaming vs Positive Action: An on-going Conflict in EU Gender Equality Policy’, *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 12(2): 165-86.
- Threlfall, Monica, Christine Cousins, and Celia Valiente. 2005. *Gendering Spanish democracy*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Valiente, Celia (2005) ‘The women’s movement, gender equality agencies and central-state debates on political representation in Spain’ in Joni Lovenduski (ed.) *State Feminism and Political Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) pp. 174-194.
- Van der Vleuten, Anna (2007) *The Price of Gender Equality. Member States and Governance in the European Union*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Verloo, Mieke ed (2018) *Varieties of Opposition to Gender Equality in Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Verloo, Mieke ed. (2007) *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality. A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe*. Budapest: CEU.
- Verloo, Mieke (2005) 'Reflections on the concept and practice of the Council of Europe approach to gender mainstreaming', *Social Politics*, 12(3) Fall, pp. 344-365.
- Verloo, Mieke, & Paternotte, David, (2018), “The Feminist Project under Threat in Europe”, *Politics and Governance*, Volume 6, Issue 3, open Access.
- Vogel Ursula. “Is Citizenship Gender-Specific?”. In *The Frontiers of Citizenship*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991.
- Walby, Sylvia (2015) *Crisis*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Walby, Sylvia (2009) *Globalisation and Inequality*. London, Sage.
- Young, Marion Iris (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.