



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

## **Syllabus of GENDER AND POLITICS**

Political Science Degree

Academic year 2024-2025, 2nd semester

Group 4.8

Room 155

### **Professors**

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### **Lectures**

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

### **Office hours**

By appointment through Google Meet. To make an appointment, please write to [brunajaq@ucm.es](mailto:brunajaq@ucm.es) or [elombardo@cps.ucm.es](mailto:elombardo@cps.ucm.es).

### **Short outline**

This is an introductory course on politics from a gender, feminist, and intersectional perspective and the analysis of gender equality policies.

### **Requirements**

The course requires knowledge of written and spoken English.

### **Aims**

The course aims to familiarize students with the study of politics from a gender, feminist, and intersectional perspective. This includes understanding the significant contributions of feminist theories to the analysis of politics in general and gender equality policies in particular.

## Skills

Learning how to apply gender, feminist, and intersectional perspectives to the analysis of politics.  
Understanding equality policies, actors, strategies, and issues.

## Course description

This course explores key concepts and theories for studying politics from a gender, feminist, and intersectional perspective. Drawing on diverse feminist frameworks, we will collectively investigate gender equality issues, strategies, instruments, and key political actors in these processes, such as feminist movements and equality institutions. The course is structured into four 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 the main actors that promote and oppose gender equality outside and inside political institutions. The fourth unit focuses on feminist analyses of power and political representation.

## Course Structure and Policies

This reading-intensive course depends on each student engaging with the material. The quality of any course directly results from 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 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 Campus Virtual (CV).*

### 1. Gender Equality and Intersectionality Report (GE&IR) = 25%

In groups, students will elaborate a Gender Equality and Intersectionality Report (GE&IR) on 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. Groups will present the three parts of the GE&IR (diagnosis, prognosis, and policy evaluation) on the days assigned to their groups. They will submit the report's final version on 6 May. See [the Guidelines for Gender Equality and Intersectionality Report \(GE&IR\)](#) on Campus Virtual.

### 2. Four Reading Reports = 25%

In groups (Discussion Groups), students will complete a critical report analyzing and comparing the mandatory readings for each of the Units. By the end of the course, student groups should have completed four reading reports, due 4 February (Unit 1), 25 February (Unit 2), 1 April (Unit 3), and 5 May (Unit 4) *before the class*. See the [Guidelines for Reading Reports and Discussion](#) on Campus Virtual.

### 3. Facilitation of Discussion = 10%

Students will sign up for one of the Discussion Groups to facilitate the conversation on the mandatory readings for each Unit on the given days: 4 February (Unit 1), 25 February (Unit 2), 1

April (Unit 3), and 5 May (Unit 4). The schedule of facilitations will be determined in the second week of the course. See Guidelines for Reading Reports and Discussion in Campus Virtual.

#### **4. Mid-Term Exam and Final Exam = 40% (20% each)**

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

#### ***Attendance and Evaluation***

- I. In compliance with the verified degree report and the teaching guide of the subject, continuous evaluation throughout the course requires in-person attendance, as stated in Article 15 of the Faculty Teaching Activity Regulations ([Reglamento de Actividad Docente de la Facultad](#)). If unable to attend classes regularly, provided there is a duly justified reason per the assumptions provided for in Art. 17 of the Regulations mentioned above, academic dispensation may be requested from the Dean at the beginning of the course. When unforeseen circumstances occur during the course, the student must immediately notify the teacher responsible for it to proceed according to what is included in Art. 4.5. For other cases, the criteria established in art. 16 of the Regulations, on lack of attendance.
- II. Regarding the ordinary and extraordinary calls, students who do not fall into any of the above cases (that is, those who have not attended class without a justified reason or exemption) will have to take into account that:
  - Not having carried out all or some of the activities that are part of the continuous evaluation does not restrict the right to take the exam in the ordinary call, but it may result in general failure of the subject.
  - In the extraordinary call, they must carry out, along with the exam, those activities of the continuous evaluation program that are susceptible to recovery or those other compensatory activities that the teacher deems appropriate so that they can choose to pass the subject under what is established in Art. 4.6 of the Regulations. However, in line with what is established in Art. 4.3, the possibility, in this case, of obtaining the maximum qualification is excluded.

#### **Course Schedule and Reading List**

All mandatory readings are available on the virtual campus.

#### **Unit 1. Concepts and theories in gender, intersectionality, and politics**

- Gender, intersectionality, and politics
- Basic concepts of a feminist analysis of politics.

#### **Week 1**

Monday, 20 January: Introduction to the course.

Tuesday, 21 January: Theory class Unit 1.

## Week 2

Monday, 27 January: Introduction to GE&IR and Discussion Facilitation.

*Creation of Gender Equality and Intersectionality Report and Reading Reports groups.*

*Sign up for Discussion Groups.*

Tuesday, 28 January: Theory class Unit 1. Example of Discussion Facilitation.

## Week 3

Monday, 3 February: Theory class Unit 1.

Tuesday, 4 February: Group Discussion of mandatory readings of Unit 1.

*Before the class: Submission of Reading Reports of Unit 1.*

## Mandatory readings of Unit 1

Alexander, M. Jacqui and Chandra Talpade Mohanty. 1997. "Genealogies, legacies, movements." In: *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*. New York; London: Routledge, xiii-xlii.

Collins, Patricia Hill; Bilge, Sirma. 2016. "What is intersectionality?". In *Intersectionality*. Cambridge; Medford, MA. Chapter 1, 12-40.

Connell, R. W. 2012. "Gender, health and theory: conceptualizing the issue, in local and world perspective." *Soc Sci Med*, 74(11), 1675-83.

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

## Additional readings of Unit 1

Carby, Hazel V. 1982 "White woman listen! Black feminism and the boundaries of sisterhood." In *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and racism in 70s Britain*. London: Hutchinson.

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.

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

Scott, Joan. 1986. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis". *American Historical Review* 91(5): 1053-1075.

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

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1993. "Gender and nation". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16(4): 621-632.

## Unit 2. Gender equality policies: strategies and policy frames

- Framing gender equality policies.
- Gender equality policy strategies.

- Equal opportunities
- Positive actions
- Gender mainstreaming
- Intersectionality

#### **Week 4**

Monday, 10 February: Theory class Unit 2.

Tuesday, 11 February: Presentation of part I GE reports (*odd groups*).

*Before the class*: Submission part I of GE reports and slide presentation (*odd groups 1, 3, 5...*).

#### **Week 5**

Monday, 17 February: Theory class Unit 2.

Tuesday, 18 February: Presentation of part I GE reports (*even groups*).

*Before the class*: Submission part I of GE reports and slide presentation (*even groups 2, 4, 6...*).

#### **Week 6**

Monday, 24 February: Theory class Unit 2.

Tuesday, 25 February: Group Discussion of mandatory readings of Unit 2.

*Before the class*: Submission of reading reports of Unit 2.

#### **Week 7**

Monday, 3 March: Mid-term exam

Tuesday, 4 March: Movie *Ouvrir la Voix*. In the cinema room (Sala de Cine).

#### **Mandatory readings of Unit 2**

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition: Examining intersectionality as a research paradigm". *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(1), 63-79.

Squires, Judith. 2007. "Equality Strategies: Quotas, Policy Agencies and Mainstreaming." In *The New Politics of Gender Equality*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave.

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.

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

#### **Additional readings of Unit 2**

Bacchi, Carol. 2006. *Arguing for and against quotas*. In: Dahlerup, Drude. *Women, Quotas and Politics*. Londres: Routledge.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé Williams. 1989. "Demarginalizing 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.

Dhamoon, Rita K. 2011. "Considerations on mainstreaming intersectionality." *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(1), 230-243.

Verloo, Mieke. 2001. "Another velvet revolution? Gender mainstreaming and the politics of implementation". Vienna: *IWM Working Paper*, 5/2001, 1-26.

### **Unit 3. Actors: feminist movements, equality institutions, opposition to GE**

- Feminist movements.
- Opposition to gender equality
- Feminist actors, equality institutions.

#### **Week 8**

Monday, 10 March: Guest Lecture: Dr. Paloma Caravantes. Theory class Unit 3: "Feminist movements and anti-equality movement"

Tuesday, 11 March: Guest Lecture: Dr. Silvia Diaz Fernández. "The politics of violence in the digital sphere".

#### **Week 9**

Tuesday, 18 March: Guest Facilitator: Dr. Paloma Caravantes. Presentation of part II GE reports (*even groups*).

*Before the class: Submission part II of GE reports and slide presentation (even groups 2, 4, 6...).*

#### **Week 10**

Monday, 24 March: Guest Facilitator: Dr. Paloma Caravantes. Presentation of part II GE reports (*odd groups*).

*Before the class: Submission part II of GE reports and slide presentation (odd groups 1, 3, 5...).*

Tuesday, 25 March: Theory class Unit 3.

#### **Week 11**

Monday, 31 March: Guest Lecture: Dr. Paloma Caravantes. Theory class Unit 3: "State feminism, equality institutions"

Tuesday, 1 April: Group Discussion of mandatory readings of Unit 3.

*Before the class: Submission of reading reports of 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.
- 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.
- Cornejo-Valle, Mónica and Ramme, Jennifer. 2022. "'We Don't Want Rainbow Terror': Religious and Far-Right Sexual Politics in Poland and Spain." In C. Möser, J. Ramme, & J. Takács (Eds.), *Paradoxical Right-Wing Sexual Politics in Europe*: Springer.

### **Additional readings of Unit 3**

- 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.
- 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.
- 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 12**

Monday, 7 April: Presentation of part III GE reports (*odd groups*).

*Before the class*: Submission part III of GE reports and slide presentation (*odd groups 1, 3, 5...*).

Tuesday, 8 April: Presentation of part III GE reports (*even groups*).

*Before the class*: Submission part III of GE reports and slide presentation (*even groups 2, 4, 6...*).

### **Week 13**

Tuesday, 22 April: Theory class Unit 4.

### **Week 14**

Monday, 28 April: Theory class Unit 4.

Tuesday, 29 April: Movie *Suffragette*. In the cinema room (Sala de Cine).

## Week 15

Monday, 5 May: Group Discussion of mandatory readings of Unit 4.

*Before the class*: Submission of reading reports of Unit 4.

Tuesday, 6 May: Final review of the course

Submission of the GE&IR (on Campus Virtual)

### Mandatory readings of Unit 4

Pitkin, Hanna F. 1972. "Introduction." In *The concept of representation*. University of California Press.

Allen, Amy. 2016. "Feminist perspectives on power". Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminist-power/>

Celis, Karen and Sara Childs. 2011. "The Substantive Representation of Women: What to Do with Conservative Claims?" *Political Studies* 60(1): 213-225.

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.

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.

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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Hemmings, Clare. 2005. "Telling feminist stories". *Feminist Theory* 6(2): 115-139.
- 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.