**New York University SPS**

**M.S. in Global Affairs**

GLOB1-GC2390.001

**Women, Genders, and Politics in Development  
Spring 2022**

**Thursday  9:20 am – 12 noon, 14 sessions**

**3 Credits**

**Online**

**Instructor: Dr. Anne Marie Goetz  
E-mail:** [**amg22@nyu.edu**](mailto:amg22@nyu.edu)

**Office Hours: Wednesday, 12-6 pm; Thursdays, 12pm-3pm (WW, Rm. 442)  
Pre-requisites: none specified**

**Course Structure: lecture-based**

**COURSE DESCRIPTION**

  “So long as working women bear the brunt of the emotional, physical, and cognitive labor in the home, women will never have the intellectual space or the free time to participate fully in politics.” [Dawn Teele](https://bostonreview.net/forum_response/dawn-langan-teele-battle-womens-representation-starts-our/)

As of November 2021, according to the [Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU), men make up 74% of parliamentarians](https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=11&year=2021). Men are 90.2% of heads of state/heads of government, and 81.7% of government ministers.  Only one fifth or 20.5% of posts of [Presiding Officers](https://data.ipu.org/women-speakers) of Parliament or of one of its Houses (e.g.: Speaker of the House) are filled by women. Every time a woman makes it to the top, it makes global headlines. You can name all current female leaders of countries ([there are 22)](https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index) in about a minute. [Thirteen countries have national cabinets with 50% or more women (down from 14 in 2020), and just 3 countries (down from 4 last year)](https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index) have national legislatures with women holding 50% or more seats. Rare as women are in politics, gay men and women, and trans men and women, are even more rare, and racial and ethnic minorities across all genders and sexualities are also scarce.

Does it matter? Does the gender or the sexuality of elected representatives make a difference to the types of policies they pursue, the public spending patterns that result, and to overall gender equality and inclusiveness? Is gender parity in decision-making important for reaching important goals of poverty reduction, peace, and a sustainable relationship between people and the planet?

Feminist and gay rights civil society movements the world over have raised these questions for many years, but they have become particularly acute in the COVID-19 crisis because of the ways pandemic responses have exacerbated women’s social marginality and because of the unanticipated and impressive responses of some women national leaders (New Zealand, Taiwan, Denmark, Norway, Germany) in controlling the virus and minimizing the socially destructive effects of lockdowns. According to a 2020 [UN Women report](https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/policy-brief-covid-19-and-womens-leadership-en.pdf?la=en&vs=409) (the leadership styles of women leaders in the COVID-19 response have been described as more collective than individual, more collaborative than competitive and more coaching than commanding. The report notes that prior to the pandemic 47% of the world’s population believed that men made better political leaders than women. Today, lower COVID-19 death rates and effective virus containment policies in countries led by women are disproving the discriminatory social norms driving these beliefs. Yet women have been relatively marginalized from COVID-19 Task Forces, with [85% of them containing mostly men](https://covid5050.org/).

While this is far from unusual, the elite male domination of public decision-making can create asymmetries in the distribution of rights and resources between women and men that compound poverty, and can also undermine peace and security – within and beyond countries. Connections between women’s disempowerment and insecurity are becoming more visible and salient in politics than ever before, now that violent extremists as well as some nationalist neo-populists have made explicit that their plans for state-building come with persecution of non-gender-conforming individuals and require the social, economic, political, and sexual subordination of women.

This course explores how gender and sexuality shapes access to political power and influence, and what this means for the prospects of gender equality policies.

The course will explore gender as non-binary, socially produced, self-identified and complex, but notes that colloquial binary terms such as ‘men’ and ‘women’ have often been used in the literature to denote ‘gender’. Gender intersects with additional factors that act as significant barriers to political voice and influence – these include inequalities across ability, race, income, ethnicity, class, religion, geography, and sexuality. The course intentionally takes an intersectional, inclusive perspective.

A focus not only on routes into power but also on what women and sexual minorities do once in power requires attention to some of the daily operational features of good governance like civil service reform, anti-corruption measures, and reforms addressing rule of law.

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| **Learning Objectives** |

By the end of this course the students should:

1. Understand gender- and sexuality-specific obstacles to participation in public decision-making around the world.
2. Be able to analyze the consequences of the under-representation of women, LGBTQI, and gender equality advocates for the types of decisions taken.
3. Understand conceptual distinctions between political participation and influence, or descriptive versus strategic representation.
4. Understand analytical frameworks to distinguish between practical and strategic gender equality issues, between issues that affect women’s relative class standing, race, ethnicity (differences between women/intersectionality) versus their status vis a vis men in the same or across different social groups.
5. Have a grasp of current governance reform policies in low-income countries and an understanding of their gendered impacts.
6. Articulate an evidence-based policy position in relation to the gendered impact of governance reforms and present an argument succinctly and precisely in oral and written form.

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| **COURSE AT A GLANCE:** |

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| 1 | Jan 27 | **Gender and power in the politics of development policy: Why study women, sexuality and gender orientation in politics? What are the links to development (and peace)? Overview of Course** |
| 2 | Feb 3 | **What are the Conditions for the political effectiveness of women and LGBTQI – institutions, ideologies, policy preconditions** |
| 3 | Feb 10 | **What is ‘The State’? What is Governance? Are some states better at promoting gender equality – and why?**  **DEBATE: COVID and women’s leadership** |
|  | Feb 10 | **First letter to the editor** |
| 4 | Feb 17 | **Feminist civil society mobilization, gender equality interests** |
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| 5 | Feb 24 | **Case study: Legislative tactics in Ireland on marriage equality and gender recognition**  **Guest lecturer:** Katherine Zappone, Ireland Minister for Children and Youth Affairs from May 2016 to June 2020. |

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| Claudia Lopez Hernandez | Mayor of Bogota (currently) | Pia Madanes Quintanilla | Feb 24 |

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|  | Feb 24 | **Second Letter to the editor** |
| 6 | March 3 | **Gender Quotas: ‘Fiddling with Democracy’? Or transforming politics?** |
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| Luisa Diogo | Prime Minister Mozambique, 2004 - 2010 | Jonathan Cantres | March 3 |

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| 7 | March 10 | **Violence against women and LGBTIQ groups in politics**  **DEBATE: Gender quotas are bad for democracy** |
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| Marielle Franco | Councilwoman, Rio de Janiero, Brazil (assassinated in 2018) | Jocelyne Enriques | March 10 |

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|  | March 10 | **3rd letter to the editor**  **Lit review paper** |
| 8 | March 17 | **No CLASS** |
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| 9 | March 24 | **Political regimes: Democracy vs Populism of the left and right** |

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| Pia Kjaersgaard | Denmark – leader of far-right party | Kailey Parsons | March 24 |

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|  | March 24 | **Fourth letter to the editor** |
| 10 | March 31 | **Gender and corruption**  **DEBATE: Women are less corrupt than men** |
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| Flame Naomi Mata'afa | Prime Minister, Samoa | Kassandra Sookraj | March 31 |

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| 11 | April 7 | **Gender and the media: shaping public opinion**  **Guest Lecture: Soraya Chemaly, writer and social media analyst (‘Rage Becomes her’)** |
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| Brinda Karat | MP and head of the Communist party of India at one point and head of the All-India democratic Women’s association 1993 - 2004 | Emily Peacock | April 7 |
| Ellen Johnson Sirleaf | Former President of Liberia 2006 - 2018 | Devyn Barnes | April 7 |

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|  | April 7 | **Fifth letter to the editor** |
| 12 | April 14 | **Gender-Sensitive Constitutions** |

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| Tsai ing-wen | President, Taiwan (currently) | Yoiko Yoshikawa | April 14 |

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| 13 | April 21 | **Gender-sensitive Public Sector Reforms** |

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| Angela Merkel | Former Chancellor of Germany | Jason Barefoot | April 21 |

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| 14 | April 28 | **New York City’s Gender Equality Commission (site visit, COVID permitting)**  **Guest lecturer: *Jacqueline M. Ebanks, Executive Director, Commission on Gender Equity***  ***Office of the Mayor, The City of New York*** |
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| 15 | May 5 | **Review** |
|  | May 6 | **Final paper is due** |

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| **Core readings:** |

***Recommended references***

There is no core text. The following books will be useful, depending on your region and thematic area of interest:

1. Htun, M and Weldon, L. (2018) The Logics of Gender Justice: State Action on Women’s Rights around the World. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Paperback: $25.57).
2. Anne Marie Goetz (ed), 2009, Governing Women: Women's Political Effectiveness in Contexts of Democratization and Governance Reform (Routledge, New York 2009) *(Amazon: ~$40)*

*The full text is available for free in e-version from the NYU Bobst Library*

1. Mimi Marinucci, **2010,** Feminism is Queer: The Intimate Connection Between Queer and Feminist Theory, Zed books (Amazon, **$17.36**).
2. Mona Lena Krook, QUOTAS FOR WOMEN IN POLITICS: GENDER AND CANDIDATE SELECTION REFORM WORLDWIDE, (Oxford University Press 2010) – **(New: $26.13, Used: $15.29)**
3. Mona Lena Krook, 2020, Violence against Women in Politics**,** Oxford University press**, ($19.62)**
4. Aili Mari Tripp, Isabel Casimiro, Joy Kweiseiga, Alice Mungwa, AFRICAN WOMEN’S MOVEMENT: CHANGING POLITICAL LANDSCAPES (Cambridge University Press 2009) – **(New: $45.99, Used: $26.24)**
5. Amrita Basu, ed. WOMEN’S MOVEMENTS IN THE GLOBAL ERA: THE POWER OF LOCAL FEMINISMS (Westview 2010) (1st version, with different country case studies, published in 1995) – **(New: $46.80, Used: $27.22)**
6. Jane Jaquette, ed., FEMINIST AGENDAS AND DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA (Duke University Press 2009) – **(New: $25.03, Used: $10.84, Kindle: $14.37)**
7. S. Laurel Weldon, PROTEST, POLICY, AND THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON (University of Pittsburgh Press 2002) – **(New: $27.94, Used:  ~$9.00)**
8. Georgina Waylen, ENGENDERING TRANSITIONS: WOMEN’S MOBILIZATION, INSTITUTIONS, AND GENDER OUTCOMES (Oxford University Press 2007) – **(New: $48.70, Used: ~$7.00)**
9. Nivedita Menon, Recovering Subversion: Feminist Politics Beyond the Law, (University of Illinois Press, Chicago 2004). – **(New: $27.04, Used: $22.76)**

**All prices shown are from Amazon**

If you have never studied gender issues before, you might find the following slim volume of practical use:

Mary Evans. (2017) The Persistence of Gender inequality. Cambridge: Polity Press. ISBN-10: 0745689922

$21.80 on Amazon.

Also this publication has short, fun to read and eye-opening chapters, revealing the way the data we use to make sense of the world is gender-blind:

Caroline Criado-Perez, 2019, *Invisible Women:* Data Bias in a World Designed for Men, Harry N. Abrams press, London. ($17.00 Amazon)

**And if you are short on time, this is an amazing swift quick overview of feminist political science:**

Marian Sawer, ‘Feminist political science’

file:///Users/annemaire/Downloads/06Berg\_Schlosser\_V1\_Chp06\_1pp.pdf

You can easily access analytical documents and data on women in politics from international organizations with work programs relevant to the course, for instance:

**Council on Foreign Relation**s (CFR), Women’s Power Index: https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index

**Inter-Parliamentary Union** – especially the Women in Politics Page:

<https://www.ipu.org/our-impact/gender-equality>

**World Bank**.2012.World Development Report: Gender Equality and Development, Washington. <http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/EXTWDRS/EXTWDR2012/0,,contentMDK:23004468~pagePK:64167689~piPK:64167673~theSitePK:7778063,00.html>

**World Bank**: Worldwide Governance Indicators. The most recent report looks at 215 countries from 1996 to 2019, measuring voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption. The WGI compiles information from 31 existing data sources that report views of citizens, NGO’s, public sector organizations, and business organizations.

<http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home>

**Economist Intelligence Unit**, The Democracy Index, categorizes governments under certain types of regimes.  It uses 60 indicators grouped in five different categories: electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation, and political culture. It also gives more weight to public opinions and attitudes than other democratic indices like Freedom in the World.

<http://pages.eiu.com/rs/eiu2/images/Democracy-Index-2012.pdf>

**UNIFEM**, 2008, ‘Who Answers to Women? Gender and Accountability’, *Progress of the World’s Women*, New York

<http://www.unifem.org/progress/2008/index-2.html>

**UN Women** 2015, Transforming Economies, Realizing Rights,

http://progress.unwomen.org/en/2015/pdf/UNW\_progressreport.pdf

**International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics:** <http://iknowpolitics.org/en>

(you can even use this site for original research, posting questions that are answered by women politicians)

The **Varieties of Democracy** project has a women’s political empowerment index (Coppedge et al. 2020) http://v-dem.net/media/publications/policy\_brief\_4.pdf

The measure ranges from zero to one and incorporates the dimensions of women’s fundamental civil liberties, open discussion of political issues and participation in civil society organizations, and the descriptive representation of women in formal political positions.



Women’s access to digital technology is followed by this group:

‘Connected Women The Mobile Gender Gap Report’ 2020

GSMA

<https://www.gsma.com/mobilefordevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/GSMA-The-Mobile-Gender-Gap-Report-2020.pdf>

In addition there are some on-going research projects tracking issues of women’s political influence or the conditions under which states respond to women’s demands. See for example:

UNRISD: When and Why do states respond to women’s claims?

http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BB128/(httpProjects)/FFDCCF9EE4F2F9C6C1257BEF004FB03E?OpenDocument

University of Manchester, Effective States and Inclusive Development, gender page:  <http://www.effective-states.org/issue-gender/>. This multi-year project examines *when, how and why*states adopt policies that empowerment women and promote gender equality.

Keep an eye on this rolling list of women heads of state and heads of government:

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_elected_and_appointed_female_heads_of_state_and_government>

You could sign up for feminist list serves and blogs if you have not already, such as this one by the feminist Guardian writer Jessica Valenti ‘This Week in Patriarchy’: <https://www.theguardian.com/info/2017/jan/19/this-week-in-the-patriarchy-jessica-valenti-email>

Or this list-serve that addresses gender and development and peace issues, usually with a strong link to UN processes: Women UN Report Network (WUNRN) WUNRN

[http://www.wunrn.com](http://www.wunrn.com/)

**Other good online resources:**

* A global database on violence against women: <http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en>
* Attacks on women journalists and human rights defenders: <https://cpj.org/2016/04/attacks-on-the-press.php>
* A global database on gender equality content in constitutions: <http://constitutions.unwomen.org/en>
* Global fund for women : politics resources: <https://www.globalfundforwomen.org/top-8-women-and-politics-around-world/#.WCCOHOErJPP>
* Women in EU parliament: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/2017/0001/P8_PUB(2017)0001_EN.pdf>

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| **Student Assessment** |

The final grade is based on several components.

**1. Critical Book or article review**

Please submit a 1500 word critical book review or article review of a resource used for this course. You will have plenty of opportunity to practice (see description of the ‘author/critic’ exercise below). You may write a review of any of the resources used for this course (if you wish to use something external to the course just please check beforehand with Prof. Goetz). You will be expected to ‘engage critically’ with the reading and either point out applications of the argument (for instance useful policy applications not anticipated by the author), limitations of the argument, or inconsistencies in the evidence or methodology. It is fine to be totally appreciative of the reading but you must add something to the reading experience in the form of observations about its utility or relevance. Your book review will be expected to demonstrate knowledge of the subject area gained from reading other relevant texts. Full referencing (footnotes, other sources) is expected.

**DUE: March 10**

**Worth 20% of the final mark**

**2. 5 Letters to the Editor**

Every other week starting February 10 (11:59 pm), submit a ‘letter to the editor’ that is a reaction/commentary on a specific aspect of an article or pattern of reporting that is relevant to a topic linked to gender and politics in developing country contexts or development institutions. A ‘letter to the editor’ should be 150 words, never more than 200. That only allows for making one striking point or observation. You need to get straight to your point, and think of ways of framing your concern/argument extremely tightly and in ways that will be ‘catchy’ to the reader. The best way to get into the hang of this is to read other letters to the editor e.g. here: <https://www.nytimes.com/section/opinion/letters>

Most Newspapers have instructions on how to write one and how to submit it (we will submit some of these for publication):

<https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor>

**DUE: every two weeks starting February 10, to a total of 5 letters. (dates: Feb 10, Feb 24, March 10, March 24, April 7)**

**Worth 15% of final grade**

**3. Final Project: Analytical Paper**

For your final project you are asked to write an analytical paper to a maximum of 4000 words length (excluding bibliography, Annexes and footnotes/endnotes).

Your paper should address an issue relevant to the course and should contain a clear expression of the problem or dilemma or contradiction that you are investigating. You could write a full essay related to the topic of your country-specific investigation and presentation for the class. Full referencing (footnotes, other sources) is expected.

**Essay topics and brief outline must be submitted to Prof. Goetz by: March 17; the final paper is due: May 6.**

**Worth 45% of the final mark**

**4. Class participation**

Class participation is a key element of the course and can take several forms: making informed comments, asking or responding to questions, and generally showing that you have thought about a topic or a case. I expect you to at least have read the main required reading each week and I will randomly call on students to summarize that reading for me. During every class students will be asked to mention current events in the past week that are of relevance for the course and you are invited to post links to articles or your own commentary on the NYU Classes Forum page for the class. It is a good idea to read a major international newspaper daily (NYT, The Guardian, Le Monde or similar) and I expect everyone to listen to a global news podcast once a day (Al Jazeera and BBC offer excellent daily news summaries that you can listen to on your phone).

Part of the Class participation grade will be based on your participation in one of a series of structured debates in the course of the semester. The debates will be conducted in teams, with two students presenting the case for the motion, and two against.

**Class participation is assessed and constitutes 10% of the final grade**

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| 1. **Presentation** |

You will research and present on the career and policy priorities of a specific woman, gay or trans politician, in a specific country situation, to understand the dynamics of women’s or LGBTQI political influence or engagement in governance reform there. An *indicative* list of politicians to study is below. If there are any you would like to focus on instead, please suggest them to me.

The presentation should be no more than 15 minutes long. You will be expected to research your politician’s ideas and career deeply – many of them have written memoirs or articles about themselves that you could read to analyze how they present themselves. You will need to read local newspapers and get an understanding of political developments in the country in question. You should consider whether they can be considered equal rights activists (or feminists) and determine how they have promoted (or not) the political effectiveness of movements for gender equality.

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| Name | Role | Student presenting | Date |
| Tsai ing-wen | President, Taiwan (currently) |  |  |
| Mia Motley | Prime minister Barbados (currently) |  |  |
| Brinda Karat | MP and head of the Communist party of India at one point and head of the All-India democratic Women’s association 1993 - 2004 |  |  |
| Mamata Banerjee | Chief Minister of West Bengal since 2011 |  |  |
| Michelle Bachelet | Twice president of chile, currently the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights |  |  |
| Flame Naomi Mata'afa | Prime Minister, Samoa |  |  |
| Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala | Director-general of World Trade Organization, former managing Director at the World Bank, Finance Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs Nigeria |  |  |
| Ellen Johnson Sirleaf | Former President of Liberia 2006 - 2018 |  |  |
| Laura Chinchilla | Former president of Costa Rica 2010- 2014 |  |  |
| Marielle Franco | Councilwoman, Rio de Janiero, Brazil (assassinated in 2018) |  |  |
| Luisa Diogo | Prime Minister Mozambique, 2004 - 2010 |  |  |
| Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya | Opposition leader, Belarus |  |  |

You can also put them into context to address the following questions:

* What is the current number of women in politics in that particular country, what proportion of total legislators (at national and other levels) are they and how has that changed over time?
* What has made a major difference to their level of political engagement?
* What is the nature of women’s /LGBTQI’s civil society mobilization – on what issues do they mobilize, and how unified or divided is the movement for gender equality?
* How has the women’s movement engaged with same-sex rights and transgender issues?
* What are the main political parties that support and oppose gender equality and what are the main points of political contestation on gender issues (abortion/reproductive rights? Same-sex rights? Employment rights?)
* What is the main threat to gender equality and how are rights activists engaging with those threats?

**10% of the grade.**

**Assignments - Summary**

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| **Assignment** | **% of grade** | **Due date** |
| 1. **Analytical book/article review (1500 words)** | **20%** | **March 10** |
| 1. **5 letters to the editor** | **15%** | **Feb 10, Feb 24, March 10, March 24, April 7** |
| 1. **Term Paper (4000 words)** | **45%** | **May 6** |
| 1. **Class participation** | **10%** | **Throughout course** |
| 1. **Country presentation** | **10%** | **Date to be assigned individually at beginning of semester** |

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| **Assessment criteria/expectations** |

**Class participation:**

Students are expected to attend every class and if you have to miss a class please notify me in advance in writing. More than two absences require a doctor’s note or other documentation if they are not to result in a disqualification/fail.

For the presentations, I expect the following: use of power point or other visual display media in a way that is NOT text-heavy but rather gets to the main points in a concise manner. Effort should be made to find other ways besides text to communicate (images, etc.) and please use quantitative as well as qualitative data. Presentations should never last longer than 15 minutes. Responses the questions should be to the point and brief.

**Assignments:**

**Deadlines** are **firm**. If you MUST submit an assignment late, please discuss this with your professor well in advance. Marks may be deducted.

There is a strong emphasis on research and analytical writing. You are expected to investigate every topic, whether it is a response to an article or book (book review assignment) or the Op Ed, or the term paper. By ‘investigate’ I mean read as much as you can on the topic, assemble data – both quantitative and qualitative, and develop responses to your main question by finding evidence to back up your position. Scholarship is not just about reporting what others say. Yes, you need to set the scene and tell a story but you also need to articulate your own point of view and justify your position with evidence or else a compelling argument.

Good, persuasive, well-founded **written argument** is one of the main skills you will bring to whatever you do next in life. I will grade you on the soundness of your evidence or argumentation and the plausibility of your conclusions. I will also note the breadth of your reading on the topic and will appreciate efforts you make to bring in sources that are ‘not the usual suspects’ – i.e. that shine a new or unexpected and useful light on the subject. I will also appreciate care taken in the ‘technicalities’ or mechanics of writing and presentation. Good grammar, accurate spelling, good editing (avoid repetition, structure your piece clearly) will all be taken into account.

**Academic referencing** is needed in ALL assignments – i.e. not hyperlinks but in-text references to show where quotes or ideas or data come from (author, date: page) and a bibliography at the end to flesh out the details of the publication in question.

Always include a **bibliography** so that I can see your sources – even those from which no direct citation was drawn.

**Grades**: grades send signals. I consider a ‘B’ to be perfectly good work, that meets the standards of a graduate course. Above a B, I am looking for quality, investment of energy, commitment and innovation/flair. You might find it useful to look at the grade scale and explanations that are used at CGA for assessing theses and capstones to see the specific achievements we look for in distinguishing between grade levels.

Minimum required reading is indicated for each class, and additional reading is supplied for further learning and to support term paper preparation.

Individual students will be designated at the beginning of the course responsibility for preparing a brief oral presentation on the key reading and another student will offer a critique (see above for more details).

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| **SPS Statement on Academic Integrity and Plagiarism** |

“*Plagiarism is presenting someone else’s work as though it were one’s own. More specifically, plagiarism is to present as one’s own a sequence of words quoted without quotation marks from another writer; a paraphrased passage from another writer’s work; creative images, artwork, or design; or facts or ideas gathered, organized, and reported by someone else, orally and/or in writing and not providing proper attribution. Since plagiarism is a matter of fact, not of the student’s intention, it is crucial that acknowledgement of the sources be accurate and complete. Even where there is no conscious intention to deceive, the failure to make appropriate acknowledgment constitutes plagiarism. Penalties for plagiarism range from failure for a paper or course to dismissal from the University.”*

**NYU Brightspace**

All written work must be submitted via the Assignment Tool on NYU Brightspace to be scanned through Turnitin to check for plaigiarism.

**CGA Attendance and Lateness Policy**

All students must attend class regularly. Your contribution to classroom learning is essential to the success of the course. Any more than two (2) absences (with an explanation or not) will likely lead to a need to withdraw from the course or a failing grade.

**Incomplete Policy**

Incompletes are only granted in extreme cases such as illness or other family emergency and only where almost all work for the semester has been successfully completed. A student’s procrastination in completing his/her paper is not a basis for an Incomplete.

**NYU SPS Policies:**

“NYUSPS policies regarding the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA), Academic Integrity and Plagiarism, Students with Disabilities Statement, and Standards of Classroom Behavior among others can be found on the NYU Classes Academic Policies tab for all course sites as well as on the University and NYUSPS websites. Every student is responsible for reading, understanding, and complying with all of these policies.”

The full list of policies can be found at the web links below:

University: http://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance.html

NYUSPS: http://sps.nyu.edu/academics/academic-policies-and-procedures.html

**Additional Resources:**

* **Accommodations for Disabilities**: **Any student who needs a reasonable accommodation based on a qualified disability is required to register with the Moses Center for Student Disabilities for assistance (**[www.nyu.edu/csd](about:blank)**).**
* **Student Resources:** <http://www.nyu.edu/life/resources-and-services.html>
* **Virtual Computer Lab**: <https://vcl.nyu.edu/vpn/index.html>
* **Health and Wellness:** *To access the University's extensive health and mental health resources, contact the NYU Wellness Exchange. You can call its private hotline (212-443-9999), available 24 hours a day, seven days a week, to reach out to a professional who can help to address day-to-day challenges as well as other health-related concerns.*

**Evaluation Criteria**

* ***Research Paper:*** Clear evidence of wide and relevant research and critical thinking about the data and sources; a strong thesis or problem to address; effective analysis that leads to a compelling conclusion; good, accurate and persuasive writing.
* ***Policy Memo:*** Clear evidence of wide and relevant research and critical thinking about the data and sources; a strong thesis or problem to address; effective analysis that leads to a compelling conclusion; good, accurate and persuasive writing.
* ***In-Class Exercises:*** Contributions of insight to the analysis; raising questions showing insight into the implications of the analysis; accurate work.
* ***Quizzes:*** Mastery of the facts and scholarship involved; accurate answers; drawing insightful conclusions based on analysis.
* ***Group Project:*** Addressing the questions asked and drawing relevant and useful conclusions based on research and analysis; working together effectively as a team.
* ***Presentation:*** Clear understanding of the issues at hand; ability to present them in an interesting, lucid and professional manner appropriate to the audience.
* ***Class Participation:*** Active, respectful and collegial engagement in class discussion; evidence of reading and preparation.

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| **SPS Grading Scale** |

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| **Letter** | **%** | **Quality Points** | **Descriptions** | **Definitions** |
| A | 95-100 | 4.000 | Exceptional | Demonstrates exceptional mastery of all learning outcomes of the course and thorough and complete understanding of all concepts. |
| A- | 90-94 | 3.667 | Excellent | Demonstrates highly competent mastery of all learning outcomes of the course and strong understanding of all concepts. |
| B+ | 87-89 | 3.333 | Very Good; exceeds course standards | Demonstrates mastery of all learning outcomes of the course and understanding of core concepts. |
| B | 83-86 | 3.000 | Good; meets course standards | Demonstrates mastery of some learning outcomes; understanding of some core concepts could be improved. |
| B- | 80-82 | 2.667 | Somewhat Satisfactory; meets some course standards and requires improvement | Demonstrates basic understanding of some learning outcomes; improved understanding of all core concepts is needed. |
| C+ | 77-79 | 2.333 | Less than Satisfactory; requires significant improvement | Demonstrates partial understanding of all learning outcomes and core concepts; requires significant improvement. |
| C | 73-76 | 2.000 | Unsatisfactory; requires substantial improvement | Demonstrates partial understanding of some learning outcomes and core concepts; requires substantial improvement. |
| C- | 70-72 | 1.667 | Unsatisfactory; requires extensive improvement | Demonstrates poor understanding of all learning outcomes and core concepts; requires extensive improvement. |
| F | Below 70 |  | Fail | Demonstrates minimal to no understanding of all key learning outcomes and core concepts; work is unworthy of course credit towards the degree. |

http://www.scps.nyu.edu/academics/academic-policies-and-procedures/graduate-academic-policies-and-procedures.html#Grades

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| **Communications Policy** |

**Communication Policy:**

The first element of my communication policy is my expectation that you will come and consult with me at least twice, ideally more often, during the semester to tell me about your own particular subject interests in the course (whether geographic or thematic) and also to discuss assignments. I have office hours on Wednesdays (10 am to 6 pm) and Thursdays (10 am to 12 pm), and am also available by appointment at other times that might be more convenient to you. Students must use the NYU email to communicate. NYU Classes course-mail supports student privacy and FERPA guidelines. I will respond to emails within 24 hours of receiving them, unless for some reason it is physically impossible to do so i.e. when travelling.

**My expectations:**

I expect students to communicate to me either in person or via email, text, or phone, any challenges they may be facing that need my attention. By this I mean any difficulties you face in accessing course materials, understanding course content, or researching a topic for an assignment. I expect that when I ask students to submit proposed topics for the term paper and a proposed outline that they will take advantage of this opportunity for support through reflection on the topic and ways to develop it.

I expect that communications in both directions will be respectful and constructive.

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| **Week 1: January 27** |
| **Gender, Power, and Development: Overview of Course** |

After a detailed discussion of the syllabus, learning objectives, expectations, and readings, we will begin to explore the issue of gender in politics and ask whether the elite cis-gendered male dominance of politics and public decision-making matters for women’s rights, gender equality, let alone economic equality or development. We speculate on reasons why gender-responsive governance is so crucial not just for the realization of women’s rights but for development and social justice as well. We will clarify terminology regarding ‘gender’, ‘intersectionality’ and ‘development’. And we will also get up to speed on important current developments and achievements related to women in national and international politics.

***Required reading:***

World Bank, 2021, ‘Global Gender Gap Political Empowerment subindex’ (from the Gender Gap Index, World Economic Forum <https://tcdata360.worldbank.org/indicators/846d20f8?country=BRA&indicator=27961&countries=IND,PHL,CAN,RWA,KWT,SYR&viz=line_chart&years=2006,2020>

Input countries in which you have a particular interest to the table and look at how they compare with high and ow performers on women’s political empowerment.

World Economic Forum, 2021, Global gender Gap Index,

<https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf>

read pages 5 – 40.

Identify countries in which you have a particular index and look at their ranking on the global gender gap index. Identify the political participation gap in particular.

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| **Week 2, February 3:** |
| **What are the Conditions for the political effectiveness of women and LGBTQI: intersectionality, institutions, ideologies** |

What variations in state type, history, women’s and gay movements’ strength, types of issues advanced, etc, produce good policy outcomes for marginalized genders and sexualities? What, the first place, constitutes a good policy outcome for them? Women (people who identify as women), gay and trans people have experienced great success, but also considerable resistance, in advancing gender equality policy claims. When and why do they succeed? Does it depend on the type of state, the ideology of the dominant political parties, the strength of the religious establishment, the levels of corruption, the extent of patronage and clan loyalties in politics, the depth of democracy, the influence of the private sector? Do women’s and gay rights movements’ tactics and strategies have any impact on these variables?

In this session we review deep structural obstacles to the political influence of women, gay and trans people that range from unpaid care work, gender-based violence, to socialization, mansplaining and interruptions, and much more.

**Required:**

A.M. Goetz, 2009, Chapter 1: ‘Will New Public Space for some Women make a Difference for all Women?’, in Anne Marie Goetz (ed), 2009, Governing Women: Women's Political Effectiveness in Contexts of Democratization and Governance Reform (Routledge, New York 2009)

**Recommended:**

Htun, Mala and Laurel S. Weldon, 2012, 'When and Why do Governments Promote Sex Equality? Violence Against Women, Reproductive Rights, and Parental Leave in Cross-National Perspective’, work in progress, mimeo, on NYU Brightspace site.

Raghabendra Chattopadhyay and Esther Duflo , ‘The Impact of Reservation in the Panchayati Raj: Evidence from a Nationwide Randomized Experiment’, November 2003, <https://poverty-action.org/sites/default/files/panchayati.pdf>

**The findings of this article are summarized in this video:**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gXKJP2vxL_0>

Baskaran, T., S. Bhalotra, B. Min, Y. Uppal. 2018. Women Legislators and Economic Performance. IZA Discussion Paper 11596, Bonn.

 Bhalotra, S.R., Clarke, D., Gomes, J. and Venkataramani, A., 2018. Maternal mortality and women’s political participation.

Swiss, Liam, Kathleen M, Fallon, and Giovani, Burgos. "Does critical mass matter?

Women's political representation and child health in developing countries". Social

Forces 91, no.2 (2012): 531–558.

Beaman, Lori, Esther, Duflo, Rohini, Pande, and Petia, Topalova. "Female leadership

raises aspirations and educational attainment for girls: A policy experiment in India".

Science 335, no. 6068 (2012): 582–586

**Video**: 2019, The Personal Is Political: Is Identity Politics Eating Itself’ – debate at the Academy of Ideas, UK, on trans identity and feminism

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=33xMRpMQGrA&t=2286s>

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| |  | | --- | | **Week 3: February 10**  **What is ‘The State’? What is Governance? Are some states better at promoting gender equality – and why?** | |

In this session we take a historical perspective on the state to consider the ways in which the exclusion of non-conforming genders and women from the public sphere may have been institutionalized at moments of state formation. We examine colonial experiences to understand the foundations of contemporary states in some developing countries and consider whether and how certain kinds of gender and sexual relations are codified in the process of state formation.

All of this will be grounded in an overview of how some women leaders have stood out in the management of COVID responses. The UN Women brief, required reading, shows that across the globe, women are at the helm of institutions carrying out effective and inclusive COVID-19 responses, from the highest levels of decision-making to frontline service delivery. At the same time, the brief recognizes pre-existing and new constraints to women’s participation and leadership and notes that specific steps are needed to facilitate women’s influence over decision-making processes. In addition to analyzing the pandemic’s immediate impacts on women’s political participation, the brief demonstrates the opportunity to ‘build back better’ by including and supporting women, and the organizations and networks that represent them, in the decision-making processes that will shape the post-pandemic future.

**Required:**

Anne Marie Goetz, 2003, ‘Women’s Political Effectiveness: A conceptual Framework’ -- Chapter 2 of Goetz and Hassim (eds) No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in politics and Policy-Making, Zed Books London.

DEBATE:

The motion: Women leaders have gender-specific qualities that make them better at managing the COVID crisis

Readings for the debate:

[**https://doi.apa.org/fulltext/2020-47004-001.html#s16**](https://doi.apa.org/fulltext/2020-47004-001.html#s16)

Women’s Leadership Is Associated With Fewer Deaths During the COVID-19 Crisis: Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses of United States Governors

[Kayla Sergent](https://doi.apa.org/search/results?latSearchType=a&term=Sergent%2C%20Kayla) [email the author](mailto:ksergent@edgewood.edu), [Alexander D. Stajkovic](https://doi.apa.org/search/results?latSearchType=a&term=Stajkovic%2C%20Alexander%20D.)

UN Women. (2020). COVID-19 and [Women’s Leadership: From an Effective Response to Building Back Bette](https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/06/policy-brief-covid-19-and-womens-leadership)r, https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2020/Policy-brief-COVID-19-and-womens-leadership-en.pdf This 8 page brief shines a light on the critical role of women’s leadership in responding to COVID-19 and preparing for a more equitable recovery.

Jennifer Piscopo, 2020, ‘Women Leaders and Pandemic Performance: A Spurious Correlation’, Politics and Gender,   30 July 2020, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-gender/article/women-leaders-and-pandemic-performance-a-spurious-correlation/69FA5BD035CEE66F0FFFC61DF037DD0E>

Leonhardt, D. and L. Leatherby. 2020. “Where the Virus is Growing Most: Countries with ‘Illiberal Populist Leaders’.” The New York Times. 2 June.

Taub, A. 2020. “Why Are Women-led Nations Doing Better with Covid-19? A New Leadership Style Offers Promise for a New Era of Global Threats.” The New York Times, 18 May.

***Recommended:***

Kabeer, Naila, 2002, ‘Citizenship and the Boundaries of the Acknowledged Community: Identity, Affiliation and Exclusion’, IDS Working Paper No. 171

Documentary about the foundation of the egalitarian state in the Kurdish region Rojava:

[**https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKhjJfH0ra4**](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKhjJfH0ra4)

**Also:**

[**https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BDBeBYiJ-ts**](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BDBeBYiJ-ts)

Georgina Waylen, “Colonialism,” Ch. 3 in Waylen, *Gender in Third World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996) pp. 46-69.

*Nira Yuval-Davis 2011 ,* Chapter 2: "The Citizenship Question: Of the State and beyond" , *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations,* SAGE, London. http://sk.sagepub.com/books/the-politics-of-belonging/n2.xml

Chappell, L and Waylen, G. 2013. ‘Gender and the Hidden Life of Institutions’, *Public Administration*, 91, 3:599-615.

Lata Mani "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Satiin Colonial India," in Sangari and Vaid, Recasting Women. Essays in Indian Colonial History, pp.88-126.

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| **Week 4, February 17**  **Feminist civil society mobilization, gender equality interests** |

‘*What women have learned from history is that their needs and interests – and their rights – are neither automatically recognized nor guaranteed unless they articulate them and fight for them’* (Katerina Tomasevski, 1993:2)

Do women share political interests on the basis of their gender or their experiences of discrimination? This is a hotly contested issue, nowhere more so than between women’s groups in civil society. Women’s organisations have been the key associational form in which women seek to articulate their interests and aggregate them in ways that will have an impact on society and on politics. How effectively do women's organisations represent women's needs and interests, and how effectively do they promote them in politics? How do women organise on the basis of shared experiences of gender-based discrimination yet also address intergroup differences such as class and race? What are the obstacles to the effective mobilisation of women in civil society? To what extent have women’s organizations and collective action efforts represented the interests of LGBTI+ groups, and acknowleged intersectionality?

In addition to considering these questions, we will look at the growing strength of women’s movements internationally. It has been said that there is now an international ‘regime’ in women’s rights, and its existence owes much to the success of women’s and feminist movements around the world in politicising inequalities between the sexes. This international women’s movement has been important in supporting women’s struggles within countries. At the same time, however, its association with western conceptions of women’s rights and feminism can sometimes discredit domestic women’s groups because they are seen to be responding to an external agenda.

***Required:***

Summer Forester, Kaitlin Kelly-Thompson, Amber Lusvardi, Laurel Weldon, 2020 ‘New Dimensions of Global Feminist Influence: Tracking feminist mobilization worldwide’ 1 March 2020 WORKING PAPER #1 FEMINIST MOBILIZATION AND ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT PROJECT.

<https://www.sfu.ca/content/dam/sfu/politics/FeministMovement/Working%20Paper%201.pdf>

Erica Chenowith, 2019, WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION AND THE FATE OF NONVIOLENT CAMPAIGNS,

<https://www.oefresearch.org/sites/default/files/documents/publications/Womens_Participation_Nonviolent_Campaigns_Digital.pdf>

Amitabh Pal, 2011, Review of **How Nonviolence Succeeds** by [Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan](https://progressive.org/topics/erica-chenoweth-maria-j.-stephan/), , in The Progressive, https://progressive.org/dispatches/nonviolence-succeeds/

***Recommended:***

Elizabeth Evans and Eléonore Lépinard 2019, Intersectionality in Feminist and Queer Movements : Confronting Privileges, Taylor and Francis.

Please look at the introductory chapter:

‘Confronting Privileges in Feminist and Queer Movements’

Available online from Bobst Library or on your Resources list.

Anna G. Jónasdóttir and Kathleen B. Jones. (2009) ‘The political interests of gender revisited: reconstructing feminist theory and political research’. In A. G. Jonasdottir and K.B. Jones (eds.). *The political interests of gender revisited: Redoing theory and research with a feminist face*, Manchester University Press.

Shaaftenaar, Suzanne. 2017. “How Women Rebel: Exploring the Effect of Gender Equality on Nonviolent and Armed Conflict Onset.” *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (6): 762–776.

Middleton-Detzner, Althea M., Jillian M. Slutzker, Samuel F. Chapple-Sokol, and Sana A. Mahmood. 2015. “Women and the Egyptian Revolution: A Dream Deferred?” In Women, War and Violence: Typography, Resistance and Hope, vol. 1, ed. Mariam M. Kurtz and Lester R. Kurtz. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger

Amrita Basu, ‘Women, Political Parties, and Social Movements in South Asia’ – Chapter 5 in the Goetz reader

Shireen Hassim: *‘A conspiracy of Women’ the Women’s Movement in South Africa’s Transition to Democracy*,   Social Research 2002;Vol 69, Issue 3 p693-732, 40p

<http://ezproxy.library.nyu.edu:15304/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=b0dbbffc-d730-454d-ad71-809082076906%40sessionmgr4003&hid=4105>

Einhorn, Barbara, 1993, ‘An Allergy to Feminism: Women’s Movements before and after 1989’, in: B. Einhorn, Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender and Women’s Movements in East Central Europe, Verso, London, pp. 182-215.

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| **Week 5, February 24:**  **Legislative tactics: the battle for Marriage Equality in ireland** |

**Guest speaker: Katherine Zappone, Ireland Minister of Children**

This class returns to a central question for the course: ‘Does the gender or sexuality of elected representatives make a difference to the types of policies they pursue, the public spending patterns that result, and to overall gender equality and inclusiveness?’

We will have a guest today who has recently completed a decade in Irish politics as a Cabinet minister (comparable to USA ‘Secretary’) a Senator, and who, as a lesbian, married lesbian and woman, has campaigned for marriage equality, reproductive justice, gender recognition and various responses to the current mother and baby home tragedy/legacy in Ireland.  She has also advocated for some of these issues at international level.  Senator Zappone will provide:

1) a general reflection on how gender and sexual identity has impacted her practice of politics, at domestic and global/international level;

2) Give some examples of her legislative work, including alliance-building, tactics for addressing resistance, and identifying policy opportunities;

3) a guided reflection with you on:  are you constructing or accepting your own identity - and how does that make a difference in your own practice or expected practice in the worlds of family and work?

Part of the class will include a viewing of part of a documentary on Senator Zappone’s struggle for marriage equality:

[https://cococontent.ie/the-34th](https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=https-3A__cococontent.ie_the-2D34th&d=DwMFaQ&c=slrrB7dE8n7gBJbeO0g-IQ&r=sAjp1RBA40rFgPapVWx6wCtqi4cr_GZJgI72fXivShg&m=HWLHo75xj1-qrVgGGBplTe57v1rDZBz_5F8O3Dz04WM&s=wnv0i-jYWZbZZv4bKvbMQvAXCYhHXUFfApk1knz1Fi4&e=)

***Required:***

Ann Louise Gilligan & Senator Katherine Zappone, ‘The Case for Marriage Equality: A Time to Embrace’ UCD Sutherland School of Law, 26th March 2015

Fiona Gartland, ‘Senator Zappone publishes gender recognition Bill:

Legislation would not require married transgender individuals to divorce’, Jul 2, 2013, Irish Times. lishes-gender-recognition-bill-1.1450385https://www.irishtimes.com/news/social-affairs/senator-zappone-pub

Government of Ireland, LEGAL RECOGNITION OF GENDER BILL 2013

<https://data.oireachtas.ie/ie/oireachtas/bill/2013/75/eng/initiated/b7513s.pdf>

Explanatory Memorandum on Bill for ‘Legal Recognition of Gender’ 2013   
<https://data.oireachtas.ie/ie/oireachtas/bill/2013/75/eng/memo/b7513s-memo.pdf>

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| **Week 6, March 3:**  **Gender Quotas: ‘Fiddling with Democracy’? Transforming politics?** |

Women’s relative absence from formal arenas of political competition and decision-making is virtually institutionalized in the sense that it is such a common feature of politics that we hardly even notice it. Regardless of political system, the percentage of women in national parliaments around the world is low, and growing slowly -- from 9 per cent in 1995 to about 22 per cent today (down from 25% last year). Does it matter that there are so few women in prominent decision-making roles? Would it make a difference if there were? A central concern of the Beijing Platform for Action was to improve women’s representation in decision-making forums, particularly in politics, but also in state bureaucracies and in market institutions. There have clearly been obstacles to women’s participation in these arenas. Formal politics has been particularly resistant to women’s participation, even in supposedly democratic states. Clearly a key to promoting women’s interests in development and in other policy spheres is an enhanced role for them in policy-making, and an enhanced exercise of leadership *in women’s interests*. We shall examine how ‘temporary special measures’ including gender quotas work, including variations depending on electoral systems based on proportional representation, multi-member and large District magnitude, voluntary quotas in political parties. We will look at the application of one particular principle – that of group-based representational systems – in India and Uganda, where women now must, according to the constitution, make up at least 30% of local government councils.

***Required reading:***

Introduction to: Mona Lena Krook, QUOTAS FOR WOMEN IN POLITICS: GENDER AND CANDIDATE SELECTION REFORM WORLDWIDE, (Oxford University Press 2010) (if there is time please read especially chapters 6 and 7)

have a look at this website:

**Electoral Integrity project:**

https://sites.google.com/site/electoralintegrityproject4/projects/expert-survey-2/the-year-in-elections-2015

Jot McCan, 2013, ‘**Electoral quotas for women: an international overview’**

<https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1314/ElectoralQuotas#_Toc372193113>

**Useful readings:**

**For**: Aili Mari Tripp and Alice Kang, 2008, ‘The Global Impact of Quotas On the Fast Track to Increased Female Legislative Representation’

Comparative Political Studies Volume 41 Number 3 March 2008 338-361

**Against**: Htun, Mala, ‘Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups’, American Political Science Review, Vol 2, No. 3, September 2004

Timothy Besley, Olle Folke, Torsten Persson, and Johanna Rickne. 2017. ‘Gender Quotas and the Crisis of the Mediocre Man: Theory and Evidence from Sweden’. American Economic Review, 107(8): 2204–2242 https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20160080

***Recommended:***

Drude Dahlerup, ‘About Quotas’, The Quota Project, International IDEA

<https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas/quotas#what>

Drude Dahlerup, 2018, Has Democracy Failed Women? Chapter 1 – in NYU Brightspace Week 3 resources.

Anne Marie Goetz: review of Dahlerup, also in NYU Brightspace

S. Laurel Weldon, ‘The Effect of Women in Government on Policies on Violence Against Women’, Chapter 4 of S. Laurel Weldon, PROTEST, POLICY, AND THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON (University of Pittsburgh Press 2002)

Wilber, R. (2011). Lessons from Rwanda: How Women Transform Governance. The Solutions Journal, 2(2). 63-70. https://www.thesolutionsjournal.com/article/lessons-from-rwanda-how-women-transform-governance/

Chapter 1, ‘Upholding Male Parliamentary Dominance’ in Elin Bjarnegård , 2013, Gender, Informal Institutions and Political Recruitment: Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke

Amanda B. Edgell (2017) Foreign aid, democracy, and gender quota laws, Democratization, 24:6, 1103-1141.

Mona Lena Krook and Pippa Norris, 2012, Beyond Quotas: Strategies to Promote Gender

Equality in Elected Office

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| **Week 7: March 10** |
| **Violence against women and LGBTIQ groups in politics** |

Women and gender+ groups engaging in politics have always encountered significant opposition and outright violence, often sexual violence, aimed at ‘correcting’ the deviations from traditional gendered roles that political power in the hands of women or gender+ groups represent. In independence and anti-authoritarian movements, women have often been leaders when male opposition leaders are exiled or jailed. For this they have sometimes faced extreme violence. November 25th, the international day on ending violence against women, was designated because that was the day, in 1960, that three sisters – Minerva, Maria Teresa, and Patria Mirabel -- in the Dominican Republic, were assassinated because of their open leadership of the opposition to the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo. Outrage at this atrocity galvanized the resistance and the Trujillo regime toppled within a year. Populism and hyper-nationalism seem in fact to experience non-conforming genders as a particularly existential threat and target them for extreme punishment, violence, and exclusion.

This session will include the postponed **DEBATE**:

**Motion**: Are quotas for women inappropriate for gender equality – do they damage democracy and do they fail to get feminists into public office?

***Required reading:***

Roudabeh Kishi, Melissa Pavlik, and Milary Matfess, 2019, ‘Terribly and Terrifyingly Normal: Political violence targeting women’, May 2019, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), <https://www.acleddata.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/ACLED_Report_PoliticalViolenceTargetingWomen_5.2019.pdf>

IPU, November 2021, ‘Sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliaments in Africa’

You can see a summary of the findings of the IPU report here: Dawn Clancy, 2022, ‘Sexism and Violence Against Women MPs in Africa Is Pervasive, a New Report Reveals’ PassBlue, January 5, 2022

<https://www.passblue.com/2022/01/05/sexism-and-violence-against-women-mps-in-africa-is-pervasive-a-new-report-reveals/>

***Recommended reading:***

**A useful resource is:** The Wilson Center 2021, Pathways to Justice: Gender-Based Violence and the Rule of Law

<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/uploads/documents/Pathways%20to%20Justice_Final%2012.16.pdf>

And there is a home page with a lot of updated information on GBV: around the world: https://www.wilsoncenter.org/collection/pathways-justice-gender-based-violence-and-rule-law

Kvinna til Kvinna, November 2021, ‘Solidarity is our only weapon: The situation of women human rights defenders’

<https://kvinnatillkvinna.org/publications/solidarity-is-our-only-weapon/>

Mona Lena Krook, 2020, Violence Against Women in Politics, Oxford University Press

Mona Lee Krook, 2017: ‘Rising violence against women in politics threatens democracy itself’

<http://www.democraticaudit.com/2017/08/08/rising-violence-against-women-in-politics-threatens-democracy-itself/>

UNESCO report 2018: GLOBAL REPORT 2017/2018 World Trends in Freedom of and Expression Media Development

http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0026/002610/261065e.pdf

Gender equality is a key crosscutting issue that is addressed in discussions of media freedom, pluralism, independence and safety.

Gabrielle Bardall, Elin Bjarnegard, Jennifer Piscopo, 2019, ‘How is Political Violence Gendered? Disentangling Motives, Forms, and Impacts’ *Political Studies*,

[Volume: 68 issue: 4,](https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/psx/68/4)page(s): 916-935

On interruptions: Nevertheless she persisted

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2017/02/07/republicans-vote-to-rebuke-elizabeth-warren-for-impugning-sessionss-character/?hpid=hp_rhp-top-table-main_no-name%3Ahomepage%2Fstory&tid=a_inl&utm_term=.810752f95cdb>

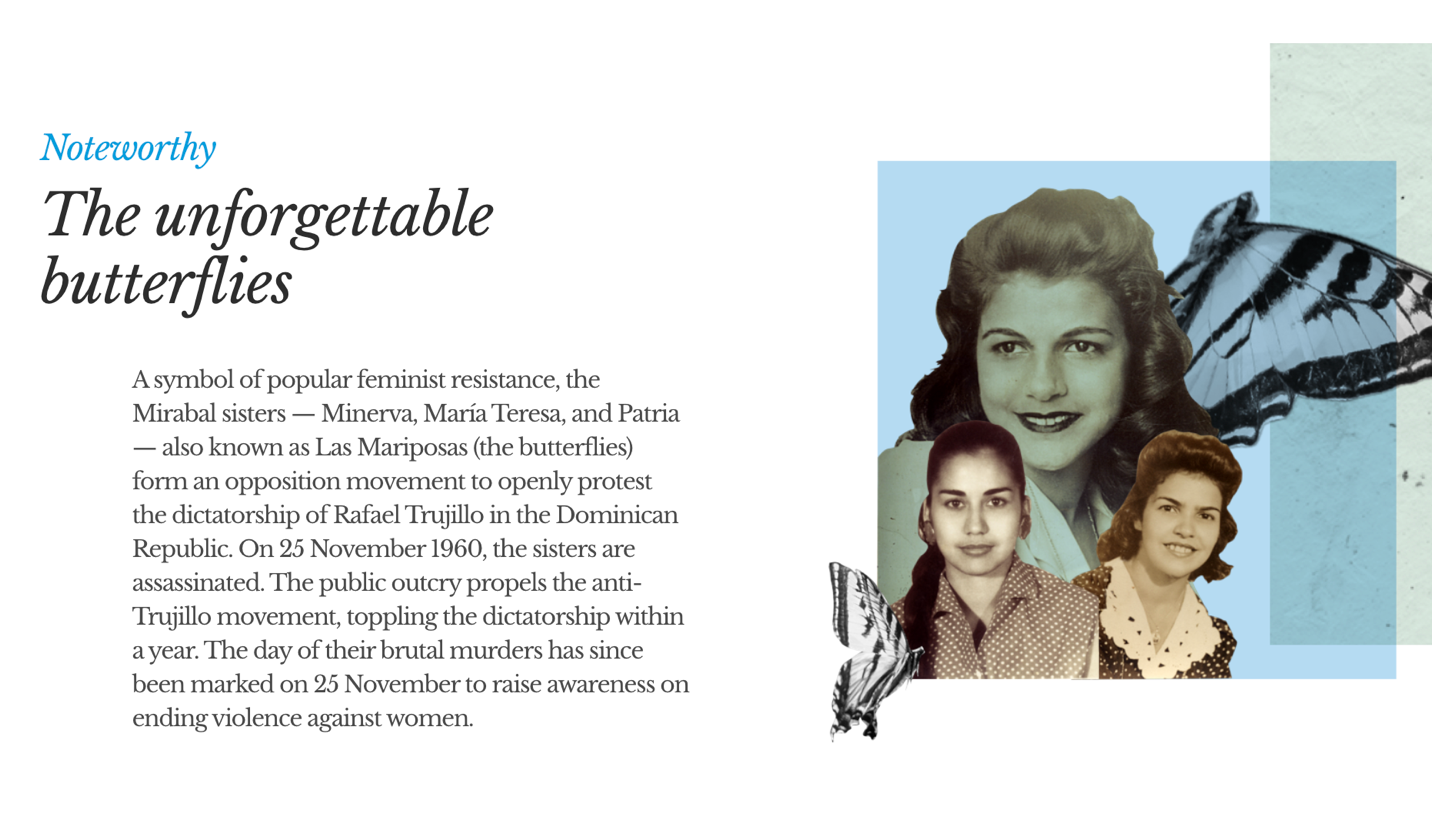
Australian senator breast-feeds in parliament

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/11/world/australia/breastfeed-australia-senator-larissa-waters.html>

Kamala Harris; <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/13/us/politics/kamala-harris-interrupted-jeff-sessions.html>

Julia Gillard’s Misogyny speech 2012:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SOPsxpMzYw4>



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| **Week 8, March 17: NO CLASS** |
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| **Week 9, March 24: Political Regimes: Democracy Vs Neo-populism, authoritarianism, autocracy** |

Democracies, in spite of the promise to represent ‘all men’, are manifestly biased against a wide range of social groups. Feminist historical analysis has revealed the foundational gender bias embedded in democratic systems, and this, along with racial and class biases have contributed to patriarchal governance. Democratic inclusion, nevertheless, has remained the major focus of feminist political mobilization. The rise of ‘illiberal democracies’ since 2008, in the neo-nationalist, xenophobic populist regimes of right and left in all parts of the world, has constituted one of the most serious threats to feminist political ambitions for decades, because of the explicit misogynism, and anti-gender equality framing of social and economic policies. This is particularly so when governing regimes have pro-natalist agendas. This session examines feminist critiques of liberal democracy and the emergence of misogynistic populism.

***Required:***

Andrea Peto and Krizstian Simon, 2017, “Resistance Alone Is Not Enough” – Women’s Rights and Illiberal Democracies”, “Green European Journal August 29, https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/resistance-alone-is-not-enough-womens-rights-and-illiberal-democracies/

Shruitu Jain, Prithvi Iyer, January 4, 2021, ‘An unlikely match: Women and the far-right’, Observer Research Foundation, https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/unlikely-match-women-far-right/

Choe Sang-Hun New York Times January 1 2022

The New Political Cry in South Korea: ‘Out With Man Haters’

https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/01/world/asia/south-korea-men-anti-feminists.html

AM Goetz, 2019, ‘The politics of preserving gender inequality: deinstitutionalisation and re-privatisation’, Oxford Development Studies, https://ideas.repec.org/a/taf/oxdevs/v48y2020i1p2-17.html

***Recommended:***

Casey Michel, 2018, ‘Russians and the American right started plotting in 1995. We have the notes from the first meeting’

In Think Progress,

<https://archive.thinkprogress.org/history-of-christian-fundamentalists-in-russia-and-the-us-a6bdd326841d/>

Conny Roggeband, 2019, ‘International Women’s rights: Progress Under Attack?’, KEG Internatiopnal Law Working Paper series No. 26, January.

Okeke-Ihejirika, Philomina E., and Susan Franceshet, 2002, ‘Democratisation and State Feminism: Gender and Politics in Africa and Latin America’, Development and Change, 33 (3): 439 – 467.

Larson, Anna, 2012, ‘Institutions, Security and Statebuilding in Afghanistan’, in Susan Franceschet et al (eds) The Impact of Gender Quotas, Oxford University Press.

Michael J. Boyle, 2020, ‘America and the Illiberal Order After Trump’, *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Vol 62 no. 6, pages: 51 -76.

Mansbridge, Jane, 1998, ‘Feminism and Democracy’, in Anne Philips (ed) Feminism and Politics, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Varieties of democracy project 2019 – 2020 report:

<https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/99/de/99dedd73-f8bc-484c-8b91-44ba601b6e6b/v-dem_democracy_report_2019.pdf>

Jasmin Lorch and Bettina Bunk, 2016, ‘Gender Politics, Authoritarian Regime Resilience, and the Role of Civil Society in Algeria and Mozambique’, GIGA Research Programme: Accountability and Participation, No 292 October 2016

https://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/system/files/publications/wp292\_lorch-bunk.pdf

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| **Week 10: March 31: Gender and Corruption** |
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A rare flurry of aid-agency interest in women’s leadership was spurred after 2000 by several statistical reviews demonstrating that there is less corruption when there are more women in public office. The UN Office on Drugs and Crime has recently revived interest in this issue, encouraging more attention to the question of whether women are less corrupt than men. In this session we examine those claims and we also look into women’s engagement in anti-corruption struggles in developing countries.

***Required***:

UNODC, 2020, ‘The Time is Now: Addressing the gender Dimensions of Corruption’

<https://www.unodc.org/documents/corruption/Publications/2020/THE_TIME_IS_NOW_2020_12_08.pdf>

Pease look at Policy Brief 01/2014 on the Transparency International website: ‘Gender, Equality and Corruption: What are the Linkages?’:

<http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/pub/policy_position_01_2014_gender_equality_and_corruption_what_are_the_linkage>

**DEBATE**:

**Motion**: Women in public office are less corrupt than men

**For**: Dollar, David, Sandra Fisman, and Roberta Gatti. 2001. "Are Women Really the "Fairer" Sex? Corruption and Women in Government." Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization, 46:423-29.

**Against**: Hung-En Sung, 2003, ‘Fairer Sex or Fairer System? Gender and Corruption Revisited’

[Social Forces](https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/social_forces),  [Volume 82, Number 2, December 2003](https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/social_forces/toc/sof82.2.html)  pp. 703-723, <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/social_forces/v082/82.2sung.html>

***Recommended:***

Anne Marie Goetz, ‘Political Cleaners: Are women the New Anti-corruption Force?’, Development and Change, [Volume 38, Issue 1,](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/dech.2007.38.issue-1/issuetoc) pages 87–105, January 2007

R. Jenkins and A.M. Goetz, 1999, ‘Accounts and accountability: theoretical implications of the right-to-information movement in India’, Third World Quarterly, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp.

Swamy, Anand, Steve Knack, Young Lee, and Omar Azfar. 2001. "Gender and Corruption." *Journal of Development Economics* 64:25-55.603-622

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| **Week 11: April 7: Gender and the Media**  **Guest lecturer: Soraya Chemali, writer (‘Rage Becomes her’) and media analyst** |
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According to the largest study on the portrayal, participation and representation of women in the news media spanning 20 years and 114 countries, only 24 per cent of the persons heard, read about or seen in newspaper, television and radio news are women. Only 4 percent of traditional news and digital news stories clearly challenge gender stereotypes. Stereotypes and the significant underrepresentation of women in the media play a significant role in shaping harmful attitudes of disrespect and violence towards women in general, but also contribute to a common inability to recognize women’s political agency, or recognize their concerns as matters for public policy.

The Beijing Platform for Action (1995) had a substantial focus on women and the media. It acknowledged that “The media plays a significant role in perpetuating and challenging social norms that condone discrimination or violence against women. It can objectify women but also showcase strong women leaders and protagonists who can become role models for their audience.” Beyond conventional media, social media and the massive corporations that control these informal exchanges play a role in building negative public perceptions of women’s agency – the sexism embedded in internet governance and in Artificial Intelligence systems is a potential threat to women’s political influence.

**Required**:

Byerly, C.M. & Ross, K. (2008). Women and Media: A Critical Introduction.

http://ndl.ethernet.edu.et/bitstream/123456789/17633/1/58.pdf.pdf

Bureau of International Information Programs, United States Department of State. (2012). Women and the Media, in Women in the World. https://opentextbc.ca/womenintheworld/chapter/chapter-10-women-and-the-media

Truitt, J. (2015). On Jill Soloway, Caitlyn Jenner, and the Trans Representation the Media Wants. Feministing. http://feministing.com/2015/12/21/on-jill-soloway-caitlyn-jenner-andthe-trans-representation-the-media-wants/

Tucker, W. (2008). To What Extent Should States Regulate the Media Under International Law Relating to Violence Against Women?. E-International Relations. https://www.eir.info/2008/06/06/to-what-extent-should-states-regulate-the-media-under-internationallaw-relating-to-violence-against-women/

Who Makes the News. (n.d.). Advocacy Toolkit.

http://whomakesthenews.org/advocacy

Yasmin, M., Sohail, A. & Mangrio, R. A. (2015). Myths Broken or Sustained: Representation of Women Victims in Pakistani Media. Open Journal of Social Sciences 3(7), 209-219. https://www.scirp.org/journal/PaperInformation.aspx?paperID=57967

James Damore 2017 memo to google discussion board: ‘Google’s Ideological Echo Chamber: How bias clouds our thinking about diversity and inclusion https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3914586-Googles-Ideological-Echo-Chamber.html

Ezra Klein, 2017, ‘Behind the Google diversity memo furor is fear of Google’s vast, opaque power’ <https://www.vox.com/new-money/2017/8/10/16119338/google-diversity-memo-damore-gender-sexist>

Aliette Lambert and Ana-Isabel Nolke, 2022, ‘The Symbolic violence of digital (anti-) feminist activism’, Chapter 23 in Pauline Maclaran, Lorna Stevens, Olga Kravets, 2022, The Routledge Companion to Marketing and Feminism, https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=mhdYEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA351&ots=CVPnnvHQjW&sig=GXhzqt2sFRDz80IT-ByShtNoRes#v=onepage&q&f=false

**Videos**:

TED. (2014, January 15). Sheryl Sandberg: So We Leaned In… Now What? [Video]. YouTube. https://youtu.be/YraU52j3y8s

Kamerick, M. (n.d.). Women should represent women in media [Video]. TED. https://www.ted.com/talks/megan\_kamerick\_women\_should\_represent\_women\_in\_me dia/transcript?language=en

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| **Week 12: April 14: Gender-responsive Constitutions** |
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**Gender-Sensitive Constitutions**

Constitutions set out the core principles governing the law of a nation, including the rules regarding who can be a citizen, who decides how the government is formed and how, what are the systems of accountability (checks and balances) on the highest authorities in the land. These rules profoundly shape women’s rights – for instance, if citizenship is deemed to be passed down through the male, then women married to foreigners cannot endow their citizenship to their children – something which can mean they are actually stateless. In this session we will analyze gender biases in constitutions, particularly around definitions of citizenship, and we will study principles of gender-sensitive constitutional changes and look at several good examples.

***Required Reading:***

Nanako Tamaru and Marie O’Reilly. 2018. *How Women Influence Constitution Making After Conflict and Unrest*. Institute for Inclusive Security. Washignton D.C.

have a look at this:

**http://constitutions.unwomen.org/en**

**Recommended**

Laura E. Lucas 2009, ‘ Does Gender Specificity in Constitutions Matter?’

http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1055&context=djcil

Institute for Inclusive Security. 2018. *A Women’s Guide to Constitution-Making*. IIS Washington D.C.

Alexandra Dobrowolsky and Vivien Hart eds., Women Making Constitutions

(Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), Introduction, and any chapters of interest

Vivien Hart, Democratic Constitution Making Special Report 107

(Washington DC: USIP, 2003) http://www.usip.org/publications/democratic-constitution-making

J. Erikson and C. Faria, 2011 ‘We want empowerment for our women: Transitional feminism, Neoliberal Citizenship and the gendering of women’s political subjectivity in post-conflict South Sudan’, Sings NO. 36 (3):627-62.

<http://ezproxy.library.nyu.edu:15490/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=40809c6f-4cad-4c7b-824c-eb4f738ef22c%40sessionmgr115&vid=3&hid=112>

Johanna E. Bond, 2007, ‘Constitutional Exclusion and Gender in Commonwealth Africa, Fordham International Law Journal, Vol 31(2) article 1.

Peace agreements are a form of political settlement that can mimic or indeed BE constitutions. For an interesting review of a recent (and sadly failed) peace accord with many quasi-constitutional components see:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/08/19/the-colombian-peace-agreement-gives-gender-issues-a-central-role-heres-why-this-is-so-important/

Beverly Baines and Ruth Rubio-Marin eds., The Gender of Constitutional

Jurisprudence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005),

Introduction, and any of the essays.

Vivien Hart, ‘Constitution-Making and the Transformation of Conflict’, Peace and Conflict, Vol 26 No. 2, <http://www.constitutionnet.org/files/Hart%20Constitution%20Making%20and%20the%20Transformation%20of%20Conflict.pdf>

Clare Castillejo, 2010, ‘Building a state that works for women: integrating gender into post-conflict state-building’, FRIDE.

Semanta Dahal, 2008, ‘Post conflict constitution making in Nepal: Toward ‘inclusiveness’ in democracy’, in Working paper series: National Law School of India University (MLSIU).

Kyle Knight, 2015, ‘How Nepal’s constitution got Queered’, Los Angeles Review of Books, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/10/14/how-nepals-constitution-got-queered>

‘Nepal’s New Constitution’, 2015, Wall Street Journal

http://blogs.wsj.com/briefly/2015/09/23/nepals-new-constitution-at-a-glance/

**Myanmar’sconstitution:**

[**https://carnegieeurope.eu/2021/04/14/struggle-for-legitimacy-in-post-coup-myanmar-pub-84302?utm\_source=carnegieemail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=announcement&mkt\_tok=MDk1LVBQVi04MTMAAAF8bzyTskc9TL607YRh3PkC5Z7zAucxAHdEuRMH1CyK4CoitHlTgnWiI13H0KJ\_zf7ZiUy2hobvrLhvHKeewwVyl1CgonSa6QUJduuAdoce\_YsF**](https://carnegieeurope.eu/2021/04/14/struggle-for-legitimacy-in-post-coup-myanmar-pub-84302?utm_source=carnegieemail&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=announcement&mkt_tok=MDk1LVBQVi04MTMAAAF8bzyTskc9TL607YRh3PkC5Z7zAucxAHdEuRMH1CyK4CoitHlTgnWiI13H0KJ_zf7ZiUy2hobvrLhvHKeewwVyl1CgonSa6QUJduuAdoce_YsF)

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| **Week 13: April 21:** |
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| **Week 11: April 14**  **Gender-Sensitive Public Administration** |
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*‘Don’t tell me what you value. Show me your budget, and I will tell you what you* value’ – Joe

Biden

Public service provision is, as we have seen, one of the main methods through which states shape gender relations. Public authorities interpret needs and in doing so they can reinforce or undermine gender role stereotypes. Recent Public Service Reform initiatives emphasize empowering end-users as agents of accountability, but generic notions of end-users of public services hide the constraints women face when accessing services, which can limit their efficacy as agents of accountability.

Reformers need to consider gender power relations when designing service delivery reforms.

The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action urged countries to set up standalone administrations charged with advancing women’s rights – such as gender equality commissions or ministries of women’s rights. Like many approaches to bureaucratizing or institutionalizing gender equality, many of these initiatives resulted in ‘gender ghettos’ -- tiny and underfunded gender entities with massive and un-implementable social change mandates. On the other hand, in some cases, women’s rights commissions have been endowed with investigative power and policy oversight roles that have enabled them to either highlight and demand redress for abuses of women’s rights, or to generate significant policy reforms with important implications for women’s’ rights. Are they a waste of public space or an important foothold inside the public administration from which significant reforms can flow?

In some parts of the word, national women’s bureaucracies have expanded into aquality administrations that address the inequalities attached to non-binary gender identities and non-normative sexualities. While rare in the developing world, there are emerging exampels of this – for instance the Argentinian Ministry of Women, Genders and Diversity, established in late 2019.

How governments design and execute their budget is a critical and highly political process. These budget decisions demonstrate government priorities and determine where progress can be made and which areas will be constrained. Most recently the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development demonstrated global commitment to achieve gender equality and women’s empowerment with the inclusion of an ambitious stand-alone goal and mainstreaming of gender equality across the framework. However, this political commitment is not matched – at global or national level - with the robust resources required for action. Gender-Responsive Budgeting (GRB) is about applying gender analysis across the planning and budgeting cycle. This analysis builds understanding of the differential impact of budgetary decisions on women and men and the necessity of costing national action plans on gender equality to support evidence-based planning and budgeting. When done well, it can improve government budgeting by increasing awareness, transparency, accountability and resource allocation changes in relation to gender.

There are least five categories of feminist governance - (1) feminist institutions consciously designed in accordance with non-hierarchical feminist values, like women's services in the 1970s onwards (2) the operationalising of these values in feminist networks engaging with public policy, including both domestic and transnational advocacy networks (3) feminist institution-building within broader political institutions such as bureaucracies and parliaments (4) the expression of feminist values through the adoption and implementation by broader political institutions of policies directed towards achieving gender equality or gender+ equality (5) the soft regulation involved in transnational monitoring, reporting and ranking of gender equality policy implementation.

***Required:***

Judith Tendler and Sarah Freidheim, 1994, ‘Trust in a rent-seeking world: Health and government transformed in Northeast Brazil’ , World Development, Vol 22 (12) pages *1771-1791.*

Chapter 12 of the Goetz reader: ‘Governing Women or Enabling Women to Govern: Gender and the Good Governance Agenda’

***Recommended:***

Cristina Bloj, 2009 ‘The budgeting process and the implications on social policies and poverty reduction: Alternatives to traditional models’, background paper for UNRISD Flagship report on poverty, [**http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/%28httpAuxPages%29/D8B6BCCC8E330C50C12575FB00375576/$file/draftBloj.pdf**](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/%28httpAuxPages%29/D8B6BCCC8E330C50C12575FB00375576/$file/draftBloj.pdf)

Annamaria Milazzo, Markus Goldstein, 2017, ‘Governance and Women's Economic and Political Participation: Power Inequalities, Formal Constraints and Norms’

[**http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/506661497953688370/pdf/WDR17-BP-Governance-and-Womens-Participation-Milazzo-Goldstein.pdf**](http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/506661497953688370/pdf/WDR17-BP-Governance-and-Womens-Participation-Milazzo-Goldstein.pdf)

Sonia E Alvarez, 1990, ‘Contradictions of ‘Women’s Space’ in a Male-Dominant State: The Political role of the Commissions on the status of women in post-authoriarian Brazil’, in Kathleen Staudt (ed), Women, International Development, and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire, Temple University Press.

Corner, L. and Repucci, S., 2009, 'A User's Guide to Measuring Gender-Sensitive Basic Service Delivery', United Nations Development Programme and United Nations Development Fund for Women, Oslo

One-page summary:

<http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3810>

Unsworth, S., 2010, 'Mobilizing for Better Public Services', in An Upside Down View of Governance, Centre for the Future State, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, ch. 4; One-page summary:

<http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3007>

Joshi, A., 2008, 'Producing Social Accountability? The Impact of Service Delivery Reforms', IDS Bulletin, vol. 38, no. 6, pp. 10-17

One-page summary: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display/document/legacyid/1270>

MacPherson, E., 2008, 'Invisible Agents: Women in Service Delivery Reforms', IDS Bulletin, vol. 38, no. 6, pp. 38-46

One-page summary: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3015>

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| **Week 14,  April 28:** |
| **NYC Commission for Gender equality** |

Guest lecturer: **Guest lecturer: *Jacqueline M. Ebanks, Executive Director, Commission on Gender Equity***

***Office of the Mayor, The City of New York***

This year for the first time ever, women are in a majority in New York City council, holding 31 of the 51 seats. In addition, the new Speaker of the City Council—the city’s second-most-powerful office— will be a woman of color, [Adrienne Adams](https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=https-3A__senecapointglobal.us8.list-2Dmanage.com_track_click-3Fu-3D62843eefd70b0b03b743cd382-26id-3D24b0c2a0bb-26e-3Df62c40c456&d=DwMFaQ&c=slrrB7dE8n7gBJbeO0g-IQ&r=s8U2ScojSBrd46Yf7A5o6Q&m=Aftz0SH5l47v0Eqq5bgoOgS_sSsj_WYKGgTz644B6RfxDQSBTRUrbSPIegLubq7b&s=1uJRz_cF506JC0GHohgb5QvCTvVyCivDmlbo95nk7nc&e=). NYC will join other cities with majority-female councils including Washington, DC, Santa Fe and Pensacola. What do New York’s women council members hope to achieve with their new dominance? One of them, Shahana Hanif of Brooklyn, told [Gothamist](https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=https-3A__senecapointglobal.us8.list-2Dmanage.com_track_click-3Fu-3D62843eefd70b0b03b743cd382-26id-3D6bcf247952-26e-3Df62c40c456&d=DwMFaQ&c=slrrB7dE8n7gBJbeO0g-IQ&r=s8U2ScojSBrd46Yf7A5o6Q&m=Aftz0SH5l47v0Eqq5bgoOgS_sSsj_WYKGgTz644B6RfxDQSBTRUrbSPIegLubq7b&s=fYEtr_DWjMBkIdWORvT0-6ufmGSpa39S2kwRKt-cIew&e=) she wants to see a “feminist budget,” with  investments in programs like universal childcare, reproductive healthcare, permanent housing for survivors of domestic violence and greater support for minority- and women-owned businesses.

New York City has a Commission on Gender Equality and we will be privileged during this class to have a visit from its Executive Director, Jacqueline Ebanks, from 10 – 11:30 am. During this time we can ask about the Commission’s work, and whether the changed composition of the city council is making a difference to its agenda and effectiveness.

Brigid Bergin, 2021 ‘What Are The Hopes Of A Majority Women City Council? Women Members Reflect’, Gothamist, https://gothamist.com/news/what-are-hopes-majority-women-city-council-women-members-reflect

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| **Week 14, May 5** |
| **Review** |

We will look back at the course and review key concepts in the good governance policy debate. We will also examine the process of institutionalizing gender equality at the UN, including via the UN secretary-general’s gender parity strategy. This last class is also an opportunity to review any areas that are unclear.

***Reading:***

Kathy Gilsinan, 2016, ‘The Myth of the 'Female' Foreign Policy: As more women become heads of state, will the world actually change?’ **The Atlantic**, August 25

http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/-foreign-policy-clinton-may-thatcher-women-leadership/497288/

Carolyn Elerding, 2021, ‘How to ‘Intention’ a Feminist World: Ringing in the New Year with Leadership Icon Gloria Feldt’

12/31/2021  MS Magazine, https://msmagazine.com/2021/12/31/intention-feminist-new-year-gloria-feldt/

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| **Instructor** |

Dr. Anne Marie Goetz, who joined CGA in January 2014, previously served at the United Nations since 2005 as Chief Advisor on Governance, Peace and Security, for UNIFEM and then UN Women. Prior to joining UNIFEM in 2005, she was a Professor of Political Science at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex where she worked since 1991. She also served the United Nations Development Programme in Chad and Guinea in the mid-1980s. While at the UN, Dr. Goetz spearheaded initiatives to promote women’s empowerment in the UN’s peace building work in post-conflict situations, to build peacekeepers’ capacities to detect and prevent sexual violence in conflict, and to support women’s organizations’ efforts to participate in peace talks and post-conflict decision-making.

Dr. Goetz is a political scientist who specializes in research on development policies in fragile states to promote the interests of marginalized social groups, particularly poor women. She also researches conditions for democratization and good governance in South Asia and East Africa. This has included research on pro-poor and gender-sensitive approaches to public sector reforms, anti-corruption initiatives, decentralization, and state building in fragile states and post-conflict situations.

Professor Goetz is the author of eight books on the subjects of gender, politics and policy in developing countries, and on accountability reforms - the latest is a 2009 edited volume: *Governing Women*: *Women in Politics and Governance in Developing Countries* (Routlegde).

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| **ANNEX 1 Analytical Paper** |

**Final assignment: Analytical paper**

Please submit a paper on a research question you have discussed and cleared with Dr Goetz on a subject relevant to the course.  The paper should be an analytical exploration of an issue that interests you. If you like you can link this to the presentation project that you have pursued this semester.  The paper should be between 3,500 - 5000 words (15 - 25 pages) and must of course conform to academic standards regarding ethical use of sources.  Papers that will exceed the word length are not advised and must be cleared with Dr. Goetz at least a week prior to the due date.

**Structuring an Analytical Paper**

This is an analytical paper, which means that it is more academic than the two writing exercises so far. ‘More academic’ not only means correct use of citations and resources (in fact this is the least of the elements of relevance); it means that what is expected is a structured argument that does the following:

**Introduction**: Establishes what you are discussing and why it matters (matters politically, philosophically, legally, practically etc).

I.e.: what is the problem you want to address (can include a gap in the literature, gap in knowledge, unexplained phenomenon, a hypocrisy, a neglected area of policy, etc.)

It is useful to either outright state or hint at conclusion – in a tantalizing way, a ‘hook’ indicating something exciting, unexpected, controversial, or disturbing.

You can also provide a brief ‘roadmap’ to the structure and progression of the argument covered in the paper.

**Context-setting**: Show you know what you are talking about – where does your discussion fit in the context of literature in this area, or in the context of current policy debates or current political developments. This is to help your audience understand what you are talking about in case they do not know already

**Methodology**: This **is rarely needed for a term paper** but do include this if you would like to point out anything specific about how you have generated or gathered evidence (ie: your sources).

*Hypothesis*: what is your postulated explanation for the problem or issue you are analyzing?

Who and what did you study?

Where and when?

Why did you pick that sample?

What tools did you use to collect data, and why? (include tools like an interview questionnaire in appendix)

Carefully describe how you used the tools.

Describe the analytical procedures (your own judgment? Double blind analysis? Initial simple coding and aggregation of similar responses? Coding and statistical analysis?)

**(If you have developed an investigation, generated evidence then you should have a section on):**

**Findings/results:**

Do not present raw data. Present a distilled version but by ALL MEANS DO use data if relevant, aggregated and assembled in charts/tables/graphs.

If you have used hypotheses – this is where you review and accept or reject/revise them

Bring in analysis to help sort/classify findings and lead towards broader observations/analysis in the next section.

**Discussion/ policy implications**

Do not repeat what is the in the findings

Offer principles, generalizations, broad patterns, relationships

Show how your findings or analysis is confirmed by or is contradicted by other studies

Discuss impact of your thoughts/analysis on theory or policy or practice

*Answer the question: so what?*

Identify points that cannot be explained and need more research

**Conclusion**

Re-state very briefly: How did you address the ‘problem’, knowledge gap, data gap, contradiction, legal issue, etc.?

Are there remaining gaps in knowledge?

What were the limitations of your study?

What can be done with the ideas you have offered?

(remember to check back with the introduction – and it is even good practice to re-write it – when you get to this stage)

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| **ANNEX 2** *Supplementary reading on COVID and women’s leadership:* |

1. *What 2020 Taught Us about Women in Power; Boris Johnson's Reluctance to Include Female Politicians in His Top Team Seems Illogical when we Look at how Women Leaders Fared on Covid,*The Telegraph Online, 2020.
2. Gabriele Abels & Joyce M. Mushaben, *Great Expectations, Structural Limitations: Ursula Von Der Leyen and the Commission's New Equality Agenda,*58 Journal of Common Market Studies 121 (2020).
3. Christine Agius, Annika Bergman Rosamond & Catarina Kinnvall, *Populism, Ontological Insecurity and Gendered Nationalism: Masculinity, Climate Denial and Covid-19,*21 Politics, Religion & Ideology 432 (2020).
4. Andrea S. Aldrich & Nicholas J. Lotito, *Pandemic Performance: Women Leaders in the Covid-19 Crisis,*16 Politics & Gender 1 (2020).
5. Deborah Jordan Brooks & Lydia Saad, *Double Whammy: Why the Underrepresentation of Women among Workplace and Political Decision-Makers Matters in Pandemic Times,*16 Politics & Gender 1 (2020).
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## **ANNEX 3 TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS**

### **Computer Hardware**

Recommended Requirements

* Computer with at least 4GB of memory or more (RAM)
* Windows 8.0 or Mac OS X 10.9 (Mavericks) or higher
* Broadband (high-speed) internet access (direct connection or Wifi)
* Webcam and microphone (for online meetings)

### **Student Technical Skills**

You are expected to be proficient with installing and using basic computer applications and have the ability to send and receive email attachments.

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### **Software**

* Google [Chrome](https://support.google.com/chrome/answer/95346?hl=en) (recommended browser for viewing online course materials)
* Mozilla’s [Firefox](http://www.getfirefox.com/) (latest version; Macintosh or Windows)
* Adobe’s [Flash Player and Reader](http://www.adobe.com/downloads/) plug-in (latest version).
* Apple’s [QuickTime](http://www.apple.com/quicktime/download/) plug-in (latest version).
* [Microsoft Office Suite](https://www.microsoft.com/en-us/education/products/office/default.aspx) (free for NYU Students).
* [Zoom](https://www.nyu.edu/life/information-technology/communication-and-conferencing/meetings-chat-conferencing/nyu-zoom.html) web conferencing tool
* ***Link to any additional software required.***

### **NYU Classes Orientation and Training**

To actively participate in this course, you will need to get familiar with the course environment. If you are not familiar with how to navigate this environment as a student or use any of these tools, please visit [NYU’s Getting Started with NYU Classes](https://www.nyu.edu/life/information-technology/instructional-technology-support/instructional-technology-tools-and-services/nyu-classes/student-training.html) page for a full tutorial on using NYU Classes.

### **NYU Classes Support**

To receive 24/7 live support or deliver NYU Classes feedback, contact the IT Service Desk:

* Phone: 1-212-998-3333
* Email: [AskIT@nyu.edu](mailto:AskIT@nyu.edu)
* In-Person: Visit the IT Service Desk at 10 Astor Place, 4th Floor (M-F 9 am-6 pm EST)
* For support at NYU’s global locations visit [www.nyu.edu/it/servicedesk](http://www.nyu.edu/it/servicedesk).