



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

Syllabus of GENDER AND POLITICS

Political Science Degree

Academic year 2022-2023, 2nd semester

Group 4.8

Professor

Paloma Caravantes González (pcaravan@ucm.es).

Lectures

Monday and Tuesday: 9:00-11:00am.

Office hours

Mondays and Tuesdays from 11:30am to 13:30pm at the office 3401.

By appointment, online office hours through Microsoft Teams or Google Meet. To make an appointment, please write to pcaravan@ucm.es.

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.

Course description

This course explores key concepts and theories for studying politics from a gender perspective. Drawing on diverse feminist frameworks, we will collectively investigate gender equality issues, strategies, and instruments, as well as key political actors in these processes, such as feminist movements and equality institutions. The course is structured into 4 units. The first unit offers an introduction to the main concepts of the field of gender and politics and feminist analysis of politics. The second unit examines gender equality policies, including the main political strategies used in policymaking (equal opportunities, positive actions, gender mainstreaming, and intersectionality). The third unit explores main actors promoting and opposing gender equality, outside and inside political institutions. The fourth unit focuses on feminist analyses of power and political representation.

Course Structure and Policies

This is a reading-intensive course that depends on each student engaging with the material. The quality of any course is a direct result of the level of preparation and degree of participation of class members. All students will be expected to complete all the mandatory readings and use these readings as the basis for an informed and engaged class participation. Besides, this course requires the completion of the four assignments detailed below. *All written assignments will be submitted through the virtual campus.*

1. Gender Equality Report = 25%

In groups, students will elaborate a Gender Equality Report of a topic of their choice. The report will analyze a real public problem, including a diagnosis, a proposal of policy solutions and an evaluation of potential obstacles and facilitating factors. More guidelines will be provided.

2. Four Reading Reports = 25%

Students will be expected to complete one critical report analyzing and comparing two of the mandatory readings for each of the Units. By the end of the course, students should have completed four reading reports, due February 7 (Unit 1), February 28 (Unit 2), March 21 (Unit 3), and April 24 (Unit 4). More guidelines will be provided.

3. Facilitation of Discussion = 10%

Students will sign up for the facilitation of one of the four Group Discussions (Unit 1 on February 7, Unit 2 on February 28, Unit 3 on March 21, and Unit 4 on April 24) and will be assigned to groups accordingly. The schedule of facilitations will be determined the first week of the course.

Discussion facilitations should include a short summary of all texts, the identification of the main argument and its strengths and limitations, the analysis of two relevant quotes, and the suggestion of three questions to stimulate class discussion. More guidelines will be provided.

4. Final Exam = 40%

Students will complete a final exam based on the mandatory readings and the theory classes.

Course Schedule¹ and Reading List

All course materials will be available in the virtual campus.

Unit 1. Concepts and theories in gender and politics

- 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.

Week 1 (January 23-27)

Monday, January 23: Introduction to the course.

Creation of Gender Equality Report groups and groups for discussion facilitations.

Tuesday, January 24: Theory class.

Week 2 (January 30-February 3)

Monday, January 30: Theory class.

Tuesday, January 31: Introduction to GE report (*all groups*).

Week 3 (February 6-10)

Monday, February 6: Theory class.

Tuesday, February 7: Group Discussion of readings Unit 1.

Submission of reading reports, Unit 1.

Mandatory readings of Unit 1

Lorber, Judith. 2007. "The Social Construction of Gender". In *Women, Culture and Society. A Reader*, edited by Barbara Balliet. Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 111-117.

Connell, R. W. 2002. "Gender relations". In *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity, 53-75.

Kantola, Johanna. 2006. "Gender and the State: Theories and Debates". In *Feminist Theorize the State*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1-21.

Kantola, Johanna and Emanuela Lombardo. 2017. "Introduction". In *Gender and Political Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 1-19.

Walby, Sylvia. 1990. "Introduction". In *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1-24.

Pateman, Carole. 1996. "Feminist critiques of the public/private dichotomy". In *Public and Private in Social Life*, edited by S.I. Benn and G.F. Gaus. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 281-303.

¹ If online teaching was necessary (e.g., for public health reasons due to Covid19), classes will take place through videoconference on the virtual campus (Microsoft Teams or Google Meet).

Additional readings of Unit 1

- Celis, Karen, Johanna Kantola, Georgina Waylen, and S. Laurel Weldon. 2013. "Introduction: Gender and Politics: A Gendered World, a Gendered Discipline". In *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, edited by Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, and S. Laurel Weldon. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mügge, Liza, Elizabeth Evans, and Isabelle Engeli. 2016. "Introduction: gender in European political science education –taking stock and future directions". *European Political Science* 5, 281-291.
- Scott, Joan. 1986. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis". *American Historical Review* 91(5): 1053–1075.

Unit 2. Gender equality policies: strategies and policy frames

- Framing gender equality policies.
- Approaches to gender justice: recognition and redistribution.
- Gender equality policy strategies.
 - Equal opportunities
 - Positive actions
 - Gender mainstreaming
 - Intersectionality

Week 4 (February 13-17)

Monday, February 13: Theory class.

Tuesday, February 14: Presentation of part I GE reports (*odd groups 1, 3, 5...*).

Submission part I GE reports (odd groups).

Week 5 (February 20-24)

Monday, February 20: Theory class.

Tuesday, February 21: Presentation of part I GE reports (*even groups 2, 4, 6...*).

Submission part I GE reports (even groups).

Week 6 (February 27-March 3)

Monday, February 27: Theory class.

Tuesday, February 28: Group Discussion of readings Unit 2.

Submission of reading reports, Unit 2.

Mandatory readings of Unit 2

- 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.
- Christoffersen, Ashlee. 2021. "The politics of intersectional practice: competing concepts of intersectionality". *Policy & Politics* 49(4): 573-593.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2007. "Feminist Politics in the Age of Recognition: A Two-Dimensional Approach to Gender Justice". *Studies in Social Justice* 1(1): 23-35.
- Verloo, Mieke. 2001. "Another velvet revolution? Gender mainstreaming and the politics of implementation". Vienna: *IWM Working Paper*, 5/2001, 1-26.
- Verloo, Mieke and Emanuela Lombardo. 2007. "Contested Gender Equality and Policy Variety in Europe: Introducing a Critical Frame Analysis Approach". In *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality*, edited by Miele Verloo. Budapest: CEU Press, 21-46.

Additional readings of Unit 2

- Bacchi, Carol. 2006. "Arguing for and against quotas". In *Women, Quotas and Politics*, edited by Drude Dahlerup. Londres: Routledge, 32-51.
- 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.
- Engeli, Isabelle and Amy Mazur. 2018. "Taking implementation seriously in assessing success: The Politics of gender equality policy". *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 1(1-2): 111-129.
- Walby, Sylvia. 2005. "Gender mainstreaming: Productive tensions in theory and practice". *Social Politics* 12(3): 321-343.

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

- Feminist movements.
- Equality institutions.
- Institutionalization of equality in Spain.
- Opposition to gender equality.

Week 7 (March 6-10)

Monday, March 6: Theory class.

Tuesday, March 7: Presentation of part II GE reports (*odd groups 1, 3, 5...*).

Submission part II GE reports (odd groups).

Week 8 (March 13-17)

Monday, March 13: No class. Holiday of the School of Political Science and Sociology.

Tuesday, March 14: Presentation of part II GE reports (*even groups 2, 4, 6...*).

Submission part II GE reports (even groups).

Week 9 (March 20-24)

Monday, March 20: Theory class.

Tuesday, March 21: Group Discussion of readings Unit 3.

Submission of reading reports, Unit 3.

Mandatory readings of Unit 3

Bustelo, María. 2016. "Three Decades of State Feminism and Gender Equality Policies in Multi-Governed Spain". *Sex Roles* 74: 107-120.

Ferree, Myra Marx and Carol McClurg Mueller. 2004. "Feminism and the Women's Movement: A Global Perspective". In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David Snow, Sara Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi. MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 576-607.

Mary Hawkesworth. 2006. "Outsiders, Insiders, and Outsider within: Feminist Strategies for Global Transformation". In *Globalization and Feminist Activism*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 67-103.

McBride Stetson, Dorothy and Amy Mazur. 2013. "Women's policy agencies and state feminism". In *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, edited by Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola and Laurel Weldon. Oxford: OUP, 654-678.

Paternotte, David and Roman Kuhar. 2018. "Disentangling and Locating the 'Global Right': Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe Politics and Governance". In *The Feminist Project under Threat in Europe*, edited by Mieke Verloo and David Paternotte. *Politics and Governance* 6(3): 6-19.

Additional readings of Unit 3

Ewig, Christina and Myra Marx Ferree. 2013. "Feminist organizing: what's old, what's new?" *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, edited by Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola and Laurel Weldon. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 437-461.

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.

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

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

Verloo, Mieke and David Paternotte. 2018. "The Feminist Project under Threat in Europe". *Politics and Governance*, Special Issue 6(3)

Unit 4. Power and political representation

- Feminist perspectives on power.
- Political representation: descriptive, substantive, and symbolic.

Week 10 (March 27-31)

Monday, March 27: Theory class.

Tuesday, March 28: *Open debate, topic be decided by the students.*

Week 11 (April 11-14)

Tuesday, April 11: Theory class.

Week 12 (April 17-21)

Monday, April 17: Presentation of part III GE reports (*odd groups 1, 3, 5...*).

Submission part III GE reports (odd groups).

Tuesday, April 18: Presentation of part III GE reports (*even groups 2, 4, 6...*).

Submission part III GE reports (even groups).

Week 13 (April 24-28)

Monday, April 24: Group Discussion of readings Unit 4.

Submission of reading reports, Unit 4.

Tuesday, April 25: Final review of the course.

Friday, April 28: *Final submission of GE reports.*

Mandatory readings of Unit 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: An Introduction". In *The symbolic representation of gender. A discursive approach*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Additional readings of Unit 4

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*.

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).

Valiente, Celia. 2005. "The women's movement, gender equality agencies and central-state debates on political representation in Spain". In *State Feminism and Political Representation*, edited by Joni Lovenduski. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 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.

Additional bibliography on gender and politics

Bacchi, Carol. 1999. *Women, policy and politics. The construction of policy problems*. London: Sage.

Bacchi, Carol. 1996. *The Politics of Affirmative Action*. London: Sage.

Boulila, Stefanie C. 2020. *Race in Post-Racial Europe. An Intersectional Analysis*. London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Butler, Judith and Nancy Fraser. 2016. *¿Reconocimiento o redistribución? Un debate entre marxismo y feminismo*. Madrid: New Left Review and Traficantes de Sueños.

Cavaghan, Rosalind. 2017. *Making gender equality happen. Knowledge, change and resistance in EU gender mainstreaming*. London: Routledge.

Eschle, Catherine. 2001. *Global Democracy, Social Movements, and Feminism*. New York: Routledge.

Ferree, Myra M. 2012. *Varieties of feminism. German gender politics in global perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Fraser, Nancy. 2012. *Feminism, Capitalism, and the Cunning of History: An Introduction*, FMSH-WP-2012.

Hankivsky, Olena and Julia Jordan-Zachery. 2019. *The Palgrave Handbook of Intersectionality in Public Policy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Köttig, Michaela, Renate Bitzan, and Andrea Petö (eds.). 2017. *Gender and far right politics in Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

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. 2005. *Feminizing Politics*. Cambridge: Polity.

Okin, Susan Moller. 1991. "Gender, the Public and the Private". In *Political Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Phillips, Anne (ed.). 1998. *Feminism and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Phillips, Anne. 2003. "Recognition and the Struggle for Political Voice". In *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Threlfall, Monica, Christine Cousins, and Celia Valiente. 2005. *Gendering Spanish democracy*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Verloo, Mieke (ed.). 2007. *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality. A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe*. Budapest: CEU.
- 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.

Additional bibliography on feminist theory

- Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2002. "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and its Others". *American Anthropologist* 104(3), 783-790.
- Ahmed, Sara. 2017. *Living a Feminist Life*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Connell, R. W. and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept". *Gender and Society* 19(6): 829-859.
- Cooper, Brittney. 2016. "Intersectionality". In *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, edited by Lisa Disch and Mary Hawkesworth. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 385-406
- Hemmings, Clare. 2005. "Telling feminist stories". *Feminist Theory* 6(2): 115-139.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 1998. "It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation". *Hypatia* 13(3): 62-82.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 2000. "Distinguishing Features of Black Feminist Thought". *Black Feminist Thought*. Routledge: New York and London, 21-43.
- Jagose, Annamarie. 2009. "Feminism's Queer Theory". *Feminism & Psychology* 19(2): 157-174.
- Lugones, María. 2008. "The Coloniality of Gender". *Worlds & Knowledge Otherwise* 2: 1-17.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2003. "Under Western Eyes Revisited: Feminist Solidarity Through Anti-Capitalist Struggles". *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28(2): 499-535.
- Puar, Jasbir K. 2007. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Rich, Adrienne. 1980. "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence". *Signs* 5(4): 631-660.